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Draft reports:

Evaluating the public participation
programme

Evaluating the multi-media campaign

by

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PART II: EVALUATING THE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROGRAMME

INTRODUCTION

The Constitutional Assembly (CA) took the dramatic decision to allow ordinary citizens the opportunity to help shape their Constitution, rather than leaving the field open to political parties and well-organised pressure groups. The story of the Public Participation Programme (PPP) is told more fully elsewhere in the evaluation. The PPP comprised various different aspects, which group together into face-to-face meetings and workshops on the one hand, and mechanisms whereby individuals could contact the CA and submit ideas or demands themselves. In this section of the survey report, we analyse in detail the extent to which these strategies succeeded in reaching people, imparting sufficient information to them about the Constitution-writing process, convincing them that their ideas would be treated seriously, and finally, the extent to which people either participated in face-to-face meetings or contacted the CA themselves.

The PPP consisted of various components including a constitutional education programme, constitutional public meetings, national sector public hearings, theme committee workshops, public hearings and seminars.^{200\231} The PPP also included the CA media campaign, which aimed at informing the widest possible audience about the Constitution and how to participate in the process.

The PPP comprised two key components analysed in this part of the report:

e a series of face-to-face workshops and hearings targeting disadvantaged areas and communities:
mechanisms whereby members of the public could directly contact the CA and make their own submissions via the Internet, the Talk-Line and so on.

The two mechanisms allowed for individual and group or community activity and involvement.

The PPP can be divided into a pre- and post-draft stage. The pre-draft stage ran until November 1995. Public submissions in the pre-draft stage had to be in by 30 June 1995. Theme committees ended their work in November 1995. The working draft of the new constitution was released in November 1995. The post-draft stage ran from November 1995 until the end of February when the PPP ended. The fieldwork for this survey began as the final phase of face-to-face activity was being completed.

Constitutional Education Programme

The aim of the Constitutional Education Programme (CEP), which ran from May to October 1995, was to go to grassroots communities throughout the country and explain what the constitutional process entailed.

' These are reported on elsewhere in the C A S E evaluation.

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This campaign involved disseminating information to communities about the constitution-writing process. It also involved encouraging communities to make submissions (oral and/or written). The campaign aimed primarily at rural and disadvantaged communities.

Three hour community workshops were initially planned, but in some cases there were too many people for a workshop to be conducted, so these were converted to one hour briefings. Briefings also slotted into other previously arranged meetings such as local government meetings, RDP forums and so on. Workshops focused on educating the public about the draft constitution and obtaining submissions. Briefings were used only to disseminate information. According to the CA's own figures, over 42 000 people were reached via the 181 workshops and 209 briefings.

Constitutional Public Meetings

The CPM programme, which ran from February to August 1995, was also aimed at rural and disadvantaged communities. In this it sought to deal with some of the power imbalances in South African society, which were in turn reflected in the first evaluation. Members of the CA were flown around the country to attend meetings. The meetings gave the public an opportunity to make both oral and written submissions, and to do so in front of their elected representatives then involved in negotiating the Constitution. Meetings were organised through local structures. According to the CA's own figures, over 20 000 people were reached via the 27 CPMs.

Clearly, in both phases of CA activity, far more meetings were staged which dealt with the Constitution. In addition to the normal level of political activity which would have covered Constitution-related issues, campaigning for the Local Government elections of November 1995 included a host of rallies and meetings which dealt with key issues such as the death penalty, abortion, the rights of employers and workers, single-medium schooling and so on. These meetings were neither organised nor addressed by the CA, but would be recalled by respondents as meetings which dealt with the Constitution. As such, the data should be understood as covering all meetings which touched on the Constitution or related issues. Whether a meeting had been arranged by the CA or not was not something we expect respondents to recollect, not least because the CA normally worked through local structures rather than in its own name.

This phase of activity was evaluated by CASE in May 1995.° The CASE evaluation reported considerable success for the PPP. Formal metropolitan and informal dwellers were accessing far more CA materials than their rural counterparts; on the other hand, metropolitan dwellers had least

? See Nicolson F, de Castro J, and Everatt D: The 1995 Public Participation Programme of the Constitutional Assembly: Summary of existing data, CASE, March 1996.

° See Everatt D., Orkin M, Jennings R and Samuels T- Bringing the Constitution and the People together: assessing the impact of the media campaign of the Constitutional Assembly, CASE, May 1995.

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access to meetings dealing with the Constitution, which were more widespread in informal, urban and rural areas.

The evaluation also uncovered feelings of hostility to the process on the part of important groups: whites, coloureds and women seem least positive about participating in the process. The advertising and participation campaigns need to take these into account. The first evaluation found that whites were difficult to reach and apparently hostile to the process, with coloureds expressing a greater desire to participate. Across the evaluation as a whole, we found that fewer women than men accessed media or attended meetings. This gender differential stood out very clearly, and of course in part reflected the gender discrimination to be found throughout South African society.

The evaluation pointed to the need for particular note to be taken of groups such as women, coloureds and others not seemingly fully involved in the process; the ideal, given adequate time and resources, would be to create specific mechanisms that would encourage their participation. More of the same would not necessarily be appropriate for those particular groups. It must be borne in mind, however, that the CA programme had reached two-thirds of all adult South Africans within three months of its inception. It was a remarkably successful campaign. This is the context in which the second CASE evaluation took place in 1996.

Limitations

It was impossible to establish accurately whether participants had attended meetings organised by the CA, since the CA used local structures as partners in the PPP. We did ask this question, and the results are reported. Nonetheless, our concern was to capture all those who had attended a meeting and assess their levels of knowledge about the Constitution-writing process, and their attitudes to the notion of public participation. As such, we asked a question which allowed people who had ever attended a meeting to answer, thus covering a long period of time and a range of possible meeting. We asked: 'have you ever attended a meeting/forum/workshop about the new Constitution?' In response, just over one in ten respondents (11%) reported having done so. This is a very high response rate, and reflects the lack of specificity in the question. As such, we are dealing with experiences which might include impassioned speeches at local government election rallies which touched on the Constitution, as well as two hour briefings and workshops on the Constitution organised by the CA. This variation of experience should be borne in mind when reading this section of the report.

See Everatt D: Evaluating Constitutional Participation Meetings for the Constitutional Assembly, CASE, June 1995.
° Everatt: Evaluating CPMs op cit, p.12.

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OVERALL PARTICIPATION IN THE CONSTITUTION-WRITING PROCESS

There were various means of participating in the Constitution-writing process. These included attending local meetings and workshops and making oral (or written) submissions; through other hearings arranged by the CA; and by directly contacting the CA or sending submissions to the CA offices. In all, over the whole period, 15% (14,5%) of all respondents - or 3,8 million adult South Africans - were involved in the Constitution-writing process either through face-to-face meetings and workshops or by directly contacting the CA. This is a remarkably high rate of participation, bettered only by the voter education campaigns which preceded the 1994 general election.° In that campaign, fully half (50%) of all adult African respondents had been reached by some form of face-to-face voter education. In the CA campaign, 17% of African respondents had actively participated in one way or another, compared with 8% of coloureds, 4% of Indians and 5% of whites.

Male Female African Col.d Indian White Metro Urban Informal Rural

Fig. 1: Profiling those reached by the CA campaign
(by sex, race and area)

Profiling those who participated in the CA campaign

In this section, we provide a brief profile of those who were reached by the public participation campaign - that is, respondents who attended face-to-face

° See Everatt D, Stevens C and Orkin M: Empowering the nation: evaluation of the media campaigns of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education, C A S E, 1994. The evaluation

only covered African and coloured respondents: no figures for whites or Indians are available.

meetings of some sort, and/or who directly contacted the CA to make their submissions.

As we can see, of those reached by the CA public participation campaign, men outnumbered women considerably: 63% of those who participated were men, while only 37% were women. This indicates that the gender differentials exposed in the first evaluation remained a problem throughout the CA campaign. It reminds us of the extent to which politics in the broadest sense (including the Constitution) and active participation in politics is widely regarded as men's business rather than an appropriate forum for women. This is particularly the case in patriarchal societies, and will have constrained the ability of the CA in their rural activities, which were one of the main foci of the public participation programme.

On the other hand, however, it needs to be noted that these gender differentials are well-known, and were highlighted in the CA's own first evaluation. Aware of the problem, the CA put considerable time and energy (and financial resources) into ensuring that women's activities were widely consulted through sector and theme committee hearings. However, the CA's activities on the ground do not seem to have been significantly altered to accommodate the needs of women, and of rural women in particular. We have noted in our participant observation reports that men dominated meetings, asking four or five questions to each asked by a woman. * It seems apparent that merely holding more meetings in disadvantaged communities will not of itself allow women to participate meaningfully in greater numbers. More may be able to attend, but meetings will still be dominated by men. As such, it seems clear that any future public participation campaign must develop specific mechanisms to allow women to participate in greater numbers, and meaningfully. This may be through women-only meetings; it may be by restricting attendees to one question each, and by rotating the sex of those asking questions so that each second question is asked by a woman; it may also be through more carefully developed partnerships with civil society structures where women's participation is already well developed.

We shall see later that civil society structures played an uneven role in the CA campaign. The churches have a vital part to play in any campaign aiming to reach women. There are few social barriers, in any communities, to women attending church meetings (as there are to women attending, say, political party or civic meetings). Many women attend church weekly, and also belong to choirs and church groups. Working with and through the churches, therefore, is one key means of accessing women in an environment in which they already operate and feel secure. A similar point, though less widespread in their membership and social status, could be made about stokvels and burial societies.

| See Nicolson et al: Summary of existing data.

Â® See de Castro J, Everatt D, Budlender D and Nicolson F: Evaluating the CEP workshops, CASE, May 1996.

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In short: the relatively poor rate of participation among women is cause for concern, particularly in light of a Constitution which guarantees gender equality. These results serve as a signal as to quite how far South Africa has to go to attain such equality. The campaign should also provide final evidence - for these problems have been identified frequently in the past - that running campaigns which include face-to-face components will extend outreach to those areas not adequately reached by mainstream media, but will not of themselves overcome gender discrimination. Specific and creative means of involving women have to be identified and developed.

The graph also shows that 44% of those reached by the CA campaign were in formal metropolitan areas, but that roughly similar proportions were from formal urban (24%) and rural (23%) areas. The metropolitan bias is less pronounced than in campaigns which rely only on mainstream media. That rural dwellers comprise almost a quarter of all participants in the CA public participation campaign is an extremely positive result.

The relatively low level of involvement among informal dwellers, who comprise a tenth (9%) of those who participated in the campaign, is less positive. It should remind campaign organisers that staging meeting in metropolitan and urban areas should, as far as possible, not only take place in town- or city-centres, but also in surrounding informal and other areas. Many people living in these areas are unemployed and live in deep poverty: they will not be able to afford the transport to town to attend and participate in meetings, however much they may wish to do so.

Finally, the breakdown of participants by race looks not dissimilar to proportions within the country as a whole, apart from the number of whites who participated. We shall return to this point (below).

Fig. 2: Profiling those reached by the CA campaign
(by age and education)

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The public participation campaign seems to have caught the imagination of younger, better educated respondents rather more than their older counterparts. People aged 50 and above comprised only a tenth (9%) of those who took part in the campaign, while just under half (49%) were aged between 18 and 30. This age bias in favour of younger respondents is similar to our findings elsewhere in the evaluation, and remind us of the difficulty of reaching older people, particularly in a predominantly youthful society such as South Africa. As we noted with women, older people may also require specific methods to be brought into public participation campaigns more actively. They are also less likely to travel distances in order to attend meetings.

Education levels are higher among younger respondents, and the graph reflects the way in which age and education largely correlate. Nonetheless, it is of concern that while 7% of respondents reported that they had no formal education, only 2% of those who took part in the CA campaign had no formal education. It was important that this campaign seek to make complex issues accessible to as many South Africans as possible, and not give the impression that it was for â\200\230educated folkâ\200\231 only. The CAâ\200\231s success in this area seems only to have been partial, since 71% of participants had some high school qualification, and only 12% had no education or primary level only (compared with 27% of all respondents who have no formal education or primary level only).

Almost a third (30%) of participants in the CA public participation campaign live in Gauteng. KwaZulu-Natal, where a parallel Constitutional

process driven by the Inkatha Freedom Party was in process, provided 14% of participants. Looking at the right hand side of the graph, we see that the Western and Northern Cape fared worst: only 6% of participants live in the Western Cape and a tiny 1% live in the Northern Cape.

Fig. 3: Profiling those reached by the CA campaign
(by province)

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Disaffection from the Constitution-writing process among coloureds, identified in the first evaluation and discussed elsewhere in this report, may have had a strong impact on public participation in these two provinces. The Northern Cape, however, suffers from an historical legacy of under-resourcing. Few civil society structures operate in the province, and even fewer outside of Kimberley, its capital. As such, the CA battled to find partners to host and organise meetings. Moreover, the massive size and huge distances between communities in the Northern Cape needs to be borne in mind.

While these factors are important, it is also not unreasonable to ask whether, given the fact that they are well-known problems, methods or mechanisms specific to these provinces could not have been developed? Should all provinces be treated in the same way, or should resources be slanted in favour of those with most need? Gauteng is extremely well-resourced, had the highest levels of media consumption, and a host of civil society structures operate there. Should the Gauteng budget, in future campaigns, not be cut in favour of provinces such as the Northern Cape; and if not, should different activities be concentrated in some provinces, rather than attempting to spread equally across the country as a whole. These are important questions which should be asked by the organisers of all future public participation campaigns: but they must be tackled before the campaigns commence, rather than merely acknowledged in a summative evaluation.

Positive effects of participating the CA campaign

Elsewhere in the report we offer a detailed examination of levels of knowledge about the CA and Constitution-writing process analysed by exposure to different components of the CA media and face-to-face campaigns. In this section we deal with one or two issues which highlight some of the more nuanced knowledge increases among those who participated in the CA campaign.

If we look at the two open ended questions which were the opening two questions of the whole questionnaire - which probed respondents' knowledge of human rights and of the Constitution - there are some interesting contrasts. The levels of correct answers were high across the sample as a whole (and reported elsewhere).

Of respondents who had taken part in the CA campaign, 16% could not answer the question, 'Could you please tell me what you think a Constitution is?' In other words, one in six of those people who attended a meeting which dealt with the Constitution, or who contacted the CA, did not know how to describe a Constitution. While this may give the CA some cause for concern, it contrasts with 42% of those who did not participate in the campaign and who could not define a constitution. If we look at this from the perspective of the sample as a whole (rather than among those who did participate in the campaign), it is perhaps noteworthy that 94% of respondents who did not know what a Constitution is had not participated in the CA campaign.

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In other words, the campaign did not impart fairly basic information about the Constitution to one in six who took an active part in it; but when compared to those who did not participate, we find that levels of knowledge are far higher amongst participants.

Rules & regulations

Rules drawn up by govt

Rules to govern
Freedom of speech
Rules for & by people
Grp. who make laws
Law to protect people
Law that unites people
Sharing views
The govt. : ; :

A democratic govt. : : : 200\230 :
Don't know : : 1 42

Other : : : i, 11 : : 5

50 40 30 20 10 0 10 20 30 40

*

OCPanicipated EANot participated

Fig. 4: 200\230What is a Constitution?200\231
(comparing those who took part in the CA campaign, and those who did not)

The fairly precise answer 200\234rules to govern200\235 was given by a third (32%) of those who participated in the campaign and by 18% of those who did not. It is interesting that the participative side of the campaign - rules drawn up for and by the people, sharing views, law that unites people - was more commonly mentioned by those who had taken part in the campaign.

The open-ended question which asked, 200\234Could you please tell me what you understand by the term human rights?200\235 was less directly related to the CA public participation campaign, although clearly still a fundamental issue. Here we find that of those who took part in the campaign, one in ten (11%) either did

not know what a human right is, or gave no answer to the question. In contrast, between a quarter and a third (29%) of respondents who had not participated in the campaign did not know or gave no answer.

It is not possibly to â\200\230proveâ\200\231 that participation in the CA campaign was the reason why those who took part show higher levels of knowledge than those who did not. We should also remember that those who were reached by the campaign, as we have seen, showed education levels higher than the national average. Nonetheless, there does seem to be a clear pattern which sees people

who participated in the CA campaign knowing more about basic issues than those who did not.

There is also a possible knock-on effect of this knowledge. We have seen elsewhere that the CA media campaign managed to move beyond being merely received via TV, radio or print, and entered popular discourse. It is worth noting, in this regard, that of those who took part in the CA campaign, the vast majority live in households with more than one other person: 7% live with one person, 12% with two, 14% live with three people, 15% with four other people, 15% again with five other people, and 13% with six other people. The remainder live with seven people (7%), eight (7%), nine (4%) or more (6%) in their homes.

We also asked respondents who, in their households, made the most important decisions affecting the household. The answers are self-reported: we made no attempt to verify whether the respondent answered accurately or not. This was a way of seeing if heads of household had assumed to attend, or if the CA had attracted a range of people.

Over a third (36%) of those who participated reported that they were the main decision maker in their households; these were twice as likely to be men as women. The youthful audience which the CA attracted is reflected in the numbers who reported that their mother (19%) or father (16%) was the main decision maker. In other words, those who participated in the CA campaign came from large households, and occupied a range of positions within those households.

Finally, as reported elsewhere, when we tested the knowledge levels of those who had either contacted the CA or been involved in face-to-face meetings dealing with the new Constitution, their knowledge of a range of details about the Constitution-writing process was far higher than those who had not participated. Where a fifth (20%) of those who had not participated in the CA campaign got all the answers wrong, only 3% of participants did so. At the other extreme, 53% of participants scored high while only 18% of non-participants did so.

In short, the CA public participation campaign had considerable outreach. It did well in rural and urban and less well in informal areas, but was still dominated by metropolitan dwellers. Younger, better educated respondents were more likely to participate, and men were far more likely than women to participate. The benefits of participating are clearly revealed in the high knowledge levels of those who took part. Having knowledge about their rights and about how to make submissions to the CA about their rights was all the CA could do: the decision as to whether to make a submission or not was beyond their control.

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WHO WAS REACHED BY THE FACE-TO-FACE CAMPAIGN?

Those reached by the face-to-face campaign, when combined with those who contacted the CA directly, comprise the two components which together provide the overall rates of participation discussed above. In all, 11% (10,7%) of respondents reported having attended a meeting which dealt with the new Constitution. This includes those who attended meetings dealing with the organisation organised by their church, trade union or other organisation they belong to.

WHO CONTACTED THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY?

Those in the contact group make up 7% (7.2%) of the total sample. They comprise those who telephoned the Constitutional Assembly (1%) and left a message (just over half of those who phoned), those who wrote to the CA (3% of the sample), those who contacted their local organisation regarding the Constitution (3%), those who contacted a member of the CA (1%), and we also included those who had sought to take part in TV or radio talk-shows dealing with the CA (2%). There is clearly a degree of overlap among respondents, with some using more than one means of making their submission.

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XD

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Male Female AfricanCol.d Indian White Metro UrbarinformaRural
Contacted CA BB] 64 | 36 88 4 1 7 S1 | 21 7 22
Face-to-face []}] 65 | 35 92 | 4 0 3 40.2|.110:2) 527-1 23

Fig. 5: Involvement in the CA public participation campaign
(by sex, race and area)

The rates of participation across the two groups are very similar. Both saw far more men than women taking part, and more Africans than other race

groups taking part. In the latter regard, it is noticeable that although only 3% of those who received any face-to-face information about the CA or Constitution were white, while 7% of those who contacted the CA by one or other methods were white. This suggests that in such campaigns in the future, technological methods of participation such as the Internet, Talk-Line and so on might be a means of attracting white participation.

What stands out in the graph is the very low level of contacting the CA among people living in informal areas, who comprise only 7% of those who did so, while providing almost a third (27%) of those who received face-to-face information about the Constitution. While reflecting very poor access to amenities and services which renders methods such as the Internet and Talk-Line unhelpful, this may also reflect an under-servicing of informal areas by either the CA and/or civil society, thus disallowing contact with local organisations or the CA as key means of making submissions. The poor showing of informal dwellers in this area is cause for concern.

The relatively high incidence of rural respondents among those who contacted the CA (at 22%) is a positive result, given the relative absence of telephones, poor postal service and high levels of poverty and illiteracy in the rural areas. However, many rural societies retain oral traditions, and the notion of contacting local political and civic representatives and transmitting ideas for submission through them is possibly more widespread than more urbanised areas.

0

Contacted CA Ejj	29	19	27	14	9	1	8	90>	(240)	21
Face-to-face [J]	29	18	31	13	8	3	6	10,	182	..16

Fig. 6: Involvement in the CA public participation campaign
(by age and education)

Both face-to-face methods and directly contacting the CA have very similar demographic profiles in terms of age: both favoured younger over older people. When we look at the striped pillars at the rear of the graph, we find that those who contacted the CA were likely to have relatively high education levels, with almost two-thirds (61%) having standard 9 or above. This may reflect easier access to and use of technology. It underscores the importance of face-to-face work as an accompanying campaign, which gave other means of input to people from different education background. However, neither method managed to attract many respondents with no formal education: they comprised 1% and 2% respectively of the contact and face-to-face groups. Methods must be found of reaching this vulnerable and needy group, who may have regarded the campaign and its subject matter as not for them because of their lack of education.

Looked at across the nine provinces, few stark differences emerge. Those who received face-to-face information were least likely to live in the Northern Cape, the Western Cape or the Free State; it is only in the latter that contact rates are relatively high, with 14% of those who contacted the CA coming from that province (5% came from the Western Cape and 2% from the Northern Cape).

Contacted CA
Face-to-face

Fig. 7: Involvement in the CA public participation campaign
(by province)

Having summarised those who received face-to-face information, and those who contacted the Constitutional Assembly with demands or submissions, we will now report in greater detail on the public participation campaign of the Constitutional Assembly.

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Attendance at and experience of local meetings about the Constitution

The first C A S E evaluation took place in the first three months of the life of the CA, at a point where the Constitution, and the process of public participation in helping to write it, were both new and exciting - and were getting much media attention. In the context of competing demands for political space and attention over the succeeding months, however, it is not surprising to find that attendance at meetings about the Constitution fell away somewhat. In 1995 we found that 18% of respondents knew of meetings in their area dealing with the Constitution, and 62% of these people had attended such meetings. A year later, we found that 13% of South Africans - a not inconsiderable number - knew of meetings in their area, while as we have seen, 11% had attended such meetings. The survey fieldwork was underway as the final, intensive wave of local meetings was being run by the CAâ\200\231 and will only partly be reflected in the results.

Ask questions

Unsure 48%

24%

WV

Listen, not talk

52%

Been any meetings? Did you attend? What did you do?

â\200\234Don't knowâ\200\235 is not shown in the graph

Fig. 8: Local meetings re the new Constitution

Firstly, the point needs to be made that to give all adult South Africans a one in seven chance (13%) of attending a meeting about the Constitution is a not inconsiderable achievement.

People living in small towns had the greatest opportunity, with 17% reporting that meetings had taken place, followed by people in informal areas (15%). People living in rural areas had least opportunity at 11%, a figure almost identical to metropolitan dwellers who reported meetings taking place in their areas (12%).

* See de Castro, J., Nicolson, F., Everatt D and Budlender, D.: Evaluating CEPs

Looked at provincially, meetings about the new Constitution seem to have been most available to respondents in Mpumalanga (24% said there had been meetings in their area), followed by North West (16%), the Free State (15%), Eastern Cape (13%), Northern Province and Gauteng (12%), KwaZulu-Natal (11%), the Western Cape (9%) and finally, the Northern Cape (8%). These figures reflect respondents' awareness of Constitution-related meetings in their areas. As such, the disinterest or hostility towards the Constitution-writing process detected amongst coloureds may partly explain the poor figures for the Western and Northern Cape. We know that the CA's own figures suggest that neither of these provinces were significantly under-served by meetings directly organised through local structures by the CA. The figures may, however, reflect low activity in these provinces by the major political parties and other organs of civil society.

Importantly, as the column on the right of the graph suggests, when people did attend meetings, almost half (48%) reported that they actively participated by asking questions. The meetings were deliberately designed to try and achieve broader than normal participation in meetings, and seem to have succeeded in this regard.¹ (This is returned to in greater detail below.)

The context in which the PPP took place is important. As we have suggested, the initial stages of the campaign were widely covered in the media, and considerable public interest emerged. Drafting the new Constitution, however, was a long a complex affair. Media interest waned in favour of more dramatic stories. The local government elections took place in late 1995 (with elections still to occur in KwaZulu-Natal and parts of the Western Cape in 1996). The accompanying electioneering will have impacted on the CA campaign, and over the ability of people to determine whether meetings were held to discuss the Constitution or as part of an election campaign. Media attention also focused on the RDP, and the Masakhane campaign. With elections having taken place in 1994 and 1995, and local development forums and other structures emerging to discuss key developmental issues, South Africans may well be suffering from meeting fatigue². This will affect the ability to recall whether meetings dealt specifically with the Constitution or not, as well as the desire to attend such meetings.

Nonetheless, 11% of respondents recalled that they had attended a meeting which dealt with the new Constitution. Clearly, these meetings were by no means all organised by the CA, and a wide range of experiences are contained in the 11% of respondents who attended such meetings. We shall now examine who was able to attend meetings dealing with the new Constitution.

¹ See de Castro et al: Evaluating the CEP, op cit.

% who attended meetings

16

Fig. 9: Attendance at meetings about the Constitution

(by province)

We noted earlier the provincial breakdown of respondentsâ\200\231 awareness of meetings dealing with the new Constitution by province. The figures for actual attendance at such meetings by province looks very similar, with the highest attendance occurring in Mpumalanga and the lowest in the Northern Cape.

% who attended meetings

14}Â°

12}Â°

10}Â°

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Fig. 10: Attendance at meetings about the Constitution

(by area and dwelling)

CAS E evaluation of the Constitutional Assembly

Looked at by area, we see that the highest rates of attending meetings about the new Constitution occurred amongst people living in small towns, one of the target areas of the PPP. People in informal areas were also reached in this way.

Worryingly, the lowest rates of attendance are among rural dwellers, 8% of whom attended a meeting about the new Constitution. If we look at the extreme right of the graph, we see that within the rural areas, farmworkers living on site were the least likely to be able to attend meetings. The April 1994 general election was unique in uniting virtually all South Africans in the desire to vote, and saw unprecedented sights of farmers driving their workers to polling booths and so on. The Constitution-writing process did not achieve such unity, and with on-going battles over the property and other clauses, the vulnerable position of farmworkers seems to have been exploited. In addition, however, we must note that farmworkers are historically under-served by national organisations and campaigns, and that to target 'the rural areas' may be inadequate: specific means of reaching farmworkers need to be identified and developed.

Analysed by gender, we see that men were twice as likely as women to attend meetings about the new Constitution. If we look at the figures by race and gender, we find that while African men (18%) are twice as likely as African women (9%) to attend meetings, this is a lot less pronounced among other race groups; among whites, although the percentages are very low and should be treated with caution, more women have attended meetings about the new Constitution than men.

African

Coloured

Indian

20 15 10 5 10 15 20
% men who attended meetings % women who attended meetings

Omale Female

Fig. 11: Have you ever attended a meeting about the Constitution?
(respondents who attended, by race and gender)

% Whoattended meetings

20

Aes es eh His CAT nef reemereng ged vig Hee one arate seve ees ace aes eea ia Bek Se

40 Wises cea ees

Wd

YWMd
| JM

â\200\234WMA
YWda

CAS â\202-E research for the Constitutional Assembly

Fig. 12: Attendance at meetings about the Constitution
(by race, age and education)

Fig. 12 breaks down the demographic profile of the 11% of respondents who had attended meetings about the new Constitution by race, age and education. As we noted when profiling the overall rates of participation in the PPP, those who took an active part in the CA campaign are most likely to be African, younger, better educated and male. The graph sets out quite clearly how age declines and education rises among those who attended meetings.

To learn

Wanted info.
Specific issue

To make submission
Was a representative
To see a politician

Don't know

0 10 20 30 40 50 60
%

NB: Does not add up to 100% because respondents could give more than one reason.

Fig. 13: Reasons for attending meetings about the Constitution
(among those who attended meetings: 11% of sample)

CASE evaluation of the Constitutional Assembly 19

We asked people who had attended meetings dealing with the Constitution why they had done so. Respondents could give more than one answer. The main reason was 'to learn' (52%), cited by just over half of all

those who attended meetings, and roughly evenly spread across different demographic groups (though more common among Africans at 52% than among whites at 32%). A further 37% went in order to get information, and a fifth (20%) went to ask questions about a specific issue. Importantly, one in eight went to meetings in order to make a submission to the Constitutional Assembly. Interestingly, this latter group was equally divided between men and women.

We also asked those who had never attended a meeting about the new Constitution why this was the case. In response, 60% said that they had not known of any such meetings, implying that some might have attended had they been able to do so. Another 8% were not interested. The relatively small numbers who had specific reasons for not attending suggest that the 11% who did attend meetings about the new Constitution may well have been higher, had meetings been more widely available.

No interest

Too busy

D/k what's happening
Personal

Won't make a differenc
Transport

Mistrust of parties
Fear violence

Lazy

Don't know

Didn't know about meet

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70
%

NB: Does not add up to 100% because respondents could give more than one reason.

Fig. 14: Reasons for not attending meetings about the Constitution
(among those who had never attended such a meeting: 89%
of sample)

100
80
60
40

0
Total Male Female
Learned new [9 60 58 62
Dik O 28 26 33
Knew it already 12 16 4

meeting?â\200\231 (among those who had attended meetings about the
Constitution: 11% of sample)

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Attending meetings is important if respondents benefited from their attendance. As Fig. 15 makes clear, almost two-thirds (60%) of those who attended meetings, learned new things about the Constitution, and 12% were informed of things they already knew. Importantly, women were slightly more likely (at 62%) than men (58%) to report learning new information, and less likely to claim that they knew it already (4%).

39% of people who attended meetings dealing with the Constitution asked questions (the remainder listened).

Vitally, although fewer women than men attended meetings, when they did they participated – 44% of women asked questions, compared with 41% of men. This is an extremely positive result for the CA, contrasting with the prevalent gender differences.

Equally importantly, over half (52%) of rural dwellers who attended meetings, also asked questions. This was true of 41% of informal dwellers, and 39% of both metro and urban formal dwellers.

Verbal participation did not vary very much across age cohorts, and was very high among those with low education levels.

In short: the meetings which people attended seem to have facilitated participation from groups which have been found to be excluded from much of the CA campaign.

Fig. 16: Verbal participation in meetings dealing with the Constitution (among those who attended meetings: 11% of sample)

These results should be read in tandem with our participant observation reports on the CEP. There we found that men were far more likely than women to ask multiple questions, averaging between 3 and 4 questions each, while women would most commonly only ask one question each.¹¹ If those findings are representative (they are based on a fairly small sample), then they add an important rider to these findings from the survey (unfortunately, we did not ask about multiple questions in the survey questionnaire).

Bearing those concerns in mind, it is nonetheless apparent that the meetings allowed women and rural dwellers to participate verbally in meetings. That alone suggests that the structure of the meetings was well thought out, and is a positive finding for the organisers of the PPP.

It is interesting to note that there appears to be little relationship between exposure to CA media and participating verbally in meetings about the Constitution. In other words, people who had been exposed to CA materials were not necessarily better equipped to ask questions at meetings. The only group who did ask questions were those exposed to print material; this may

¹¹ See de Castro et al: Evaluating the CEP, op cit.

derive from their better levels of education, rather than any result of the exposure to print materials.

Participate verbally?

Yes* No*

Respondents who had heard CA materials on radio 37 42

.... seen CA materials on TV 39 47

.... read CA materials in print 47 36

* The remainder did not answer the question

The last topic covered in this section, dealing with the specifics of attendance at meetings, we asked whether the meetings about the Constitution which respondents had attended had covered the issues they wanted to know about. Almost a quarter (23%) replied that all their issues had been covered, while 40% felt that some of their issues had been covered: only 10% felt that not all their issues had been covered, while 1% felt that none of their concerns had been addressed. Again, this is a positive finding for the PPP organisers

Did the meeting cover issues you wanted to know about?

All issues Some issues Unsure Not all None of the issues

Fig. 17: Coverage of issues at meetings dealing with the Constitution
(among those who attended meetings: 11% of sample)

The role of civil society in the PPP

A national face-to-face campaign, around any issue, cannot succeed without the full co-operation of civil society. This was evident in the voter education campaigns of 1994, where churches, trade unions, civic associations, stokvels, women and youth groups, and a range of other structures, played a key role in

hosting meetings where voter education took place.â\200\231 the CA used a similar methodology to that of the voter education campaign, of approaching local structures to organise meetings, to which they would despatch speakers and facilitators.

Unfortunately, the Constitutional Assembly did not get the same level of co-operation from civil society. In retrospect, this is not surprising. The Constitution was a hotly contested series of issues, including such emotive topics as abortion and the death penalty. Where all parties in 1994 agreed that all voters should be sufficiently equipped to vote for the party of their choice, the Constitution-writing process did not provide a similar basis for consensus-building. Many of the issues became unavoidably party-political, particularly during the 1995 local government election campaigns, and the ability of â\200\230non-politicalâ\200\231 structures such as the churches to play an active role in the process was limited. We have already noted that one possible result of the lack of full co-operation from the churches was poor participation among women. Other organisations also played a limited role in the CA public participation campaign, as we shall see.

It seems that few organisations in civil society - with the notable exception of the trade union movement - made a concerted attempt to draw their members into meetings or discussions about the Constitution or Constitution-writing process. In total, 57% of respondents belonged an organisation, club or society of some type. Of these respondents, fully 79% had not been informed about the CA process by their organisation.

Political org. 9%

Sports club mmbrs 2%

Stokvel mmbrs 2%

Youth grp 3%

Informed by none 79%

Civic mmbrs 2%

Church grp 2%

Professional body 1%

Women's grp 2%

Student org. 2%

Cultural org. 1%

Did your organisation keep you informed about the CA process?

Fig. 18: Role of civil society in informing members about the CA
(among those who belong to one or more organisations:
57% of sample)

12 ; : :

See Everatt et al: Empowering the nation, op cit.

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Political organisations, unsurprisingly, were most active in informing their members about the CA. The rest of the list veers from 3% to 1% of members kept informed of the Constitution by their organisations.

% informed of Constitution by org./s

0%
African M African F Coloured M Coloured F White M

Indian sample too small to be included in graph

Fig. 19: Did your organisation/s inform you about the Constitution?
(among those who belong to one or more organisations:
57% of sample; Indian sample too small to graph)

When the question is analysed from the perspective of race and gender, we find that women were less well informed of the Constitutional process than men, across African coloured and white (the Indian sample was too small to graph). This presumably partly reflects the fact that where 12% of male respondents reported belonging to a political organisation, only 5% of women did so.

Two of the key structures of civil society not included thus far are the churches and trade unions. Fig. 20 below shows the wide disparity in membership - 11% of the sample belong to a trade union (a very high figure in itself) while 85% belong to a religious grouping of some sort - and also the disparate role the two played in the Constitution-writing process.

Of those people who belong to trade unions, 37% had been informed about the Constitution, 29% had had the opportunity of attending meetings on the subject, and almost three-quarters (71%) had done so. Only 8% of church goers had been kept informed about the Constitution, 3% knew of meetings about the Constitution organised by their church, of whom almost half (49%) had attended such meetings.

This suggests that the civil society partnerships which the CA needed to form for a successful public participation campaign were less effective than they may have been, with limited follow-through by key organisations. We have noted already that the lack of significant church involvement may have had considerable effects on women's participation; it may have had similar effects in other groups.

Church Trade union

. make submission? 4% =

Did 2 49% 1%

Did . hold i 3% =

Did . inform ? 8% 2

to 2 85% 11%

Fig. 20: Membership of key civil society structures and their role in the PPP (graphing 'Yes' answers only)

We asked respondents who belonged to organisations whether their particular organisation had attended a hearing or briefing organised by the Constitutional Assembly. This tests respondents' awareness of such an event, rather than the occurrence of such meetings. In response, 8% replied that their organisations had attended CA meetings. Bearing in mind the widespread consultative process embarked on by the CA, this suggests a rather limited report-back by civil society structures. These are areas which future campaigns need to try to reach agreement on at the outset of campaigns, and preferably to monitor and evaluate during the campaign itself.

% who answered â\200\234yesâ\200\235

12

eee fe \

(among those who belonged to an organisation: 57% of sample)

Mechanisms for contacting the Constitutional Assembly

We have already provided a profile of those who directly or indirectly contacted the CA to make their submissions. In this section we add some detail to that profile.

Fig. 22 shows the extent to which South Africans knew of their right to contact the Constitutional Assembly. 56% knew of one or more means of doing so. This is a considerable achievement for the CA: informing people as to the means of making their demands was the key task of the PPP. Whether people chose to utilise such mechanisms was not a decision which the CA could hope to have direct influence on. It suggests that where the CA was directly in control of the PPP, rather than relying on other structures to work with it, it did rather better.

Writing to the Constitutional Assembly was a message widely disseminated through the CA media campaign, and was the most widely known method at 19%. It was closely followed by those who knew they could contact their local organisation. At the other extreme, the least known method, unsurprisingly, was via the Internet.

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% who knew of methods

Write to CA 19%

Contact local org. 18%

Local meeting 12%

Phone CA 11%

Don't know 44%

Talk-line 10%

Via MP 9%

Internet 1%

Local govt. 9% : Other 5%

Via local org. 8% Via CA mmbr 8%

Fig. 22: Knowledge of mechanisms for public participation
(all respondents: spontaneous recall)

We have seen to what extent respondents knew how to contact the CA,

and the extent to which they did so. The next three graphs seek to identify which South Africans did not know how to contact the CA, and who were thus unable to directly impact on the Constitution-writing process. This is not done for negative reasons, but to highlight who it is that is likely not to hear similar socially educative messages in future campaigns.

% who did not know how to participate in CA process

Total Male Female Metro. Urban Informal Rural

Fig. 23: Who did not know how to take part in the CA process?
(by sex and area)

In total, 44% of all respondents did not know how to contact the CA. Half of all women (50%) did not know how to contact the CA, as did 37% of men. This highlights one of the damaging effects of relying on mainstream media to put across messages of empowerment. Women have far less access to media than men, and are less likely to be able to access key messages as much as men. The result is a situation such as this, where only half of all women knew how to influence the Constitution-writing process.

In all, 57% of rural dwellers - one of the target groups of the PPP - did not know how to take part in the CA campaign, compared with just over a third (36%) of formal metropolitan dwellers, and 41% of formal urban dwellers. People living in informal areas were also relatively uninformed, with 46% not knowing how to participate.

The profile also shows that almost three-quarters (73%) of those with no formal education were ignorant of how to take part in the Constitution-writing process. We have seen that these people fared particularly badly in the PPP, and here we see one of the key reasons why, namely a lack of information as to how to do so. It may be that messages need to be more carefully targeted for particular demographic groups such as those with no formal education, who (other research has shown) are quick to internalise a view of themselves as stupid and unworthy of taking part in important national campaigns.

Older people were also more likely not to know how to take part in the CA campaign: 54% of respondents aged 50 years or above were unaware of any method of participation.

% who did not know how to participate in CA process

80
 EOD Sei os scic ask leans ela puesta! Sea sy Stee NO TR Maa Senta: pave Coa lene- wig a
 te ctunges
 54
 60!" 47,
 FM aici e Tee aie Netw ela ais ie a ee EES 42
 L 39
 34 35
 40}"
 20Â°
 20}"
 we Co
 Â© a Â© o Â© iS o 2 2 x
 2 Ã© \$ S Â»
 wr ss Se 6 oe ge oS

Fig. 24: Who did not know how to take part in the CA campaign
 (by education and age)

'3 See for example Everatt D and Jennings R-: â\200\230Educated for servitudeâ\200\231:
 a national survey of
 out-of-school youth, C A S E, December 1995.

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Analysed provincially, we find that (as we have seen) although respondents in Mpumalanga had greatest access to meetings about the Constitution, they were also least informed about participating in the Constitution-writing process, closely followed by those in the Northern Cape and North West province. The best informed were those in Gauteng, which is also the best-served province in media terms.

% who did not know how to participate in CA process

58 57

Fig. 25: Who did not know how to take part in the CA campaign
(by province)

SY

| Unsure
18%

L No
11%

Did you know you : : Would you write again
could write to CA? Rid ven wate? in the future? :

Fig. 26: Writing to the Constitutional Assembly
(all respondents)

When we probed specific methods of contacting the CA (rather than relying on spontaneous recall only) we found that almost a third (29%) of respondents knew that they could write to the CA. A tenth (10%) of these had written to the CA, and for almost three quarters (71%), it was something they would do again.

Don't know enough

17

No timefoo busy f:

Don't know how

Not intereste

12
Donâ\200\231t know
10
Too laz

No confidence

Can't write wel

Someone else did

%

Other (comprising single mentions) not graphed.

Fig. 27: Why didn't you write to the CA?
(among those who knew they could make written submissions, but did not do so)

We asked respondents who knew they could write to the Assembly, but had not done so, why they had not done so. The answers are interesting. Only a fifth (20%) noted that they were either too lazy or not interested. The remainder had a range of responses: 17% of respondents (containing a third more women than men, and mainly from informal areas) felt that they didn't know enough to do so, while 13% reported that they didn't know how to do so (rural dwellers featured strongly in this group). A further 16% claimed to be too busy. One in twenty (5%) stated that they lacked the confidence to do so, while 4% noted that someone else did and so they did not, and another 4% stated that they could not write well enough to do so.

C ASE evaluation of the Constitutional Assembly

Talked about Constit
Contact local org
Partic. via talk shows

Contact CA mmbr

5% 10% 15% 20%

% who have done the following:

Fig. 28: Involvement in the CA process
(all respondents)

On a much smaller scale, 1% (25 respondents) reported that they had phoned the Constitutional Assembly (20 of the 25, unsurprisingly, were from metropolitan areas), half of whom (13 respondents) stated that they left a message (presumably containing their submission) on the Talk-Line.

It is important to note that while only limited numbers of people utilised the different participation mechanisms mentioned in the table, the CA succeeded in generating discussion among South Africans. Early on in the questionnaire, a spontaneous response revealed that a quarter (24%) of all respondents reported that they had discussed the CA and Constitution-related issues with friends or family. Later in the questionnaire, we found that 51% of all those who have read parts of the draft Constitution have discussed it with friends or family. These are additional indicator that the CA campaign has reached a powerful position where the issues it deals with are entering public discourse.

White respondents were most likely (31%) to have discussed the Constitution, followed by coloureds (25%), Africans (23%) and Indians (21%). Men (31%) were far more likely than women (19%) to have done so. Similarly, formal metropolitan and urban dwellers (28% each) were more likely to have discussed the Constitution than those in informal (16%) or rural areas (16%).

A further 3% had contacted their local organisation regarding the CA, 1% had sought to contact CA members directly, and 2% of respondents had tried to take part in radio or TV talk-shows dealing with the Constitution.

Although these are small percentages, they comprise large numbers of people who undertook these different activities.

Attitudes towards the Public Participation programme

In the contested political and media terrain of the post-liberation period, it would be unsurprising to find that most South Africans were suffering a political saturation and wanted only to be left alone, rather than called on to engage with the difficult notions of constitutionalism, human rights, and the CA process. However, what we found was that just less than half (48%) of all adult South Africans feel part of the CA process, while just over a quarter (28%) do not feel this (the remainder are unsure).

Feel part of process? Want to be in process?

Yes 48 63

Unsure 24 16

No 28 2

Fig. 29: Attitudes towards the PPP
(all respondents)

The pillar on the right of the graph shows that just less than two-thirds (63%) of South Africans wanted to be involved in the Constitutional process. This is a considerable achievement, to develop a sense of ownership or involvement in a process which, as we have seen, is both contested and abstract. In this the CA has maintained the surge of support which attended its launch and which was detected in the first C A S E evaluation in early 1995,"⁴ It is particularly noteworthy that the positive feeling about the CA process is expressed near evenly across formal metropolitan areas (48%) and formal urban areas (49%), as well as the more disadvantaged areas - informal dwellers from both metropolitan and urban areas (43%) and rural dwellers (46%). Positive feelings dip slightly among the latter two groups, but by small margins. Analysed by dwelling, we find that most positive feelings are expressed by

¹⁴ â\200\234ec \$ s - Â» â\200\235 -

See Everatt er a/: â\200\234Bringing the constitution and the people togetherâ\200\235 op cit.

those living in backyard rooms and shacks, and least by those in rural homesteads and kraals.

EiFeel part of process L) Want to be in process

68

oo 64

Fig. 30: "Do you feel part of the process of writing a new Constitution, and do you want to be?"
(all respondents by race and dwelling)

Positive feelings about the process are far more evident among African respondents than those from other race groups. Whites, in particular, seem deeply alienated from or hostile to the CA process: 17% feel part of the process, and only 40% say that they want to be part of it.

Less positive, however, is the fact that men are more likely to feel positive (52%) than women (44%). This gender differential, which stood out clearly in the 1995 CAS E evaluation, derives in part from the fact that politics remains "men's business" in many parts of South Africa, combined with the social, economic and political disadvantages faced by women. It must be recalled that this is reinforced by the biases in media access, which see far fewer women than men able to access mainstream (particularly prime time) media. This in turn serves to reinforce existing forms of gender oppression, and any campaign which relies in part on media - as with the CA campaign - has to develop particular means and strategies to overcome this bias.

The graph (below) makes clear that across all four races there is a clear gender difference in the results. Notably, less than half of coloured, white and Indian women express a desire to be part of the Constitution-writing process. This is particularly worrying in terms of the nation-building aspect of the PPP.

CAS E evaluation of the Constitutional Assembly

African (feel part)

African (want to)

Coloured (feel part)

Coloured (want to)

Indian (feel part)

Indian (want to)

White (feel part) | . - 19%

White (want to) | : 42% 37%

80% 60% 40% 20% 0% 20% 40% 60% 80%

% wno answered â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 % who answered â\200\234Yesâ\200\235

Dmale Female

Fig. 31: â\200\230Do you feel part of the process of writing a new Constitution, and do you want to be?â\200\231
(all respondents by race and gender)

On the other hand, the CA campaign does seem to have caught the imagination of the younger generation – the people who will live most of their lives under the Constitution currently being finalised. This is set out in the table

below:

18 – 24 years 56%

25 – 29 years 53%

30 – 39 years 51%

40 – 49 years 42%

50+ years 35%

Do you feel part of the process of drawing up the new Constitution?
(â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 answers)

Having established the extent to which people felt involved in the CA process, we then asked all respondents (whatever their answers had been as to whether or not they felt part of the process) whether they wanted to be part of the Constitution-writing process. Here the results were more positive, with just less than two-thirds (63%) of all adult South Africans expressing the desire to be part of the process. Again, rural dwellers (64%) were as positive as metropolitan (61%) and urban (65%) folk, although people from informal settlements were less positive, with only 56% responding positively to the question. This is low in comparison with other areas, but can be seen as positive

as well: if we put it another way, over half of all respondents from informal areas - among the most poverty-struck of South Africans - expressed the desire to be part of the process.

Again, however, fewer women (59%) than men (67%) responded positively to the question, indicating the persistence of the gender differential in the evaluation results. While the same pattern as we saw above obtains across the age spectrum, the difference here is that almost half (47%) of those aged 50 and above want to be part of the process; at the other extreme, however, almost three-quarters (74%) of those aged 18-24 want to be part of the process.

Looked at provincially, it is apparent that the under-servicing of the Northern Cape by civil society (and by successive governments) has had a considerable impact on attitudes towards campaigns such as the PPP: a quarter of respondents from the Northern Cape feel part of the Constitution-writing process, and just over a third (34%) want to be part of the process. This strongly suggests that future resources should be directed in no small part towards alleviating these hostile attitudes in the Northern Cape.

Feel part of process Want to be in process

Fig. 32: Do you feel part of the process of writing a new Constitution, and do you want to be?
(all respondents by province)

Still using a provincial approach, respondents from the Northern Cape were also least likely to believe that the CA wants ordinary people to participate in the Constitution-writing process; they were followed by respondents from KwaZulu-Natal, and the Western Cape. The most positive responses came from North West and Gauteng provinces.

N West
65

Gauteng

N Prov

Mpumalanga

Free State

E Cape

W Cape

KwaZulu-Natal

N Cape

Fig. 33: Do you believe the CA wants ordinary people to participate in writing the new Constitution?
(respondents who answered Yes, by province)

When the same question is analysed by race and gender, we find a quite dramatic shift of attitude which seems more affected by race than gender.

Total : ; : | Byes DNo

African M
African F
Coloured M
Coloured F
Indian M
Indian F
White M 35

White F : . a2

10°22 6G) 603140 230) 2 20°10:2 70 10 20 30 40 SO 60. 70
%

Fig. 34: Do you believe the CA wants ordinary people to participate in writing the new Constitution?
(respondents who answered Yes, by race and gender)

African men and women are quite similarly positive in their outlook on the question. However, they contrast very strongly with white and Indian men and women (though only with coloured women), who are far less sanguine about the CA's desire for ordinary people to take part in writing the Constitution.

We have seen that fully half of all adult South Africans believe that the CA genuinely wants them to participate in the Constitution-writing process. We asked all respondents whether they believed that the Assembly would treat their submission seriously, were they to send them in. Responses were slightly less positive to this question, with only 41% of respondents believing that their submissions would be seriously regarded.

African
Coloured
Indian

White

Metro
Urban
Informal : 11 : : :
Rural 14: Dyes DNo

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60

Fig. 35: If you sent your ideas to the CA, would they treat them seriously?
(all respondents, by race and area; don't know not graphed)

Intriguingly, rural dwellers (at 43%) are most likely (albeit by a very small margin) to believe their submissions would be treated seriously, compared with 42% of urban dwellers, 40% of metropolitan dwellers and only 39% of those in informal areas. The highest level of scepticism came from whites, of whom only 16% believed their submission would be seriously treated, compared with 21% of Indians, 29% of Coloureds and 48% of African respondents. This suggests that the antagonism towards the CA process on the part of whites, detected in the first C A S E evaluation, remains in place.

When the same question is looked at from a provincial perspective, we find a similar pattern to that already uncovered thus far, with Northern Cape, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal the least positive.

Mpumalanga | 59%
_N West 57%

N Prov 52%
Gauteng ar
E Cape ; 37%
=

Free State

KwaZulu-Natal 32%

W Cape : 27%

N Cape * 18%:

â\200\234Don't knowâ\200\235 not shown (39% of sample)

Fig. 35: â\200\230If you sent your ideas to the CA, would they treat them seriously?â
\200\231
(all respondents, by province; â\200\234donâ\200\231t knowâ\200\235 not graphed)

Should the public be consulted about the new Constitution?

While some degree of scepticism seems to exist as to whether the Constitutional Assembly would treat individual submissions seriously, which contrasts with greater faith in the CAâ\200\231s call for public participation, it seems quite clear that the CA is doing what people want: namely, consulting ordinary people about the new Constitution. Fully 83% of respondents stated that the Assembly should be consulting the public about the Constitution.

There was little difference across race, gender or age cohorts in supporting the CA process. In short, regardless of whether individuals feel that their own submissions would be treated seriously if they sent them in or not, the overwhelming majority believe that the Assembly is right in consulting the public. In this, the CA may well be setting a precedent – not merely in consultation but in the deliberate attempt to reach marginalised communities – which government departments will have to try and match in future.

Factor analysis of attitudes to public participation

We asked four Likert item questions about public participation, which are set out below:

CAS E evaluation of the Constitutional Assembly

Agree Disagree +
strongly strongly
agree disagree

The public should be consulted every time a new
law is made 81 8

Only when very important changes are made in
the new Constitution should the public be 39 a4
consulted

Government should not take new laws to
ordinary people because those people donâ\200\231t
understand

Public participation in the new Constitution
writing process is important for building
national unity

Looking at the table shows that many respondents strongly favoured public participation in law-making, and believed it had an important nation-building function. We factor analysed the four items and a single factor emerged, which explained 42% of variance. We found that people who were likely to believe that people should be consulted on all new laws, were likely to reject the notion that the public should only be consulted on important Constitutional changes; they would also probably strongly reject the notion that ordinary people cannot understand enough to be worthy of consultation; and would believe that the process was important for nation building.

People holding these views would be likely to live in formal metropolitan dwellings or, interestingly, in rural areas (they were least likely to live in informal areas). They would be roughly equally spread between men and women, but would be more likely to be Indian or African than coloured or white. They would be least likely to come the Northern Cape, the Western Cape or the Free State. :

Hit-rate, media demographics, programme/item testing and knowledge:
summary of the CA2 national survey hit-rates and the responses to the
materials

HIT-RATES

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Fig. 1: general hit-rate: Exposure to or involvement with any CA
materials (all respondents)

The general or overall hit-rate is calculated by adding up those respondents who
received above-the-line and/or below-the line CA advertising and/or who
participated in the CA process. Respondents could have been exposed to one or
more components of the campaign.

Above-the-line materials included:

= anything that the respondent may have seen on TV, heard on the radio or
read about in the newspapers which had to do with the CA,

=> the advert which was broadcast both on TV and radio as well as printed in
the newspapers.

=> Constitutional Talk, which was both a programme on TV and a newspaper.
In the TV version it consisted of a panel of experts discussing key issues.
The newspaper version wrote about all the relevant issues pertaining to the
new Constitution.

= one particular issue contained the draft Constitution, complete with
illustrations, cartoons and a mixture of the official languages.

Below-the-line materials included:

= the Mandela Talk-line poster, which depicts the president, dressed formally
outside a private home, holding a cellular phone and saying: "Hello, is that

the Constitutional Talk-line? I would like to make my submissionâ\200\235. It was distributed via newspapers as an insert, printed on good quality poster paper.

= the CA logo which read: â\200\234You have made your mark, now have your sayâ\200\235. Both items were shown to every respondent and they were asked whether

they remember seeing either of them.

Respondents were said to participate in the CA process if they

â\200\224> either attended any meetings organised by their church, club, organisation, society, trade union or the CA,

=> or contacted the CA either telephonically, in writing, through a member of the CA, through the local organisation or by trying to part-take in a television talk-show.

Hence participation was made up of those who had face-to-face contact with the CA process through meetings and/or who contacted the CA in any possible way.

The Constitutional Assembly media campaign as a whole succeeded in reaching a massive 73% of all adult South Africans, equivalent to some 18,5 million people. These were respondents who were exposed to the CA or participated in the CA process. The actual figure can safely be assumed to be higher, since media access increases disproportionately to age, and our sample included only those aged 18 and above.

Above-the-line and below-the line advertising reached over half (52% and 53% respectively) of all respondents, regardless of their media consumption.

14% of the entire sample (n=550) participated in some way in the CA process. Face-to-face participation was 4% higher than personal contact with the CA. People are more likely to attend already organised meetings than to initiate the participation by writing or phoning. This may be explained by the fact that more positive and interactive feed-back from attending meetings results as opposed to making a written submission, for example, where ordinary citizens cannot be sure what happens to their submission as there is no immediate feed-back.

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General Hit-rate (| 73
Above the line (Ml 53
Below the line f2| 52
PanicipationÂ® Sa] 15

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* This category is made up of these who attended CA meetings and/or who contacted the C A personally

Fig. 2: Hit-rate and its components: total and by race, sex, area

It is encouraging to see that differences between race groups, the sexes and residential areas are not large, except in the case of rural respondents, and even then 60% were exposed to the CA campaign. This is partly related to the widespread absence of electricity or other power sources in rural homes and consequent lower TV viewing than elsewhere. It also reflects the very poor distribution of and access to newspapers in the rural areas. According to the above Fig., being a rural dweller is the only real indicator of what the chances are of being reached by a vigorous advertising and awareness-raising campaign.

When looking at participation, however, Africans (and coloureds to a lesser extent) were more active in participating in the CA process than other races.

Africans also recalled having seen below-the-line advertising more frequently than the others. On the other hand, above-the-line advertising reached fewer Africans than other race groups, mainly because TV viewing, radio listening and especially newspaper readership is much lower in African households than in others. This is related to low literacy rates and high proportion of Africans living in rural areas where (as mentioned above) lack of electrical power hinders TV viewing and radio listening.

Exposure to CA materials and involvement with the CA process by women was considerably lower than by men. On every item women scored on average 7% less than men which means that women were 7% less likely to have had any CA exposure than men. This reflects the unequal media access of women, as well as the on-going gender differences which run through our evaluation. |

Media planners need to target programmes for women far more carefully and strategically than is the case at present. More research needs to be conducted into when women listen to the radio, what type of programmes they like listening to and will make them pay attention. It is not enough to assume that disadvantaged people can be easily taught by radio because as we will see later, such assumptions are not supported by the data, quite on the contrary; radio on its own contributes little to knowledge levels when compared to TV or face-to-face interaction, in this case, about the CA.

Unsurprisingly rural dwellers had far less media exposure to the CA than metro residents. However, in terms of participation, rural people were not far behind metro and informal dwellers, indicating that face-to-face interaction or personal contact with the CA was not severely restricted in rural areas. This is a positive finding for the CA indeed since it specifically targeted rural people with its public participation campaign.

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Above tne line | 64 | Â£5 | Â£3 | 49 | 37 99Â°:133. | 530 1-67-1273

Below tne line (>| 62 | â\202~9 | Â£& | 49 | 25 2301 38 1852.1 83: | 60

Panicization Sl 2s 1e-4 48 1. 54 7 4 7 14 20 23

Fig. 3: Hit-rate and components by age and education

As age increases the general hit-rate and its individual components decrease. Conversely, as education levels increase so does the hit-rate. When looking at the overall penetration of the CA media campaign, we found a 27% difference between the youngest and the oldest age cohorts. While as many as 83% of 18-24 year-olds had heard or seen anything about the new Constitution or the CA, only 56% of 50+ year-old could claim the same. The CA needs to find a way of reaching older people for future advertising campaigns.

It has a similar problem with less educated citizens. As education increases, there is a corresponding increase in exposure to CA materials. The difference in exposure to the CA campaign between tertiary level and those

=

with no formal education was as much as 51%: over a third (36%) of those with no formal education, compared with 87% of post-matric educated respondents, were reached by the CA media campaign. This is a serious concern and the CA needs to explore creative ways of overcoming this problem, which was also highlighted in the 1995 C A S E evaluation.

Younger and more educated people not only received more above-the-line and below-the-line advertising but they also participated much more in the CA process. Younger people may have more energy, determination and a vested interest in influencing their future whereas more educated people have the confidence and tools (such as writing) to do it. At the same time, it must be added that younger people were less likely to vote in the local elections in November 1995 than older people. Half (50%) of respondents aged 18-24 years voted compared to 60% of 25-29 year-olds, 58% of 30-39 year-olds and 58% of those aged 40 or above.' This shows that voting is not necessarily an expression of active participation in the CA process and that the relationship between the two is much more complex and difficult to uncover than one might expect at first thought.

At a later stage we asked respondents who did not make a written submission to the CA why that was the case. Some (4%) answered that they cannot write, 13% said that they did not know how and 17% did not think that they knew enough to make a written submission. (The rest reasoned mainly that

they were not interested, had no time or simply could not be bothered.) Clearly, a higher educated person would find it easier to contact the CA personally.

%

CGeneral hit-rate
Above the line
E2Below the line
B&B Participation

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Fig. 4: Hit-rate and components by province

1 See K. Fenyves, D. Everatt and R. Jennings, Bringing Democracy Home; Evaluating the SABCâ\200\231s multi-media voter education campaign for the 1995 community elections: q uantitative results, CAS E, January 1996

The highest hit-rate occurred in Gauteng where a massive 81% of respondents were exposed to or took part in the CA process. As the home of the country's largest and most central metropolis, this was an expected finding. Sophisticated infrastructure offers easy communication which allows for a wide reach by both below-the-line and above-the-line media.

In some provinces, below-the-line advertising had a wider reach than mainstream CA advertising, such as the Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga.

Unlike passive involvement with the CA such as above and below-the-line exposure to adverts, active involvement in the form of participation was not the highest in Gauteng (17%) but in the Free State (23%). Lowest participation could be found in the Western Cape (8%).

41%

(=48% of TV viewers

Mandela poster 34%:
 : : (=38% of radio listeners
 Radio acven 32% : :
 Const. Talk (TV) 25 e ; (=34% of TV viewers
 pire os
 CTÂ° (generic**) 20 %
 Newspaper adven : : (=28% of. newspaper readers
 17% i : :
 CTÂ° (inel. draft C.)% aa %
 0% 10 % 20 % 30 % 40 % 50 % 60 % 70 %

* CT=Constitutional Talk tabloid newspaper
 ** we showed respondents an example of CT

Fig. 5: Hit-rates of the CA media campaign (individual items)

The above figure shows how well the individual Constitutional Assembly advertising items have reached the public. Percentages are calculated firstly within all respondents, and secondly within the consumers of above-the-line media, i.e. TV viewers, radio listeners and newspaper readers. Copies of below-the-line materials, i.e. the Mandela poster and the CA logo, as well as copies of the Constitutional Talk newspapers were shown to each respondent, regardless of their media consumption.

If we look at the component parts of the media campaign, we see that the TV advertisement was the most successful in terms of reach. Almost half (48%) of TV viewers had seen this advert. Considering that 73% of adult South Africans watch TV some of the time, this is a considerable achievement for the

CA. (If we recalculate within the population as a whole - not just TV viewers - 35% of the adult population had seen this advert.)

ABOVE-THE-LINE ADVERTISING

TV demographics

Daily 44%

Monthly 1%

Seldom 12%

Never 27%

Weekly 16%

Fig. 6: How often do you watch TV? (all respondents)

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54 53 26.122

18 16 19 14

1 1 1 is

Seldom/never 46 28 29 54 63

Fig. 7: How often do you watch TV? by race, sex and area

People from different demographic backgrounds did not have an equal chance of having been exposed to the TV advert. This becomes clear when we look at who watches TV. Generally, Africans, informal and rural dwellers, older people and lower-educated respondents watch TV far less frequently than other population groups. For example, 46% of Africans, 54% of informal dwellers, and 63% of people in rural areas seldom or never watch TV.

400%
 75% | "
 50% | "
 25% | "

Da.
 Week:

v
 Seicom/never 32

Fig. 8: How often do you watch TV? by age and education

Similarly, 45% of respondents aged 50 and over, 77% of respondents with no formal education and 63% of primary-school-leavers seldom or never watch TV. This obviously impacts negatively on their awareness of the CA and the new Constitution. It also poses a serious problem for all those who wish to convey a message to the disadvantaged sectors of society using TV.

Fig. 9: How often do you watch TV ? by province

The Western Cape (60%), the Northern Cape (59%) and Gauteng (55%) has relatively high TV viewing rates where well over half the respondents watch TV daily. On the other hand, in the Northern Province and Mpumalanga similar proportions (59% and 56% respectively) seldom or never watch TV. It is in these provinces where residents need to be reached in other ways.

2-3 hours 34%

One or less 24%

Don't know 4%

More than 5 hours 8%

4-5 hours 16%

None 15%

Fig. 10: How many hours of TV did you watch yesterday? (Among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

Be One or less 2-3 hours 4-5 hours More than 5 hours (Don't know) None

Fig. 11: How many hours of TV did you watch yesterday? (Among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample) by province

Whether TV advertising is likely to reach the target audience depends in part on how much TV people watch. For example, we calculated how many TV

viewers did not see the CA advert or Constitutional Talk on TV. Almost half (46%) of TV viewers did not recall having seen one or the other and 28% did not see anything on TV which had to do with the new Constitution or the CA. We see here that South Africans do not watch nearly as much TV as, for example, the American average consumer. In 1992 the A.C. Nielsen Company, which measures audience size, reported that 98.2% of US homes contain at least one television and that the average TV set is turned on for seven hours per day. (Grolier Electronic Publishing, Inc., 1996)

By contrast, in South Africa one quarter (24%) of TV viewers watch one hour or less and a third (34%) 2-3 hours. Within provinces those that have the metropolitan centres in them, i.e. Free State, Gauteng and KwaZulu/Natal have the highest proportion of people who watch 4-5 hours. Surprisingly, respondents in the Western Cape did not seem to watch as much TV as one would have expected, considering that Cape Town is the second largest city in the country.

It is important to note that in non-metropolitan areas, the amount of time a TV set is switched on for depends very much on access to electrical power from a plug. In these areas TVs are usually supplied by battery or generator power which restrict daily viewing to an average of two to four hours.

Saving battery power also restricts swapping channels, which uses more power than leaving the television steadily tuned to just one channel.

Most people in our sample (84%) watch TV at home but a considerable 13% do so at friends' or relatives' places. It highlights the fact that ownership of a TV set is not always necessary equal to TV viewing but that one TV set can entertain or inform more than one household.

Table 1: Preferred TV channels

ca a 29% SABC 1

Ty! 7% SABC 2

M-Net 9% SABC 3

NNTV 1% Can't choose, combination

Bop TV 1%

Yes

0

Unsure ()

No [3

Fig. 12: Have you seen anything on TV about the new Constitution or the CA? by race, sex and area (among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

2 See D. Everatt and T. Samuels: Listening to the audience - a qualitative study of public attitudes to key issues facing the Independent Broadcasting Authority, CC ASE, July 1995

3 The SABC underwent changes at exactly the same time as the survey went into field, changing their channel names to SABC 1,2 and 3 which now incorporates formerly known TV1, CCV and NNTV (which are not equivalent to the new channels. A considerable re-design in programming and formatting occurred at the SABC).

100%

75% | "

50% | "

25% | "

Yes WN 50 52

Unsure]] 12 13

No: . Bs. 239 35

rT 41 {15 30 43 58 67

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Fig. 13: Have you seen anything on TV about the new Constitution or the CA? by age and education (among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of

the sample)

Before asking TV viewers if they had seen the TV advert, we asked them first if they have seen anything on TV about the new Constitution or the CA. Just less than half (49%) answered "yes". The most glaring differences were between men (55%) and women (42%); and the contrast between those with no formal education (14%) and post-matric-educated people (67%). In addition, respondents in metro (52%) and urban (51%) areas were much more likely to

have seen something on TV than informal (37%) and rural (38%) TV viewers.

Yes NY
Not sure (i
No ms

Fig. 14: Have you seen anything on TV about the new Constitution or the CA? by province (among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

The widest exposure to CA materials on TV occurred in the Free State where as many as 62% of all TV viewers had seen something on TV related to the Constitution, contrasted by Northwest where only about a third (36%) of TV viewers had seen something. In the other provinces, apart from KwaZulu/Natal and Gauteng, the proportion of TV viewers who had seen and not seen anything is more or less equal.

K

Fig. 15: Have you seen the CA TV advertisement? by race, sex and area
(among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

100%

75% | "

50% | "

25% | "

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Not sure] 8 11 Teo Letts
No Rl 34 40 a7 if39

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Fig. 16: Have you seen the CA TV advertisement? by age and education (among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

These stark differences became slightly less apparent when we specifically asked about the TV advert, although rural dwellers remained worryingly low with an exposure rate of 39%, while even more clear was the poor position of those with no formal education, only 18% of whom had seen it, compared with 62% of those with post-matric education.

100%

75% | "

50% | "

25% | "

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 Not sure 3] 10 10 15 10 13 15 16 24 20
 No 3} 35 37 39 44 41 39 44 38 42

Fig. 17: Have you seen the CA TV advertisement? by province (among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

Within provinces, the highest proportion of TV viewers who had seen the advert was in Gauteng and KwaZulu/Natal, where over half (55% and 54% respectively) had seen the advert.

Appreciation of and educational role of the TV materials

Saw advert? Like it? Learn from it? Learn something new?

Fig. 18: Exposure and response to TV advert (among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

Most of those who had seen the advert either liked it (64%) or thought that it was OK (28%).

Liked 2
Was OK ()
Disliked Be

Fig. 19: Did you like the TV advert? by race, sex area (among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

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Liked it 0B Â£7
Was OK fi 28 37
B

Didn't like it 5 4 20

Fig. 20: Did you like the TV advert? by age and education (among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

Respondents who disliked it were mainly white (24%) or over 50 years of age (20Â°) compared to the overall of 8% who disliked it. Respondents in Gauteng, the Western Cape and the Free State liked the advert less than people in other

provinces. In these provinces 11%, 12% and 10% respectively did not like the advert.

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UnsureLil 6 13 1
No pel 13 20 29

Fig. 21: Did you learn from the TV advert? by race, sex and area
(among TV viewers who recalled the advert)

Yes Wi 76 79 77 54 74 76 64
Unsure () 5 9 6 3
No pel 17 16 18 36 21 19 33

Fig. 22: Did you learn from the TV advert? by age and education
(among TV viewers who recalled the advert)

Similarly, 62% of whites and 43% of respondents aged 50+ said they did not learn from the advert. TV viewers in Gauteng, Western Cape and Mpumalanga were less likely to have learned from it than people in other provinces. In total, 71% of those who had seen the advert learned something from it, and of those, 72% said that they learned something new. Once again, negative responses to these questions came mainly from whites (62%) and respondents aged 50+ (43%). Within provinces, the lowest proportion of TV viewers who had seen the advert and learnt something new was in the Northern Cape (53%), Gauteng (66%) and the Free State (66%).

Constitutional Talk (TV version)

One of the media items we tested was a programme on TV called

â\200\234Constitutional Talkâ\200\235, which has a panel of experts discussing key issues.

100%

75% | "

50% | "

25% | "

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2 e se > > > ss o> 2 ~
x s ww 2 2 Â© Ss

se Re SS ~Â» & 3 & <

Yes BQ) 3924) 27> | S23 (20 39} 29 37 34-{ 34 | 27
Not sure(i] 10 | 18 | 19 9 9 12 11 10. |. 15Â° |-10
No fe! 51 BS S71 70 Â\$2 | 60 53 Â\$5Â°| Â\$2 4..63

Fig. 23: Did you see Constitutional Talk on TV? by race, sex and area (among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

Yes a 312 1 20
Not sure (J g | 14
&

No 60 | 65

Fig. 24: Did you see Constitutional Talk on TV? by age and education
(among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

A third (34%) of TV viewers recalled having seen it. 19% more Africans (39%) than whites (20%), and 10% more men (39%) than women (29%) had seen part of the series. There was little difference across different areas, interestingly, but the patterns of disadvantage already established among TV viewers emerged again with older and less educated TV viewers were much less likely to have seen this programme. Within provinces the highest rate of exposure occurred in the Free State (40% of TV viewers had seen it) and the lowest in Mpumalanga and Northern Cape, where 64% of TV viewers could not recall having seen the programme.

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20% |â\200\235 Ã© Hy

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Saw programme? Like it? Learn from it? Learn something new?

Fig. 25: Exposure and response to Constitutional Talk on TV (among TV viewers, i.e. 73% of the sample)

Of those who had seen Constitutional Talk on TV, 70% liked it, a very positive result for the programme producers and the CA.

Within this overall figure there are considerable differences: for example, only a third (33%) of whites liked it. Importantly, rural dwellers liked it the most (85%) and urban and informal dwellers the least (64%). There were no large differences within provinces, although TV viewers in Gauteng (66%), Western Cape (60%), Free State (61%) and KwaZulu/Natal (66%) liked it less than others, where figures were in the 70s (%) and 80s (%). Of those who had seen Constitutional Talk on TV, 76% said that they learned from it (only 38% of whites); of those, fully 82% reported learning something new. The highest proportion of respondents who learned from it was in Northwest (88%), Northern province (86%), Mpumalanga (84%) and the Eastern Cape (82%) and those who learned something new were mainly from Northern Province (92%) and Mpumalanga (93%).

Radio demographics

Never 17%

Daily 52%

Seldom 16%

rd c

wegenhy 34% Monthly 1%

Fig. 26: How often do you listen to the radio? (all respondents)

More than half (52%) of all adult South Africans listen to the radio and a third (33%) seldom or never listen.

100%

75% | "

50% | "

25% "

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56 \$5 50

12 13 15

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32 32 34

Seldom/never 34

Fig. 27: How often do you listen to the radio? (all respondents by race, sex and area)

aA

Daily oi
Weekly &
Monthly B
Seicom/never

Fig. 28: How often do you listen to the radio? (all respondents by age and education)

The differences between the races, sexes, areas and age groups are much

smaller for radio listenership than that for TV. However, it is still whites who listen to the radio most frequently. Slightly more women (3%) than men listen to it daily while in the rural areas radio listenership is lowest. This will affect the chances of hearing CA-related materials on the radio. Within provinces, the lowest rate of radio listenership is in Mpumalanga and Northern Cape where almost half (47%) of people seldom or never listen to the radio). In all the other provinces daily listenership is even, at 53% on average.

2-3 hours 27%

One or less 23%

than 5 hours 8%

None 16%

Whole day 11%

4-5 hours 14%

Fig. 29: For how many hours did you listen to the radio yesterday?
(among radio listeners, i.e. 82% of the sample)

One or less 2-3 hours {14-5 hours More than 5 hours } Whole day [None

Fig: 30: For how many hours did you listen to the radio yesterday? by
province (among radio listeners, i.e. 82% of the sample)

It appears that radio listeners spend more time listening to the radio than TV
viewers watch TV. This could account for the fact that 5% fewer radio listeners
(40%) could not recall the CA advert than TV viewers (46%) who did not

remember having seen the advert. On the other hand, more radio listeners (34%) than TV viewers (28%) said that they did not hear on radio anything to do with the new Constitution or the CA.

One in ten people (11%) listen to the radio the whole day. Radio listening does not require singly-focused attention like TV viewing does. People can do other things while listening, which they do: As many as a third (31%) of radio listeners do household chores, including child care and cooking, 13% work, 6% travel, 5% read and 4 % socialise, leaving 40% to pay undivided attention to the radio. This of course affects the accuracy and frequency with which radio messages are recalled.

Radio listeners in general seem to have a favourite radio station: over half (54%) of them never (37%) or hardly ever (17%) change their preferred station. A further 17% said that they change it once a day and 15% said that they do so twice during the day.

Table 2: Main radio stations listened to:

&

Radio station % Radio station

Radio 2000 Radio South Africa

5Fm Radio SAfm

Radio 702 Radio Setswana Radio

Radio Bop/Ciskei Radio Sotho/Sesotho

Radio Good Hope Radio Swazi

Radio Lebowa Radio Thohoyandu

Radio Lesotho Radio Transkei

Radio Lotus Radio Venda

Radio Metro Radio Xhosa

Radio Mabathu Zulu Radio

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Radio Ndebele Community stations

NPD] WI] WO] ef â\200\224RH|n] Bd] do] BY] Ww

Radio Oranje

Radio materials

The radio advertisement was near-identical (in format) to the one broadcast on TV but it reached only 38% of radio listeners. However, radio has a higher reach than TV, i.e. 82% of the population over 18 years of age listens to the radio some of the time. Thus, while the radio advert seems less successful than the TV advert, it was nevertheless heard by almost a third (32%) of the population as a whole (compared with the 35% who saw the TV advert).

Fig. 31: Have you heard anything on radio about the new Constitution or the CA? by race, sex and area (among radio listeners, i.e. 82% of the sample)

There were programmes on the radio, other than the advert, and we wanted to find out if respondents had heard anything on the radio to do with the new Constitution or the CA. 44% of all radio listeners answered "yes". With in the demographic groupings, there was not much difference between the races and the different areas. However, 8% more men (47%) than women (39%) had heard something, 14% more younger people aged 18-24 (49%) than older people aged 50 or over (35%) had heard something to do with the new Constitution.

100%

75% | "

59% i

25% | "

Yes El 49 | 46 | 46 | 40 | 35 6212281. 42 42 42 | 42 42 42
Not sure ([j | 14 17 sar 47 17 z1 18 17 13 10
No pel 37 | 37 | 40 | 43 | 48 60 | 53 { | 41 34 | 29

Fig. 32: Have you heard anything on radio about the new Constitution or the CA? by age and education (among radio listeners, i.e. 82% of the sample)

The most apparent difference was again within the different educational categories: only 18% of those with no formal education compared to 61% of post-matriculants had heard anything on the radio about the new Constitution, with gradual increases in exposure as education levels increase from nothing to std. 10.

Yes GB
 Not sure (|
 No Rg

Fig. 33: Have you heard anything on radio about the new Constitution or the CA? by province (among radio listeners, i.e. 82% of the sample)

The provinces where there was most exposure to the radio advert were Northern Province (52%), Gauteng (47%), Free State (49%), Northern Cape (45%) and KwaZulw/Natal (46%). In Northwest and Mpumalanga, over half of radio listeners did not hear anything on the radio connected to the new Constitution.

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Yes = 42 | 36 420 | 36 40 36
 1

Not sure 17 â\200\230 13 13 13 14
 No [=] 47 | 50 47 53

Fig. 34: Have you heard the CA radio advert? by race, sex and area
(among radio listeners, i.e. 82% of the sample)

100%
 75% | "
 50% | "
 25% | "

0%

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 Yes | 46 41 41 36 26 {519 31 38 44 | 46
 Not sure[]] 12 13 12 12 17 | 18 14 14 ae
 No P | 42 46 47 Â£2 58 | 64 56 48 45 | 43

Fig. 35: Have you heard the CA radio advert? by age and education
 (among radio listeners, i.e. 82% of the sample)

Similar patterns exist among those who heard the CA radio advert. For example, 46% of 18-24 year-olds, compared to 26% of 50+ year-olds, had heard it. A fifth (19%) of those with no education had heard it, contrasting with almost half (46%) of those with post-matric. 42% of Africans compared to only 26% of whites had heard it. Within provinces, highest exposure rate was in Gauteng (44%), Northern Province (43%) and KwaZulu/Natal (46%), and the lowest in Northwest (60% of radio listeners could not recall the advert), Eastern Cape (58% said no) and Mpumalanga (57% said no).

Heard advert? Like it? Learn from it? Learn something new?

Fig. 36: Exposure and response to the CA radio advert (among radio listeners, i.e. 82% of the sample)

Of the 38% of radio listeners who had heard the radio advert, 70% liked it, 25% thought that it was 'OK', and only 5% disliked it. Whites liked it a lot less than the others (26% of them said they did not like it, compared to only 3% of Africans). Older people (over 50) liked it slightly less than the other age groups. Within provinces there were no big differences in the popularity of the advert.

Of those who heard the radio advertisement, 74% learned from it. The only clear difference here was among race where 26% of whites reported learning nothing from it. More educated people did not learn as much as lower-educated people. Provinces where respondents were more likely not to have learnt as much from it as others were Gauteng (25% did not learn), Western Cape (28%) and Northern Cape (20%).

Importantly, of the 74% who learned something from the advert, 81% said that what they learned was new to them. Here again, white and more educated people were less likely to have learned something new (49% of whites and 27% of tertiary-educated respondents said that they knew it already). In the Free State 30% of respondents said the same compared to an average figure of 16% in other provinces.

Newspaper demographics

Never 39%

Weekly 23%

Monthly 3%

Daily 16%

Seldom 19%

Fig. 37: How often do you read newspapers? (all respondents)

The newspaper advert did less well than the others, mainly because not many South African read newspapers regularly. 39% of the population never reads them and only 16% read them daily.

100%

75%) "

25%| "

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Daily (HATE b 23Â° [F330 1236 22 | 10 ES Cs ee 5

Weekly 20 | 29 | 36 | 33 25Â°}. 21 26)... 278-20: | 96

Monthly fal 3 2 1 1 3 3 2 3 2 4

Selcom/never BA] 66 | 47 | 30 | 30 50 | 66 49 | 53 { 71 | 75

Fig. 38: How often do you read newspapers? (all respondents by race, sex and area)

Daily

0

Weekly &

B

&

Monthly

Seldom/never

Fig. 39: How often do you read newspapers? (all respondents by age and education)

It is mainly Africans (66%), women (66%), and informal (71%) and rural (75%) dwellers who seldom or never read newspapers. Non-readers are also likely to be older people (60% of 40-49 year-olds and 64% of 50+ year-olds), and poorly educated (all those with no education, 85% of primary-school educated and 59% with Std. 8 seldom or never read newspapers).

The lowest newspaper readership is in Mpumalanga, where three quarters (75%) of respondents seldom or never read newspapers, followed by Northern Province (67%), Eastern Cape (65%), Northwest (61%), and Free State (61%). In KwaZulu-Natal, 58% seldom or never read newspapers, 50% in Northern Cape, 49% in Gauteng and 49% in the Western Cape.

Table 3: Main newspapers read*

The Argus 4% Ilanga 9%

Beeld 4% Rapport 4%

City Press 5% Sowetan 28%

The Citizen 6% The Star (daily) 4%

Daily Dispatch 6% Other 6%

Die Burger 4%

4 Only newspapers whose readership was 4% or more are included here.

Seen poster? Like it? Learn from it? Learn something new?

The CA has produced a host of posters: we used one and asked if respondents had seen this poster or one like it.

Fig. 40: Exposure and response to newspaper advert (all respondents)

These adverts appeared in newspapers as posters. We showed respondents who were newspaper readers a copy of these poster. Only 18% of the whole sample said that they recognised it. Even within newspaper readers, however, the figure of 28% is still low. However, figures increased once we asked if respondents had seen anything in the newspapers about the new Constitution.

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XS Ã© > Y

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Yes 2 41 54 54 41 49 52 46 43

Not sure {} 20 21 15 19 20 20 16 28 20

No RB 34 29 30 27 38 31 31 30 37

Fig. 41: Have you seen anything in the newspaper about the new Constitution or the CA? by race, sex and area (among newspaper readers, i.e. 61% of the sample)

Yes a
Not sure {}
No mR

Fig. 42: Have you seen anything in the newspaper about the new Constitution or the CA? by age and education (among newspaper readers, i.e. 61% of the sample)

Almost half (49%) of newspaper readers answered "yes", with more men than women and with more educated people than uneducated ones answering positively. Within provinces, newspaper readers in the Free State (53%), Northern Province (57%) and Mpumalanga (56%) were more likely to have seen anything than newspaper readers in other provinces. The lowest exposure rate was in the Eastern Cape (39%).

Interestingly, newspapers were a successful medium in carrying CA adverts and information because only 20% of newspaper reader could not recall having seen anything in the newspapers about the new Constitution, compared to 28% of TV viewers and 34% of radio listeners who said the same. When asked about the advert in particular, 38% of them said that they could not recall it, compared to 40% of radio listeners and 46% of TV viewers who did not hear or see the CA advert. Clearly more direct attention is paid to newspaper adverts because there is a conscious choice to read it and become actively involved with it compared to radio and TV where a more passive absorption of messages occurs.

100%

75% *:

50% |"

25%]

Yes fAl 31 33 4.39 25 15 7 19 | 24 30 35
Don't know [j] 10 ee a) 8 1 15 ee eS 9 12
No Bl Â\$9 61 | 61 â\202¬5 72 78 72-62 61 Â\$3

Fig. 43: Have you seen an advert like this one in the newspaper? by age and education (among newspaper readers, i.e. 61% of the sample)

There were no striking differences within the demographic groupings in terms of exposure to the advert, except for education, where once again there was an increase in recall as education levels increased, probably because more educated people read more newspapers and thereby increase their chances of seeing the advert. Within race groups, more Africans (30%) than whites (19%) had seen it, which is surprising, since 36% more whites read newspapers (see Fig. 37). Also, more men (30%) than women (25%) were exposed to the poster. Across provinces, exposure rate was more or less equal, the highest being in KwaZulu/Natal, Northern Province and Free State (all 29%).

Of those who had seen the poster, 60% liked it, 63% learned from it, and of the latter, 77% learned something new. White, older (50+) and Northern Cape residents liked it less than the others. Similarly, more whites, older (50+) and those with no formal education did not learn anything from the advert than other demographic groupings. Respondents in Mpumalanga and Northwest were more likely to say that they did not learn anything from the advert than respondents in other provinces. When asked if they learned something new, whites, people aged 40+ and tertiary-educated respondents were more likely to have said that they knew it already than others.

Seen C7? Like it? Read all or some? Learn? Learn something new?

Fig. 44: Exposure and response to Constitutional Talk (newspaper version, all respondents)

We showed all respondents a copy of the Constitutional Talk tabloid newspaper which included the draft Constitution, but did not open it and asked them if they had ever seen a copy of Constitutional Talk before (which could be the version they were shown, or any other). A fifth (20%) of the sample had seen it, a 5% increase in circulation over the figures from the 1995 survey.

More Africans (22%) than other race groups (particularly whites at 13%) had seen it, as well as more men (24%) than women (17%).

Of those who had seen it, overall 60% liked it (true of only 19% of whites). There was an 18% difference between metro (57%) and informal (75%) dwellers who said they liked it. Older and more educated people did not like it that much.

Almost two-thirds (63%) of those who had seen it learned something from it. Of those who learned from it, 77% said that they learned new things. (Cell sizes were too small to establish differences within demographic groupings.)

Constitutional Talk edition including draft Constitution

After answering questions about Constitutional Talk generally, interviewers then gave each respondent a copy of the tabloid (which was left with them at the end of the interview) to look at for a few moments. They were then asked a similar set of questions, pertaining to the specific edition including the draft Constitution. Of those who had seen it (17% of the sample), 62% liked it, 77%

read all or some of it, 61% learned something, and 81% learned something new. 72% liked the cartoons used in conjunction with the text, and a further three-quarters (75%) liked the mixture of languages. (Cell sizes were too small to establish differences within demographic groupings.)

/ 6% of respondents (n=223) did not access mainstream media, i.e. they never watch TV, never listen to the radio and never read newspapers.

/ Of these 6% the great majority were African (97%), female (59%) and living in rural areas (69%). ;

/ Within educational categories, these 6% were mainly made up of respondents with no formal education (32%) and primary school education (47%). Thus, of those who did not access mainstream media, 79% were not educated beyond Std. 5.

/ Half of the respondents (50%) who did not receive above-the-line media were over the age of 40: 18% were 40-49 and 32% were 50+.

/ The highest proportion of respondents who did not access mainstream media were in Mpumalanga (13%) and Northern Province (12%), followed by North-West Province (9%).

Fig. 45: Respondents with no access to above-the-line media

BELOW-THE-LINE ADVERTISING

The CA logo

The second most successful item was the CA logo, which read: "You have

made your mark, now have your say", and which was shown to all respondents. 41% of all South Africans have seen this logo somewhere, equivalent to some

10,4 million people.

Yes NS
Not sure [4
No mR

Fig. 46: Have you seen â\200\230You made your mark, now have your sayâ\200\231 CA
logo? by province

Yes FA
Not sure {}
No me

Fig. 47: Have you seen "You made your mark, now have your say" CA logo? by age and education

Similar to the other items, older and low-educated people were least likely to have seen it, although the curve of the graph for age and education is not nearly as steep as that for the above-the line TV advert. Exposure in KwaZulu/Natal,

of

Eastern Cape, Gauteng and Northern Cape was considerably higher than in Northwest. More Africans than whites, more men than women and more metro, rural and informal than rural people have seen it.

The Mandela Talk-Line poster

The Mandela poster was another successful item, reaching 34% of all

respondents. More than half (53%) of newspaper readers had seen it.

100%
75% | "
50% | "
25% | "

Yes cel 26134 120 1 78 | | 25 | 28 | 27 | 25 1 38 | 27
Unsurel | 6 7 5425.4 | 5 6 {26-18 6
No. gl 67 | 60 1 #7 195 1 , 65 | 66 | Â\$7 1 60 | \$4 | â\202¬7

Fig. 48: Have you seen this Mandela poster before? by race, sex and area (all respondents)

109%
50% | "
25% | "

0%
Âç
ef
Yes WN] 17 26 32 31 38 44 33 36 42
Not surets | 4 5 4 8 3 3 1 9 17

No &} 79 69 64 61 59 56 56 \$5 42

Fig. 49: Have you seen this Mandela poster before? by province (all respondents)

= 38

Whites, women, rural dwellers, older people and those with low education were much less likely to have seen it than others. Of those, whites enjoy regular newspaper access, and we can only conclude that recall was affected by their general lack of interest in (and, for some, hostility to) the Constitution-writing process. Similar to the logo, high exposure provinces were KwaZulu/Natal and Northern Cape. Mpumalanga had the lowest exposure rate.

THE OVERALL IMPACT OF THE CA MEDIA CAMPAIGN

We asked respondents who had been exposed to one or more components of the CA media campaign to assess whether exposure to the campaign had increased their knowledge about the new Constitution or not. The results below are self-reported increases in knowledge; no testing was undertaken to establish their accuracy.

NB: 73% of total sample were reached by CA media campaign

Fig. 50: Did the media you saw/heard teach you anything about the new Constitution? by total, race, sex and area

In response to the question, over half (57%) said that the campaign had increased their knowledge; over a quarter (28%) said that their knowledge had been increased a lot.

A notable success here is among rural dwellers, 59% of whom reported that their knowledge had been increased, compared with 53% of those living in small towns, 56% in informal areas and 58% in metropolitan areas. Equally importantly, there were no significant differences between men and women on the issue.

On the negative side, whites (and coloureds to a lesser extent) responded more negatively to this question than Africans and Indians. Previous CASE research⁵ has shown that whites (and coloureds) are uncertain about the political changes taking place, and this colours their attitude towards any political issue and sets the frame of mind with which any politically-orientated information will be received. The C A S E evaluation of the SABC multi-media voter education campaign for the 1995 community elections, for example, found high levels of hostility to voter education messages, deriving from feelings of insecurity and fear regarding the outcome of the elections themselves. This may explain why the majority of white respondents did not think that the CA media campaign taught them anything.

Ab) VEG Ras Oe : he aan ar ee Â°
 we ee ae Â© Sr Pe â\200\235 cs
 S 5 Â» ~ 3 < s +
 g Ss
 yd

Fig. 51: Did the media you saw/heard teach you anything about the new Constitution? by age and education

We also found that younger people were more likely to have learned something from the CA campaign than their elders. Two-thirds (67%) of 18-24 year-olds said that the materials taught them something, compared to only 45% of people aged 50+, a difference of 22%.

Lower-educated respondents learned less than higher-educated ones, possibly because some of the CA messages were complicated and difficult to conceptualise from brief media inserts, without an educational background, and

⁵ See K. Fenyves and D. Everatt, Evaluating the SABC voter education campaign for the 1995 Community Elections, CAS E, 1995; and K. Fenyves, D. Everatt and R. Jennings, Bringing Democracy Home; CASE, January 1996

without face-to-face methods being used. The use of face-to-face methods by the CA is of course a very positive factor in this regard.

KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge was a construct of the following variables or questions:

=<
=
Have you heard of the CA? (the correct answer was yes, including those who answered positively after being prompted),
What is the CA doing? (correct answers: drawing up a new Constitution for South Africa, it makes laws, and it is getting people's views on important issues),
How can people take part in the process of drawing up the new Constitution? (correct answers: contact local organisation, write, phone, use the Internet, phone Talk-line, raise it with local organisation, contact member of the CA, contact political representative, attend local forum/meeting/workshop, and local authority),
Did you know people could make demands and send them to the CA? (correct answer: yes),
Who is the chairperson? (correct answer: Cyril Ramaphosa),
When will the CA writing process be finished? (correct answer: May-June 1996),
Who is the CA? (members of political parties, law makers, some of the above), and
Can you still make a demand? (closing date was 21 February. The interviews took place between 11 February and 20 March. We recoded answers according to this dead-line, splitting up correct and incorrect answers, depending on when the interview took place. Therefore, respondents who were interviewed on or before 21 February scored correctly if they answered yes and those who were interviewed after 21 February scored a correct point if they answered no. Conversely, those who answered no before the deadline scored incorrectly as well as those who said yes after the dead-line.

In all, there were 17 items to score from and the table below shows the

frequency of respondents' correct scores as well as the percentage of correct scores.

Table 4: Knowledge scores and frequencies

Value (score)'	Frequency	Validpercent	Cumulative
----------------	-----------	--------------	------------

se : percent			
0 675	17.8	17.8	
1 594	15.6	33.4	
2 464	22	45.6	
3 411	10.8	56.4	
4 426	11.2	67.6	
5 348	9.2	76.8	
6 333	8.8	85.6	
7 248	6.5	92.1	
8 145	3.8	95.9	
9 72 iy		97.8	
10 32 8		98.6	
11 25 ft		99.3	
12 6 2		99.4	
13 7 2		99.6	
14 : 2		99.9	
15 3 a		99.9	
16 3 Al		100	
17 0			

To make analysis meaningful, we grouped these scores into 2 categories: those who scored 0 (or the control group) and the others. The latter was divided into 3 groups, according to the cumulative percentage, so that each of the 3 groups would have more or less a third (27% of respondents) of the 82% who scored 1 or more out of 17. No one scored full points. The rest is shown in the table

below:

Table 5: Knowledge scores grouped into low, medium and high

Value	Description	Frequency	Valid	Cumulative
percent	percent			
0	none/ control	675	17.8	17.8
1	low= 1 or 2 out of 17	1059	27.9	33.4
2	medium= 3, 4 or 5 out of 17	1185	30.2	45.6
3	high= 6 or more out of 17	882	22.6	56.4

Just under a fifth (18%) of respondents did not answer any of the questions correctly. We refer to them as the control group, to whom the others can be compared. This group reflects yet again those demographic characteristics which are likely to term someone disadvantaged, i.e. Africans, women,

residence in rural areas, and particularly in the Eastern Cape, older people and with low levels of education.

Of these 18% who could not answer any of the questions correctly, 82% were African, (12% coloured), 59% were women, 53% live in rural areas, 21% in the Eastern Cape, 18% in KwaZulu/Natal (as compared to for example 8% in Northern Province, 3% in Northern Cape or 6% in the free State). Just under half (48%) of them are aged 40 or more and 21% had no formal education, with a further 39% who had only primary school education, adding up to 59%. An obvious indicator of being disadvantaged is income and our findings confirm this: of those who could not answer any of the questions correctly, 37% had no regular income, and 36% earned between R200-R899 a month, (which is below the accepted level of minimum income of R900), while 27% were unemployed and a further 15% retired. In the demographic section we asked people if they earned money in any way and if they did not, what they did instead.

Often income is not an accurate measure since many people find this an embarrassing question, hence reliability is questionable. Instead, we take power supply, access to a telephone and source of household water as alternative indicators. Of the respondents who did not score any point in the knowledge questions, almost half (46%) had no power at all, two-thirds (66%) had a telephone far away or no telephone at all, and three-quarters (75%) do not have a tap inside their dwelling.

We looked at the media consumption patterns of these respondents and found that 86% of them seldom or never read newspapers, 63% seldom or never watch TV, and 48% seldom or never listen to the radio, while 14% of them did not access either of these mainstream media. Looking specifically at the CA media campaign, we found that 71% of them had not seen any below-the-line adverts and an even higher 86% had not seen any of the CA above-the-line adverts. This latter includes 97% who did not see the newspaper advert, 93% who did not hear the radio adverts, and 92% who did not see the TV advert or Constitutional Talk on TV. Interestingly, there were 14 respondents who said that they participated in some way (by contacting the CA or by attending meetings) but who scored 0 in the knowledge section. When we calculated how many of these 0-point knowledge respondents were exposed to any CA materials (i.e. the hit-rate), we found that 60% of them did not get any of the CA materials. We can conclude that overall, the media items and the campaign as a whole was largely responsible for the high knowledge rates and was thus a success.

Almost a third (28% and 31%) of respondents gave up to 5 correct answers to our questions, and just under a quarter (23%) were classified as high knowledge respondents who knew the correct answers to 6 or more of the 17 items. These are relative categories, i.e. those who scored 6 out of 17 would in percentage terms receive only 35% which is not high in absolute

terms. However, compared to the others they knew much more and were thus classified as the high knowledge group.

100%

50% | "

25% | "

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KS

High knowiecge (jl 23 | 16 | 17 | 27 31 | 16 \$1-)9237 (823. [213

Medium knowledge W/ 28 | 28 | 47 | 47 \$4(-31 25 | 38 | 28 | 23

Low knowledge Bal 29 | 39 | 24 | 22 2332 [255 2801529"). 33

None â\200\230control bol 20Â°) 28 4513-7 5 1521-21 PS stay ae S34

Fig. 52: Knowledge by race, sex and area

Coloureds knew the least according to this knowledge test, followed by Africans. More than a quarter (26%) of coloureds did not answer any of the questions correctly, compared to only 5% whites, 13% Indians and 20% Africans.

However, almost a quarter (23%) of Africans scored high which is considerably higher than the Indian or coloured groups, but somewhat lower than whites (27%). More Africans and coloureds scored low than whites and Indians, who in turn fell mostly into the medium category.

Men seemed to have a much higher level of knowledge than women and this is a concern which the CA should address.

Similarly, rural people scored the lowest when compared to others, followed by informal dwellers. Very few (9%) metropolitan residents scored zero but almost a third (31%) of rural dwellers did.

High knowledge
Medium knowlecce |,
Low knowlecge
None/centrol

Fig. 53: Knowledge by age and education

There is hardly a difference in the level of knowledge among the first 3 age cohorts (18-24, 25-29, 30-39). For those aged 40 and over, knowledge levels

drop as shown above: more than a quarter of respondents aged 50+ did not know any correct answers and only 17% scored high, same as the 40-49 year-olds.

Education seems to be the key to understanding levels of knowledge (in addition to the CA campaign). More than half (53%) of those with no formal education and a third (33%) of those with only primary school education scored 0. Hardly anyone from these 2 educational groups scored 6 or more out of 17.

As education levels increase, so do levels of knowledge. Almost half (47%) of those who are educated beyond matric reached high levels of knowledge. Not only is it easy for higher-educated people to absorb and internalise written or spoken messages, they also tend to have the necessary foundation allowing them to be receptive to educational messages.

100%

75% | "

50% | " :

25% | "

~

High knowlecse Lil 16 26 | 26 11 26 22 22 2:

Medium knowlecge (jj 24 24 | 28 30 29 37 33 35

Low knowiedse Pal 281 23.529 23 24 24 27 35 25

None/control Bal e2ialicer | 227 25 21 17 17 16 6

Fig. 54: Knowledge by province

High knowledge was characteristic in Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Western Cape and Gauteng where over a quarter of respondents scored â\200\230highâ\200\231. At the same time, it was also in the Eastern Cape and Northern Cape where high proportions of â\200\234no knowledgeâ\200\235 occurred. It reflects the different types of people with different access to media messages in these provinces. Unsurprisingly, Gauteng knew the most judging from the low (6%) percentage of respondents who scored 0 in this province.

100%

75%"

50% | "

25% | "

0%

Low
None/control

* Those who access above the line media but did not see or hear CA information.

Fig. 55: Knowledge by exposure to CA materials

We crosstabulated levels of knowledge with the various ways a respondent could have been exposed to or got involved with the CA. The "total" pillar shows levels of knowledge among everybody, regardless of what they have been exposed to.

The "hit-rate" column shows how any exposure to or involvement with the CA influences knowledge.

It is interesting to note that above-the-line CA advertisements, including TV talk shows, as well as below-the-line CA adverts have a better effect on knowledge individually than the general hit-rate where everything is combined.

Above-the-line advertising did better than below-the-line: fewer respondents who received above-the-line scored 0 than those who got below-the-line.

The pillar which looks like the odd one out describes the relationship between levels of knowledge and those who received above-the-line media but who did not recall having seen, heard or read any information about the CA, including the adverts. Consequently their level of knowledge is much lower overall than of those who did receive CA information one way or another. It shows that the CA public awareness campaign was very effective indeed in increasing knowledge about the CA and the new Constitution.

As our findings confirm time and time again, there is no better way of educating people than by personal contact such as "face-to-face" meetings and "contact", which involves a personal effort and commitment to get in touch with the CA, such as phoning in, submitting written demands, contacting a person from the CA, trying to take part in TV talk shows and so on.

B=below-the-line; R=radio; TV=television; P=participation (made up of F - face-to-face - and C - contact); N=newspaper. B, N, R and TV refer to the specific activities

Fig. 56: Mean knowledge of the New Constitution and the CA

This Fig. shows how successful or unsuccessful different combinations of the CA public participation campaign and exposure to adverts in the different mediums were. The original 17 categories/possible scores of knowledge were reduced to 10, combining scores or values 9–17 to one category, giving a sum of 85 respondents in the highest, or tenth category. The table below shows the frequencies for each combination, emphasising that cell sizes were large enough to make meaningful comparisons, thanks to the large sample size of 3 801. It must be noted that categories were constructed by adding those who were exposed all of the particular combinations, i.e. R+N+B refers to a respondent who saw the radio and newspaper adverts, and who recalled having seen one or both of the below-the-line adverts.

Table 6: Media synergy: frequencies for each combination

Combinations	Frequency (n)	Combinations	Frequency (n)
None	B+P 425		
B	1982	R+P	325
R	1202	R+N+B	313
TV	1576	TV+P	378
R+B	830	TV+N+B	399
TV+B	1073	TV+R+N	303
INS	i	TV*R*P	254
N	667	R+B+P	265
E	550	TV+B+P	310
TV+R+B	574	TV+R+B+P	zis
F	406	TV+R+N+P	138
C	274	R+N+B+P	143
R+N	380	All	125

As expected, those who got nothing did the worst and those who got everything scored the highest, closely followed by those who received a combination of the radio and newspaper adverts, below-the-line and participation. As well as those who received a combination of TV, radio and newspaper adverts as well as who participated.

It is interesting to note that a combination of radio, TV and newspaper advertising is still less effective in terms of imparting knowledge than face-to-face meetings or personal contact with the CA on its own.

On the right hand side there is a relatively sharp increase in the mean scores, jumping from TV+R+P+B (fourth from the right) to the next three. The added medium is newspaper and we can see that the newspaper advertising has been very effective indeed.

â\200\234Synergyâ\200\235 seems to be operating in the survey sample: as we look across the Fig. from left to right, so scores increase roughly in tandem with increasing

hie 48

combinations of different media. Importantly, the sharp increases visible in the pillars on the left hand side of the Fig. do not appear on the right hand side, where differences are more slight. This suggests that â\200\234synergyâ\200\235 may operate on the basis of diminishing returns once three or more media are being accessed on a particular topic.

To analyse â\200\234synergyâ\200\235 in detail, frequency of flighting, subject matter, format, language and similar topics would need to be taken into account. What we see here is a rough construction of the relationship between multi-media exposure and rising knowledge levels on a given topic. It nonetheless seems to suggest that a clear relationship does exist between the number of exposures to a message through different forms of media, and the amount of knowledge learned about various angles of the topic at hand, namely the CA process.

EXPOSURE TO DRAFT CONSTITUTION

There were two questions pertaining to exposure to the draft constitution. In the first we asked respondents if they had seen a copy of Constitutional Talk which contained the draft Constitution and if so, which sections they read. (Answers other than â\200\230nothingâ\200\231 were counted as positive.) The second question stood on its own and simply asked â\200\234have you seen a copy of the working draft of the new Constitution?â\200\235 Of those who answered yes, we asked them if they have read it. Positive answers from both questions were combined to give a result of 561 respondents, which is 15% of the sample.

Of these 15%, the great majority (86%) were African, 5% coloured, 2% Indian and 7% white. It clearly reflects that Africans have a greater interest in the future of this country than any of the other races. In gender terms, it is men who are more interested: almost two-thirds (65%) of those who had read some of the draft Constitution were men and a third (35%) women. Within provinces, interested respondents were mainly from, Gauteng (31%), KwaZulu/Natal (21%), Eastern Cape (15%) and Northern Province (11%). In all other provinces percentages were a single figure. In more broader terms, of those who read the draft Constitution, nearly half (48%) live in metropolitan areas, nearly a quarter (23%) in rural areas, 19% in urban areas and only 9% in informal areas.

Within educational categories we find that of those who read the draft Constitution were not the most educated ones, i.e. those with post-matric education (17%). Rather, they were secondary school-leavers: almost half (47%) of them completed matric and almost a third (29%) had std. 8. The reason tertiary-educated people had such low relative percentage is that tertiary education is still enjoyed much more by non-Africans, and, as mentioned above, of those who read some of the draft Constitution, 86% were African.

