

WSP/053/0004/1



Attitudes toward the South African Political Economy

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SURVEY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY

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Card 1 1
2-6Question 1

Below is a thermometer scale ranging from 0 - 100 degrees centigrade. A rating of 0 means a very cold feeling, 50 represents a neutral point, and 100 is a very warm feeling, as follows :

- 100 Very warm or very favourable feeling
- 85 Warm or favourable feeling
- 70 Fairly warm or fairly favourable feeling
- 60 Slightly warm or slightly favourable feeling
- 50 No feeling at all
- 40 Slightly cold or slightly unfavourable feeling
- 30 Fairly cold or fairly unfavourable feeling
- 15 Cold or unfavourable feeling
- 0 Very cold or very unfavourable feeling

Please indicate (by placing any number between 0 and 100 in the spaces provided) how warm or how cold you personally feel toward EACH of the following ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS :

The Urban Foundation	....	07-09
The International Monetary Fund (IMF)	....	10-12
Southern African Development and Coordination Committee (SADCC)	....	13-15
British Petroleum	....	16-18
Anglo-American Corporation	....	19-21
The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)	....	22-24
South African Customs Union	....	25-27
Development Bank of Southern Africa	....	28-30
The Old Mutual	....	31-33

Question 1 - continued....

The World Bank (IBRD)	....	34-36
Siemens	....	37-39
Johannesburg Stock Exchange	....	40-42
Preferential Trade Agreement for Southern and Eastern Africa (PTA) set up by the Organization of African Unity	....	43-45
Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)	....	46-48
Standard Bank	....	49-51
The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC)	....	52-54
The United Nations Committee on Tariffs and Trade (UNCTAD)	....	55-57
SANLAM	58-60
South African Council of Business (SACOB)	61-63
Barlow Rand	64-66

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Question 2

Various countries can be thought of as representing different MODELS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. Once again using the feeling thermometer scale of question 1, please indicate (by placing any number between 0 and 100 in the spaces provided) how warm or how cold you personally feel toward THE CURRENT POLITICAL-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES of EACH of the following COUNTRIES :

Angola	....	7- 9
Botswana	....	10-12
Brazil	....	13-15
China	....	16-18

Question 2 - continued....

Cuba	....	19-21
Ethiopia	....	22-24
Germany	....	25-27
India	....	28-30
Japan	....	31-33
Kenya	....	34-36
Namibia	....	37-39
Nigeria	....	40-42
Singapore	....	43-45
South Africa	....	46-48
South Korea	....	49-51
Soviet Union	....	52-54
Swaziland	....	55-57
Sweden	....	58-60
Taiwan (ROC)	....	61-63
United Kingdom	....	64-66
United States	....	67-69
Zambia	....	70-72
Zimbabwe	....	73-75

Question 3

Again using the feeling thermometer scale of question 1, please indicate (by placing any number between 0 and 100 in the spaces provided) how warm or how cold you personally feel toward EACH of the following POLITICAL PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS :

African National Congress (ANC)	....	07-09
Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)	....	10-12
Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO)	....	13-15
Conservative Party (CP)	....	16-18
Democratic Party (DP)	....	19-21
Inkatha Freedom Party	....	22-24
Labour Party (LP)	....	25-27
National Party (NP)	....	28-30
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	....	31-33
Solidarity	....	34-36
South African Communist Party (SACP)	....	37-39

Question 4

Please read through the following list of statements concerning the SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY and indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each one by placing a number in the spaces provided, using this scale as a guide :

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	No Opinion	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Capitalism and apartheid are compatible. During the 1950s and 1960s when the South African economy was growing very fast, South Africa also saw great political repression and the basic institutions of apartheid were most developed.	....	40
Racial laws may come and go, but economic laws are immutable.	....	41

Question 4 - continued....

Rich and powerful states and international agencies have fostered a naive belief in the free market as the best way for solving South Africa's economic problems.	....	42
Apartheid has served the interests of the capitalist classes by keeping wages low and profits high.	....	43
An economic system based on free enterprise and private ownership is essential in order to produce real and visible improvement in the quality of life for everyone.	....	44
Black perceptions of the South African economy are shaped by chronic homelessness, unemployment, poor education and inadequate health facilities.	....	45
Capitalist economic growth has weakened apartheid because this growth requires an integrated economy and workplace and black skilled labour.	....	46
At least since the late 1970s foreign companies in South Africa have been at the forefront of the movement for change in the apartheid system, making major reforms in employment practices and training programs that have influenced the policies of South African companies.	....	47
Most big capitalists in South Africa oppose apartheid because it causes shortages of skilled labour and imposes economically unnecessary political, administrative and social costs on business.	....	48
South Africa's economic woes stem from the country's wealth being held by the few while the majority must live from hand to mouth.	....	49
Foreign companies have been a bulwark of the apartheid system, benefiting from cheap labour, supporting the government's policies, and importing necessary technology and products.	....	50

Question 5

A lively debate is currently underway among South Africans regarding the economic system best suited to 'the new South Africa'. Some argue that economic and business activity should remain in private hands and operate according to MARKET FORCES. Others argue that the South African STATE should plan the major elements of the economy and should own and operate many businesses such as mines, banks and large farms. A third viewpoint is that a MIXED ECONOMY involving both markets and planning, public and private enterprise, will best serve South Africa and its people. Using the scale and spaces given below, please indicate your own preferences with regard to the listed areas of economic and social activity.

"Capitalism" Markets and Private Property *			A Mixed Economy *				"Socialism" Planning and State Ownership *		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Education								51
Property development (offices, shopping centres)								52
Hospital and Clinics								53
Utilities (electricity & water)								54
Railroads (including commuter trains)								55
Telecommunications (telephones, telegraph, fax)								56
Mining								57
Doctors and Dentists								58
Banking								59
Armaments & defense industry (ARMSCOR)								60
Infrastructure (roads, bridges, harbours)								61
Lower cost housing								62
Industries and Factories								63
White farms, (owner not in residence)								64
Small business (10 or less employed)								65

Question 5 - continued....

Postal services	....	66
Retail sales	....	67
Privatized Corporations (Sasol, Iscor, Escom)	....	68
Trust (State) land	....	69
Insurance and pension plans	....	70
Marketing of agricultural products	71
Homeland (rural) land	72
Buses and Taxis	73

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Question 6

The redistribution of income, wealth and economic opportunity is a widespread concern of most South Africans. Realistically seen, HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY/PARITY BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES in each of the following social and economic areas? Please indicate your own view by placing in the spaces provided the scale numbers that range from 1 to 5.

1 = In 1 to 2 years	2 = In 3 to 5 years	3 = In 6 to 10 years	4 = More than 10 years	5 = Equality will never happen	
Literacy				7
Ownership of land				8
Freedom of choice/empowered				9
Business ownership				10
Education				11
Health care				12
Recreation/leisure				13
Pensions				14

Question 6 - continued....

Family Housing	....	15
Personal safety/security	....	16
Public transport	....	17
Skilled Employment	....	18
Municipal services (electricity, sanitation)	....	19
Family Income	....	20
Nutrition	....	21
Managerial employment	....	22

Question 7

Many South Africans think that a key priority in the 'new South Africa' will be to REDUCE INEQUALITIES between the rich and the poor. In your view, how should such programmes be FINANCED? Please indicate your preference for each of the following measures to reduce inequality in South Africa, by placing a number in the spaces below using the scale as a guide.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree Somewhat	No Opinion	Disagree Somewhat	Dis- Agree	Strongly Disagree

Get "prices right" by lowering the relative price of labour and rising the relative price of capital.	....	23
Change budgetary priorities so that the poor substantially benefit more from government spending.	....	24
Progressive taxation of personal income/wealth	....	25
Borrowing from international agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank	....	26
Elimination of duplication by apartheid structures	....	27

Question 7 - continued....

Via a more rapid economic growth rate	....	28
Progressive taxation of corporate wealth/ income	....	29
A State lottery	....	30
Borrowing from foreign private banks	....	31
Via foreign aid from foreign governments and international organisations	....	32
Via nationalization of mines, banks and major industry	....	33
Government bonds (i.e. borrowing from the South African public)	....	34
Remove subsidisation of capital by eliminating investment incentives, tax allowances, and low tariffs on capital imports.	....	35
Reduce the power of trade unions to raise minimum wages to artificially high levels.	....	36

Question 8

Using the scale given below and the spaces provided next to each item, please indicate your assessment of how well the SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY is PRESENTLY PERFORMING IN MID-1991 in each of the following areas of economic activity.

Very Well			Neither good nor bad				Very poorly	
*				*				*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Rate of Inflation	....	37
Job creation/ending unemployment	....	38
Rate of Personal savings	....	39

Question 8 - continued...

Labour relations	....	40
Access to farmland	....	41
Level of domestic investment	....	42
Reducing income inequalities	....	43
Level of foreign investment in SA	....	44
Equal opportunities in the economy for all	....	45
Export promotion	....	46
Government fiscal and monetary policies	....	47
On-the job training and retraining programs	....	48
Research and development of technology	....	49
Trade with Africa	....	50
Assistance to the informal sector	....	51
Foreign exchange value of the Rand	....	52
Ability to borrow abroad	....	53
Reduction of urban-rural inequalities	....	54
Rate of economic growth	....	55
Import substitution	....	56
Productivity	....	57
Trade with the West	....	58

Question 9

Using the scale given below and the spaces provided next to each item, please indicate your assessment of how well the SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY WILL PERFORM IN THE FUTURE UNDER A DEMOCRATIC / MAJORITY GOVERNMENT in each of the following areas of economic activity.

Very Well *			Neither good nor bad *				Very poorly *	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<hr/>								
Rate of Inflation							59
Job creation/ending unemployment							60
Rate of Personal savings							61
Labour relations							62
Access to farmland							63
Level of domestic investment							64
Reducing income inequalities							65
Level of foreign investment in SA							66
Equal opportunities in the economy for all							67
Export promotion							68
Government fiscal and monetary policies							69
On-the job training and retaining programs							70
Research and development of technology							71
Trade with Africa							72
Assistance to the informal sector							73
Foreign exchange value of the Rand							74
Ability to borrow abroad							75
Reduction of urban-rural inequalities							76
Rate of economic growth							77

Question 9 - continued....

Import substitution	78
Productivity	79
Trade with the West	80

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2-6

Question 10

The Southern African region comprises more than 110 million people and eleven states from Tanzania, Zambia and Angola in the north to South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland in the south.

Below is a thermometer scale ranging from 0 - 100 degrees centigrade. A rating of 0 means a very cold feeling, 50 represents a neutral point, and 100 is a very warm feeling, as follows :

100	Very warm/positive/favourable feeling
85	Warm/positive/favourable feeling
70	Fairly warm/positive/favourable feeling
60	Slightly warm/positive/favourable feeling
50	No feeling at all
40	Slightly cold/negative/unfavourable feeling
30	Fairly cold/negative/unfavourable feeling
15	Cold/negative/unfavourable feeling
0	Very cold/negative/unfavourable feeling

Please indicate (by placing any number between 0 and 100 in the spaces provided) how warm or how cold you personally feel toward EACH of the following ECONOMIC AND/OR POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS IN THE REGION AS OF MID-1991 :

Trade among all 11 states of the region	....	7-9
Cooperation in research and development	....	10-12
Regional dependence on trade with South Africa	....	13-15

Question 10 - continued....

Migrant workers from the region working in South Africa	....	16-18
Cooperation in transportation services	....	19-21
Regional dependence on investment from South Africa	....	22-24
Peaceful settlement of conflicts between states	....	25-27
Southern African trade with Third World countries	....	28-30
Cooperation in education and training	....	31-33
Regional dependence on South African transport services	....	34-36
Defense and security of the region from outside powers	....	37-39
Cooperation in energy and electricity supply	....	40-42
Illegal migrant workers from the region working in South Africa	....	43-45
Southern African trade with western countries	....	46-48
Peaceful settlement of domestic conflict/civil war	....	49-51
Regional dependence on South African electricity and energy infrastructure	....	52-54
Regional mineral and fuel development	....	55-57
Rate of regional economic growth	....	58-60
Foreign investment in the region	....	61-63
Cooperation in technology transfer	....	64-66
Cooperation in agriculture and veterinary services	....	67-69
Tourism development in the region	....	70-72

Question 10 - continued....

South African tourism in the region	....	7-9
Restrictions on trade (tariffs, quotas, etc)	....	10-12
General climate for business in the region	....	13-15
Efficiency of governments in the region	....	16-18
Defense and security from South African interventions	....	19-21
Respect for democratic principles in the region	....	22-24
South African foreign aid (financial) to neighbours	....	25-27
The increasing refugee problem in the region	....	28-30

Question 11

Now, lets look ahead to the future. How do you envisage the NATURE OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY ONCE A DEMOCRATIC / MAJORITY GOVERNMENT RULES IN SOUTH AFRICA?

Again using the feeling thermometer scale of the previous question (Q10), please indicate (by placing any number between 0 and 100 in the spaces provided) how warm or how cold you personally feel toward EACH of the following ECONOMIC AND/OR POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS IN THE REGION:

Trade among all 11 states of the region	....	31-33
Cooperation in research and development	....	34-36
Regional dependence on trade with South Africa	....	37-39
Migrant workers from the region working in South Africa	....	40-42
Cooperation in transportation services	....	43-45
Regional dependence on investment from South Africa	....	46-48

Question 11 - continued....

Peaceful settlement of conflicts between states	....	49-51
Southern African trade with Third World countries	....	52-54
Cooperation in education and training	....	55-57
Regional dependence on South African transport services	....	58-60
Defense and security of the region from outside powers	....	61-63
Cooperation in energy and electricity supply	....	64-66
Illegal migrant workers from the region working in South Africa	....	67-69
Southern African trade with western countries	....	70-72
Peaceful settlement of domestic conflict/civil war	....	73-75
Regional dependence on South African electricity and energy infrastructure	....	Card 7 1 2-6 7-9
Regional mineral and fuel development	....	10-12
Rate of regional economic growth	....	13-15
Foreign investment in the region	....	16-18
Cooperation in technology transfer	....	19-21
Cooperation in agriculture and veterinary services	....	22-24
Tourism development in the region	....	25-27
South African tourism in the region	....	28-30
Restrictions on trade (tariffs, quotas, etc)	....	31-33
General climate for business in the region	....	34-36

Question 11 - continued....

Efficiency of governments in the region	....	37-39
Defense and security from South African interventions	....	40-42
Respect for democratic principles in the region	....	43-45
South African foreign aid (financial) to neighbours	....	46-48
The increasing refugee problem in the region	....	49-51

Question 12

Regarding economic integration in Southern Africa, what are the OPTIONS IN A POST-APARTHEID ERA FOR THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AND COORDINATION COMMITTEE (SADCC) AND SOUTH AFRICA, which is not presently a SADCC member? Please indicate your opinion for each of the statements listed below by placing a number in the spaces provided, using the scale as a guide.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree Somewhat	Don't Know	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

SADCC retains its present membership, but negotiates an economic agreement with South Africa to protect SADCC's infant industries and other sectors like transport, energy and tourism.

....

52

South Africa joins and SADCC is transformed into a Southern African Common Market with common external tariffs, free trade, and free movement of labour and capital among the member states.

....

53

SADCC deepens economic cooperation among present members by forming a free trade zone, a customs union, or a common market.

....

54

Question 12 - continued....

South Africa joins and SADCC is transformed into a Southern African Customs Union with common external tariffs and free trade among members.

55

SADCC expands its present membership, possibly including Zaire, Kenya and Uganda and forms a customs union or common market as a counter-weight to South Africa.

56

South Africa joins and SADCC is transformed into a Southern African Free Trade Zone with free trade among members but different external tariffs against outside countries.

57

Card 8 1
2-6

Question 13

Since the 1970s there has been much talk and debate about changing how the INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY operates. Few of these changes have so far been put into effect. Using the scale below, please indicate whether you support or oppose each of the following proposed changes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly	Support	Support	No	Oppose	Oppose	Strongly
Support		Somewhat	Opinion	Somewhat		Oppose

All presently developed countries like the UK, Japan and the USA should provide at least 0.7% of their Gross National Products as economic aid for the poorer countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

07

The foreign debts of the poor countries should be renegotiated via cancellation, payment moratoriums and other means so that their foreign debt burdens do not ruin their economies.

08

A substantial proportion of any funds made available from defense spending cuts among Western and (formerly) communist countries should be allocated to the development needs of poor countries.

09

Question 13 - continued....

Tariff and nontariff barriers to international trade should be reduced or eliminated in order to benefit the exports of both rich and poor countries.	....	10
Poorer, developing countries should have more decision-making power in international economic organisations like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.	....	11
There should be an international code of conduct for multinational corporations so that they do not interfere in the politics of host countries and so that their economic activities contribute as much as possible to the economic development of the countries where MNCs operate.	....	12
All states, rich and poor, should have economic sovereignty, including the right to control their natural resources by any means including nationalisation.	....	13
All states, rich and poor, should have equal access to the benefits derived from the economic use of the "common heritages of mankind" like the oceans and the seabeds.	....	14
As much as possible, the international economy should operate according to market principles that promote efficient resource allocations via the principle of comparative advantages in international trade and investment.	....	15
Direct foreign investment by multinational corporations should be encouraged as it is the most efficient and direct means to transfer modern technology from rich to poor countries.	....	16
Only Third World States who have introduced the necessary structural adjustments (as proposed by the World Bank and IMF) to their economic policies should qualify for foreign loans.	....	17
Foreign aid should be linked to the establishment of democratic government (multi-party system, free elections and press, independent judiciary) in Third World Countries.	....	18

Question 14

We would like to know how you personally feel about LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY COMPARED TO 1989 WHEN P W BOTHA WAS STATE PRESIDENT. For each of the following factors, please place a number in the spaces provided to indicate whether you think the situation has become better or worse, using this scale as a guide :

1 Much Better	2 Better	3 Somewhat Better	4 About the same	5 Somewhat Worse	6 Worse	7 Much Worse	
<hr/>							
Economic stability and growth.						19
Relations between Blacks and Whites.						20
The physical safety/security of the individual in South Africa.						21
Relations between labour and management.						22
Relations among political leaders of all parties.						23
The security/safety of personal and business property.						24
Relations among Blacks in urban areas.						25
The government's ability to maintain law and order.						26
Tolerance of differing political ideas and practices.						27
The likelihood of peace and prosperity in South Africa.						28
Political leaders' attempts to settle problems peacefully.						29
People's acceptance of a common South African identity.						30
The competence and skill of political leaders.						31
Acceptance of democratic politics by political leaders.						32

Question 14 - continued....

Acceptance of democratic politics by all South Africans.	....	33
Political leadership's responsiveness to the public's wishes.	....	34
Politically motivated violence.	....	35
Crime against persons and property.	....	36

Question 15

Now we would like to know how you personally feel about YOUR FUTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Please indicate which of the following viewpoints correspond most closely to your own. Choose one option only and mark it with a cross (X) please.

I feel uncertain and fearful about my future in this country.	1	37
I look forward to my future with confidence.	2	
No matter what the future holds, I feel I will survive.	3	
I see no future for myself in South Africa, and I would leave if I could.	4	

Question 16

Political power can be exercised by a variety of means. We would like to know how you personally feel about each of the following WAYS FOR DEALING WITH POLITICAL DISPUTES IN SOUTH AFRICA. In the spaces provided, using the scale below, please indicate the degree to which you approve or disapprove of each of the following ways of exercising political power in this country.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly	Dis-	Disapprove	No	Approve	Approve	Strongly	
Disapprove	approve	Somewhat	Opinion	Somewhat		Approve	
<hr/>							
Imprisoning or banning opponents.						38
Negotiations among leaders.						39
By majority vote of the people.						40
The personal rule of a great leader.						41
Eliminating opponents.						42
According to the Rule of Law.						43
Revolutionary action by the masses.						44
Compromise among political parties.						45
By the rule of one party.						46
By majority vote of educated people only.						47
Armed struggle.						48
By power sharing among groups in society.						49
By the physical separation of groups.						50
According to the rules of a written constitution.						51

Question 17

There are many ways to organize the economic life of a country. We would like to know which of the following PRINCIPLES you personally favour or dislike regarding the ORGANIZATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY. Using the scale below, please put your response in the spaces provided.

1 Strongly Dislike	2 Dislike	3 Dislike Somewhat	4 No Opinion	5 Favour Somewhat	6 Favour	7 Strongly Favour
<hr/>						
Jobs should go to the most qualified person, regardless of race.						.... 52
Markets should determine most economic outcomes.						.... 53
Trade unions should not ignore the political aspirations of their members.						.... 54
Preference in jobs should go to women and blacks because of past discrimination against them.						.... 55
Farmland should be available to all South Africans who want to be farmers.						.... 56
An economic plan should determine most economic outcomes.						.... 57
Only through a high rate of economic growth will sufficient means become available for the re-distribution of wealth.						.... 58
Large corporations like Anglo-American and SANLAM represent monopoly economic power and should be broken up.						.... 59
The state has a major role to play in the economy as a supplier of utilities, communications and transportation infrastructure.						.... 60
Private business should play the leading role in the economy.						.... 61
The redistribution of wealth to meet the basic human needs of the population (jobs, housing, health care and education) will stimulate productivity and economic growth.						.... 62

Question 17 - continued....

Trade unions should stick to economic and work related issues.	....	63
Large corporations like SANLAM and Anglo-American are good for the South African economy.	....	64
The stimulation of the informal sector of the economy is vital for job creation and growth.	....	65
Farmland should be owned only by those who have capital and knowledge to farm it productively.	....	66
The role of the state in the economy should be reduced as much as possible via aggressive privatisation programs.	....	67

Card 7 1
2-6

Question 18

Many events and trends have affected South African since 1985. Beginning with the year 1985 and using the scale below, please indicate how important you believe the event or trend has been for SOUTH AFRICA'S POLITICAL ECONOMY. Please note that while the event or trend may have taken place outside of South Africa, we want to know how important or significant you think it was for SOUTH AFRICA.

5 Extremely Important	4 Very Important	3 Important	2 Somewhat Important	1 Not Important	
Independence of Namibia in 1990.				7
Political instability and coups in the Homelands				8
The war in the Persian Gulf of 1991				9
The State of Emergency, 1985-1990				10
Mozambique's shift to political and economic pluralism				11
Resignation of P W Botha in 1989				12

Question 18 - continued....

Decline of the exchange value of the Rand since the financial crisis of 1985	....	13
The fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe	....	14
The unbanning of the ANC, PAC, SACP and others	....	15
The economic decline of many African states	....	16
President Gorbachev's reforms in the USSR	....	17
The release from prison of Nelson Mandela and others	....	18
South African withdrawal from the war in Angola	....	19
The growth of trading blocs in Europe, North America & East/Southeast Asia	....	20
Inflation and economic stagnation in South Africa	....	21
SADCC and Frontline States' opposition to South African apartheid	....	22
Political violence in South Africa	....	23
The destruction of the world's physical and biological environment (pollution, greenhouse effect, etc.)	....	24
Repeal of apartheid laws like the Separate Amenities Act, Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act, and the Land Acts	....	25
The revolt of black South Africans beginning in September 1984	....	26
The spread of AIDS through Africa	....	27
The imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa	....	28

Question 19

You have just evaluated a number of events and trends in terms of their importance to South Africa. We would now like to know whether you PERSONALLY APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of each of them. Please enter in the spaces provided your personal feeling about EACH OF THESE EVENTS AND TRENDS using the scale below.

7 Strongly Approve	6 Approve	5 Approve Somewhat	4 No Opinion	3 Disapprove Somewhat	2 Dis- approve	1 Strongly Disapprove
Repeal of apartheid laws like the Separate Amenities Act, Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act, and the Land Acts						29
The growth of trading blocs in Europe, North America & East/Southeast Asia						30
Political violence in South Africa						31
The spread of AIDS through Africa						32
Independence of Namibia in 1990.						33
The unbanning of the ANC, PAC, SACP and others						34
The fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe						35
Political instability and coups in the Homelands						36
Inflation and economic stagnation in South Africa						37
SADCC and Frontline States' opposition to apartheid in South African						38
The State of Emergency, 1985-1990						39
President Gorbachev's reforms in the USSR						40

Question 19 - continued....

Resignation of P W Botha in 1989	....	41
South African withdrawal from the war in Angola	....	42
The destruction of the world's biological and physical environment (pollution, greenhouse effect, etc.)	....	43
The war in the Persian Gulf of 1991	....	44
Decline of the exchange value of the Rand since the financial crisis of 1985	....	45
The economic decline of many African states	....	46
The release from prison of Nelson Mandela and others	....	47
The revolt of black South Africans beginning in September 1984	....	48
The imposition of sanctions against South Africa	....	49

Question 20

P W Botha was Prime Minister and State President of South Africa from September 1978 to August 1989. These were very eventful years for South Africans. We would like to know your personal evaluation of the following events during the "BOTHAS YEARS". Using the scale below, please put your evaluation in the spaces below.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Extremely	Bad	Somewhat	No	Somewhat	Good	Extremely
Bad		Bad	Opinion	Good		Good

Formation of the Conservative Party in 1983	....	50
Declaration of a nationwide State of Emergency in 1986 and deploying of SADF troops in black townships	....	51

Question 20 - continued....

Imposition of economic sanctions by the European Community and the USA in 1986	....	52
The Tricameral Constitution of 1983	....	53
The Black revolt that began in September 1984	....	54
The SADF military involvement in neighbouring African states	....	55
Strikes, consumer boycotts, rent boycotts and protest marches since 1984	....	56
The formation of the UDF and the Mass Democratic Movement	....	57
The performance of P W Botha as Prime Minister and State President	....	58
Botha's "Total Strategy" to confront a "Total Onslaught"	....	59
The guerrilla war in Namibia/South West Africa	....	60
ANC and PAC armed attacks inside South Africa	....	61
Repeal of the Pass Laws and the Mixed Marriages Act	....	62
The financial crisis following Botha's Rubicon speech (flight of capital, drop in exchange rate)	....	63
The independence of Zimbabwe with Robert Mugabe as President	....	64
Meetings abroad between the ANC and prominent South Africans before Feb. 1990	....	65
The banning, arrest and imprisonment of anti-apartheid activists	....	66
The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu in 1984	....	67
Formation of COSATU in December 1985	....	68

Question 20 - continued...

The Nkomati Accord of March 1984 with Mozambique	....	69
P W Botha's resignation as State President in August 1989	....	70
The battle for Cuito-Cuanavale in Angola in 1988	....	71
The emergence of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)	....	72
The Natal/KwaZulu Indaba constitutional proposals of 1986	....	73
Soviet military aid to National Liberation Movements and Frontline States	....	74

Question 21

In what year were you born?	75-76
-----------------------------------	-------

Question 22

What is the highest level of FORMAL EDUCATION you have completed?
Please check ONE only, by CIRCLING the number of your choice.

Standard 6 or less	1	77
Standards 7 to 9	2	
Standard 10	3	
College or technikon	4	
Bachelor or (Honours) degree	5	
Masters Degree	6	
Doctors Degree (PhD)	7	

Question 23

Depending upon the situations they are in, such as home, work or overseas, people often think of themselves differently. For example, at work one might think and act as an "AFRICAN", while at home being 'TSWANA' is more important. Similarly, many people think of themselves first of all as "SOUTH AFRICANS", and secondarily as "BLACKS" or "ENGLISH". Others may just be "ASIAN" or "AFRIKANER" or "XHOSA". Please place a 1 next to the IDENTITY that is most important to you (ONLY ONE CHOICE), and if you often think and act on this basis, a 2 next to your second most important identity. (ONLY ONE CHOICE).

Asian	....	Coloured	....	78-79
African	....	White	....
Black	....	South African	....
Afrikaner	....	English	....
Portuguese	....	Xhosa	....
Zulu	....	Sotho	....
Swazi	....	Tswana	....
Ndebele	....	Venda	....
Tsonga	....	Other (specify)	....

Card 8 1
2-6

Question 24

What was your AVERAGE MONTHLY FAMILY INCOME DURING 1990 BEFORE TAXES? Please include not only your earnings but the earnings of all other working members of your household. Please check ONE answer only, by CIRCLING the number of your choice.

<u>Rands per month</u>			
1 to	1,999	1	7-8
2,000 to	3,999	2	
4,000 to	5,999	3	
5,000 to	6,999	4	
7,000 to	8,999	5	
9,000 to	10,999	6	
11,000 to	12,999	7	
13,000 to	16,999	8	
17,000 to	20,999	9	
21,000 to	24,999	10	
25,000 or	more	11	

Question 25

For each of the following statements, please indicate by checking YES or NO by CIRCLING the number of your choice, whether it applies to you.

	YES	NO	
I own a television	1	2	9
I own a car, van or truck	1	2	10
I own a second vehicle	1	2	11
I own my home	1	2	12
I own farmland	1	2	13
I own business/urban real estate	1	2	14
I own tangible assets like art works, precious metals, rare coins, diamonds, Persian carpets, stamps, cape silver	1	2	15
I have a bank cheque account	1	2	16
I own stocks/bonds	1	2	17
I own shares in a unit trust	1	2	18
I own an annuity life insurance policy	1	2	19
I participate in a pension plan	1	2	20
I own a holiday home or flat	1	2	21
I own or am a partner in a business	1	2	22

Question 26

HAVE YOU EVER STUDIED ECONOMICS, BUSINESS, FINANCE ACCOUNTING OR A CLOSELY RELATED SUBJECT? If you have, please check ALL of the following that apply to you, by CIRCLING appropriate number(s).

	YES	NO	
I studied one or more of these subjects in high school.	1	2	23
I studied one or more of these subjects at technikon/university.	1	2	24
I studied one or more of these subjects at the post graduate level.	1	2	25
I have studied one or more of these subjects by correspondence.	1	2	26
I have studied one or more of these subjects on my own by extensive reading of textbooks and other sources.	1	2	27
I have studied one or more of these subjects as part of my job.	1	2	28
I have studied one or more of these subjects in a study group organized by my employer, union, political party, church or other organization.	1	2	29
Other means of study			
..... (please specify)	1	2	30

Question 27

What is your primary OCCUPATION?

.....

31-32

Question 28

We are interested in learning how you ACQUIRE INFORMATION ABOUT IMPORTANT EVENTS AND TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS. CIRCLE the appropriate answer for each question, both for political and economic/business information.

	<u>Political Information</u>			
	At least Weekly	Some- times	Never	
SABC TV	1	2	3	33
Overseas TV	1	2	3	34
SABC Radio	1	2	3	35
Other Local or Overseas Radio	1	2	3	36
SA Newspapers/ magazines	1	2	3	37
Overseas News- papers/magazines	1	2	3	38
Publications by Banks/Trade Unions/ political parties	1	2	3	39
Government Publications	1	2	3	40
International Organisations Publications	1	2	3	41
Scholarly or Academic Journals	1	2	3	42
Books/Workshops/ Conferences	1	2	3	43
Colleagues (at Work/Business/Trade union/Political party)	1	2	3	44
Family & Friends	1	2	3	45
Paid Consultants	1	2	3	46

Question 28 - continued....

	<u>Economic Information</u>			
	<u>At least Weekly</u>	<u>Some- times</u>	<u>Never</u>	
SABC TV	1	2	3	47
Overseas TV	1	2	3	48
SABC Radio	1	2	3	49
Other Local or Overseas Radio	1	2	3	50
SA Newspapers/ magazines	1	2	3	51
Overseas News- papers/magazines	1	2	3	52
Publications by Banks/Trade Unions/ political parties	1	2	3	53
Government Publications	1	2	3	54
International Organisations Publications	1	2	3	55
Scholarly or Academic Journals	1	2	3	56
Books/Workshops/ Conferences	1	2	3	57
Colleagues (at Work/Business/Trade union/Political party)	1	2	3	58
Family & Friends	1	2	3	59
Paid Consultants	1	2	3	60

Question 29

There are many ways one can be INVOLVED IN POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA and thereby gain POLITICAL EXPERIENCE. It is also the case that not all forms of political activity and experience are possible for all South Africans. For example, as of 1991 it is still the case that "Africans" cannot vote for members of Parliament. Nevertheless, many South Africans have had at least some of the following experiences. Therefore, beginning with the year 1985, please indicate by checking the YES space for all of the following activities and experiences you have had, and please check NO if you have not engaged in this activity or have not had this experience since 1985. Please **CIRCLE** the appropriate number for **EACH** statement.

	YES	NO	
I have stayed away from work for political reasons	1	2	61
I have written a letter to a newspaper about political matters	1	2	62
I have held an elected or appointed office in a political party or political movement	1	2	63
I have done community organization work with a political purpose	1	2	64
I have been jailed or banned for political activity	1	2	65
I have attended a meeting of a political party or political movement	1	2	66
I have participated in a protest march or demonstration	1	2	67
I am a paid up member of a political party or political movement	1	2	68
I have written to a Member of Parliament about political matters	1	2	69
Beyond membership dues, I have given money to a political party or political movement	1	2	70
I have participated in the armed struggle	1	2	71

Question 29 - continued....

I have done voluntary or paid work for a political movement/party/organisation	1	2	72
I have participated in a consumer boycott	1	2	73
I have voted in an election	1	2	74
I have been a candidate for office in an election	1	2	75
I have been elected to a political office	1	2	76

Card 9 1
2-6

Question 30

Now we would like to know your views regarding the PRESENT INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY. Using the scale given below, please indicate in the spaces provided for each item, the degree to which you approve or disapprove of current international economic arrangements.

1 Strongly Disapprove	2 Dis- approve	3 Disapprove Somewhat	4 No Opinion	5 Approve Somewhat	6 Approve	7 Strongly Approve	
<hr/>							
The structural adjustment policies of the IMF and World Bank						7
The role of the Group of 7 most-developed and industrialized countries in guiding the world economy						8
Current levels of foreign economic aid to less-developed countries						9
The 'trading-state' behaviour of such countries as Japan, South Korea and Taiwan						10
The formation of 'trade blocs' in Europe, North America and East Asia						11
The rate of growth of the world economy in the 1980s						12

Question 30 - continued....

Inflation and interest rates in the world economy in the 1980s	....	13
The extent of 'South-South' trade among less-developed countries	....	14
The behaviour of OPEC in raising oil prices in 1973 and 1979	....	15
Western economic sanctions against South Africa	....	16
Economic downturn and crisis in Africa in the 1980s	....	17
The rise of newly industrialized countries (NICs) in East and Southeast Asia	....	18
The fact that less-developed countries export about 60 % primary commodities and only 40 % manufactured goods whereas for the developed countries the percentages are 24 % and 76 %	....	19
The instability in the prices of Third World commodity exports	....	20
The rise of new technologies in manufacturing such as bioengineering and robotics	....	21
The control by a few western countries of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund	....	22
The great wealth and power of a few developed countries in the North and the poverty and weakness of many less-developed countries in the South	....	23
The role of multinational corporations like IBM, SONY, and SIEMENS in the world economy	....	24
The role of the United Nations and its related agencies in promoting the development of poor nations	....	25

Question 30 - continued....

The massive foreign debts of many Third World states	....	26
The extent of non-tariff barriers to international trade such as quotas and 'quality controls'	....	27
The fact that 98 % of the world's research and development takes place in the already technologically advanced countries of the North.	....	28
The collapse of socialist economic systems and COMECON in Eastern Europe	....	29
The influence of economic doctrines of free markets and privatization on the world economy	....	30

PLEASE FEEL FREE TO USE THE SPACE REMAINING ON THIS PAGE TO MAKE ANY COMMENTS YOU WISH REGARDING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE AND/ OR YOUR VIEWS ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY.

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. PLEASE PLACE IT IN THE ENCLOSED STAMPED, ADDRESSED ENVELOPE, AND MAIL IT TODAY.

COMMENTS : _____
