

The role socio-economic status plays in structuring in intergroup contact
and determining the social psychological outcomes of such contact

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Abstract

The introduction of affirmative action policies in post-Apartheid South Africa resulted in rapid socio-economic mobility among previously disadvantage groups and consequently increased racial and ethnic diversity in areas that were predominantly reserved and occupied by whites during the apartheid era. Despite extensive measures which have been implemented to eradicate racial discrimination and encouraged integration, racial animosity and ethnic rivalry continues to proliferate in South Africa. Drawing on a rich dataset which comprised of 1812 black respondents, the present study examined the role that socio-economic status plays in structuring intergroup relations. We further investigated the social psychological outcomes of such contact. The results indicate that socio-economic status plays an important role in shaping black South Africans racial attitudes. Extending prior work on racial attitudes, the results demonstrate that positive contact effects tend to be weaker as the socio-economic status of the black population increases.

Acknowledgement.

It seems rather unfair and misleading that only my name appears at the front of this dissertation, as it does not reflect the tireless commitment that many individuals have made to ensure that this project is what it is today. This has been by far the most challenging and burdensome journey that one has undertaken. While time and other constraints do not permit me to include all those individuals who have played a defining role in my ability to submit this project, their contribution will always be remembered and valued.

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Lastly and surely not the least, I would like to thank my family, particularly my parents. University is challenging on its own and to worry about other things while studying could be detrimental to academic success. Due to my families contribution I was able to concentrate on my studies.

I would like to dedicate this project to all children of South Africa, who are scared of dreaming. This inability I do understand is not due to inadequacy but due to structural barriers that are prominent in our society. As I dedicate this project to the marginalized, I do so with a clear understanding it may never reach them. Nonetheless the struggle continues, and this is an indication that we can make a contribution to society.

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Introduction

The success of anti-apartheid movements in dismantling the old apartheid regime prompted a significant shift in the institutions and practice of racism in South Africa. Racial segregation and exclusion in areas such as public beaches, churches, schools, and residences was found to be unconstitutional and therefore outlawed. Institutions in South Africa are now routinely practicing integration, employment equity and non-racialism (Gibson, 2004). Measures such as affirmative action programmes have been unapologetically implemented by the African National Congress (ANC) led government in public and private institutions in an attempt to achieve equal participation and opportunity. This represents a contrasting picture than what was observed during the years of apartheid, when the National Party led government instituted a number of policies that aimed to economically marginalize black South Africans (Roberts, 2005).

Despite the adoption of several government policies of redress, and the accompanying optimism that emerged after replacing racist and segregation laws, South Africa is still characterized by high levels of inequality, a dual health care system and high levels of unemployment (Human Development Report, 2007/2008). This is not to say that there has been no change as post-apartheid laws have also resulted in blacks and other minority groups moving into traditionally white communities. The drastic transformation in leadership structures has led to the transformation of neighbourhoods and categories of employment that were once exclusively white. Black middle class families have moved from townships to suburbs, cities have integrated significantly, to the extent that some segments in urban areas have substantially diversified. While those blacks who have benefited from new political dispensation have managed to circulate in more diverse environments due to their affluence, an increasingly

impoverished black population remains locked into spaces of poverty. Children in these poor black communities continue to study in under resourced and racially homogenous schools.

Research Focus

The present study investigated the role that socio-economic status plays in structuring black South Africans intergroup contact and explored class differences in racial attitudes among black South Africans. There have been few studies that have investigated racial attitudes among black South Africans, and fewer have investigated attitudinal differences within the black population. Until recently, where there has been a shift in the understanding of desegregation, a large body of research has through their omission of racial minorities assumed that the same basic psychological processes underlie contact effects for members of different racial groups (Hunt, Jackson, Powell, & Steelman, 2000). In this regard, contact effects among minorities have not been explored vigorously as evident within the white population (Ellison & Powers, 1994; Forman & Rodriguez, 2003). Though limited in number, there has recently been a shift in the understanding of contact effects where a number of researchers have started to stress the importance of examining contact effects for people on both sides of the interracial relationship (Sigelman & Welch, 1993). The limited amount of scholarly research that has investigated attitudinal differences within the black population is surprising given the diversity within the black South African population post-1994. Because of a number of redress policies, together with other individual factors a large proportion of black South Africans are moving up the socio-economic ladder. This, in conjunction with a more tolerant society, has enabled wealthier blacks to move away from townships and rural areas. On the other hand, a larger proportion of blacks with poor or no education and job skills remain trapped in townships. Unlike the black middle-class of the past, which remained spatially and socially integrated with the black community

because of forced segregation, increasing numbers of the new black middle class families are moving to suburbs and abandoning their underclass compatriots. Thus, class differences between the two groups of blacks have led to a spatial separation which, in turn, has helped to reinforce the social importance of class differences. Therefore, examining class differences in racial attitudes represents an important advancement in the understanding of the contact hypothesis in racially unequal societies which are not only characterized with sharp racially-based inequalities but also characterized by high in-group socio-economic inequalities. Accounting for the role that socio-economic inequalities play in structuring racial attitudes in post-apartheid South Africa allows one not only to determine the conditions under which racial exposure is likely to lead to positive racial attitudes but also to determine how socio-economic inequalities buttress racial animosity. Exploring how individual socio-economic status structures intergroup relations allows for individual interracial contact experiences to be understood within the broader opportunity structure.

Differences in racial attitudes among blacks are anticipated by a large body of sociological and psychological work, in the US. For instance, advocates of the conflict perspective regard a similar economic position in society as the foundation of shared group consciousness; whereas conflict is associated with identifiable distinctions between groups in socioeconomic indicators such as life chances. According to the class-based theory of ethnicity, differences in racial attitudes between blacks of different socio-economic class should be exacerbated by segregation and the fact that these different subgroups circulate in different spatial and social locations in society (Bonacich, 1980; Cox, 1948; Hetcher, 1986). The economic status of middle and upper class blacks is likely to increase their distance from lower-class blacks while shortening their distances from the dominant group.

With these issues in mind, I consider how socio-economic status structures intergroup relations. While the findings indicate that diversity without conflict is possible, they importantly demonstrate that the prospects for positive intergroup relations and more tolerant attitudes will be dependent on some resolution of blacks' economic insecurities that currently underlie intergroup relations.

Literature review

Inequality and conflict have been a major focus of social psychology for more than half a century. Although the central concern has been to develop a full understanding of the psychological processes (e.g., stereotyping and prejudice) that underlie and guide discriminatory behaviour, one does not have to dig far to find a genuine interest in improving 'real world' intergroup relations. In fact, over the past few decades, much of social psychological research has been conducted with a view to reduce social injustice in various contexts such as the Middle East, the US, South Africa, and Europe (Pettigrew, 1998).

From Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, the idea that desegregation generates social and psychological change has been a major theme in social psychological research. In the 'Nature of Prejudice' Allport outlined that contact among different racial or ethnic groups when pursuing the same objective has the potential to undermine racial stereotypes by fostering peaceable relations and understanding (Allport, 1954; Byman, 1998). According to the theory, interracial contact reduces racial stereotypes and allows individuals to overcome the differences and skepticism that are the foundation of conflict and violence (Brown & Lopez, 2001). In prioritizing the social situation, Allport proposed three conditions under which interracial contact would promote more tolerant racial attitudes. These are cooperative interdependence, support from authorities, and status equality.

Converging evidence from numerous studies suggests that contact alone is not adequate for individuals to overcome racial differences, but rather situational, societal and even personal factors are equally important (Stephan, 1987). Despite the debate that has surrounded Allports contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Jackman & Crane, 1986; Pettigrew & Tropp 2006), a growing body of research which includes findings from cross-sectional (Ellison & Powers, 1994; Sigelman & Welch, 1993), longitudinal studies (Binder, Brown, Zagefka, Funke, Kessler, Mummendey, Maquil, Demoulin, & Leyens, 2009), together with a recent meta-analysis of hundreds of contact studies (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) demonstrate that contact relates consistently with positive racial attitudes.

Limitation of Interracial Contact

With the injustice and conflict that occurred in South Africa for many years, it's difficult to imagine how conditions suggested by the contact hypotheses such as equality of status might be created and sustained. Furthermore, finding from South African studies that have investigated patterns of racial integration in formal and informal settings such as in public beaches (Dixon & Durrhiem, 2003), university dining halls (Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon, & Finchilescu, 2005) and in lecture theatres (Koen & Durrheim, 2009) converge, showing that while cross racial contact has increased post 1994, there is still resistance to integration (Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim, Finchilescu, & Clack, 2008). South Africans continue to live in segregated environments, which are either segregated on the basis of ethnicity, race, religion and/or cultural orientation. This is true also of many other countries. In the US, research has repeatedly demonstrated that levels of racial isolation are high (Troop, 2007). Although there are cases where one can identify stable racial integration, black and whites occupy different residential areas, circulate in different social networks and attend different schools. The high level of racial

segregation in post-apartheid South Africa affects the ability for research to fully understand the psychological processes that underlie intergroup relations.

However, much contact research has been criticized for removing intergroup dynamics from their societal contexts, by focusing on factors within the immediate environment of interaction that are easily manipulated and measured.(Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). Regardless of the potential advantages that might emerge from these theories, such an approach to intergroup relations may sustain a dangerous form of utopianism (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). While, there is clearly nothing wrong with advocating for racial integration and implementing measures that reduce intolerant attitudes. If scholars of intergroup relations are to contribute meaningfully to social change, they should not only outline the conditions that are considered to promote positive intergroup attitudes but also explain the persistence of segregation within desegregated environments, because it is only through this explanation that paths towards social change may be highlighted and probably explored. According to Oliver & Mendelberg (2000), with a narrow emphases on intergroup contact researchers have failed to acknowledge that “the political polarization between whites and blacks is not simply a matter of social relations between whites and blacks but also a matter of social relations within the white and black population” (p.54). Racial conflict does not only occur as a response to interracial contact, but is also a function of other factors within the contact situation that serve to reinforce and support racial hostilities (Oliver & Mendelberg, 2000). For instance, low socioeconomic status settings expose individuals to social disorder, high levels of crime and physical decay. These hostile living conditions which are experienced differently by members of different racial group and have a distinct racial component (in terms of exposure) that may lead – as suggested

by Oliver & Mendelberg (2000) – to more hostile feelings towards out-groups members together with a lack of trust for other individuals.

Interracial contact among Minorities

Most contact research has thus far been committed to understanding racial attitudes among members of previously advantaged groups, to the neglect of previously disadvantaged group's (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Few studies have investigated whether interracial contact has the same effects amongst minority group members. American scholars have tried to link the environment where one resides to their levels of hostility and anxiety towards other racial groups (Bobo & Johnson, 2000). The emphasis has been on the racial and ethnic diversity within the environment, with the levels of anxiety, animosity and hostility predicted to increase with an increase in the out-group population (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). Tropp (2007) revealed an important difference in positive contact effects among black and white Americans. Tropp (2007) demonstrates that positive contact effects tend to be weaker among black Americans than among white Americans. When accounting for these differences, Tropp (2007) demonstrates that perceptions of discrimination have a moderating effect on interracial contact and the resultant racial attitudes among black Americans, which was not evident in the white sample. Furthermore, Tropp (2007) demonstrates that black Americans are regularly confronted with discrimination due to their racial group membership, and are more likely to perceive discrimination when being compared to white Americans.

Identifying the Gap: Thesis Focus

Absent from these discussions has been close attention to the role that individual economic status plays in structuring racial contact, together with how economic factors contribute to racial animosity. Since inequality and racial tension emanate from a system of racial and economic

exploitation which produced material vulnerability, it is reasonable to expect economic circumstances to shape intergroup relations. By limiting their focus on intergroup contact and the resultant outcomes of such contact, contact researchers have largely ignored how racial animosity is reinforced by inequalities in economic status and by living conditions which are characterized by material scarcity. Social science often reduces the importance of socio-economic indicators in research by treating it as a demographic characteristic, rather than explicitly analyzing how such economic factors contribute to structure racial attitudes (APA Task Force on SES, 2006).

The view advocated for in this project is that race and SES are equally important in the study of intergroup relations and, most importantly, SES and race may compound the influence of each other, particularly for those with a number of marginalized identities. This paper further argues that it is important to broaden the scope of research to include black South Africans from different socio-economic backgrounds. A sole focus on either low or middle class blacks limits our ability to generalize about black South Africans across the social class spectrum. Most importantly, as articulated by Oliver & Mendelberg (2000), the social dislocation of poor and working class blacks exposes them to conditions which may not be felt by their counterparts of higher socio-economic status. Close attention to these factors can enable researchers to understand the divergent pattern of responses evident within the black population. Socio-economic status gives a realistic indication of one's access to collectively desired resources. A high SES enables individuals to prosper in the social world, while limited access to important economic resources confines individuals and families to subordinate position in society which may result to dissatisfaction with one position in life (Landry, 1987).

Socio-economic status and racial attitudes

Segregation laws not only separated people based on skin colour but also perpetuated inequality, injustice and violated human rights minorities while offering wealth, security, and unfair advantages to whites (Zuma, 2010). It is partly for these reasons that I argue that the socio-economic structure of intergroup relations provides a useful framework to understand desegregation. In emphasizing interracial contact, researchers often overlook the important role that socio-economic conditions play in encouraging racial and ethnic antagonism. While it is true that some scholars regularly incorporate individual socio-economic status as well as *perceptions* of socio-economic conditions as a defining feature in blacks' racial attitudes towards out-groups (Tedin & Murray, 1994; Cummings & Lambert, 1997), only a few studies have attempted to determine how objective individual socio-economic characteristics influence and shape material fears and anxieties that currently characterize intergroup relations (Johnson & Oliver, 1989). The main problem with studies which have linked socio-economic conditions to interracial tensions is that they have thus far been limited to case studies of few conflicts. Nonetheless, Oliver and Wong (2003) divert from this approach, by basing their conclusions on a rich survey data which was obtained from several metropolitan areas. Although Oliver and Wong (2003) were initially concerned with the role that neighbourhood ethnic diversity plays in structuring racial and policy attitudes. The authors also suggest that individuals who reside in "low-status" environments are characterized by a deep sense of material vulnerability which they further proposed provokes out-group hostility. Other research in this area (Oliver & Mendelburg, 2000) provides substantial support for Oliver and Wong (2003) conclusions, demonstrating that poorer blacks who live in urban ghettos are more likely than their affluent in-group members to view out group members as competitors for limited economic resources, which ultimately results in them harbouring

negative stereotypes about these respective groups (Oliver & Wong, 2003). This ultimately alludes to the importance of competition within the contact situation and how such competition for limited resource can structure intergroup relations and the emerging attitudes.

A Class-Divided Black South Africa

One of the consequences of desegregation and the introduction of pro-black affirmative action has been the growth of black middle class families. Data shows that inequality in South Africa has deepened but partially deracialized since transformation. The overall GINI index of inequality in South Africa rose from .68 in 1991 to .77 in 2011 within the first decade of democracy. Inequality within races is now higher than inequality between racial groups. In fact the highest inequality is within the black South African population (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown, 2011). This can be clearly seen in the income data and among the higher socio-economic classes. During the period of 1991 to 1996, white middle class families only increased by 15% while the black middle class expanded by 78% (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown, 2011). Furthermore unemployment increased drastically in the first years of democracy, with the official statistic's indicating that unemployment has increased from 12.7% in 1993 to 28.2% in 2003. Interestingly, even though the upper classes have rapidly deracialized, the lower classes have not (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown, 2011). Lower socio-economic classes have grown as poverty continues to expand in South Africa and unfortunately the burden of poverty is overwhelmingly but not exclusively carried by the black South African population. As a result, some blacks live in residential areas that have better services and are characterized by safer streets, more open space. This ultimately has positive implications for the economic and social security of these blacks who due to pro-black affirmative action have moved to predominately white neighbourhoods and have distanced themselves and their families from the impoverished conditions that currently

characterize the lives of those located in rural areas. These socio-economic conditions have been demonstrated to be central in triggering anti-white feelings among blacks. This may happen directly, as poor blacks struggle with the pressure of economic and social dislocation and indirectly, via its contribution to high levels of inter-group competition that typically characterizes encounters between members of different racial groups as they struggle to acquire desirable socio-economic resources (Oliver & Wong, 2003). In this regard insufficiencies in public and private goods that typically characterize the lives of less affluent blacks intensify the competition for limited resources. Resentment may be directed towards out-group members who are perceived as competitors. On the other hand, in situations where economic-resources are available in abundance and where people are economically secure, competition over limited resources may be less severe and, therefore making racial animosity less pervasive (Oliver & Wong, 2003).

Expecting class diversity in racial attitudes within the black population is anticipated by a large body of sociological work. Advocates of the conflict perspective regard social class as the foundation of shared consciousness. According to the class-based theory of ethnicity, social class is the real basis of group membership. Ethnicity is regarded by advocates of the class-based theory as a capitalists' creation intended to justify labor exploitation ((Bonacich, 1980; Cox, 1948) and to disrupt working class unity (Szymanski, 1976). According to the conflict theory and the class based theory of ethnicity, attitudinal differences between blacks of different socio-economic status should be anticipated because they occupy and circulate in different social and spatial locations in society. Success for middle-class black families may shorten their social and physical distance from whites (Banton, 1987; Hetcher, 1986) while further increasing their distance from lower-class blacks. This suggests that the same socio-economic differences that

separate blacks and whites also separate blacks from each other. As the socioeconomic gap among black South Africans widens, so should their differences in attitudes and world views. According to the class realignment thesis blacks who on average are better off than their in-group members are more likely to attribute their successes to ability and hard work. This advantaged economic position according to the class realignment thesis leads to some middle class blacks denying the significance of racism and discrimination. The class realignment thesis further predicts that middle-class blacks will have more tolerant racial attitudes than their lower status counterparts due to more integration (Welch & Foster, 1987; Quinley & Glock, 1979; Allport, 1954).

While the assumptions and hypothesis derived from the class realignment thesis are theoretically driven, they overlook an important body of research dealing with the formation and explanation of ethnic identity. One important view used to explain Hispanic identity formation in the US is known as ethnic competition in the Hispanic assimilation literature. This view has its roots in the work of Glazer and Moynihan (1970) and Greeley (1971). These authors see ethnic identity as a hidden political consciousness aroused among minorities as they encounter and confront majority prejudice and discrimination. The opportunity to confront such prejudice and discrimination according to Glazer and Moynihan (1970) varies by SES. This is primarily because minority members of low SES are more likely to be spatially confined in ethnic enclaves and in this regard are unlikely to experience intense hostilities which exist in the larger society. According to this view ethnic identity is heightened as minorities increase their levels of education, which enables them to enter mainstream occupations, and interact more frequently with majority members. Where substantial economic inequalities exist, members of disadvantaged groups may in turn harbour more hostility toward the economically dominant

group due to the difficulties they encounter within that community. Such inequality and unfair distribution of resources between different racial groups may also contribute to status anxiety and a stronger in-group identity which is formed in opposition to a privileged other. This in turn has been demonstrated to heighten out-group animosity (Horowitz, 1985). Thus, in terms of intergroup relations, particularly racial encounters between whites and blacks, the status of the black and white populations may serve as an indication of individual or group influence within society. This may further determine how blacks and whites respond to each other within a diverse environment. In this regard it becomes important not only to consider how the fears and anxieties generated by white supremacy activate black antagonism but also to consider how such fears may structure intergroup relations. The ethnic competition arguments are in line with the relative deprivation theory which was used to explain higher degrees of political activism and radicalism among blacks with higher SES (Orum & Orum, 1968). According to the relative deprivation theory higher-SES blacks whose social interactions includes people from other racial groups are more likely to compare their economic position with other racial groups and as a result, be unhappy with their present situation when discovering they are worse off than other out-group members. Contradictory to Wilson (1978), who sees a declining significance of race, Willie observes "that the significance of race is increasing and that it is increasing especially for middle-class blacks who, because of school desegregation and Affirmative Action and other integration programs, are coming into direct contact with whites for the first time for extended interaction" (p. 157). This direct contact and extended interaction with members of previously advantaged groups, according to Willie and other advocates of the ethnic competition (Feagin, 1991) and relative deprivation (Orum & Orum, 1968) perspectives, is likely to heighten, rather than lower the racial awareness of the black middle class. Lower-class blacks whose social

interactions generally include people from their own racial group are shielded from the outside hostility which may be a common feature for those blacks whose social interactions include people from other racial groups. They may further be less conscious of ethnic differences. Adopting this line of thinking allows one to expect middle class blacks to have less positive attitudes toward whites than their lower status counterparts.

Individual Socio-economic Status

If black antagonism towards out-group members is associated with competition over limited resources and is activated by real fears of economic dislocation and material well-being, then negative racial attitudes should be more prevalent when black and out-group competitors, particularly foreigners compete for limited resources in impoverished areas. Interestingly, material scarcity has the potential to provoke hostility among residents of distressed neighbourhoods from different racial and ethnic groups even if there is no actual inter-group competition. Studies on poor black Americans located within the outskirts of urban areas confirm this pattern, where a number of studies have described people residing in these areas as being characterized by a pessimistic attitude towards life and suspicion towards the motives of other people, particularly those of out-group members (Gay, 2004). Furthermore, other studies have shown that Black Americans who reside in “low quality” neighbourhoods, characterized by abandoned housing, inability to manage and deal with basic household necessities and high crime rates have a tendency to view race as an impediment for blacks to acquire better socio-economic positions (Gay, 2004). It can be anticipated that this bleak and cynical worldview can harden and reinforce negative attitudes toward out-group members. This might explain why the growing national prominence of foreigners in South Africa makes them a salient target for blacks to express their frustrations, as it has been observed in xenophobic attacks. In short, black

antagonism towards out-group members may be an expression of frustration caused by the stress of life in decaying neighbourhoods. The alienation perspective, which proposes that individuals at the bottom of the social hierarchy are most detached from conventional norms and values, supports these propositions. It further proposes that this withdrawal or detachment may lead to the formation of a distinctive subculture which is characterized by a stronger Black identity. This strong racial and ethnic identity thus becomes the basis for anti-white sentiments.

Apart from the social dislocation of poorer blacks, higher-status blacks are more likely to interact with other racial groups and have more opportunity to form friendships with these respective groups, which in turn has the potential to contribute to positive out-group attitudes (Lacy, 2004; Allport, 1954; Tropp, 2007). High status blacks are more likely to interact with other racial groups on a regular basis and have the resources to maintain these relationships that cross racial boundaries. The relationship between socio-economic status and having friends from other racial and ethnic groups, through higher social participation undermines prejudice reduction through interracial contact as it clearly indicates that less affluent blacks with lower income are disadvantaged since they have less opportunity to interact with other racial groups and fewer resources to manage these friendships that cross social, racial and ethnic boundaries. Furthermore, large proportions of lower-status blacks are unemployed and have smaller friendship networks outside their immediate surroundings which ultimately limit their opportunity to engage in meaningful social relationships outside their boundaries. In addition, residential areas occupied by lower status blacks typically consist of people from their own racial group, and if they are lucky enough to be employed, low status blacks are also likely to work in environments that consist of in-group members. But, if employed in racially diverse environments, lower status blacks are most likely to occupy subordinate positions to their white

counterparts. The status difference that is evident between blacks of lower socio-economic status and whites has been demonstrated to heighten levels of anxiety within the black population (Lacy, 2004). This may lead them to avoid contact with other racial groups. On the other hand, those blacks who do report having friends from other racial groups are mostly those whose immediate environment consists of highly influential people of high status. In this sense, contact with out-group members is largely dependent on an individual's socio-economic status. Thus, if intergroup literature emphasizes interracial contact, specifically friendships as a precondition for positive racial attitudes, it is important to acknowledge that interracial contact is largely dependent on an individual's socio-economic status. *I expect higher status blacks to have more, better quality, contact with whites than low status blacks – and the relationship between good contact and favourable out-group attitudes to be stronger for high SES than low SES blacks.* This is true if we consider the fact that one's socio-economic status in South Africa largely determines where one resides, where one goes to school and where one shops. So those higher on the socio-economic ladder are able to live, go to school, and shop in ethnically diverse environments therefore increasing their likelihood to engage in interracial encounters. Furthermore, studies in the US have indicated that the socioeconomic backgrounds of the majority of black students attending mainly white universities and colleges are either middle or upper-middle class. Responses from Quist & Resendez (2001) survey indicate that these black students in racially diverse universities are not only diverse in their racial and ethnic identification but also report greater pre-adult integrative experiences than their lower status counterparts. The situation is slightly different in South Africa where students in rural communities are educated primarily in their home language, while those who can afford to attend racially diverse schools have the opportunity to learn English at an early age. This language barrier may further encourage individuals from lower status contexts to avoid

encounters with other racial groups, which is a problem that more affluent blacks do not have to worry about.

In-group Threat

Importantly, exposure to other racial groups does not only shape perceptions about these respective groups, but has the potential to activate additional, mediating processes involved in intergroup hostility and prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998). An important *mediator* that is in line with the aims of this study is perceived threat. In line with Pettigrew (1998), I conceptualized perceived threat as the perception that out-group members are in some way detrimental to in-group progression. Threats of this nature often emerge when there is competition over resources, status or territory, but threats can also be intangible and symbolic in nature, for instance threats to in-group values (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). These perceptions have identified as factors that contribute to prejudice and offensive action tendencies (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

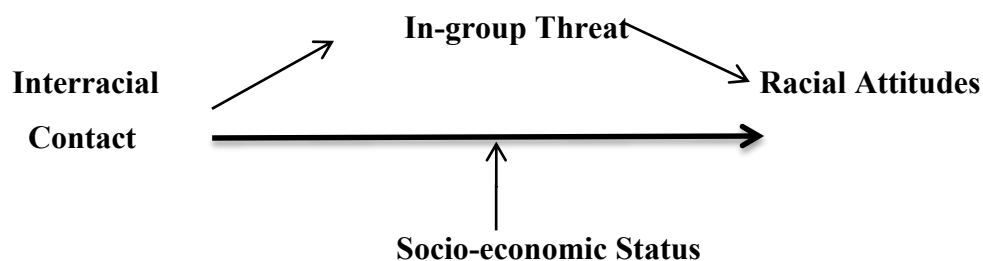
Findings on the impact of economic factors have been mixed. Some researchers, for example, find a limited role of economic motives entrenched in one's personal circumstances. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) find support for this relationship. In fact, these authors find that the strength of subjective economic attitudes holds only at the group level, not at the personal level. I also contend that one's personal economic perspective is less influential than one's group-based economic threats. In addition, however, we argue it is retrospective, rather than prospective attitudes about the economy that should provide the greatest explanatory power. As discussed above, previous literature has identified the *change* in economic conditions as the critical component in stimulating group threat (Quillian, 1995). Although prospective attitudes project potential change, retrospective attitudes assess change that has actually been perceived to occur. Contextual factors also include individuals' contact with out-group. This considers the extent to

which contact with out-groups can weaken perceptions of threat. Not all findings are positive, and contact theory may work both ways—ameliorating negative opinions when the contact is genuine or substantial (McLaren, 2003), or having less impact or even exacerbating negative attitudes when contact is negative or insubstantial (Allport, 1954). Group relative deprivations have a relatively modest predictive power.

Aims and rational

The aim of this study was to investigate the role that socio-economic status plays in structuring intergroup contact, and to determine the social psychological outcomes of such contact. I argue that—to get an adequate understanding of desegregation and the accompanying racial attitudes, it is important to consider the role that one's socio-economic status plays in structuring intergroup relations. Explicitly stated, *I expect (1) higher status blacks to have more, better quality, contact with whites than low status blacks; and (2) the relationship between good contact and favourable out-group attitudes is hypothesized to be stronger for high SES than low SES blacks*. Importantly, the proposed conditional relationship between contact and racial attitudes and how it is affected by individual socio-economic status will provide insight to the source of negative attitudes among blacks. Taking socioeconomic factors into consideration in intergroup relations allows one to determine the situations in which positive racial exposure is likely to occur.

Figure 1: Model of the dependent and independent variables.



Discussion of Model

Figure 1 illustrates how the proposed relationship between the independent variable, *Interracial Contact*, and the dependent variable, *Racial Attitudes*, is moderated by socio-economic status. Consistent with recent meta-analytic findings (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), the model suggests that positive interracial contact should generally be accompanied by positive racial attitudes. Contact among black and whites is predicted to undermine racial stereotypes by fostering peaceable relations and understanding between the two racial groups (Byman, 1998). In line with Tropp & Pettigrew (2005) the model suggests that threat may act as a mediating variable in the relationship between contact and racial attitudes. Extending prior work, we also anticipate attitudinal differences between middle and lower-class blacks. The economic success that middle-class blacks enjoy is predicted to shorten their social and physical distances from whites, creating grounds for positive interracial encounters (Banton, 1987; Hetcher, 1986). Since blacks of lower SES are more likely to be spatially confined in ethnic enclaves, they are predicted to be unlikely to experience positive interracial encounters. This suggests that the same status differences that separate blacks and whites also separate middle- and lower- class blacks. As the socioeconomic gap among black South Africans widens, so should their differences in attitudes and world view. Because socio-economic status is likely to structure interracial encounters, the model suggests it must be integral in research since controlling for its effect may prove difficult if not impossible.

Methodology

Sample

To test these predictions, data were analysed from the *South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS, 2010)*, which was sponsored and conducted by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC). Between November 2010 and February 2011, responses to the SASAS 2010 survey were gathered through interviews, comprised of a nationally representative sample of over 3,183 adults in South Africa. The original sample consisted of responses from whites, blacks, Indians and Coloureds which were drawn from the HSRC's Master Sample - a sampling frame that comprises of 1 000 Population Census enumeration areas (EAs) extracted from the master sample, stratified by geographical subtype, majority population group and by province. The results only include responses from 1821 black respondents, due to the aims of this study.

Measures of independent variables and dependent variables

Racial Attitudes

Racial attitudes were measured by means of a three-item semantic differential scale of which respondents rated (on a ten-point scale) how they felt about whites. The scales were unidimensional and internally consistent ($\alpha = .863$). Item scores were computed and then linearly transformed to create an index of racial attitudes ranging from 1 (negative) to 10 (positive) (10).

Here is the item: *Using a scale of 1 to 10, please describe how you feel about White people in general? Are they negative or positive; hostile or friendly; suspicious or trusting?*

Intergroup threat

The survey employed a 4-item scale to measure specific elements of realistic and symbolic threat. With respect to realistic threat, we used the two items, which were originally devised by Bobo (1999) to measure threat in the Blumerian sense. These two items, referred to threats for political influence and economic resources. The remaining two items, which were chosen from the Racial Attitude Questionnaire (dealing with differences in values, and a lack of mutual understanding between groups) measured symbolic threat.

Responses were given on 5-point Likert scales, with response options ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Items 1–2 measured realistic threat, while items 3–4 measure symbolic threat. These items were summed to gauge an average in-group threat measure ($\alpha = .708$) and higher scores indicated high levels of threat.

The items included:

- 1) People of other race groups in South Africa are trying to get ahead economically at the expense of my group.
- 2) People of other race groups in South Africa tend to exclude members of my group from positions of power and responsibility.
- 3) The traditions and values that are important to people of my race are under threat because of the influence of other races in this country.
- 4) Other race groups in South Africa will never understand what members of my group are like.

Interracial contact

To measure interracial contact, the study employed two different yet frequently used measures to indicate respondent's level of interracial contact. The survey employed four items to measure *Racial Contact Quantity* and *Racial Contact Quality*. The first two items measured respondents' racial contact quantity on a five point scale. Of which the first item assessed how much contact blacks had with whites in their everyday lives on a 1 (no contact) to 5 (frequent contact) scale. The next item measured the number of white acquaintances that respondents regarded as their friends. The remaining items measured the quality of interracial contact on two dimensions (friendly and equal status). These items were averaged to yield a *Quality of Contact Index* ($\alpha = .78$), with higher scores indicating more positive contact experiences.

- 1) How many white people do you know, at least as acquaintances?
- 2) Of the white people that you know, how many would you consider to be friends?
- 3) To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
 - i. When I come into contact with other race groups we almost always interact as equals.
 - ii. When I come into contact with other race groups, contact is almost always friendly.

Socio-economic status

To capture the multi-dimensionality of socio-economic status the survey employed most common indicators of socio-economic status which included employment status, occupational status, educational attainment, and income, together with other demographic indicators. Annualized income provided a useful indicator of Socio Economic Status as it gave a realistic indication of an individual's ability to literally purchase desired goods and resources. With that

being said assessing income was problematic as respondents were unwilling to reveal their income as indicated by the low response rate. Some researchers have indicated that respondents have the tendency to give inaccurate figures for their income (APA, 2006). For people older than 25 years, educational achievement provided some indication of SES and furthermore educational attainment is easily assessable, unlike income, respondents are more willing to answer this question truthfully. Occupational status also served as an important indicator of SES as it assessed one hierarchy with society by describing job characteristics, control and decision making ability. Measures employed to assess household characteristics were also used as a source standard of living.

Initially, the survey employed 7 items that tapped into different dimensions of SES items which were in line with the aims of this study. Following that, I conducted a principal components analysis of the correlation matrix in order to establish the number of factors that underlie the items. To that end, the analysis revealed that there were two factors with Eigenvalues that had a value greater than one (4.008, 1.071). The reliability of this assessment is substantiated by the fact that the scree plots together with eigenvalues indicate that there are the same number of factors that underlie the items (two). The factors were rotated using the Varimax method. Subsequently two variables were created from the factors and labelled SES-LSM and SES-Income respectively. The 4 items listed below that loaded high on the second factor, measuring the latent variable of SES (Living Standard Measure) (SES-LSM), are the primary attitude items for this project. The reliability, measured by the Cronbach Alpha, for this scale was .70. The remaining 3 items listed below that loaded on the first factor were labelled Income-SES, which also has the ability to influence SES. The Cronbach Alpha for this scale is .87. For purposes of

this study we opted to use LSM-SES as an indicator of Socio-economic Status. The rationale to include LSM-SES was informed by the fact that, using income measures may prove problematic when examining the relationship between SES and racial attitudes. Firstly, members within any household do not have the same access to household income. Specifically, in rural disadvantaged community's a number of studies have demonstrated a female disadvantage in resource sharing (APA, 2006). Thus using this measure would either over or under-estimate resources that are available to individuals. A second problem that may prevent the effectiveness of current personal and household income is that it does not give a realistic representation of the standard of living of those who have retired and those who are currently unemployed because it does not reflect available financial resources. More so for those who have retired, income measures do not consider the cumulative effects of a lifetime of deprivation or privilege. Contrary, indicators of LSM-SES provided us with relevant information that is in line with the aims of this study as it indicates access to desired economic and social resources. In this regard, LSM-SES serves as a useful indicator of social relationships and an individual's command over skills and resources that change over time. For instance education and occupational status may be an important indicator of an individuals' work environment together with economic circumstances.

LSM Items:

1. *What is the highest level of education that you have ever completed?*

No schooling; Grade 0/Grade R;Sub A/Grade 1;Sub B/Grade 2; Grade 3/Standard 1;Grade 4/Standard 2;Grade 5/Standard 3;Grade 6/Standard 4;Grade 7/Standard 5;Grade 8/Standard 6/Form 1;Grade 9/Standard 7/Form 2;Grade 10/Standard 8/Form 3;Grade 11/Standard 9/Form 4; Grade 12/Standard 10/Form 5/Matric ;NTC I;NTC II;NTC III; Diploma/certificate with less than Grade 12/Std 10; Diploma/certificate with Grade 12/Std 10; Degree; Postgraduate degree or diploma; Other, specify 21

2. *People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper or lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the...?*

Lower class; Working class; Middle class ; Upper middle class ; Upper class; Don't know

3. *In our society there are groups which tend to be towards the top and groups which tend to be towards the bottom. Where would you put yourself on a scale of 1 to 10, where 10 is the top and 1 the bottom?*
4. *What is your current employment status? (WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST DESCRIBES YOUR PRESENT WORK SITUATION?)*

Employed full time; Employed part time; Employed less than part time (casual work/piecework)
Temporarily sick; Unemployed, not looking for work; Unemployed, looking for work; Pensioner (aged/retired); Permanently sick or disabled; Housewife, not working at all, not looking for work; Housewife, looking for work; Student/learner; Other (specify)

SES-Income Items:

1. Please give me the letter that best describes the TOTAL MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME of all the people in your household before tax and other deductions. Please include all sources of income i.e. salaries, pensions, income from investment, etc.

0= No income; K= R1 – R500; L= R501 – R750; M= R751 – R1 000; N= R1 001 – R1 500; O= R1 501 – R2 000; P= R2 001 – R3 000; Q= R3 001 – R5 000; R= R5 001 – R7 500; S= R7 501 – R10 000; T= R10 001 – R15 000; U= R15 001 – R20 000; V= R20 001 – R30 000; W= R30 001 – R50 000; X= R 50 001; (Refuse to answer); (Uncertain/Don't know)

2. Please give me the letter that best describes your PERSONAL TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME before tax and other deductions. Please include all sources of income i.e. salaries, pensions, income from investment, etc.

0= No income; K= R1 – R500; L= R501 – R750; M= R751 – R1 000; N= R1 001 – R1 500; O= R1 501 – R2 000; P= R2 001 – R3 000; Q= R3 001 – R5 000; R= R5 001 – R7 500; S= R7 501 – R10 000; T= R10 001 – R15 000; U= R15 001 – R20 000; V= R20 001 – R30 000; W= R30 001 – R50 000; X= R 50 001; (Refuse to answer); (Uncertain/Don't know)

3. What monthly income level do you consider to be minimal for your household, i.e. your household could not make ends meet with less?

Research Findings
Descriptive statistics

Table 1:

	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation
Contact whites	1-5	2.0	.6
Group threat	1-5	3.6	.8
Racial Attitudes	1-10	5.0	2.4
Socio-economic Status	-.8 - .6	-.4	.8

Table 1 shows the expected mean scores for the dependent and independent variables. The table indicates that levels of interracial contact were generally low. Racial attitudes were however average, but with a large standard deviation. Levels of intergroup threat were relatively high. There were generally low socio-economic statuses among the black population.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed in two stages. Firstly, we examined relationships between interracial contact, group threat, attitudes towards whites and socio-economic status using correlations. Secondly, a hierarchical regression analysis then examined whether socio-economic status moderates the relationship between interracial contact and racial attitudes.

Relationship between independent and dependent variables.

Bivariate correlations between independent and dependent variables are presented in **Table 2**. Socio-economic status had a strong positive relationship with interracial contact, $r=.150$ suggested that higher-SES blacks are more likely than lower-SES blacks to report contact with

whites. This might be *because* SES is so strongly associated with wider social participation, i.e., because higher-SES blacks are more likely to have larger social networks, and to be employed (and thus able to socialize with coworkers), and perhaps as a matter of preference as well. As expected, interracial contact was generally associated with more positive racial attitudes, $r=.220$, providing support to Allport's (1954) theory of interaction. Moreover, greater perceptions of intergroup threat corresponded with significantly less positive racial attitudes, $r=-.193$. Furthermore intergroup threat had a significant inverse relationship with interracial contact.

Table 2

	Contact	Racial Attitudes	In- group Threat	SES Income	SES LSM
Contact	—				
Racial Attitudes	.220**	—			
In-group Threat	-.150**	-.193**	—		
SES Income	.087**	.032	.006	—	
SES LSM	.150**	.080**	.044	-.091	—

Interracial contact, In-group threat, and socio-economic status as predictors of racial attitudes towards whites

A hierarchical least squares regression analysis examined whether socio-economic status moderates the relationship between interracial contact and racial attitudes among the respondents. To avoid multi-collinearity, we converted socio-economic status and out-group

contact to Z scores, thereby standardizing the variables. In-group threat was entered as a predictor for racial attitudes towards whites at the first stage of analysis to control its potential effects. Interracial contact and Socio-economic status were then entered as individual predictors at the second stage. The two-way interaction between interracial contact and Socio-economic status was entered at the third stage, to test whether it could account for variance in racial attitudes towards whites beyond that accounted for at the first two stages.

Table 3

Variable	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta
Threat	-.512	.073	-.189*	-.474	.072	-.175*	-.469	.072	-.173*
Contact				.428	.065	.178*	.458	.066	.191*
SES				.081	.065	.034*	.091	.065	.038*
Contact*SES							-.167	.057	-.078*

Note. B = raw regression coefficient; SE = standard error of B; Beta= standardized regression coefficient.

* $p < .001$

Table 3 summarizes the results from this analysis. The regression model was significant at Step 1, $R^2 = .036$, $F_{change}(1, 1331) = 49.340$, $p < .001$. Intergroup threat emerged as a significant predictor for racial attitudes towards whites, such that high levels of intergroup threat undermined positive racial attitudes. At Step 2, only interracial contact emerged as a significant predictor, contributing to a significant R^2 increment, $R^2_{change} = .035$, $F_{change}(2, 1329) = 25.254$, $p < .001$; racial attitudes were generally more positive among those who reported having contact than among those who did not have contact. Interracial contact remained a significant predictor at Step 3, while the two-way contact _ socio-economic status term also emerged as a significant predictor for interracial closeness, $R^2_{change} = .006$, $F_{change}(1, 1328) = 8.576$, $p < .001$.

.01. To interpret this interaction, the box plot of Socio-economic status show that the upper quartile is at .2 and the lower is at -1. We therefore used the data to select those cases with $SES > .2$ and those with $SES < -1$. This allowed us to have those cases that have high levels of socio-economic status so as to compare them with those cases low on SES. With this selection in place supplementary regressions were conducted separately for black of high and low socio-economic status, with intergroup threat variable entered at Step 1, and the interracial contact variable entered at Step 2. These analyses showed that, after separating participants according to socio-economic status, threat marginally predicted racial attitudes among black respondents of high socio-economic status, $\beta = -0.81$, $R^2\text{change} = .007$, $F\text{change}(1.333) = 2.186$, $p = .002$, while threat was a much stronger predictor of racial attitudes among low status blacks, $\beta = -0.81$, $R^2\text{change} = .053$, $F\text{change} (1.857) = 47.670$, $p < .001$. Furthermore contact marginally predicted positive racial attitudes among blacks of high socio-economic status, $\beta = .123$, $R^2\text{change} = .015$, $F\text{change} (1.332) = 5.115$, $p = .002$, while threat was a much stronger predictor of racial attitudes among low status blacks, $\beta = .227$, $R^2\text{change} = .322$, $F\text{change} (1.856) = 48.680$, $p = .002$ respectively. The bivariate correlation presented in Table 4 and 5 show similar patterns to these. The correlation between racial contact and attitudes to whites rose from .167 ($SES > .2$) to .315 ($SES < -1$). Thus, indicating that the strength of the relationship between contact and positive attitudes towards whites increases as SES decreases.

Table 4. Correlation of variable when SES < -1, N=331

	Out- Group Contact	In-group Threat	Attitudes Whites
Out-Group Contact	—		
In-group threat	-.144**	—	
Attitudes (Whites)	.315**	-.231**	—

Table 5 Correlations of variables when SES > .2, N=335

	Out- Group Contact	In-group Threat	Attitudes Whites
Out-Group Contact	—		
In-group threat	-.083**	—	
Attitudes (Whites)	.167**	-.086*	—

Discussion

The present study investigated the role that socio-economic status plays in structuring black South Africans intergroup contact and explored class differences in racial attitudes among black South Africans. There have been few studies that have investigated racial attitudes within the black South African population, and fewer have investigated attitudinal differences within the black population. The limitation of scholarly research that deals with attitudinal differences

within the black population is surprising given the diversity within the black South African population post-1994. Because of governments social and economic interventions together with other individual factors a large proportion of black South Africans are moving up the socio-economic ladder. The new political dispensation allowed wealthier black South Africans to move away from townships and rural areas. While a small proportion of the black population has managed to reap the benefits of the new political dispensation, a larger proportion of blacks with limited skills and no education remain trapped in townships. Before the 90's segregation laws in South Africa ensured that black middle-class families remained spatially and socially integrated with their lower status counterparts. Today, an ever increasing population of new black middle class families are moving away from ethnic enclaves and migrating to areas that were predominately occupied and reserved for whites. In this regard differences in socio-economic status among blacks have led to a spatial separation which, in turn, has helped to reinforce the social importance of class differences. Therefore, examining class differences in racial attitudes represents an important advancement in the understanding of the contact hypothesis in racially unequal societies which are not only characterized with high racially-based inequalities but also characterized by high in-group socio-economic inequalities. Accounting for the role that socio-economic inequalities play in structuring racial attitudes in post-apartheid South Africa allows one to not only determine the conditions under which racial exposure is likely to lead into positive racial attitudes but also determine how socio-economic inequalities buttress racial animosity. Exploring how individual socio-economic status structures intergroup relations allows for individual interracial contact experiences to be understood within the broader opportunity structure. Furthermore, expecting class differences in racial attitudes among blacks is similar to the assumptions in which a large body sociological and psychological work is grounded. For

instance, advocates of the conflict perspective, regard a similar economic position in society as the foundation of group consciousness with the identifiable distinction between groups being among other things, life chances and most importantly the ability to control one's own life. And, according to the class based theory of ethnicity, differences in racial attitudes between blacks of different socio-economic class should be expected since they circulate in different spatial and social locations (Bonacich, 1980; Cox, 1948; Hetcher, 1986). The financial achievement of middle and upper class blacks is likely to increasing their distance from lower-class blacks while shortening their distances from the dominant group.

Our findings pose serious questions regarding the nature of interracial contact within the South African context. The results indicate that the majority of black respondents rarely interact with whites. Although the present study focused on black South Africans, the results are similar to a number of studies which have also investigated racial integration in different settings, most notably Dixon and Durrheim (2003) in public beaches, Schrieffer, Tredoux, Dixon, and Finchilescu (2005), in university dining halls and Koen and Durrheim (2009) in university lectures. Our findings show similar trends to these studies, demonstrating that black South Africans rarely interact with whites in the so-called integrated places. Furthermore these findings highlight the difficulty of fully understanding psychological mechanisms that underlie interracial experiences in highly unequal societies and where such inequalities exist within racial groups.

The relationship between socio-economic status and interracial contact suggests that higher-status blacks are more likely than their lower status counterparts to report more integration experiences. The positive path linking higher socio-economic status and more integrative experiences possibly through higher social participation, signals double trouble given the escalating levels of inequality within the South African population. Lower status blacks, who

have little education and low income, are doubly disadvantaged since they have less opportunity for interracial contact and fewer resources with which to manage active friendships that cross social borders. American literature further suggests that lower-status people regardless of race are less organizationally active and have smaller friendship networks than their higher status counterparts who are more organizationally active and whose friendships networks are diverse. In sum the results suggest that interracial contact remains very low than what one would expect in a diverse nation. This highlights the difficulty of fully understanding psychological processes that underlie intergroup relations using Allport's (1954) prejudice reduction framework. Importantly, the present analysis suggests that inequality may – through the confinement of the underprivileged class – undermine the potential positive effects that are likely to occur through more positive integration experiences within the black population.

While our findings confirm literature by suggesting that positive interracial exposure is moderately associated with tolerant racial attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The results further indicate that positive contact effects tend to be weaker as socio-economic status of the black population increases. This suggests that socio-economic status may act as a crucial moderating variable that may compound the effects of contact. In line with this thinking, Orum and Orum (1968) suggest that socio-economic factors often contribute to predicting racial minority group members' interracial attitudes. This indicates that socio-economic status is an important factor that requires further exploration when dealing with racial attitudes among members of racial minority groups. As such, the present analysis demonstrates that socio-economic status may limit the extent to which contact could promote positive feelings towards whites.

The difference in racial attitudes between blacks of high and low socio-economic status, may emerge from how they experience and view relations with whites. While recent literature confirms that blacks regardless of socio-economic status are more likely than their white counterparts to report more experiences of discrimination (Feagin, 1991; Swim, Laurie, Laurie, Davita & Wayne, 2003, Sigelman & Welch, 2001). Due to integration with other racial and ethnic groups; blacks of middle and high socio-economic status may differ from their lower status counterparts in their levels of exposure to these forms of prejudice, such that in-group threat and perceived discrimination suggested by Tropp (2007) would limit the potentially positive effects of contact. The distinction between blacks of different socio-economic status is largely dependent on how macro-level and historical dimensions of group experience are perceived, understood and felt at the micro level. Minor events in public streets, accommodations, shopping mall and even educational institutions of racial discrimination are not just rare and isolated encounters perpetrated by prejudiced individuals, but these events significantly represent the invasion of the micro world by the macro world of the long-standing historical racial subordination which is experienced at different levels for blacks. The ability, and importantly, the opportunity to confront such discrimination and prejudice vary by socio-economic status. Since black South Africans of lower SES rarely interact with whites and are more likely to be spatially confined in ethnic enclave, our results suggest that they may be shielded from intense hostilities which exist in the larger society. This view suggests that racial intolerance may be heightened as blacks increase their levels of education, which enables them to enter mainstream occupations, and interact more frequently with whites. The ethnic competition arguments and the relative deprivation perspective are consistent with this view. According to Orum and Orum (1968) middle class blacks are more likely than their low status

in-group members to use white middle class families or individuals as their frame of reference, to that end, are unhappy with their current situation when they discover that they are worse off than their white counterparts. The results suggest that the significance of socio-economic status in intergroup relations is increasing and is increasing rapidly for middle-class blacks who, because of school desegregation, Affirmative Action and other integration programs, are coming into direct contact with whites for the first time. Such contact with whites, according to Willie and other exponents of the ethnic competition (Feagin, 1991) and relative deprivation (Orum & Orum, 1968) perspectives, is likely to heighten, rather than lower the racial awareness of the black middle class. Lower-class minorities who live and work (if at all) in rural townships are shielded from the outside hostility and therefore less conscious of ethnic differences. The results documented in this study follow this line of thinking by showing that middle class blacks have less tolerant attitudes than their lower status counterparts. This is contrary to our original hypothesis which was derived from the class-based theory of ethnicity. While the results indicate that the economic success that middle-class blacks enjoy shortens their social and physical distances from white. We found little evidence which suggests that blacks who have "made it" within an existing system of stratification are more likely to harbor more tolerant attitudes because of their presumed closeness to whites (Allport, 1954). In sum, the analysis demonstrates that the same status differences that separate blacks and whites also separate middle- and lower-class blacks. As the socioeconomic gap among black South Africans widens, so should their differences in attitudes and world view.

Race and Socio-Economic Status

The influence of socio-economic status on black's interracial attitudes suggests that intergroup literature needs to focus more on the material foundations of black racial attitudes.

Racial attitudes may not only be influenced by interracial contact but may be strongly informed by a history of economic oppression. In this regard it should be anticipated that black South Africans racial attitudes to have a unique economic component. While conflicts between blacks and whites have their root in a system of racial and economic domination and if racial and economic domination still characterize the life of ordinary South Africans, it thus becomes reasonable to expect economic circumstances to shape racial attitudes. The availability of important socio-economic resources has implications for the security and future socioeconomic mobility of individuals. Moreover, socioeconomic conditions are used consistently by individuals to evaluate the quality of their life. An advantaged economic position allows black South Africans to distance themselves from the challenges faced in townships and may affect how they perceive their life chances to be determined by race. With the narrow emphasis on intergroup contact and the resultant outcomes of such contact, scholars of intergroup relations have largely ignored the continuous struggles and frustrations of black South Africans, which are generated and sustained by conditions of material scarcity and income inequalities. In this regard socio-economic status affects the salience of race within the black population by providing them with a realistic basis on which to either accept or reject that their current belief that their life success is hindered by their racial group membership.

The impact of socio-economic status on the salience of race further requires us to acknowledge that where interracial contact occurs is not only platform for social engagement between blacks and whites but also a platform where both races bring their struggles and frustration to the contact situation. Thus, racial conflict does not only emerge as a response to interracial encounters, but as a result of other factors within the contact situation that serve to buttress racial animosities within intergroup relations. With emancipation and the new political

dispensation many black South Africans were lured into believing that such transformation in leadership structures will provide an opportunity for them to move away from hopelessness and poverty into success and wealth. It is for this reason that Zuma (2010) argues that the social psychological understanding of desegregation is “both historically and politically misinformed” (p. 2) by depoliticised theories that offer simple understandings of desegregation that have no value in real world. These findings further highlight the need to think broadly about how socioeconomic factors structure intergroup relations together with its influence on racial attitudes.

The mere fact socio-economic conditions influence and shape core racial attitudes may provide insight on the inconsistencies that have been evident in blacks’ public opinion and most importantly the well-documented tendency of middle-class blacks to be more racially oriented than lower-status blacks. The results call for an analysis that incorporates how the self is produced through boundaries and shaped by class which may be useful in providing insights into the role of relationships in the definition of racial subjects occupying different socio-economic positions. In other words, scholars of intergroup relations need to explore whether racial identities that inform inter-group animosity and hostility are socially constructed and defined in opposition or in relation to a privileged racial other. This is very important as it points to self-interest as the source of racial conflict and to how such conflicts are tangled with closure and with the desire to protect acquired privileges.

In summary, the situation of race, together with its developments in South Africa at the beginning of the 21st century is one that is very difficult to understand and is characterized by three central features. Firstly a significant amount of development has occurred since the first democratic elections on many aspects of racial inequality. Dismantling the apartheid regime

together with its segregation policies and the introduction of pro-black affirmative action has led to the emergence and increase of black middle class families that typically include: educated workers, small to large business people and professionals. For the first time in the history of South Africa, which has been characterized by racial segregation and marginalization, blacks are starting to interact with whites on a daily basis, presenting a contrasting picture that what was the case historically. Black South Africans are now afforded the opportunity to cultivate ties that cross racial and ethnic boundaries, which has favourable implications for prospects of positive intergroup relations. These diverse social contexts not only enable meaningful encounters between people of different races but have also provided scholars of intergroup relations with the ideal environment to test their theories. Secondly, despite extensive measures and policies being implemented post 1994 to foster a more integrated and tolerant society, racial discrimination continues to exist and prosper, both in macro institutional contexts and in ordinary intergroup interactions. Such discriminatory practices are not only unconstitutional but have been demonstrated to be detrimental to individual and group socio-economic mobility, as they infringe values of fairness. Some have further argued that it is these discriminatory behaviours that encourage segregation within desegregated environments. Thirdly, while levels of inequalities have increased, inequality has partially deracialized and there is more in-group inequality within the black population than inequality between groups. Nonetheless economic marginalization and acute poverty continues to characterize the lives of many blacks South Africans. The connection between deprivations produced by economic or financial marginalization and on-going discrimination guarantees racial oppression in South Africa today. The isolation of poor blacks in South Africa expands their marginalization from stable employment and the labour force.

Any serious political project or theoretical approach that seeks to address these issues must not only attempt to deal with the continuing discrimination but should also deal with the problems of economic deprivation. Reducing the high levels inequality that typically currently characterizes the racial ecology of South Africa is one approach that can directly deal with the economic aspects of racial inequality. Nonetheless it is important to acknowledge that inroads have been made to address factors that contribute to racial animosity. The progress had been largely hampered by the failure to fully conceptualize and understand psychological, social and economic factors that undermine government's efforts to reduce racial antagonism.

Limitation

The cross-sectional nature of the data analysed in this study limits our ability to conclude firmly about the moderating role of socio-economic status. It could be that socio-economic status moderates these relationships by curbing opportunities for interracial contact together and subsequent discrimination that occurs in interracial contact.

Conclusion

This study investigated the role that socio-economic factors play in shaping racial attitudes. What emerges is that the relationship between individual racial attitudes and interracial contact is far more complicated than what is documented in models assessing the unconditional effect of interracial contact on attitudes. Firstly, the results indicate that intergroup segregation remains very high as individuals typically interact with members of their own interracial groups which limit the opportunity to interact with other racial groups where such interaction could filter important material exchanges, everyday expressive support, and has the potential to affect and challenge dominant racial attitudes. Most importantly the results indicate the difficulty of fully

understanding psychological processes that underlie intergroup relations using Allport's prejudice reduction framework. Instead of modifying Allport's original list of optimal conditions that facilitate prejudice reduction through contact, the results suggest that researchers should pay more attention to factors that undermine racial integration within desegregated environments. Positive interracial exposure was associated with less perceived threat, and in keeping with the vast literature on contact we also find that negative contact with out-groups exacerbates perceptions of group threat (Tropp, 2007). Extending prior work, I found that the relationship between interracial contact and individual racial attitudes is conditioned by socio-economic factors. Importantly, the results further indicate that positive effects of contact tend to decrease as socio-economic status increases. When low status blacks did have contact with this, this resulted in more gains in terms of positive attitudes than was the case for high status blacks. These findings demonstrate that interracial contact may not be adequate in terms of determining racial attitudes within the black population. Instead, the state of the economy or individual socio-economic status may act as a crucial moderating variable in the quest to create and sustain positive intergroup relations. When confronted by limitations in resources, jobs and by a dual educational system, the results indicate that antagonism towards other racial groups may emerge, at least in part, from fears of further economic marginalization. Therefore, ethnic or racial prejudice may further increase when in-group members perceive a threat not only to their social but economic security to his individual or in-group wellbeing. Failure to account for this moderating effect results in deceptive conclusions regarding the impact of socio-economic status on attitudes.

By drawing on a number of rich literature that is trying to understand the factors that underlie intergroup relations, I not only hope to initiate fruitful discussions across political lines

but most importantly strive to contribute to the study of intergroup relations by providing a more realistic assessment of the racial environment together with its challenges in post-apartheid South Africa. In summary, spaces need to be desegregated especially for low SES blacks who sorely need opportunities for social mobility, integration and economic participation.

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SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL ATTITUDES SURVEY

Questionnaire 1: November 2010



RESPONDENTS AGED 16 YEARS +

Good (morning/afternoon/evening), I'm _____ and we are conducting a survey for the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). The HSRC regularly conducts surveys of opinion amongst the South African population. Topics include a wide range of social matters such as communications, politics, education, unemployment, the problems of the aged and inter-group relations. As a follow-up to this earlier work, we would like to ask you questions on a variety of subjects that are of national importance. To obtain reliable, scientific information we request that you answer the questions that follow as honestly as possible. Your opinion is important in this research. The area in which you live and you yourself have been selected randomly for the purpose of this survey. The fact that you have been chosen is thus quite coincidental. The information you give to us will be kept confidential. You and your household members will not be identified by name or address in any of the reports we plan to write.

PARTICULARS OF VISITS

	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	TIME STARTED		TIME COMPLETED		**RESPONSE	
				HR	MIN	HR	MIN		
First visit	/	/	2010	/	/	/	/	/	/
Second visit	/	/	2010	/	/	/	/	/	/
Third visit	/	/	2010	/	/	/	/	/	/

****RESPONSE CODES**

Completed questionnaire	=	01
Partially completed questionnaire (specify reason)	=	02
<u>Revisit</u>		
Appointment made	=	03
Selected respondent not at home	=	04
No one home	=	05
<u>Do not qualify</u>		
Vacant house/flat/stand/not a house or flat/demolished	=	06
No person qualifies according to the survey specifications	=	07
Respondent cannot communicate with interviewer because of language	=	08
Respondent is physically/mentally not fit to be interviewed	=	09
<u>Refusals</u>		
Contact person refused	=	10
Interview refused by selected respondent	=	11
Interview refused by parent	=	12
Interview refused by other household member	=	13
<u>OFFICE USE</u>		
	=	14

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Name of Interviewer

Number of interviewer

Checked by

Signature of supervisor

FIELDWORK CONTROL

CONTROL	YES	NO	REMARKS
Personal	1	2	
Telephonic	1	2	
Name	SIGNATURE		
.....	DATE/......./.....2010		

RESPONDENT SELECTION PROCEDURE

Number of households at visiting point

--	--

Number of persons 16 years and older at visiting point

--	--

Please list all persons at the visiting point/on the stand who are 16 years and older and were resident 15 out of the past 30 days. Once this is completed, use the Kish grid on next page to determine which person is to be interviewed.

Names of Persons Aged 16 and Older	
	01
	02
	03
	04
	05
	06
	07
	08
	09
	10
	11
	12
	13
	14
	15
	16
	17
	18
	19
	20
	21
	22
	23
	24
	25

NAME OF RESPONDENT:
ADDRESS OF RESPONDENT:
.....
.....
TEL NO.:

GRID TO SELECT RESPONDENT

NUMBER OF QUESTION-NAIRE				NUMBER OF PERSONS FROM WHICH RESPONDENT MUST BE DRAWN																								
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1	26	51	76	1	1	1	3	2	4	1	3	5	8	6	5	12	10	1	6	8	7	19	19	13	21	13	24	25
2	27	52	77	1	2	3	4	3	1	2	2	3	4	8	3	7	2	5	14	4	15	4	8	6	16	14	22	19
3	28	53	78	1	1	2	1	4	2	7	6	9	3	5	11	2	1	3	11	7	10	16	16	10	5	2	2	3
4	29	54	79	1	2	3	2	1	3	5	8	6	2	4	2	4	8	11	10	16	6	9	10	15	11	12	11	18
5	30	55	80	1	1	1	4	5	6	3	5	7	5	9	8	14	3	2	13	5	18	1	4	1	20	11	5	24
6	31	56	81	1	2	2	2	3	5	7	7	8	7	1	4	9	14	8	2	17	17	14	12	14	22	10	3	14
7	32	57	82	1	2	1	1	4	1	4	1	4	6	3	6	5	7	13	9	2	3	13	14	8	2	7	20	4
8	33	58	83	1	1	2	3	2	5	1	4	2	1	7	10	6	5	4	15	10	5	2	13	4	17	5	17	8
9	34	59	84	1	1	3	2	5	6	2	2	1	9	10	1	10	4	6	6	1	9	10	1	5	6	9	1	12
10	35	60	85	1	2	2	4	1	3	3	6	9	10	11	12	3	9	15	7	8	11	6	3	9	4	3	10	1
11	36	61	86	1	1	1	3	1	4	5	3	1	6	2	9	13	11	14	4	11	4	15	15	17	1	1	23	2
12	37	62	87	1	2	3	1	3	2	7	5	6	5	7	7	8	6	10	3	3	1	12	20	7	13	22	12	16
13	38	63	88	1	1	2	1	5	3	6	4	3	4	6	2	11	13	12	1	15	8	7	2	12	15	21	13	7
14	39	64	89	1	2	3	2	4	1	4	7	8	2	5	6	11	12	9	16	13	16	11	18	18	14	16	18	23
15	40	65	90	1	2	1	4	2	4	3	8	7	7	11	1	3	5	7	12	14	13	8	17	20	19	20	19	11
16	41	66	91	1	1	3	3	1	6	5	1	5	9	10	3	2	11	13	8	12	12	5	6	21	8	8	4	15
17	42	67	92	1	1	2	2	3	4	2	6	2	3	2	12	5	2	10	13	5	8	18	9	16	10	17	16	20
18	43	68	93	1	2	1	4	2	6	4	1	4	8	9	10	7	9	3	12	12	9	7	20	19	9	19	21	13
19	44	69	94	1	2	2	1	3	5	2	8	9	10	4	9	8	13	1	1	14	10	19	10	11	18	15	7	6
20	45	70	95	1	1	3	2	5	4	1	3	8	1	3	8	6	6	9	5	7	13	4	15	1	7	22	15	21
21	46	71	96	1	1	1	2	5	1	7	2	3	2	1	11	4	7	5	3	2	1	3	12	18	5	19	14	9
22	47	72	97	1	2	1	3	1	3	2	6	2	1	8	7	1	4	2	11	8	2	17	4	17	21	16	3	5
23	48	73	98	1	2	3	4	2	2	6	7	7	8	3	4	9	3	6	2	11	11	16	2	8	11	23	6	22
24	49	74	99	1	1	2	1	4	6	3	5	5	3	1	5	13	1	14	8	14	6	15	9	14	3	6	9	17
25	50	75	100	1	1	2	3	3	2	4	6	4	7	5	3	12	12	12	4	6	2	17	11	2	12	4	8	10

SASAS QUESTIONNAIRE 1: 2010

Number of persons in this household

Number of persons 16 years and older in this household

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODES

Household schedule	Write in from oldest (top) to youngest (bottom)	Person number	How old is [name]? (in completed years; less than 1 year =00)	Is [name] a male or a female? M=1 F=2	What population group does [name] belong to?	What is [name]'s relationship to the respondent
<i>Please list all persons in the household who eat from the same cooking pot and who were resident 15 out of the past 30 days</i> <i>Note: Circle the number next to the name of the household head.</i>		01				
		02				
		03				
		04				
		05				
		06				
		07				
		08				
		09				
		10				
		11				
		12				
		13				
		14				
		15				
		16				
		17				
		18				
		19				
		20				
		21				
		22				
		23				
		24				
		25				

Population Group
1 = Black African
2 = Coloured
3 = Indian or Asian
4 = White
5 = Other (<i>specify</i>)

Relationship to respondent codes
1 = Respondent
2 = Wife or husband or partner
3 = Son/daughter/stepchild/adopted child
4 = Father/mother/ step father/step mother
5 = Brother/sister/step brother/step sister
6 = Grandchild/great grandchild
7 = Grandparent/great grandparent
8 = Mother- or father-in-law
9 = Son- or daughter-in-law
10 = Brother- or sister-in-law
11 = Other relation (e.g. aunt/uncle)
12 = Non-relation

DEMOCRACY & GOVERNANCE

1. Please tell me what you think are the **THREE MOST** important challenges facing South Africa today?

FIELDWORKER: DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS.

HIV/AIDS	01
Unemployment	02
Racism	03
Xenophobia	04
Crime and safety	05
Service provision/delivery	06
Affordable housing	07
Land reform issues	08
Human rights	09
Education	10
Economic and financial issues	11
Work-related issues	12
Family and youth issues	13
Religion and culture issues	14
Environmental issues	15
Political issues	16
Corruption	17
Poverty	18
Other (specify)	19
(Do not know)	98

2. In the last 5 years, has life improved, stayed the same or gotten worse for people like you?

Improved	1
Stayed the same	2
Gotten worse	3
(Do not know)	8

3. Do you think that life will improve, stay the same or get worse in the next 5 years for people like you?

Improve	1
Stay the same	2
Get worse	3
(Do not know)	8

4. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy is working in South Africa? [*Showcard 2*]

Very satisfied	1
Satisfied	2
Neither nor	3
Dissatisfied	4
Very dissatisfied	5
(Do not know)	8

5. Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction or going in the wrong direction?

Going in the right direction	1
Going in the wrong direction	2
(Do not know)	8

6. How satisfied are you with the general economic situation in South Africa at present? Are you... [Showcard 2]

Very satisfied	1
Satisfied	2
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	3
Dissatisfied	4
Very dissatisfied	5
(Do not know)	8

Indicate the extent to which you trust or distrust the following institutions in South Africa at present. [Showcard 3]

	Institutions	Strongly trust	Trust	Neither trust nor distrust	Distrust	Strongly distrust	(Do not know)
7.	National government	1	2	3	4	5	8
8.	Courts	1	2	3	4	5	8
9.	Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)	1	2	3	4	5	8
10.	The SABC	1	2	3	4	5	8
11.	Parliament	1	2	3	4	5	8
12.	The police	1	2	3	4	5	8
13.	Defence force	1	2	3	4	5	8
14.	Your local government	1	2	3	4	5	8
15.	Churches	1	2	3	4	5	8
16.	Traditional authorities/leaders	1	2	3	4	5	8
17.	Political parties	1	2	3	4	5	8
18.	Politicians	1	2	3	4	5	8
19.	Trade unions	1	2	3	4	5	8

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way that the government is handling the following matters in your neighbourhood? [Showcard 2]

		Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	(Do not know)
20.	Supply of water and sanitation	1	2	3	4	5	8
21.	Providing electricity	1	2	3	4	5	8
22.	Removal of refuse	1	2	3	4	5	8
23.	Affordable housing	1	2	3	4	5	8
24.	Access to health care	1	2	3	4	5	8
25.	Treatment for sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV/AIDS	1	2	3	4	5	8
26.	Cutting crime	1	2	3	4	5	8
27.	Creating jobs	1	2	3	4	5	8
28.	Land reform	1	2	3	4	5	8
29.	Providing social grants (e.g. child support grant, old age pension, etc)	1	2	3	4	5	8
30.	Education	1	2	3	4	5	8

The next few questions are about your views on how the country is governed. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [*Showcard 1*]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
31.	Politicians found guilty of bribery or corruption should resign from public office immediately	1	2	3	4	5	8
32.	The government should have the authority to prevent citizens from criticising it	1	2	3	4	5	8
33.	Citizens should have the right to form or join organisations freely, such as political parties, business associations, trade unions and other interest groups	1	2	3	4	5	8
34.	The government should be in control of what information is given to the public	1	2	3	4	5	8
35.	Mass action is an acceptable way for people to express their views in a democracy	1	2	3	4	5	8

36. How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you

Very interested	1
Quite interested	2
Hardly interested	3
Not at all interested	4
(Do not know)	8

37. How often does politics seem so complicated that you cannot really understand what is going on?

Never	1
Seldom	2
Occasionally	3
Regularly	4
Frequently	5
(Do not know)	8

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [*Showcard 1*]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
38.	Whether I vote or not makes no difference	1	2	3	4	5	8
39.	After being elected all parties are the same, so voting is pointless	1	2	3	4	5	8
40.	It is the duty of all citizens to vote	1	2	3	4	5	8
41.	Voting is meaningless because no politician can be trusted	1	2	3	4	5	8

There are different ways of trying to improve things in South Africa or help prevent things going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? Have you...

		Yes	No	(Do not know)
42.	contacted a politician, government or local government official?	1	2	8
43.	contacted a traditional leader?	1	2	8
44.	taken part in a protest march or demonstration?	1	2	8

- 45. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you cannot be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted. [Showcard 7]**

You cannot be too careful										Most people can be trusted	(Do not know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

- 46. Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means most would try to take advantage and 10 means that most people would try to be fair. [Showcard 8]**

Most people would try to take advantage of me										Most people would try to be fair	(Do not know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

- 47. Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means people mostly look out for themselves and 10 means that people mostly try to be helpful. [Showcard 9]**

People mostly look out for themselves										People mostly try to be helpful	(Do not know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

48. Please indicate if anyone in your household belongs to any of the following groups?

49. Of the groups you have selected which is the most important for your household?

	48. Groups household members belongs to [<i>Multiple response</i>]	49. Most important group
Stokvel	a. 01	01
Burial society where members often meet	b. 02	02
Community Garden group	c. 03	03
Farmer's Association	d. 04	04
Sewing group	e. 05	05
Sports group	f. 06	06
Study group	g. 07	07
Singing or music group	h. 08	08
HIV/AIDS support group	i. 09	09
Youth Group	j. 10	10
Informal trader's group	k. 11	11
Men's association	l. 12	12
Women's association	m. 13	13
Religious/Church groups	n. 14	14
School governing body	o. 15	15
Community safety/development group	p. 16	16
Water Committee	q. 17	17
Development Committee	r. 18	18
Tribal Authority	s. 19	19
Trade union	t. 20	20
Political party	u. 21	21
Other (specify)	v. 22	22
(Don't know)	w. 98	98
(Not applicable – belongs to none of the groups)	x. 99	99

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PRIDE

We are all part of different groups. Some are more important to us than others when we think of ourselves. In general, which in the following list is most important to you in describing who you are? And the second most important? And the third most important? [*Fieldworker: Mark only one in each column*]

	50. Most important	51. Second most important	52. Third most important
Your current or previous occupation (or being a homemaker)	01	01	01
Your race/ethnic background	02	02	02
Your gender (that is, being a man/woman)	03	03	03
Your age group (that is, Young, Middle Age, Old)	04	04	04
Your religion (or being agnostic or atheist)	05	05	05
Your preferred political party, group, or movement	06	06	06
Your nationality	07	07	07
Your family or marital status (that is, son/daughter, mother/father, grandfather/grandmother, husband/ wife, widower/widow, not married, or other similar)	08	08	08
Your social class (that is upper, middle, lower, working, or similar categories)	09	09	09
The part of South Africa that you live in	10	10	10

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Please, circle one box on each line) [*Showcard 1*]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
53.	I would rather be a citizen of South Africa than of any other country in the world.	1	2	3	4	5	8
54.	There are some things about South Africa today that make me feel ashamed of South Africa.	1	2	3	4	5	8
55.	Generally speaking, South Africa is a better country than most other countries.	1	2	3	4	5	8

And how much do you agree or disagree with the following? [*Showcard 1*]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
56.	Being a member of my race group is an important part of who I am as a person	1	2	3	4	5	8
57.	There are some things about my race group today that make me feel ashamed.	1	2	3	4	5	8

INTERGROUP RELATIONS

To what extent do you feel attached to the following types of people? [*Showcard 4*]

		Very attached	Slightly attached	Not very attached	Not at all attached	(Do not know)
58.	Those who speak the same language as you?	1	2	3	4	8
59.	Those who belong to the same race group as you?	1	2	3	4	8
60.	Those who are in the same financial position as you?	1	2	3	4	8
61.	Those who live in your neighbourhood?	1	2	3	4	8

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [*Showcard 1*]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
62.	People of different racial groups do not really trust or like each other	1	2	3	4	5	8
63.	People of different racial groups will never really trust or like each other	1	2	3	4	5	8

Using a scale of 1 to 10, please describe how you feel about White people in general? Are they negative or positive; hostile or friendly; suspicious or trusting?

64.	Negative										Positive (Do not know)	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

65.	Hostile										Friendly (Do not know)	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

66.	Suspicious										Trusting (Do not know)	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

And now, using the same scale of 1 to 10, please describe how you feel about Black people in general? Are they negative or positive; hostile or friendly; suspicious or trusting?

67.	Negative										Positive (Do not know)	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

68.	Hostile										Friendly (Do not know)	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

69.	Suspicious										Trusting (Do not know)	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

And now again, using the same scale of 1 to 10, please describe how you feel about foreigners living in South Africa (amakwerekwere) people in general? Are they negative or positive; hostile or friendly; suspicious or trusting?

70.	Negative										Positive (Do not know)	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

71.	Hostile										Friendly (Do not know)	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

72.	Suspicious										Trusting (Do not know)	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	98

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
[Showcard 1]

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
73. People of other race groups in South Africa are trying to get ahead economically at the expense of my group.	1	2	3	4	5	8
74. People of other race groups in South Africa tend to exclude members of my group from positions of power and responsibility.	1	2	3	4	5	8
75. The traditions and values that are important to people of my race are under threat because of the influence of other races in this country.	1	2	3	4	5	8
76. Other race groups in South Africa will never understand what members of my group are like.	1	2	3	4	5	8

77. Would you describe yourself as being a member of a group that is discriminated against in this country?

FIELDWORKER: DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS.

Yes	1	
No	2	→ Skip to Q. 79
(Do not know)	8	→ Skip to Q. 79

78. On what grounds is your group discriminated against? PROBE: 'What other grounds?'

FIELDWORKER: DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS. MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED

a	Colour or race	01
b	Nationality	02
c	Religion	03
d	Language	04
e	Age	05
f	Gender	06
g	Sexual orientation	07
h	Education	08
i	Disability	09
j	Unemployed	10
k	Region or province	11
l	Other (specify)	12
m	(Do not know)	98

79. South Africa used to have apartheid by law between white, black, coloured and Indian/Asian. Since 1994, do you think that race relations in the country have improved, stayed the same, or gotten worse?

Improved	1
Stayed the same	2
Got worse	3
(Do not know)	8

80. In the last year, do you think that race relations in the country have improved, stayed the same, or gotten worse?

Improved	1
Stayed the same	2
Got worse	3
(Do not know)	8

81. How often do you personally feel racially discriminated against?

Always	1
Often	2
Sometimes	3
Not at all	4
(Do not know)	8

→ Skip to Q. 83

→ Skip to Q. 83

82. Where has this racial discrimination happened to you most recently?

FIELDWORKER: DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS. PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OPTION ONLY

At work	01
At an educational institution	02
In shops	03
On the roads or on the streets	04
When applying for a job	05
In a government department	06
In social clubs	07
In theatres	08
In restaurants	09
In sport	10
Elsewhere	11
Everywhere	12
(Not applicable)	99

83. How often do you feel that members of your race group are racially discriminated against?

Always	1
Often	2
Sometimes	3
Not at all	4
(Do not know)	8

To what extent do you agree or disagree that government should... [Showcard 1]

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
84. Redistribute land to black South Africans.	1	2	3	4	5	8

To what extent do you agree or disagree that there should be...? [Showcard 1]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
85.	Racial quotas in national sports teams.	1	2	3	4	5	8
86.	Preferential hiring and promotion of black South Africans in employment.	1	2	3	4	5	8
87.	Preferential hiring and promotion of women in employment.	1	2	3	4	5	8

88. How much is the government doing to ensure that people of all races have equal opportunities for jobs, housing, and education?

Nothing	1
A little	2
Quite a bit	3
A lot	4
(Do not know)	8

89. And how much should the government be doing to ensure that people of all races have equal opportunities for jobs, housing, and education?

Nothing	1
A little	2
Quite a bit	3
A lot	4
(Do not know)	8

Now some questions about people from other countries coming to live in South Africa.

90. Please indicate which of the following statements applies to you? I generally welcome to South Africa...

All immigrants	1
Some immigrants	2
No immigrants	3
(Do not know)	8

91. Which, if any, group would you least want to come and live in South Africa?

FIELDWORKER: DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS. PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OPTION ONLY

Nigerians	1
Angolans	2
Somalis	3
Zimbabweans	4
People from DRC	5
Mozambicans	6
Batswana	7
Swazi	8
Basotho	9
People from other African countries	10
Europeans	11
Americans	12
Indians	13
Other Asians	14
Australians	15
Returning South Africans	16
Other (specify)	17
None (welcome all groups)	18

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [*Showcard 1*]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
92.	Immigrants increase crime rates	1	2	3	4	5	8
93.	Immigrants are generally good for South Africa's economy	1	2	3	4	5	8
94.	Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in South Africa	1	2	3	4	5	8
95.	Immigrants make South Africa more open to new ideas and cultures	1	2	3	4	5	8
96.	Immigrants bring disease to South Africa	1	2	3	4	5	8
97.	Immigrants bring skills that are needed in South Africa	1	2	3	4	5	8
98.	Immigrants use up our country's resources	1	2	3	4	5	8

99. How many acquaintances do you know who have come to live in South Africa from another country?

None	1
Few	2
Some	3
Many	4
Very many	5
(Do not know)	8

→ Skip to Q. 101

100. Of the people you know who have come to live in South Africa from another country, how many would you consider to be friends?

None	1
Few	2
Some	3
Many	4
Very many	5
(Do not know)	8

I am now going to ask you some questions about the contact that you have with people of different race groups.

FIELDWORKER: IN QUESTIONS 101 - 108, ASK ONLY ABOUT RACE GROUPS OTHER THAN THAT TO WHICH THE RESPONDENT BELONGS. FOR EXAMPLE, IF THE RESPONDENT IS A BLACK PERSON, ONLY ASK ABOUT COLOURED, INDIAN AND WHITE PEOPLE. IF THE RESPONDENT IS A COLOURED PERSON, ONLY ASK ABOUT BLACK, INDIAN AND WHITE PEOPLE, AND SO ON.

How many do you know, at least as acquaintances?

	None	Few	Some	Many	Very many	(Do not know)	(Not applicable – same race group as respondent)
101. ... black people ...	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
102. ... coloured people ...	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
103. ... Indian people ...	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
104. ... white people ...	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

Of the that you know, how many would you consider to be friends?

	None	Few	Some	Many	Very many	(Do not know)	(Not applicable – same race group as respondent)
105. ... black people ...	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
106. ... coloured people ...	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
107. ... Indian people ...	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
108. ... white people ...	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[Showcard 1]

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
109. When I come into contact with other race groups we almost always interact as equals	1	2	3	4	5	8
110. When I come into contact with other race groups, contact is almost always friendly	1	2	3	4	5	8

EDUCATION

Now, I would like to ask some questions on education.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[Showcard 1]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
111.	All schools should contain children of different races.	1	2	3	4	5	8
112.	All schools should contain children of different languages.	1	2	3	4	5	8
113.	Children of different religions, or of no religion, should be educated separately	1	2	3	4	5	8
114.	Girls and boys should be educated separately	1	2	3	4	5	8
115.	The children of the economically well-off and the poor should be educated together	1	2	3	4	5	8

What do you think should be the main language of instruction in...?

		English	Home language of the learner	Afrikaans	(Do not know)
116.	Grades 1 to 3 (Grade 1 – Std. 1)	1	2	3	8
117.	Grades 4 to 9 (Std. 2 – Std.7)	1	2	3	8
118.	Grades 10 to 12 (Std. 8 – Matric)	1	2	3	8
119.	Higher education (university, college, technikon)	1	2	3	8

120. To what extent do you agree or disagree with corporal punishment as a method of keeping discipline in schools? [Showcard 1]

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5
(Do not know)	8

121. Which of the following groups, if any, would be your highest priority for extra government spending on education?

122. And which would be your second highest priority?

	121. First priority	122. Second priority
Nursery/pre-school children	1	1
Primary school children	2	2
Secondary school children	3	3
Less able children with special needs	4	4
Students at colleges, universities or technikons	5	5
Adult basic education (ABE)	6	6
(None of these)	7	7
(Do not know)	8	8

- 123. In general, how would you compare the overall standards of education in schools today with the standards when you were at school. Would you say that standards today are higher, lower, or about the same? IF HIGHER OR LOWER: A lot or a little?**

A lot higher now	1
A little higher	2
About the same	3
A little lower now	4
A lot lower	5
Not educated in South Africa	6
(Do not know)	8

- 124. From what you know or have heard, do you think school-leavers are better qualified or worse qualified nowadays than they were 10 years ago?**

Much more now than 10 years ago	1
A little better	2
About the same	3
A little worse.	4
Much worse now than 10 years ago	5
(Do not know)	8

How well do you think public secondary schools in South Africa nowadays . . .

	Very well	Quite well	Not very well	Not at all well	(Do not know)
125. prepare young people for work ?	1	2	3	4	8
126. teach young people basic skills such as reading, writing and maths ?	1	2	3	4	8
127. Instil discipline among young people	1	2	3	4	8

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
[Showcard 1]

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
128. I respect teachers for their dedicated service to children and the community.	1	2	3	4	5	8
129. Teachers should not be allowed to take actions that damage their teaching role, like going on strike.	1	2	3	4	5	8

HEALTH STATUS AND BEHAVIOUR

- 130. How would you rate your health at present?**

Very poor	1
Poor	2
Average	3
Good	4
Excellent	5
(Do not know)	8

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following aspects of government health services in your area? [Showcard 2]

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	(Do not know)
131. The amount of time patients wait before getting served	1	2	3	4	5	8
132. The way patients are treated by doctors	1	2	3	4	5	8
133. The way patients are treated by nurses	1	2	3	4	5	8
134. The availability of medicines at the hospital or clinic for both in- and out-patients	1	2	3	4	5	8

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [Showcard 1]

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
135. In the next few years the health care system in South Africa will improve	1	2	3	4	5	8
136. In general, the health care system in South Africa is inefficient.	1	2	3	4	5	8

MORAL ISSUES

Now I am going to ask you some questions about moral issues. [Showcard 5]

	Not wrong at all	Wrong only sometimes	Almost always wrong	Always wrong	(Do not know)
137. Do you think it is wrong or not wrong if a man and a woman have sexual relations before marriage?	1	2	3	4	8
138. Do you think it is wrong or not wrong for a married person to have sexual relations with someone to whom he or she is not married?	1	2	3	4	8
139. Do you think it is wrong or not wrong for two adults of the same sex to have sexual relations?	1	2	3	4	8
140. Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish	1	2	3	4	8

141. People convicted of murder should be subject to the death penalty. Do you... [Showcard 1]

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5
(Do not know)	8

142. Helping people, whether by sharing time, money or possessions, is...

An important part of my life	1
Not an important part of my life	2
Neither important nor unimportant	3
(Do not know)	8

To what extent do you think that the following actions are wrong or not wrong?

	Always wrong	Almost always wrong	Sometimes right	Always right	(Not about right or wrong)	(Do not know)
143. Being disrespectful to another person	1	2	3	4	5	8
144. Letting someone else be blamed for something you did wrong	1	2	3	4	5	8
145. Lying in order to get a job	1	2	3	4	5	8
146. Taking revenge on someone	1	2	3	4	5	8

CRIME AND SAFETY

147. Have you or a member of your household been the victim of a burglary or assault in the last five years?

Yes	1
No	2
(Do not know)	8

148. How safe or unsafe do you feel personally on most days?

Very safe	1
Safe	2
Neither safe nor unsafe	3
Unsafe	4
Very unsafe	5
(Do not know)	8

149. How safe or unsafe do you (or would you) feel walking alone in this area during the day?

Very safe	1
Fairly safe	2
A bit unsafe	3
Very unsafe	4
(Do not know)	8

150. How safe or unsafe do you (or would you) feel walking alone in this area after dark?

Very safe	1
Fairly safe	2
A bit unsafe	3
Very unsafe	4
(Do not know)	8

151. How often do you worry about your home being burgled?

All or most of the time	1	}	Ask Q.152
Some of the time	2		
Just occasionally	3		
Never	4	→	Skip to Q.153
(Do not know)	8	→	Skip to Q.153

152. Does this worry about your home being burgled have a serious effect on the quality of your life, some effect, or no real effect on the quality of your life?

Serious effect on the quality of your life	1
Some effect	2
No real effect on the quality of your life	3
(Do not know)	8

153. How often do you worry about becoming a victim of violent crime?

All or most of the time	1	}	Ask Q.154
Some of the time	2		
Just occasionally	3		
Never	4	→	Skip to Q.155
(Do not know)	8	→	Skip to Q.155

154. Does this worry about becoming a victim of violent crime have a serious effect on the quality of your life, some effect, or no real effect on the quality of your life?

Serious effect on the quality of your life	1
Some effect	2
No real effect on the quality of your life	3
(Do not know)	8

155. Do you think that crime in this neighbourhood has increased, decreased or remained about the same over the past year?

Increased a lot	1
Increased a little	2
Remained about the same	3
Decreased a little	4
Decreased a lot	5
(Do not know)	8
Not applicable (no crime problem here)	9

PERSONAL WELLBEING INDEX

The following questions ask how satisfied you feel, on a scale from zero to 10. **Zero** means you feel completely dissatisfied. **10** means you feel completely satisfied. And the **middle of the scale is 5**, which means you feel neutral, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied."

156. Thinking about your own life and personal circumstances, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole? [*Showcard 10*]

CompletelyDissatisfied					Neutral						Completely Satisfied
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	

157. How satisfied are you with your standard of living? [*Showcard 10*]

Completely Dissatisfied					Neutral						Completely Satisfied
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

158. How satisfied are you with your health? [*Showcard 10*]

Completely Dissatisfied					Neutral						Completely Satisfied
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

159. How satisfied are you with what you are achieving in life? [*Showcard 10*]

Completely Dissatisfied					Neutral						Completely Satisfied
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

160. How satisfied are you with your personal relationships? [*Showcard 10*]

Completely Dissatisfied					Neutral						Completely Satisfied
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

161. How satisfied are you with how safe you feel? [*Showcard 10*]

Completely Dissatisfied					Neutral						Completely Satisfied
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

162. How satisfied are you with feeling part of your community? [*Showcard 10*]

Completely Dissatisfied					Neutral						Completely Satisfied
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

163. How satisfied are you with your future (financial) security? [*Showcard 10*]

Completely Dissatisfied						Neutral						Completely Satisfied
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

164. How satisfied are you with your spirituality or religion? [*Showcard 10*]

Completely Dissatisfied						Neutral						Completely Satisfied
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

POVERTY

165. Would you say that you and your family are...

Wealthy	1
Very comfortable	2
Reasonably comfortable	3
Just getting along	4
Poor	5
Very poor	6

166. How does your household income compare with other households in your village / neighbourhood?

Much above average income	1
Above average income	2
Average income	3
Below average income	4
Much below average income	5
(Do not know)	8

167. Taking all things together, would you say you are: [*Showcard 6*]

Very happy	1
Happy	2
Neither happy nor unhappy	3
Not happy	4
Not at all happy	5
(Do not know)	8

168. Why, in your opinion, are there people who live in poverty? Here are four options - which is the closest to your opinion?

Because they have been unlucky	1
Because of laziness and lack of willpower	2
Because there is much injustice in our society	3
It's an inevitable part of modern progress	4
(None of these)	5
(Do not know)	8

Now I would like to ask your opinion of your household's standard of living

Are the following inadequate, just adequate or more than adequate for your household's needs?

		It is not adequate for your household's needs	It is just adequate for your household's needs	It is more than adequate for your household's needs	(Do not know)	(Not applicable)
169.	Your household's <u>housing</u>	1	2	3	8	
170.	Your household's <u>access to transport</u>	1	2	3	8	
171.	Your household's <u>health care</u>	1	2	3	8	
172.	Your <u>children's schooling</u>	1	2	3	8	9
173.	Your household's <u>clothing</u>	1	2	3	8	

174. To what extent was the amount of food your household had over the past month less than adequate, just adequate or more than adequate for your household's needs?

It was less than adequate for your household's needs	1
It was just adequate for your household's needs	2
It was more than adequate for your household's needs	3
(Do not know)	8

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[Showcard 1]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
175.	Differences in income in South Africa are too large	1	2	3	4	5	8
176.	It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.	1	2	3	4	5	8
177.	The government should provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed.	1	2	3	4	5	8
178.	The government should spend less on benefits for the poor.	1	2	3	4	5	8

PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF SCIENCE

Please consider the following statements and tell me whether you agree or disagree.
[Showcard 1]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
179.	Science and Technology are making our lives healthier, easier, and more comfortable	1	2	3	4	5	8
180.	We depend too much on science and not enough on faith	1	2	3	4	5	8
181.	Science makes our way of life change too fast	1	2	3	4	5	8
182.	Because of science and technology, there will be more opportunities for the next generation	1	2	3	4	5	8
183.	It is not important for me to know about science in my daily life	1	2	3	4	5	8
184.	Benefits of science are greater than any harmful effects	1	2	3	4	5	8
185.	Scientists and engineers have a prestigious occupation	1	2	3	4	5	8

Please consider the following sources of information. How often do you use these to access or experience information about science and technology?

		Very often	Often	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
186.	Television	1	2	3	4	5
187.	Radio	1	2	3	4	5
188.	Newspapers	1	2	3	4	5
189.	Books/magazines	1	2	3	4	5
190.	Internet	1	2	3	4	5
191.	Other people (family members, relatives, friends, etc)	1	2	3	4	5
192.	Public spaces (library, museum, aquarium, zoo, etc)	1	2	3	4	5

The next few questions are like a quiz. The questions are not designed to trick you, so if you think you have the right answer, you probably do. If you don't know the answer, just say so.

Are the following statements true or false?

		True	False	(Do not know)
193.	The centre of the Earth is very hot	1	2	8
194.	Electrons are smaller than atoms	1	2	8
195.	Antibiotics kills viruses as well as bacteria	1	2	8
196.	Human beings developed from earlier species of animals	1	2	8
197.	The sun rotates around the Earth	1	2	8
198.	The oxygen we breathe comes from plants	1	2	8

POLICE CONFIDENCE

Now some questions on a different topic.

I would now like to ask you some questions about how wrong you consider certain ways of behaving to be.

Please tell me how wrong it is to ... ? [*Showcard 11*]

		Not wrong at all	A bit wrong	Wrong	Seriously wrong	(Don't know)
199.	...buy something you thought might be stolen?	1	2	3	4	8
200.	...commit a traffic offence like speeding or crossing a red robot?	1	2	3	4	8

Now just suppose you were to do any of these things in South Africa. Please tell me how likely it is that you would be caught and punished if you... [*Showcard 12*]

		Not at all likely	Not very likely	Likely	Very likely	(Don't know)
201.	...bought something you thought might be stolen?	1	2	3	4	8
202.	...committed a traffic offence like speeding or crossing a red robot?	1	2	3	4	8

I would now like to ask you some questions about the police in South Africa.

203. Taking into account all the things the police are expected to do, would you say they are doing a good job or a bad job?

Very good job	1
Good job	2
Neither good nor bad job	3
Bad job	4
Very bad job	5
(Do not know)	8

204. In the past 2 years, did the police in South Africa approach you, stop you or make contact with you for any reason?

Yes	1
No	2
(Do not know)	8

→ Skip to Q.206

→ Skip to Q.206

205. How satisfied or dissatisfied were you with the way the police treated you the last time this happened?

Very satisfied	1
Satisfied	2
Neither nor	3
Dissatisfied	4
Very dissatisfied	5
(Do not know)	8

Now some questions about whether or not the police in South Africa treat victims of crime equally. Please answer based on what you have heard or your own experience.

206. When victims report crimes, do you think the police treat rich people worse, poor people worse, or are rich and poor treated equally?

Rich people treated worse	1
Poor people treated worse	2
Rich and poor people treated equally	3
(Do not know)	8

207. And when victims report crimes, do you think the police treat some people worse because of their race or ethnic group or is everyone treated equally?

White, Indian and Coloured South Africans are treated worse than black South Africans	1
Black South Africans are treated worse than other race groups	2
Everyone treated equally <u>regardless</u> of their race or ethnic group	3
(Do not know)	8

208. Based on what you have heard or your own experience how successful do you think the police are at preventing crimes in South Africa where violence is used or threatened? Choose your answer from a scale where 0 is extremely unsuccessful and 10 is extremely successful. [*Showcard 13*]

Extremely unsuccessful										Extremely successful	(Do not know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

209. And how successful do you think the police are at catching people who commit house burglaries in South Africa? [*Showcard 13*]

Extremely unsuccessful										Extremely successful	(Do not know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

210. If a violent crime or house burglary were to occur near to where you live and the police were called how slowly or quickly do you think they would arrive at the scene? Choose your answer from a scale where 0 is extremely slowly and 10 is extremely quickly. [*Showcard 14*]

Extremely slowly										Extremely quickly	(Do not know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
(Violent crimes and/or house burglaries never occur near to where I live)											55

Now some questions about when the police deal with crimes like house burglary and physical assault.

211. Based on what you have heard or your own experience how often would you say the police generally treat people in South Africa with respect? Would you say ..

...not at all often	1
Not very often	2
Often	3
Or, very often?	4
(Do not know)	8

212. About how often would you say that the police make fair, impartial decisions in the cases they deal with? Would you say ..

...not at all often	1
Not very often	2
Often	3
Or, very often?	4
(Do not know)	8

213. And when dealing with people in South Africa, how often would you say the police generally explain their decisions and actions when asked to do so? Would you say...

...not at all often	1
Not very often	2
Often	3
Or, very often?	4
(No one ever asks the police to explain their decisions and actions)	5
(Do not know)	8

Now some questions about your duty towards the police in South Africa. Use this scale where 0 is not at all your duty and 10 is completely your duty.

214. To what extent is it your duty to support the decisions made by the police even when you disagree with them? [*Showcard 15*]

Not at all my duty										Completely my duty	(Do not know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

215. To what extent is it your duty to do what the police tell you even if you don't understand or agree with the reasons? [*Showcard 15*]

Not at all my duty										Completely my duty	(Do not know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

216. To what extent is it your duty to do what the police tell you to do, even if you don't like how they treat you? [*Showcard 15*]

Not at all my duty										Completely my duty	(Do not know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about the police in South Africa. [*Showcard 1*]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Do not know
217.	The police generally have the same sense of right and wrong as I do	1	2	3	4	5	8
218.	The police stand up for values that are important to people like me	1	2	3	4	5	8
219.	I generally support how the police usually act	1	2	3	4	5	8
220.	The decisions and actions of the police are unduly influenced by pressure from political parties and politicians	1	2	3	4	5	6

Now one last question about the police and things they may or may not do.

221. How often would you say that the police in South Africa take bribes? Choose your answer from the scale where 0 is never and 10 is always. [*Showcard 16*]

Never										Always	(Do not know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

Now some questions about what you would do if you were the only witness to a crime.

222. Imagine that you were out and saw someone push a man to the ground and steal his wallet. How likely would you be to call the police? Would you be not at all likely, not very likely, likely, or very likely? [*Showcard 17*]

... not at all likely,	1
<i>not very likely,</i>	2
likely,	3
or, very likely?	4
(Do not know)	8

223. How willing would you be to identify the person who had done it? Would you be not at all willing, not very willing, willing, or very willing? [*Showcard 18*]

... not at all willing,	1
not very willing,	2
willing,	3
or, very willing?	4
(Do not know)	8

224. And how willing would you be to give evidence in court against the accused? Would you be not at all willing, not very willing, willing, or very willing? [*Showcard 18*]

... not at all willing,	1
not very willing,	2
willing,	3
or, very willing?	4
(Do not know)	8

Now some questions about things you might have done.

Using this card please tell me how often you have done each of these things in the last five years? How often have you ... ? [Showcard 19]

		Never	Once	Twice	3-4 times	5 times or more	(Don't know)
225.	...bought something you thought might be stolen?	1	2	3	4	5	8
226.	...committed a traffic offence like speeding or crossing a red robot?	1	2	3	4	5	8

BATHO PELE

And now I would like to ask you a few statements about the performance of your municipality.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [Showcard 1]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
227.	Municipalities do not consult communities enough on basic services	1	2	3	4	5	8
228.	Government is delivering on its promises in terms of providing basic services that are of good quality	1	2	3	4	5	8
229.	Government is making progress in giving all South Africans equal access to services	1	2	3	4	5	8
230.	My municipality treats people with respect	1	2	3	4	5	8
231.	My municipality provides people with good information about basic services	1	2	3	4	5	8
232.	My municipality provides regular information on its performance in delivering services	1	2	3	4	5	8
233.	My municipality responds quickly to complaints about problems with services	1	2	3	4	5	8
234.	My municipality does a good job of following through and fixing problems	1	2	3	4	5	8
235.	People are getting good value for the money they are charged for basic services	1	2	3	4	5	8

VOTING

236. For which party did you vote in the last national election, which was held in 2009?

FIELDWORKER: DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS. PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OPTION ONLY

African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	01
African National Congress (ANC)	02
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	03
Democratic Party / Alliance (DA/DP)	04
Freedom Front Plus / Vryheidsfront Plus (FF+/VF+)	05
Independent Democrats (ID)	06
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	07
Minority Front (MF)	08
Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)	09
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	10
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	11
Congress of the People (COPE)	12
Other (specify)	13
Did not vote	14
Uncertain	15
(Refuse to answer)	97
(Do not know)	98

237. If there were a national election tomorrow, for which party would you vote?

FIELDWORKER: DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS. PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OPTION ONLY.

African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	01	→ Skip to Q.239
African National Congress (ANC)	02	
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	03	
Democratic Party / Alliance (DA/DP)	04	
Freedom Front Plus / Vryheidsfront Plus (FF+/VF+)	05	
Independent Democrats (ID)	06	
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	07	
Minority Front (MF)	08	
Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)	09	
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	10	
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	11	
Congress of the People (COPE)	12	
Other (specify)	13	→ Ask Q.238
Will not vote	14	
Uncertain	15	→ Skip to Q.239
(Refuse to answer)	97	
(Do not know)	98	

238. If answered 14 in Q. 237: What is your main reason for thinking that you would not vote if a national election were held tomorrow?

FIELDWORKER: DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS. PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OPTION ONLY

Too young	01
Not interested	02
Not registered	03
Disillusioned with politics	04
Too much effort required	05
Polling station too far away	06
Fear of intimidation or violence	07
Only one party could win	08
Health reasons/sick	09
Do not have an ID book	10
Other (specify)	11

239. To which party do you feel most close?

FIELDWORKER: DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS. PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OPTION ONLY

African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	01	→ Ask Q.240
African National Congress (ANC)	02	
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	03	
Democratic Party / Alliance (DA/DP)	04	
Freedom Front Plus / Vryheidsfront Plus (FF+/VF+)	05	
Independent Democrats (ID)	06	
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	07	
Minority Front (MF)	08	
Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)	09	
South African Communist Party (SACP)	10	
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	11	
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	12	
Congress of the People (COPE)	13	
Other (specify)	14	
No party	15	→ Skip to Q.241
Will not vote	16	
Uncertain	17	
(Refuse to answer)	97	
(Do not know)	98	

240. How close do you feel to this party?

Very close	1
Quite close	2
Not close	3
Not at all close	4
(Do not know)	8

241. In political matters, people talk of 'the left' and 'the right' or 'liberal' and 'conservative'. Where would you place your views on this scale? [*Showcard 20*]

Extremely liberal (or left)	1
Liberal (or left)	2
Slightly liberal (or left)	3
Moderate, middle of the road	4
Slightly conservative (or right)	5
Conservative (or right)	6
Extremely conservative (or right)	7
(Do not know)	8

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

242. Sex of respondent [copy from contact sheet]

Male	1
Female	2

243. Race of respondent [copy from contact sheet]

Black African	1
Coloured	2
Indian/Asian	3
White	4
Other	5

244. Age of respondent in completed years [copy from contact sheet]

			Years
--	--	--	-------

(Don't know) = 998

245. What is your current marital status?

Married (customary only)	1	} Ask Q.246
Married (civil only)	2	
Married (both customary and civic)	3	
Widower/widow	4	} Skip to Q.247
Divorced	5	
Separated	6	
Never married	7	
(Don't know)	8	
(Refused to answer)	9	

246. Are you currently living with your husband/wife?

Yes	1
No	2
(Refused to answer)	7
(Do not know)	8

247. Do you live together with a partner?

Yes	1
No	2
(Refused to answer)	7
(Don't know)	8
(Not applicable - living together with spouse)	9

248. What is the highest level of education that you have ever completed?

No schooling	00
Grade 0/Grade R	01
Sub A/Grade 1	02
Sub B/Grade 2	03
Grade 3/Standard 1	04
Grade 4/Standard 2	05
Grade 5/Standard 3	06
Grade 6/Standard 4	07
Grade 7/Standard 5	08
Grade 8/Standard 6/Form 1	09
Grade 9/Standard 7/Form 2	10
Grade 10/Standard 8/Form 3	11
Grade 11/Standard 9/Form 4	12
Grade 12/Standard 10/Form 5/Matric	13
NTC I	14
NTC II	15
NTC III	16
Diploma/certificate with less than Grade 12/Std 10	17
Diploma/certificate with Grade 12/Std 10	18
Degree	19
Postgraduate degree or diploma	20
Other, specify	21
(Do not know)	98

249. Are you a citizen of South Africa?

Yes	1
No	2
(Do not know)	8

250. What language do you speak mostly at home?

Sesotho	01
Setswana	02
Sepedi	03
Siswati	04
IsiNdebele	05
IsiXhosa	06
IsiZulu	07
Xitsonga	08
Tshivenda/Lemba	09
Afrikaans	10
English	11
Other African language	12
European language	13
Indian language	14
Other (specify)	15

251. What is your current employment status? (WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST DESCRIBES YOUR PRESENT WORK SITUATION?)

Employed full time	01
Employed part time	02
Employed less than part time (casual work/piecework)	03
Temporarily sick	04
Unemployed, not looking for work	05
Unemployed, looking for work	06
Pensioner (aged/retired)	07
Permanently sick or disabled	08
Housewife, not working at all, not looking for work	09
Housewife, looking for work	10
Student/learner	11
Other (specify)	12

252. What is your current occupation (the name or title of your main job)?

FIELDWORKER: WRITE DOWN RESPONSE IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED, ASK FOR MOST RECENT JOB

--	--

(Refused to answer) 97
 (Don't know, inadequately described) 98
 (Not applicable – never had a job) 99

253. What kind of activities do you do most of the time (In your main job)?

FIELDWORKER: WRITE DOWN RESPONSE IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED, ASK FOR MOST RECENT JOB

--	--

(Refused to answer) 97
 (Don't know, inadequately described) 98
 (Not applicable – never had a job) 99

254. Are you or have you ever been a paid-up member of a Trade Union?

Yes, I am currently a member	1
Yes, was once a member, but not now	2
Never a member	3
(Refused)	7

255. How satisfied are you in your (main) job?

FIELDWORKER: PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OPTION ONLY.

NOTE: THE QUESTION REFERS TO ONE'S MAIN JOB IF HE OR SHE HAS MULTIPLE JOBS

Completely satisfied	1
Very satisfied	2
Fairly satisfied	3
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	4
Very dissatisfied	5
Completely dissatisfied	6
(Cannot choose)	8
(Not applicable – never had a job)	9

256. Do you consider yourself as belonging to any religion?

Yes	1
No	2

→ Skip to Q.259

257. If answer is yes, which one? Please specify denomination

Christian (without specification)	01
African Evangelical Church	02
Anglican	03
Assemblies of God	04
Apostle Twelve	05
Baptist	06
Dutch Reformed	07
Full Gospel Church of God	08
Faith Mission	09
Church of God and Saints of Christ	10
Jehovah's Witness	11
Lutheran	12
Methodist	13
Pentecostal Holiness Church	14
Roman Catholic	15
Salvation Army	16
Seventh Day Adventist	17
St John's Apostolic	18
United Congregation Church	19
Universal Church of God	20
Nazareth	21
Zionist Christian Church	22
Other Christian	23
Islam / Muslim	24
Judaism /Jewish	25
Hinduism / Hindu	26
Buddhism / Buddhist	27
Other (specify)	28
(Refused)	97
(Don't know)	98
(Not answered)	99

258. Apart from special occasions such as weddings, funerals and baptisms, how often do you attend services or meetings connected with your religion?

Never	01
Less than once a year	02
About once or twice a year	03
Several times a year	04
About once a month	05
2-3 times a month	06
Nearly every week	07
Every week	08
Several times a week	09
(Can't say/Can't remember)	98

259. Do you or anyone in this household receive any of the following Welfare grants?

FIELDWORKER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED

Old Age Grant	1
Child Support Grant	2
Disability Grant	3
Care dependency grant	4
Foster care grant	5
Grant in aid	6
No-one in household receiving any benefits	9
(Refused to answer)	97
(Don't know)	98

260. How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? [*Showcard 2*]

Very satisfied	1
Satisfied	2
Neither nor	3
Dissatisfied	4
Very dissatisfied	5
(Do not know)	8

261. People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper or lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the...?

Lower class	1
Working class	2
Middle class	3
Upper middle class	4
Upper class	5
(Don't know)	8

262. In our society there are groups which tend to be towards the top and groups which tend to be towards the bottom. Where would you put yourself on a scale of 1 to 10, where 10 is the top and 1 the bottom?

TOP	10
	9
	8
	7
	6
	5
	4
	3
	2
BOTTOM	1

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

263. Indicate the type of main dwelling that the household occupies?

Dwelling/House or brick structure on a separate stand or yard or on farm	01
Traditional dwelling/ Hut/ Structure made of traditional materials	02
Flat or apartment in a block of flats	03
Town/cluster/semi-detached house (simplex, duplex or triplex)	04
Unit in retirement village	05
Dwelling/House/Flat/room in backyard	06
Informal dwelling/Shack in backyard	07
Informal dwelling/Shack not in backyard, e.g. in an informal/squatter settlement or on farm	08
Room/Flatlet	09
Caravan/Tent	10
Other, <i>specify</i>	11

264. What is the most often used source of drinking water by this household?

FIELDWORKER: PLEASE CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ONLY

Piped tap water in dwelling-metered	01
Piped tap water in dwelling-pre-paid meter	02
Piped tap water on site/yard-meter	03
Piped tap water on site/yard-pre-paid meter	04
Piped tap water on site/yard-no meter	05
Public/communal tap – Free	06
Public/communal tap – Paid	07
Neighbour – Free	08
Neighbour – Paid for	09
Water carrier/tanker	10
Water carrier/tanker on site / communal	11
Borehole on site	12
Borehole off site/communal	13
Rainwater tank on site	14
Flowing river/stream	15
Dam/pool	16
Stagnant pond	17
Well	18
Spring	19
Bottled water	20
Other, <i>specify</i>	21

265. What type of toilet facility is available for this household?

FIELDWORKER: PLEASE CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ONLY

Flush toilet connected to a municipal sewage system	01
Flush toilet connected to a septic tank	02
Chemical toilet	03
Pit latrine with ventilation pipe (long drop)	04
Pit latrine without ventilation pipe (long drop)	05
Bucket toilet	06
Other, <i>specify</i>	07
None	08
(Do not know)	98

→ Skip to Q.267

266. Where is this toilet facility located?

In dwelling	1
On site (In yard)	2
Off site (out side yard)	3

267. Do you have access to electricity in your household?

In-house meter	1
In-house pre-paid meter	2
Connected to other source which I pay for (e.g. connected to neighbour's line and paying neighbour)	3
Connected to other source which I do not pay for (e.g. connected to neighbour's line and not paying)	4
Illegal connection (e.g. connected to Eskom line)	5
Generator/battery	6
Other (specify)	7
No access to electricity	8
(Uncertain/Don't know)	9

Please tell me which of the following, if any, are presently in your household (in working order). Does your household have...?

	Yes	No
268. Hot running water	1	2
269. Fridge/freezer combination	1	2
270. Microwave oven (in working order)	1	2
271. Domestic worker (live-in / part-time)	1	2
272. VCR in household	1	2
273. Vacuum cleaner/floor polisher	1	2
274. Only 1 cell phone in household	1	2
275. Two Cell phones in household	1	2
276. A washing machine	1	2
277. A computer / laptop at home	1	2
278. DVD player	1	2
279. An electric stove	1	2
280. A TV set	1	2
281. A tumble dryer	1	2
282. A Telkom home telephone	1	2
283. No or only one radio	1	2
284. Hi-fi/music centre	1	2
285. Built in kitchen sink	1	2
286. Home security service	1	2
287. A deep freezer (in working order)	1	2
288. M-Net and or DStv subscription	1	2
289. A dishwashing machine	1	2
290. Three or more cell phones in household	1	2
291. There is a motor vehicle in our household	1	2
292. Home theatre system	1	2

293. Do you have access to the Internet? [*Fieldworker: Multiple response*]

a. Yes, at home	1
b. Yes, at work	2
c. Yes, at an educational institution	3
d. Yes, at an internet cafe	4
e. Yes, at a community centre	5
f. Yes, at a post office	6
g. Yes, through a cellphone	7
h. Yes, other (please specify)	8
i. None	9

PERSONAL AND HOUSEHOLD INCOME

294. Please consider the income of all household members and any income which may be received by the household as a whole. What is the main source of income in your household?

Salaries and/or wages	1
Remittances	2
Pensions and/or grants	3
Sale of farm products and services	4
Other non-farm income	5
No income	6
(Refused to answer)	7
(Don't know)	8

SHOWCARD G2

- 295. Please give me the letter that best describes the TOTAL MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME of all the people in your household before tax and other deductions. Please include all sources of income i.e. salaries, pensions, income from investment, etc.**
- 296. Please give me the letter that best describes your PERSONAL TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME before tax and other deductions. Please include all sources of income i.e. salaries, pensions, income from investment, etc.**

		295. Household	296. Personal
	No income	01	01
K	R1 – R500	02	02
L	R501 – R750	03	03
M	R751 – R1 000	04	04
N	R1 001–R1 500	05	05
O	R1 501 – R2 000	06	06
P	R2 001 – R3 000	07	07
Q	R3 001 – R5 000	08	08
R	R5 001 – R7 500	09	09
S	R7 501 – R10 000	10	10
T	R10 001 – R15 000	11	11
U	R15 001 – R20 000	12	12
V	R20 001 – R30 000	13	13
W	R30 001 – R50 000	14	14
X	R 50 001 +	15	15
	(Refuse to answer)	97	97
	(Uncertain/Don't know)	98	98

- 297. What monthly income level do you consider to be minimal for your household, i.e. your household could not make ends meet with less?**

R _____

(Don't know = 98)

- 298. Is the total monthly income of your household higher, lower or more or less the same as this figure?**

Much higher	1
Higher	2
More or less the same	3
Lower	4
Much lower	5
(Don't know)	8

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION