University of Cape Town

CENTRE FOR
SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

THE 2003 CAPE AREA STUDY (CAS3): A USER'S GUIDE

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CSSR Working Paper No. 61

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The 2003 Cape Area Study (CAS 3):
A User's Guide

1. The Cape Area Study: Background

The *Cape Area Study* (CAS) comprises an ongoing series of surveys conducted in Cape Town. The surveys have covered and will continue to cover a wide range of topics. Over time, however, CAS will have a quality that is unique in South Africa (and perhaps Africa as a whole), in that there will be an accumulation of data on a focused social setting across a span of time, such that the value of the 'whole' is substantially greater than the 'sum of the parts'. CAS is modelled on the *Detroit Area Study*, conducted annually since 1951 by the University of Michigan.[1]

The *Cape Area Study* has comprised three surveys hitherto:
- CAS 1 (2000): a survey focused on labour market behaviour conducted in parts of Cape Town (Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain).
- CAS 2 (2002): the first wave of the *Cape Area Panel Study* was conducted; this is a panel study of adolescents in Cape Town, but the first wave also included a representative sample of almost 5000 households, and thus provides baseline data on stratification and inequality at the household level; there is also a wide range of data on young people (covering living arrangements, schooling, work and sexual relationships).
- CAS 3 (2003): a survey of social and political attitudes and behaviour, discussed in this user's guide.

CAS is also linked into an international research network called the 'Social Hubble' project. This involves social scientists from cities in different parts of the world: Cape Town (South Africa), Belo Horizonte (Brazil), Warsaw (Poland), Beijing (China), Moscow (Russia) and Detroit (USA).[2] The consortium is concerned with both research and training. Its goals can be summarised as:
- to generate high quality data, focused on social stratification and inequality, that can inform public debate and policy-making as well as academic research;
- to generate data that facilitates cross-national comparisons;
- to develop social science research capacity among both faculty and students,

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[1] See website: www.lsa.umich.edu/soc/das.
[2] The social scientists conducting research in Detroit are actually based at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

including especially methodological and analytic skills; and

- to strengthen 'South-South' as well as 'North-South' academic linkages and interactions.

The project has been named after the Hubble telescope because, like the telescope, it involves inter-connected researchers in different parts of the world. But whereas the Hubble telescope was designed to improve our understanding of the macrocosm and its evolution, the metaphorical telescope of the Social Hubble project is intended to focus on regions of this planet in order to monitor social, economic, political and cultural changes and the transactions between human settlements and their geophysical settings. It will help us collectively to develop an understanding of societal transformations affecting human welfare within and across each settlement and region.

Each of the participating teams of researchers has considerable experience in conducting surveys in their respective cities. All five have, separately from the Social Hubble project, implemented or planned a city-based programme of research modelled on the *Detroit Area Study*. Whilst sharing common roots in the *Detroit Area Study*, the new studies in Warsaw, Beijing, Cape Town and Belo Horizonte were initiated independently of each other and without co-ordinating methodology or questionnaire design. The Social Hubble project is intended to develop such interaction and co-ordination, thereby contributing to both the improvement of the quality of research in each participating country and the generation of new, comparable data across countries.

The first concrete result of the collaboration will be common modules run in surveys in Belo Horizonte and Cape Town in 2004. The third survey in the *Cape Area Study* (i.e. CAS 2003) was designed, in part, to test questions in preparation for this collaborative, cross-city survey in 2004.

The 2003 CAS was designed not only to generate data but also to develop research capacity in new ways. The training component was central, and entailed the integration of professional survey research into senior undergraduate teaching (through a senior undergraduate course in Political Studies, taught by Robert Mattes) and the development of high quality research skills among graduate students. The survey was conducted in part by undergraduate students from the University of Cape Town and in part by a commercial social research company.

The survey was funded by the Mellon Foundation, as part of its support for the Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR). The CSSR was established in late 2001 with the goal of strengthening the *quality* of empirical, and especially quantitative, social science research in South Africa. It has sought to build

capacity and to develop skills (especially among previously disadvantaged students and researchers) through enhanced synergy between research and classroom teaching, the participation of graduate students in major and ongoing research projects, specialist training in the statistical analysis of census and survey data, and improved international linkages. It has promoted inter-disciplinary research and analysis through building a broad community of scholars (including students) who share ideas, comment on each other's work, and co-operate in research projects. It has facilitated access to and use of census and survey data through systematic collection and archiving, improved distribution thereof (including via the internet), and the provision of user-friendly documentation and expert advice. It has produced scholarly, critical and independent research output. Core funding for the CSSR was provided by the Mellon Foundation. CAS 2003 was conducted by the Social Surveys Unit with assistance from the Democracy in Africa Research Unit, both housed within the CSSR.

2. The 2003 Cape Area Study: Specific Objectives

CAS 2003 had three objectives:
- to generate the date needed to develop new insights into the study of social and political attitudes and behaviour;
- to develop questions that can generate the required data; and
- to serve as a vehicle for building capacity in the collection and critical analysis of survey data.

Since 1993, researchers in South Africa have enjoyed an abundance of quantitative data on the extent and patterns of inequality in South Africa. We now know a lot about distribution in South Africa. But we know much less about how South Africans see, understand and respond to the unequal distribution that exists in their society. What kinds of inequality are considered just? What do citizens think that the government should do about inequality? Do citizens have obligations to each other? How and why do citizens act to influence public policy? Why do some citizens not act? Given the presumed political implications of the country's unequal distribution, it is unfortunate that the study of distributive justice remains poorly developed. CAS 2003 was designed to help to fill some of these gaps. Our proposed research covered three major areas: attitudes toward distributive justice, the nature of social capital, and patterns of civic engagement.

Existing work on *popular attitudes toward income distribution* has been dominated by very specific concerns, such as whether citizens had unrealistic

expectations of economic change (see Charney, 1995; Johnson and Schlemmer, 1996; Nattrass and Seekings, 1998). Whilst there are some underutilised data – including surveys conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council and the four South African 'waves' of the cross-national *World Values Study* – there is no comprehensive overview of South Africans' views on distributional justice. In post-apartheid South Africa, a crucial question is the way in which *intra-* and *inter*-racial cleavages combine and conflict. CAS 2000 examined some attitudes toward distributive justice in one part of Cape Town, with inconclusive results (see Seekings, 2002). CAS 2003 was designed to allow for a more systematic examination of attitudes among a full cross-section of Cape Town's population.

In contrast to the study of distributive justice, the study of *social capital* has begun to blossom in South Africa. But in South Africa, unlike other parts of the world, there has been little debate over how best to tap and measure the breadth of social capital. Social capital is generally understood in terms of norms of social reciprocity and interpersonal trust, as well as networks of connections between citizens. It is generally measured in terms of interpersonal trust and participation in voluntary associations. Cross-national studies, using the *World Values Survey*, show that social capital measured in this way correlates closely with the quality of governance and democracy (Norris, 2002). But should social capital be measured in the South using methods derived from Northern societies? In some societies (including East Asian societies), relatively high levels of social trust co-exist with relatively low levels of associational activity. In others (including African ones), low levels of trust co-exist with high levels of associational activity. CAS 2003 was designed to explore further this 'African' pattern (see further Norris, 2002; Bratton *et al.*, forthcoming). How important is it to distinguish between 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital? In addition, we sought to probe whether we need to expand the concept of social capital out from participation in formal associational life to more informal community- or kin-based networks, and to narrow the study of trust from the general level to specific kin and other social groups.

Various studies have been conducted with regard to citizens' perceptions of and *engagement with government* at national and provincial levels, but there is little research on the local level, and almost none on the specific topic of how engagement with local government might affect or be affected by participation in extra-state associational activity, i.e. in civil society. In South Africa, as in most Southern societies, the study of *civil society and social movements* tends to proceed in ignorance of the study of formal institutions (especially elected councils and political parties); civil society is studied as if there is no political society, i.e. no other mechanism connecting citizens and state. CAS 2003 provided an opportunity to study the interactions between civil and political society.

We also sought to use CAS 2003 to probe a number of other issues, some of which are discussed in section 6 below. These include attitudes toward emigration, measures of welfare and poverty, and attitudes toward HIV/AIDS.

On all of these topics, CAS 2003 sought to explore new ways of examining the topic. Thus we employed vignettes in the study of distributive justice, and probed how open respondents are to persuasion on a number of issues. We also explored a range of measures of social capital, for example, in order to identify a more concise set that might be replicated cost-effectively in further studies.

3. Fieldwork

CAS 2003 was designed by Jeremy Seekings (CSSR/UCT), Karin Alexander (Oxford) and Tracy Jooste (CSSR/UCT), with advice from Robert Mattes (CSSR/UCT). Fieldwork in coloured and African areas was contracted to Citizen Surveys, a market research company based in Cape Town (under the direction of Amien Ahmad). Fieldwork in white areas was conducted by senior undergraduate students taking the course Senior Political Analysis (POL334H), at the University of Cape Town. These student fieldworkers were trained and supervised by Tracy Jooste.

The 400 interviews undertaken by Citizen Surveys, including 200 in each of the African and coloured samples, were carried out such that the population group (i.e. what used to be called the 'race') of the interviewer matched the population group of the respondent. The twenty-two UCT students, responsible for interviewing the sample of 200 white respondents, comprised a racially diverse group, so that in 'white' areas, respondents were rarely interviewed by a student from the same population group. In South Africa, it has always been assumed that there are racial interviewer effects, but to the best of our knowledge, this has rarely been examined. The CAS interviews in white areas provide a small sample with which one might begin to assess such interviewer effects. This is particularly valuable for CAS, since opinions towards other racial groups is a key theme of the questionnaire.

Fieldwork was conducted in the first three weeks of September 2003 in coloured and African areas and in September and October in white areas. Fieldworkers were trained in the relevant protocol of interviewing such as correct manners, dress code, proper introductions and the importance of confidentiality. Training comprised workshops and practical exercises on the aims of the survey, interviewing techniques, administering the questionnaire and coping with

scenarios that arise during interviews. Special emphasis was placed on interviewers being as neutral and self-aware as possible, so as not to lead and influence the respondents' answers. Interviewers were instructed to adhere strictly to the order, wording and framing of the questions. Interviewers were also advised to record observations regarding the neighbourhood in which the interview was conducted and, when necessary, the respondents' behaviour and attitude during the interview. Interviews were conducted during the week as well as on weekends, and at various times of the day. Using university students as fieldworkers meant that special attention had to be paid to safety. The students worked in groups of four or five and had to report to the co-ordinator before entering and on leaving their fieldwork sites. Each student was given UCT apparel and name tags for easy identification, a phone card and street maps.

As a token of our gratitude, each respondent in CAS 2003 was given a custom-made canvas 'UCT Cape Area Study' shopping bag. Quality control was exercised by Karin Alexander and Citizen Surveys (for the coloured and African samples) and by Tracy Jooste for the sample in white 'enumerator areas' (EAs). Systematic back-checks were conducted by Citizen Surveys for the coloured and African samples but not for the white sample. Where necessary, fieldworkers were retrained to work through problems and queries that occurred during interviewing.

4. The Sample

The CAS 2003 sample comprised three separate samples, one each for areas with predominantly African, predominantly coloured and predominantly white populations. Members of the Indian sample were grouped under the umbrella of 'coloured'. Each sample was then drawn using a two-stage cluster sample. The database of EAs, as defined by Statistics South Africa during the demarcation phase of Census 1996, constituted the sampling frame. EAs are designed to be homogeneous with respect to housing type and size. Most EAs comprise between fifty and two hundred households. In metropolitan Cape Town as a whole, there are approximately 4710 EAs.

4.1 Selecting EAs

EAs were selected systematically to ensure that their probability of selection was proportionate to their population size. The 1996 Population Census indicated a total population for metropolitan Cape Town of 2 496 672. We were unable to

use the 2001 Population Census because, at the time of sampling, sufficiently detailed data was still unavailable. The first stage of the sampling entailed selecting EAs. Using the Census Data we generated a list of EAs in Cape Town, together with data on the race of the head of household. The original intention had been to draw three samples of EAs, according to the majority racial group in the EA. Our objective was to select twenty predominantly coloured, twenty predominantly African and thirty predominantly white EAs. Technical problems meant that an alternative method was employed to select the target number of EAs. The census data were divided into three racial populations: white, coloured (in which we included Indian) and African, by EA. For each population group, we generated a cumulative count of the number of households in each EA, selected a random starting point, defined a sampling interval (selected to generate the required target number of EAs)[3] and selected the EAs for which the cumulative count of households was equal to the starting point plus multiples of the interval. This generated a sample of seventy EAs. This differed from the original plan in that the list of, for example, 'coloured' EAs included all EAs in which coloured people lived, not just the EAs which were predominantly coloured. This meant that an EA might be selected more than once (although, because the probability of being selected depended on the number of people in each population group in the EA, no one had a disproportionate probability of being selected than anyone else, overall). The twenty African and twenty coloured EAs were all predominantly African and coloured respectively, but the thirty 'white' EAs included several very 'mixed' EAs (perhaps because of desegregation since 1996 as much as the sampling method). Five of the thirty 'white' EAs were discarded on the basis that their residents were mostly non-white or that the areas were deemed unsafe for student interviewers. The sampling was conducted by Tracy Jooste. A list and map of selected EAs are available from the CSSR.

4.2 Selecting Households

The second stage of the sampling entailed selecting households within the chosen EAs, using aerial photographs (supplied by Statistics South Africa). These clearly display residential units, street names as well as public and non-residential buildings. We excluded people living in institutionalised settings, such as students in dormitories, people in prisons as well as residences of nursing or old-age homes.

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[3] The sampling interval was 17892 for the white sample, 62639 for the coloured sample and 32124 for the African sample.

The fieldworker manual used by the student and Citizen Surveys fieldworkers contained detailed instructions on the sampling of households and respondent selection. In each EA, our target was to conduct a total of ten interviews. A random start point was selected on each EA map. From the starting point, interviewers were instructed to count until they reached the tenth household in the street and conduct the first interview there. As a rule, interviewers were instructed to keep to the right hand side of the road when counting dwellings. From here, every tenth household was to be selected. Shops, places of worship, schools and business premises were excluded from the counting procedure. For blocks of flats, interviewers were instructed to start the walking pattern from the top floor of the block and work their way downward and select every tenth flat.

For the purposes of CAS 2003, a household was defined as:
- A group of people who 'eat from the same pot' daily.
- Only permanent residences of the household were included, thereby excluding visitors, domestic workers and household members who live elsewhere for the purposes of work or study.

Where multiple households were recorded on a stand, these were counted as separate households if they were: compounds of multiple spouses, block of flats, backyard dwellings for relatives, rented dwellings or workers' quarters, or had separate entrances. Each dwelling on a stand was counted as a separate household, unless the person or people living in the dwelling formed part of the main household, i.e. they ate out of the same pot.

4.3 Selecting individual respondents

After selection of the household, random selection of the respondent was undertaken following the 'next birthday' rule. Once inside the household, interviewers listed the names and birthdays of all household members over the age of eighteen. The individual who had the next birthday was selected for interviewing.[4] In cases where this person was a not at home, interviewers were instructed to revisit the household so as to conduct the interview with the sampled respondent. Interviewers were not permitted to replace the selected individual with anyone else in the household.

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[4] The questionnaire (A12) specified that interviewers should interview the household member with the most recent birthday , but the Citizen Surveys fieldwork manual instructed interviewers to select the household member with the 'next birthday'; the fieldworkers seem to have applied the next birthday rule.

4.4 Refusals and Substitutions

If the person with the 'next birthday' refused, interviewers were instructed to replace the original household, not the respondent. Interviewers were to select the household lying directly to the right of the original household. If this proved unsuccessful, the household to the left of the original household was to be selected. In cases where the residents of the selected household were not at home, interviewers were instructed to make at least two call-backs before substituting the household. Substitutions and the reasons for them were to be clearly documented in the questionnaire.

4.5 The actual sample

The Citizen Surveys fieldworkers interviewed ten respondents per EA, as instructed, producing samples of two hundred respondents in African and two hundred in coloured areas. But the student fieldworkers were unable to complete their assigned interview loads. A total of 188 interviews were completed in white areas, spread evenly across the twenty-five selected EAs.

Almost one-third (29%) of the 588 interviews were in 'substitute' households. The proportion was lowest (15%) in coloured areas, highest (50%) in white areas, and mid-way (24%) for African areas. This pattern of substitution rates, and the alarming substitution rate in high-income areas, reflects a general problem in survey research in South Africa. When the sampled household could not be interviewed, fieldworkers had to try, on average, two houses before finding the substitute household. In one case, the substitute household was the ninth household visited after the sampled household.

Within households, fieldworkers in African and coloured areas seem to have followed accurately the 'next birthday' rule, but they did end up with a sample that is not representative of the overall population. In Cape Town, as a whole, there are marginally more adult women than men, but 61% of the CAS 2003 sample were women (and the proportion was much higher in coloured and African areas – see below). This is unlikely to be a random occurrence. On the other hand, if one simply interviews whoever one finds at home, one ends up with a much higher proportion of women respondents. We suspect, therefore, that there was a small number of cases where fieldworkers substituted available coloured and African women respondents for unavailable men respondents, and amended the recorded birthdays so that it appeared that they were applying the 'next birthday' rule. The profile of substitute respondents does not appear to be any different to the profile of sampled respondents, so it is not the case that the 'extra'

women were all substitutes.

4.6 The profile of our actual sample

Our actual sample is not precisely representative of the adult population of Cape Town as a whole. Using 2001 Population Census data, the adult population of Cape Town is as set out in table 1. The CAS 2003 sample is as set out in table 2. A small number of the CAS 2003 respondents gave their population group or race as 'other', adding 'South African'. In most cases we can deduce the population group, but in four cases (all male) it is difficult to say whether they are coloured or white.

Table 1: Adult population of Cape Town, Census 2001

Cape Town (2001 census)	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
	%	*%*	*%*
African (%)	15	16	31
Coloured (%)	21	25	46
Indian (%)	<1	<1	1
White (%)	10	11	22
Total (%)	47	53	100

Table 2: Adult population of Cape Town, CAS 2003

CAS 2003 sample	*Men*		*Women*		*Total*	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
African	60	10	137	23	197	34
Coloured	96	16	141	24	237	40
Indian	5	<1	1	<1	6	<1
White	66	11	79	13	145	25
Don't know	3	<1	0	0	3	<1
Total	230	39	358	61	588	100

In terms of race and gender, the CAS 2003 sample over-represents African women and under-represents African and coloured men. We recommend that the data-set is re-weighted according to race and gender. The recommended weights will be included in a variable in the data-set. Results reported below are, however, for unweighted data.

5. Data

The CSSR is committed to making data-sets publicly available as quickly as possible (and encourages all social scientists collecting data to do likewise). The data-set is available in and from the Data First Resource Centre, in the CSSR at UCT. It is available in STATA (version 8) and SPSS (version 11.0 for windows) formats. The questionnaire and other documentation will be available on the CSSR website, at www.uct.ac.za/depts/cssr/ (this guide, along with other CSSR *Working Papers*, is available on the same website).

We do ask that users of the data comply with the following conditions with regard to access to CAS 2003:

- Users may not use or reproduce data in ways that enable responses to be linked to identified or identifiable individuals, or to identify or obtain information on individual respondents;
- Users should provide copies of do-files to the CSSR (or the equivalent if software other than STATA is used) used in dissertations, seminar or conference papers, published articles, etc;
- Users should inform the CSSR of any flaws they find in the data-set, so as to assist with 'cleaning';
- Users should provide the CSSR with a copy of any dissertation, thesis, seminar or conference paper, published article or other publication that uses CAPS data;
- Users must acknowledge fully in any publication (including dissertations and seminar or conference papers) that the data was collected by the CSSR;
- Users should make available to the CSSR for publication as a *Working Paper* any work using the data, including theses, dissertations, seminar and conference papers, and papers submitted to journals for publication. In the case of papers submitted to journals for publication, these should be submitted to the CSSR for possible publication as *Working Papers* before or simultaneously with submission to a journal. Publication as a *Working Paper* may entail payment of an honorarium, according to CSSR policy and the availability of funds. Where authors have other institutional affiliations, publication as a *Working Paper* by the CSSR does not preclude publication in the working paper series of such other institutions, as long as any such co-publication acknowledges fully that the work is available also as a CSSR *Working Paper*;
- Users may be asked to sign an undertaking accepting these conditions before using the data.

Users are advised that cleaning the data-set is an ongoing activity. We expect

users to advise us on problems that they have identified so that we can investigate and, where necessary, amend the data-set. Revisions to the data-set will take the form of revised versions where the corrections are clearly necessary, and a set of "do." files to run in STATA (or their equivalent in SPSS) for revisions that are advisory or discretionary. Some of the data – for example, on household incomes – appears to be somewhat problematic. Information about cleaning the data will be posted on the CSSR website.

6. Focus Groups

Four focus groups were conducted to explore key issues in greater depth. Each group discussion lasted one and a half to two hours, and was facilitated by Citizen Surveys staff. Two groups comprised coloured participants and two comprised African participants. Each pair of groups included one with a mix of male and female casual workers between the ages of 20 and 30 years and a second mixed group of men and women between the ages of 31 and 49 years who were working in permanent jobs. The four focus groups took place on the 22nd and 23rd September 2003. They were conducted in the language of choice of the participants, and the transcripts were later translated into English. Discussion was based on a discussion guide (available from the CSSR), with additional questions added at the end by CAS researchers monitoring the group discussion from behind a one-way glass window.

The focus group discussion covered all of the major areas covered in the survey. The first topic discussed was perceptions of the first ten years of democracy. Had things improved, stayed the same, or got worse since 1994? How satisfied or dissatisfied were the group participants with changes, and how did actual changes compare with their expectations? Finally, participants were asked what things they celebrate and are most proud of as South Africans. In the second section, the focus groups probed the extent and nature of participation in the procedural element of democracy, elections. The participants were asked to discuss why they had (or had not) voted, and what their future intentions were with regard to voting. We asked whether their friends or family would vote in the upcoming 2004 election, in order to give participants an 'out', i.e. a chance to say indirectly what they themselves felt but were unwilling to admit publicly.

The groups then turned to participants' knowledge of and engagement in government, at national and local levels. We probed how respondents understood 'democracy', and what they considered to be the roles of citizens. Finally, respondents were asked if and why they would stand for election as local councillors and what type of person they felt was best suited to serve as a

councillor. After this, we asked about participants' involvement in groups and actions that fall outside the realm of the state. This was structured from the bottom up. Participants were encouraged to discuss the types of problems they face in their communities and then say what and who they would ask for assistance in solving these problems. When an organisation was mentioned, further questions were asked about its efficacy and the reasons why someone would or would not choose to be active in it. The discussion then turned to broader social networks, including sports clubs.

Finally, the groups were asked for their views on inequality in South Africa. Did participants agree or disagree with the statement that 'you can get rich if you work hard in South Africa'. Who is responsible for changing the situation of those who currently live in poverty? If participants say the government, then how should it be financed?

The focus group transcripts are available in the CSSR. They have flaws, for instance, the facilitators tended to run them as 'question-and-answer' sessions, going from person to person without allowing argument and debate to develop. But they do provide additional insights into the statistics produced through the survey, particularly with regard to issues such as voting and engagement in civil society.

7. Selected Research Topics

In this section we discuss briefly a series of topics on which analyses using CAS 2003 can, we believe, make a valuable and original contribution. Our intention is to provide some indication of what CAS 2003 can offer, through discussing the kinds of variables available, the uses to which they might be put, and some of the findings that come from a very preliminary analysis.

The topics discussed are as follows:
- Political engagement and alienation
- Engagement with local government
- Political participation
- How strong is the 'community'?
- Facets of social capital
- Attitudes towards AIDS
- Perceptions of distributive justice and injustice
- Are attitudes affected by deliberation?
- Emigration

- Security

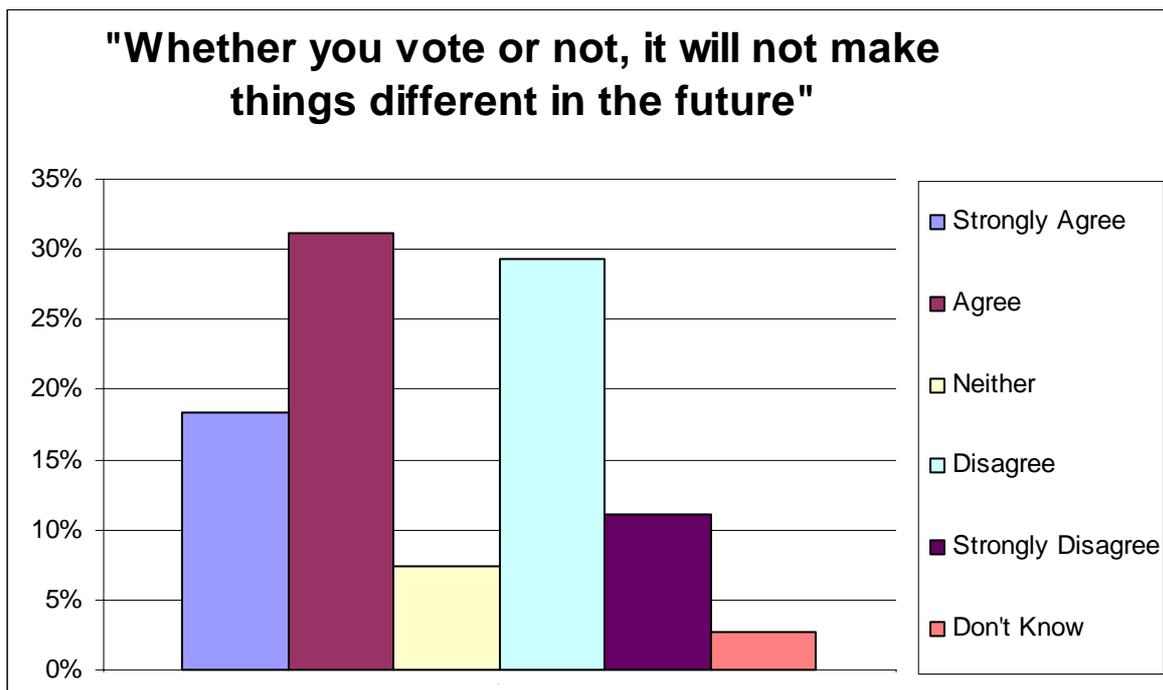These topics overlap somewhat.

7.1. Political engagement and alienation

Are citizens in Cape Town politically engaged or alienated? Now that the South African democracy is almost ten years old, are citizens impressed with government or are they aggrieved that their expectations have not been met? CAS provides a range of data on how people view government, politics and political leaders. Respondents were asked to assess the political leanings of parties, to identify who held certain positions in the government, and to say whether they approved of the performances of and trusted leaders and parties in recent years. Respondents were asked whether they believed that the country was headed in the right direction and what the priorities of the government should be. We also probed respondents' interest in politics and their assessment of their influence.
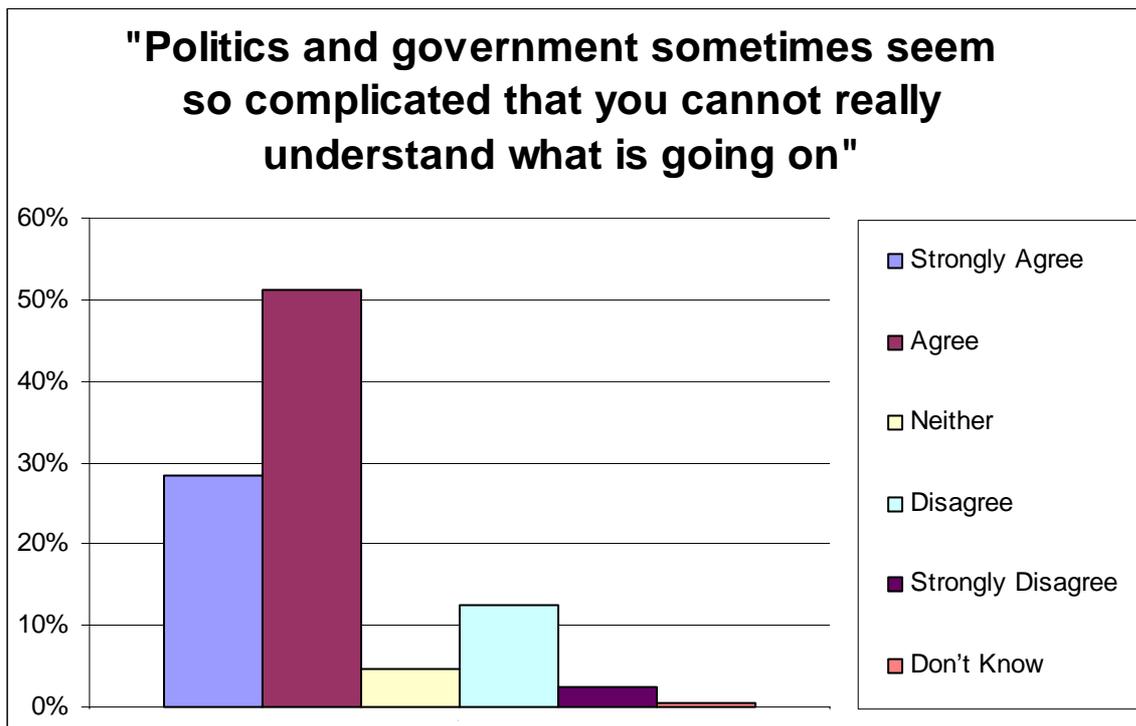
The data shows that most respondents feel the country is headed in the right direction, although a sizeable minority (including half the coloured population) disagrees. Younger people are more positive then older people. Most people say they are at least somewhat interested in politics and discuss politics occasionally.

A majority can identify key political leaders and almost all claim to have voted in both 1994 and 1999; almost half report belonging to a political party. Yet, despite this interest in politics, many respondents felt alienated by politics in other respects, and were critical of the responsiveness of elected officials. Most people see politics as overly complicated. Many feel that voting makes little difference in changing the future of the country. There is little trust in either political parties or key political leaders. Strikingly, many people, especially African people, say that you need to watch what you say with regards to politics.

"Whether you vote or not, it will not make things different in the future"

Legend:
- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Don't Know

As in just about every survey conducted in post-apartheid South Africa, we found that job creation and crime are identified most often as the key problems facing the government. Lesser, yet still important, problems included housing, education, poverty and HIV/AIDS. Health-care and corruption were also mentioned.
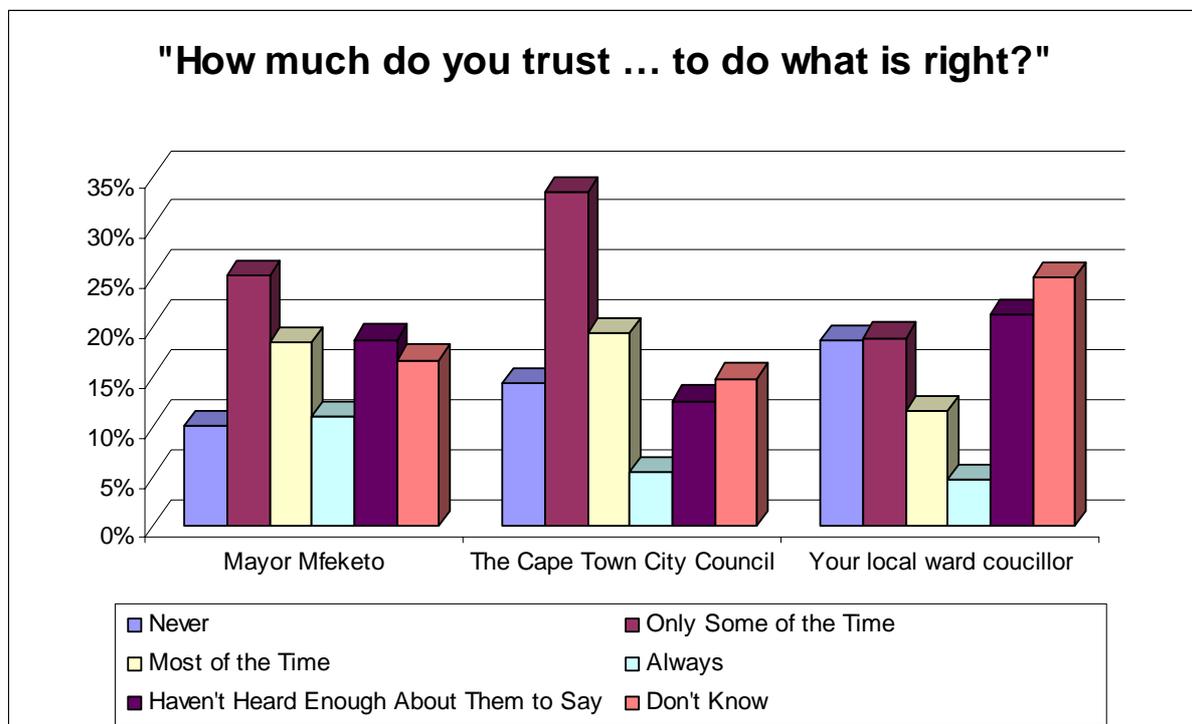
7.2. Engagement with local government

Local government is the tier of government with which citizens are expected to have the most contact. Democratic forms of political participation are supposed to occur at this level as well as at national and provincial levels. In CAS 2003, we examined citizens' engagement with local government from a number of angles.

First, respondents were asked to evaluate the provision of government services at the local level, including health-care, transportation infrastructure, housing and the police. We asked respondents about their political activism and engagement, and for their evaluation of local civic leaders. Respondents were also asked about corruption, perceived or actual, in local government.

When questioned about what the council should spend its budget on, respondents point to health, housing and police, in that order. Less important areas include electricity, water and public transport. Most Capetonians seem reasonably satisfied with water and electric services, but the same cannot be said of some other services: Less then half of the respondents are satisfied with health care, housing, police and public transit, while very large minorities feel dissatisfied with the provision of public schooling and road maintenance.

While most respondents report that they had voted in the local elections in 1996 and 2000 and that they are planning on voting again, many feel powerless politically and distrust those in public office. Less then one third of the sample is able to name the mayor and very few are able to name their elected ward councillor. Few respondents are active at the local level. Few attend meetings or voice their opinions. Few seem to trust their ward councillors.

"How much do you trust … to do what is right?"

Legend:
- Never
- Only Some of the Time
- Most of the Time
- Always
- Haven't Heard Enough About Them to Say
- Don't Know

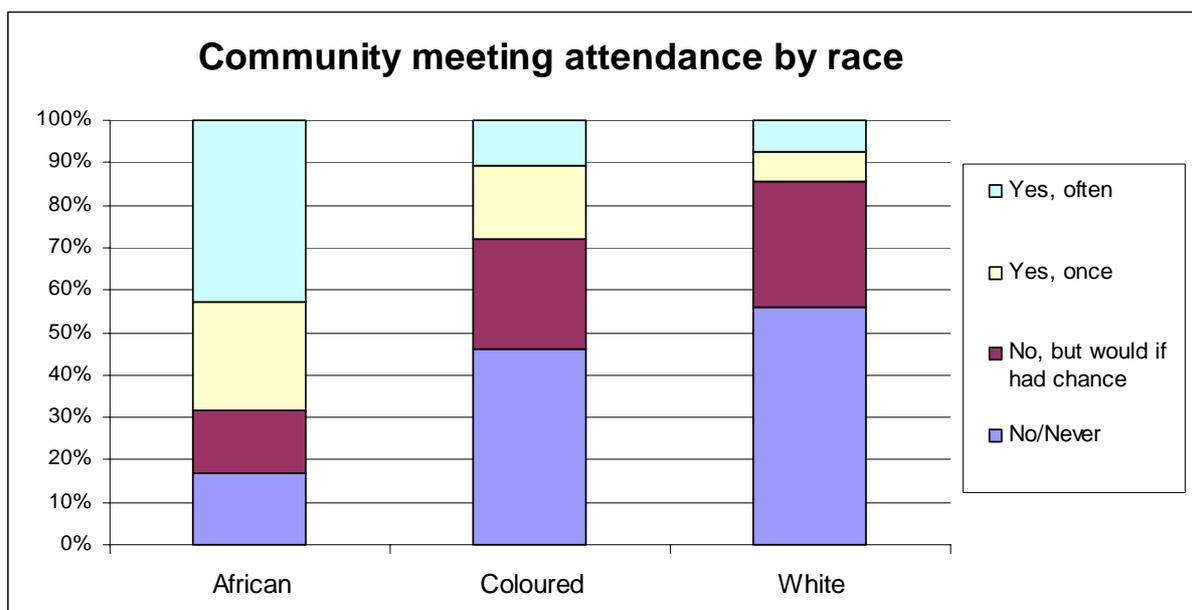Categories: Mayor Mfeketo, The Cape Town City Council, Your local ward coucillor

It is not easy to discern patterns in these assessments. People at the extremes of the income scale, i.e. the poorest and richest, tend to view local government and local leaders as being less responsive to them than those in the middle-income

groups. This also seemed to be true with age, as more middle-aged people than younger or older respondents assess local government as being more responsive. Young people seemed less inclined to vote and to be active politically then older people. Along racial lines, no clear trends emerged. African respondents were slightly more likely to know the name of the mayor, who is African. They are also more likely to attend local meetings but they are less likely to write or to speak to local leaders, and the majority of each racial group did *none* of the above.

7.3. Political participation

Political participation is not confined to the local level, nor is it limited to participation in formal structures of government. Citizens can act to have their 'voices' heard in a range of ways, including through political parties and organisations in civil society as well as voting, and even through direct action.

Almost all eligible respondents claim that they had exercised their right to vote in each of the 1994 and 1999 national and provincial and 2000 local elections. Two out of three age-eligible respondents claimed to have voted in all three of these elections, and a further 13% claimed to have voted in two of the three. Other than voting, however, few people report any political participation. Very few respondents say they have contacted councillors, local ward leaders or other politically influential people and most people have never attended a meeting to hear their ward leaders. Almost one in five respondents say that are members of a political party, but most of these described themselves as 'inactive' members.

Community meeting attendance by race

Legend:
- Yes, often
- Yes, once
- No, but would if had chance
- No/Never

Categories: African, Coloured, White

African people seem much more active then coloured or white people. Almost half of the African respondents report attending community meetings 'often', compared to less the 10% of coloured or white respondents. In these as in most similar areas of investigation, Africans were more likely to have attended or to want to attend meetings of this nature. The only exception to the greater participation rates of Africans is in the Area of petitions. Whereas most Africans and Coloureds had never signed a petition, a majority of white respondents had signed a petition at least once.

Measures of Political Participation
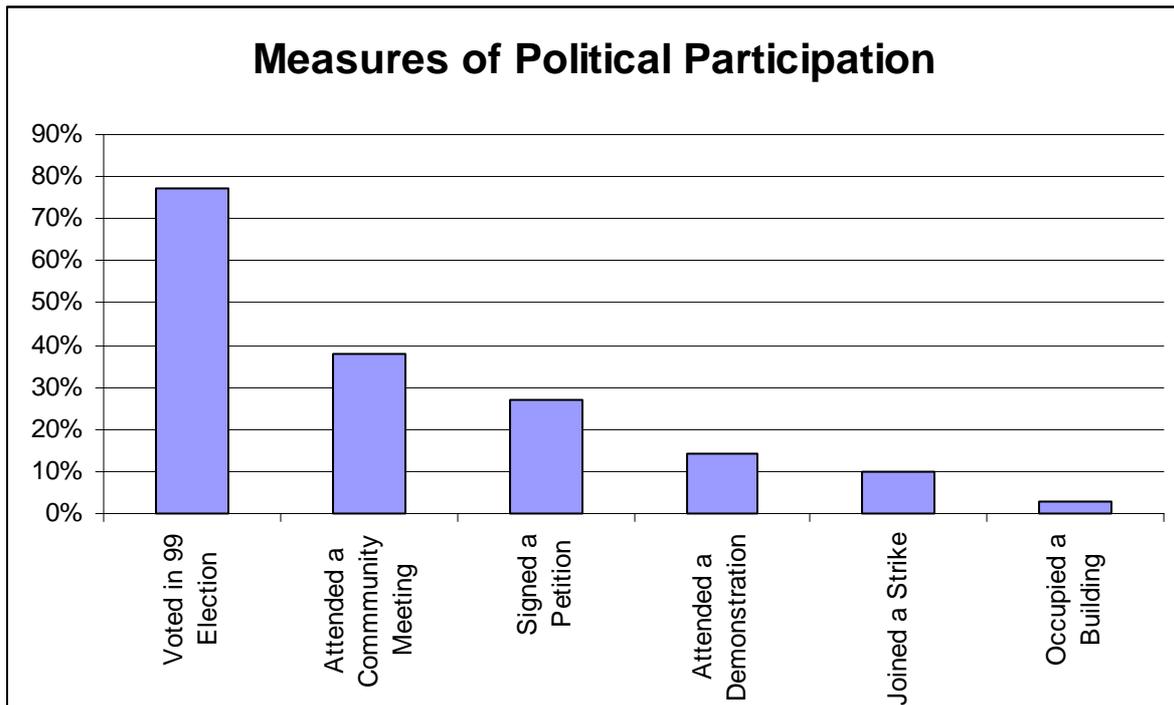
Most people have never acted collectively to raise an issue, nor have they attended a demonstration or participated in a strike. One in five African respondents had participated in a strike, and the same proportion said they had participated in a boycott; in each case, a further 15% said they would do so if they had a chance.

7.4. How strong is the 'community'?

The CAS questionnaire experimented with several ways of measuring the strength of 'community' in Cape Town. Respondents were asked questions about how safe they feel, about their interactions with neighbours, and about their involvement in community-level activities.

Some indicators show that there is at least some sense of community in Cape Town, if not a strong one. Although a large number of respondents feel that most

people cannot be trusted and a very large number of respondents feel that people would take advantage of them if they had the opportunity, respondents seem much more trusting of people in their own neighbourhood. Most respondents feel that people in their area generally help each other out and would watch each other's property. These findings are broadly consistent across age, gender and racial lines, although coloured people seem rather less trusting and white people rather more trusting.

Crime, or fear of crime, clearly erodes the possibility of community. As many as 16% of respondents said that they or someone in their family had been physically attacked in the past year, and 30% said that they (or a family member) had been the victim of a burglary or other theft. Even higher proportions of respondents feel unsafe at home or in their neighbourhoods. Over one half of women report feeling unsafe in their homes, and three-quarters report feeling unsafe walking in their area at night.

Most respondents have good relations with their neighbours. The overwhelming majority of respondents said that they visit their neighbours at least several times a week; white respondents see their neighbours less often but call or email them more often. We asked respondents how comfortable they would feel in a series of situations with their neighbours. Most respondents feel comfortable about spending time with their neighbours or asking them for simple help. This comfort level drops when money and other more serious issues arise, especially among the white population, signifying that perhaps neighbourly relations are more casual and superficial then serious.

"How comfortable would you be asking a neighbour to …"

19
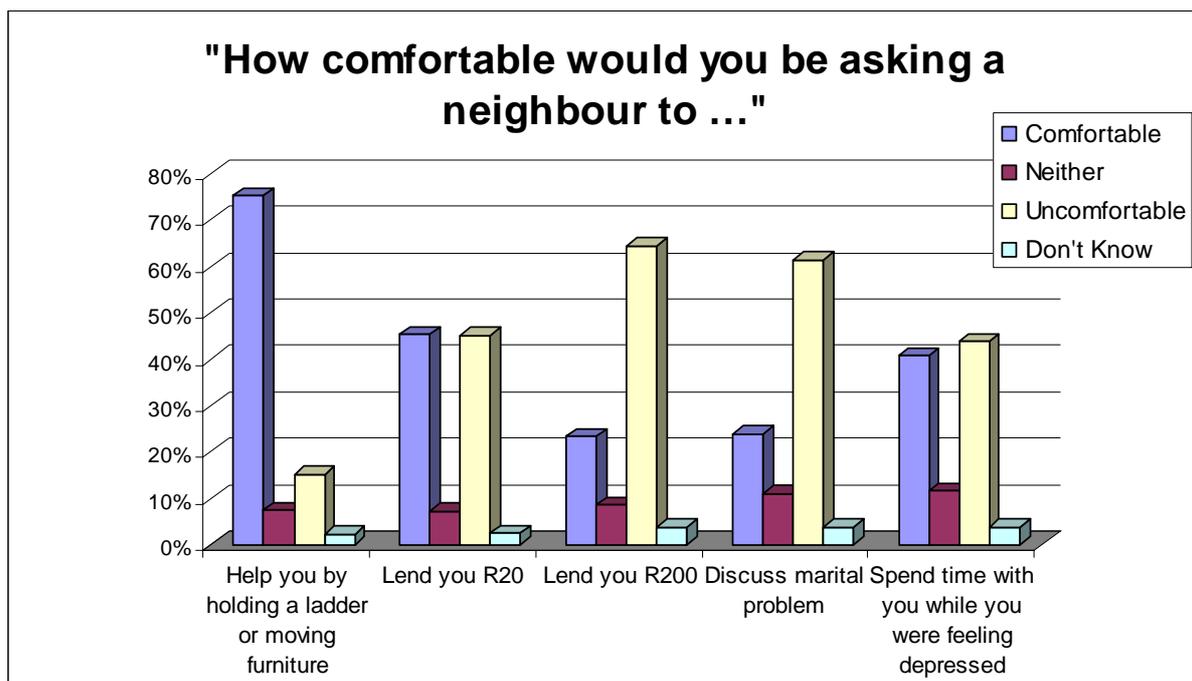
Respondents also feel that people have a responsibility to their communities. Most respondents agreed that people should give time and resources to developing strong communities and that older people had a responsibility to act as role models to younger people in their communities. Although these patterns held strongly across racial lines, male respondents were more committed to these principles then their female counterparts.

7.5. Facets of social capital

One of the main objectives of CAS 2003 was to probe the character of social capital in Cape Town. Above we have pointed already to some aspects of social capital, including participation in organisations and community strength. Other facets of social capital include trust and co-operation. Asked whether 'generally speaking, most people can be trusted?', the modal response was 'disagree' and more than half of the responses fell into this or the 'strongly disagree' categories. Only one-third of the responses fell into the 'strongly agree' or 'agree' categories, providing a preliminary indication that there is little social trust in Cape Town.

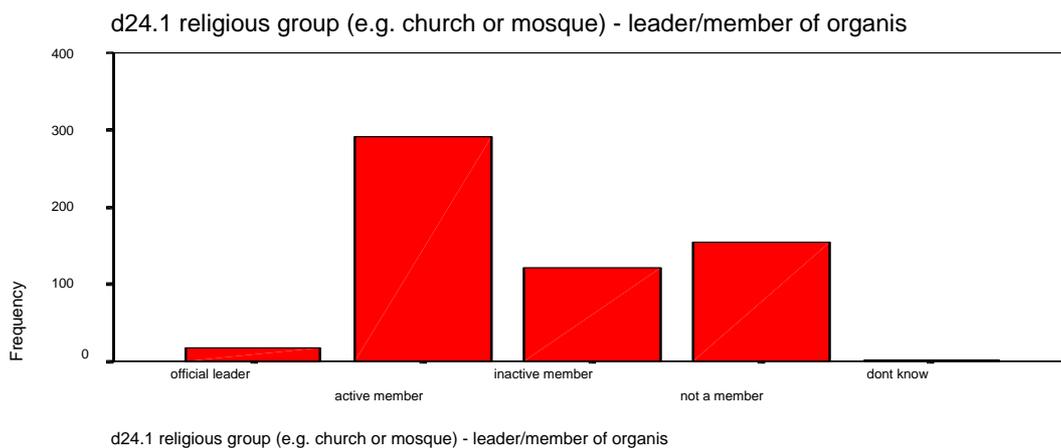d.1 generally speaking most people can be trusted
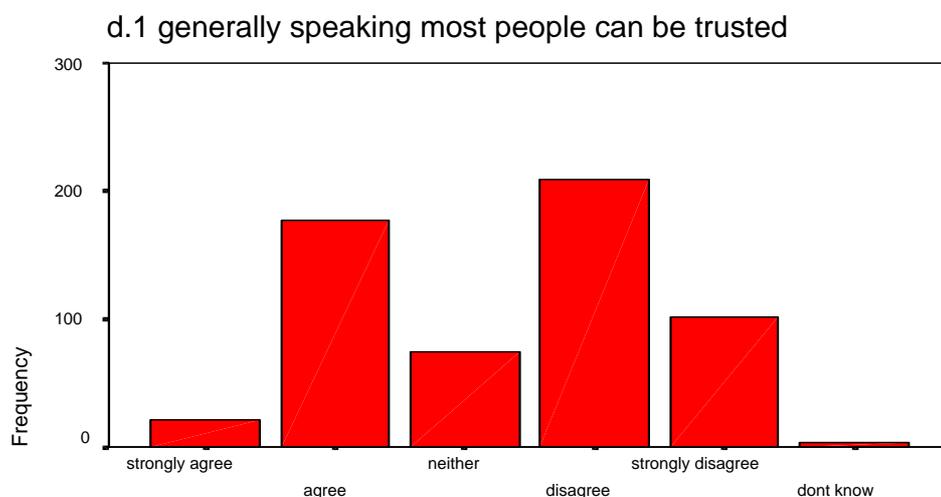
d.1 generally speaking most people can be trusted

A very large percentage of respondents believed that, if given the chance, other people would take advantage of them. At the same time, most respondents were very sure that their neighbours would help them out in times of need, such as keeping an eye on their property or helping to prevent someone from breaking into their household. Disaggregating by race, coloured people appear to be the least trusting while white people are rather more trusting.

In order to explain levels of social trust, CAS contains a range of questions

designed to assess feelings of personal safety and security, as well as levels of personal well-being. These factors can be usefully investigated as possible determinants of the level of social trust. To assess social interconnectedness, meaningful comparisons can be made in terms of where the level of social interaction and trust are greatest, with neighbours or family members and relatives. CAS asks a range of questions about how frequently people make contact with, as well as how comfortable they are trusting family members versus their neighbours. These measures hold much potential for explaining more closely the nature and extent of social trust.

Voluntary association is another important facet of social capital. CAS 2003 asked about membership of a variety of associations including religious groups, trade unions and professional organisations as well as neighbourhood groups, social clubs and political parties. CAS contains a battery of questions designed to test not only the extent of organisational membership, but also the level of activity, experience of leadership and financial commitment. Another set of questions honed in on the topic of civic and rate-payers' associations.

d24.1 religious group (e.g. church or mosque) - leader/member of organis

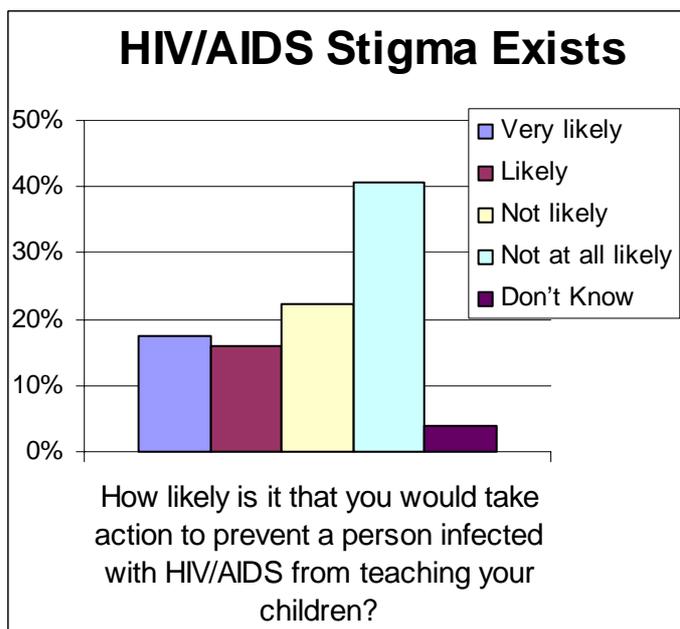d24.1 religious group (e.g. church or mosque) - leader/member of organis

The data revealed that, outside of religious life, most respondents are quite inactive in terms of associational membership. This inactivity was the case across political, social or community-based organisations. Considering that quite a large percentage of the respondents acknowledge the existence of a neighbourhood organisation in their area, very few respondents are active members thereof.

CAS 2003 also probed a dimension of social capital that is generally overlooked: relationships with kin. The combination of questions about trust at a general level, formal associational activity, and kin relations makes it possible to examine social capital more holistically.

7.6. Attitudes towards AIDS

HIV/AIDS is one of the most pressing challenges facing South African society. Attitudes towards AIDS are potentially important, for example by affecting participation in high-risk activity, willingness to disclose HIV status or adherence to a treatment regime. Yet we know very little about attitudes toward HIV/AIDS. We do have anecdotal evidence, however, that there are high levels of stigma around HIV/AIDS. CAS therefore included a number of questions on this. These questions were drawn from a fuller module included in the 2003 round of another CSSR project, the *Cape Area Panel Study*.

HIV/AIDS Stigma Exists

How likely is it that you would take action to prevent a person infected with HIV/AIDS from teaching your children?

AIDS stigma is different from other types of bigotry, such as racism, in that AIDS cuts across lineage. AIDS affects all people of all groups. Furthermore, someone suffering from HIV/AIDS has a tangible disadvantage compared to a HIV- person, making stigma around HIV/AIDS rather different to racism and similar forms of bigotry. HIV/AIDS stigma has a number of causes and functions, including the fear of becoming infected with HIV/AIDS and a moral or value-based component, due to its relation to 'social ills' such as sexual promiscuity, homosexuality and injection drug use.

It is far from clear how AIDS stigma should be measured, especially as people may be reluctant to admit to stigmatising attitudes (and may not even realise that they do so). In CAS 2003, we experimented with a number of approaches. We asked respondents how they would react to people with HIV/AIDS. Would you drink

... but not in all respects.

Would you still be friends with an HIV/AIDS+ person?
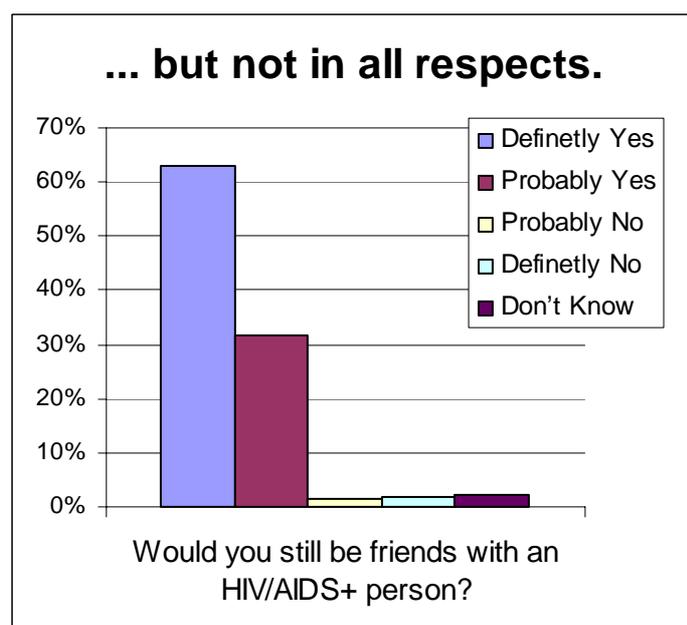
from the same bottle of water? Would you still be friends with someone who contracted HIV? Would you try to prevent a person with HIV/AIDS from teaching your children or moving into your neighbourhood? We also asked about the claims that HIV+ people should be able to make on the state, and about perceived rates of AIDS prevalence.

The CAS data shows a mixed picture. About one in three respondents said they would not try to prevent HIV positive people from teaching their children, moving into their neighbourhoods or establishing businesses in their areas. These expressions of stigma were especially common among African and Coloured respondents. Young people were also more intolerant than older people. At the same time, the overwhelming majority of respondents said that HIV+ people were just as deserving of free health care as anyone else. Most respondents said they would share a bottle of water with an HIV+ person, be friends with an HIV+ person or even go on a date with an HIV+ person.

It is difficult to discern patterns in stigma according to categorical variables such as age, race or gender. People might seem stigmatising by one measure but not another. For instance, although Africans are more willing to fight the introduction of an HIV+ teacher for their children they would more readily take care of an HIV+ relative. Whereas young people would feel more comfortable sharing a bottle of water or going on a date with an HIV+ person, they were also more supportive of making public the names of HIV+ people. This demonstrates both the difficulty of measuring HIV/AIDS stigma and the fact that increased exposure and education regarding HIV/AIDS may transform rather than diminish stigma.

7.7. Perceptions of distributive justice and injustice

Attitudes on distributive justice were probed in several sections of the questionnaire. We included questions on poverty and inequality, the responsibilities of government and the justice of salaries and wages paid to various occupations. We included questions that had been posed in previous surveys (including CAS 2000 in Cape Town and international surveys such as the *World Values Survey*) to allow for comparative and longitudinal analysis.

Racial and class differences are far less pronounced than might be expected. Many white respondents expressed concern with income inequality and supported redistribution. Support for redistribution was only slightly more muted among white respondents (or among coloured and African respondents from high-income households) than among non-rich coloured and African respondents. There was much less support for a basic income grant among white and high-income

respondents, but white respondents were slightly *more* supportive of increasing the value of the government's old-age pension than poorer coloured and African respondents!

"The government should reduce the differences in income between rich and poor"
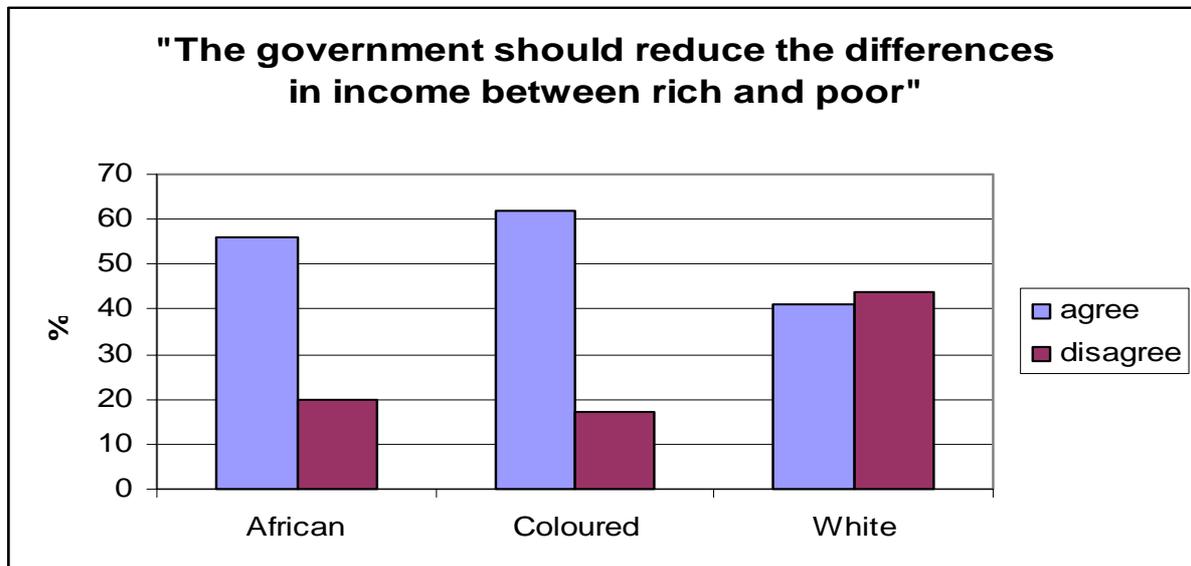
One of the innovative features of CAS 2003 was the inclusion of two vignettes, which entailed presenting different versions of a situation to the respondents to gauge how perceived desert might be related to the characteristics of both the situation and the respondent. The first vignette (G.1/2) involved situations where the government might compensate someone for the loss of their house. In one version, the situation was that "Mr Abraham" had been removed under apartheid in terms of the *Group Areas Act*. In other versions, "Mr Mati's shack in Khayelitsha" or "Mr Smith's house in Constantia" had burnt down, either due to their own negligence or due to circumstances beyond their control. There was strong support across racial groups for compensation for Mr Abraham. Opinions on whether Mr Mati and Mr Smith should be compensated varied, with African respondents being most supportive of compensation and white respondents least supportive. More support for compensation was indicated where Mr Mati or Mr Smith were seen as not being responsible for their predicament.

The second vignette entailed ten different specifications of a situation in which someone had been retrenched, with respondents being asked if the government should provide financial assistance (and if so, how much). The description of the now unemployed person varied by race, gender, age, marital status, whether he or she had children, and whether he or she was a 'dependable worker' (and was actively seeking work). Preliminary multivariate regressions suggest that the characteristics of the beneficiary are much more important than the characteristics
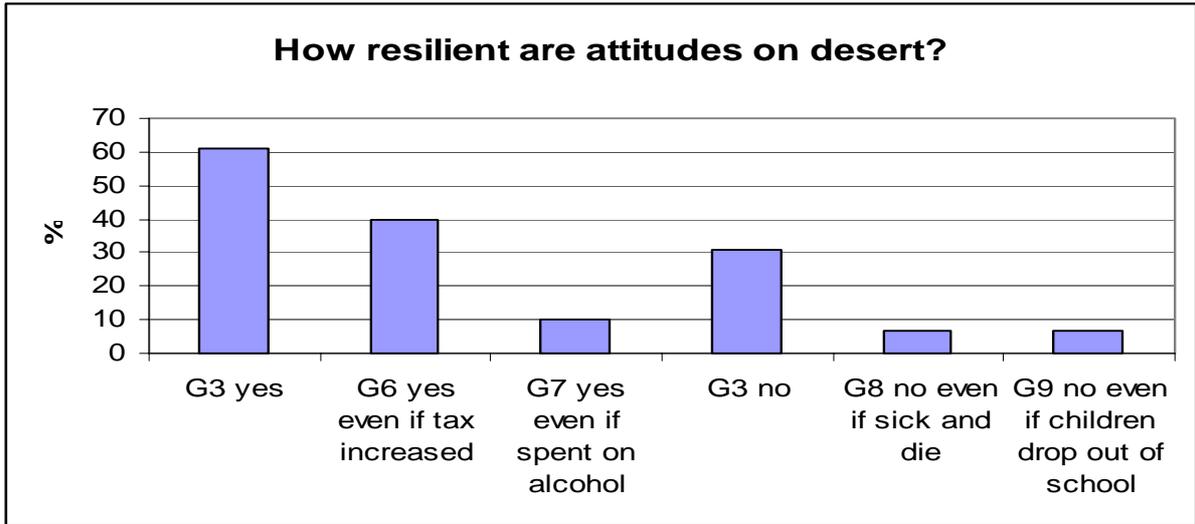
of the respondent.

7.8. Are attitudes affected by deliberation?

One area of innovation in the study of public opinion is the extent to which opinions are amenable to persuasion or deliberation. Gibson and Gouws (2002) show, in their study of political intolerance in South Africa, that people expressing tolerant attitudes can be persuaded to become intolerant more readily than people expressing intolerant attitudes can be persuaded to become tolerant.

In CAS 2003, we asked several questions that probed this flexibility or conditionality of expressed opinions. We included a pair of questions that we used earlier in CAS 2000. Respondents were asked whether they agreed (using a five-point scale) with the statements (F.6) "The value of the state old-age pension should be increased" and then (F.7) "… even if it means that people like you have to pay higher taxes". We found that the proportion of respondents who agreed or agreed strongly declined from 85% to 55% when increased taxes were brought into the picture. The proportion who disagreed or disagreed strongly rose from an insignificant 7% to 30%. The results in coloured and African areas were similar to those found in CAS 2000.

We probed the mutability of opinion more fully with respect to aspects of desert (see section 6.7 above). G.3 entailed a vignette, asking whether the government should provide financial assistance to someone who had been retrenched, describing the person in some detail. If respondents said yes, we probed whether they would change their minds if told that taxes would have to be increased or the person would spend the money on alcohol. If respondents said no, we probed whether they would change their minds if told that the person could not afford to be sick and might well get sick or even die, or the person's children may have to drop out of school.

The proportion of respondents who said that the government should assist the unemployed person in the vignette declined from 61% to 40% when faced with increased tax and just 10% when faced with a beneficiary who spends the money on alcohol. The proportion who said that the government should not assist declined from 31% to 7% when faced with the prospect of the unemployed person becoming sick and perhaps dying, or children dropping out of school. Our respondents could quite easily be persuaded to change their views when provided with additional information.
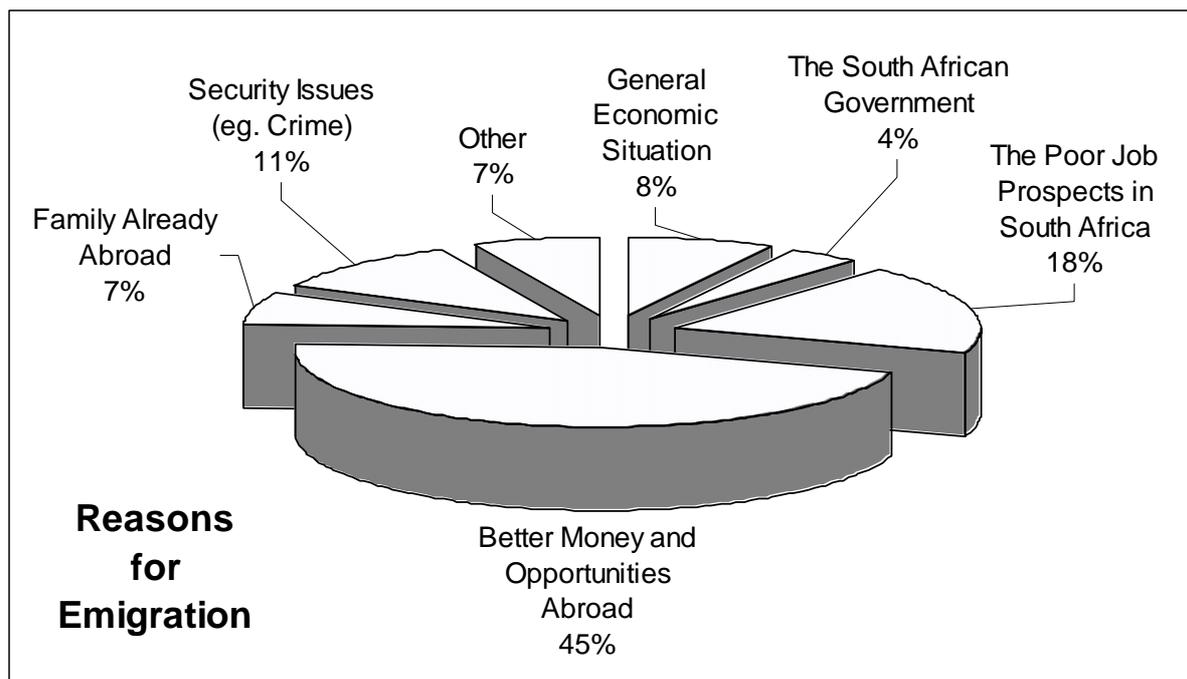
How resilient are attitudes on desert?

Because we varied the description of the retrenched worker (using ten alternative descriptions), we can probe how the mutability of attitudes is related to the characteristics of the respondent and the supposed beneficiary.

7.9. Emigration

Attitudes towards emigration provide a special insight into people's opinions on life and opportunities in contemporary South Africa. Because emigration represents such a drastic response, it shows how people truly feel about their future in South Africa.

Respondents were asked "how much thought" they had given to moving to another country, what they had actually done about it, and what were their reasons for moving from or choosing to remain in South Africa. The data on emigration revealed some clear patterns. One half of the white respondents, one-third of the coloured respondents but very few of the African respondents said that they had thought about emigration. Young people, specifically those under 25 years old, seemed more willing to emigrate then their older counterparts. Wealthier people seemed more inclined to consider moving abroad. Amongst white respondents under the age of 35, only one third said they had never considered moving.

Reasons for Emigration

- Security Issues (eg. Crime) 11%
- Other 7%
- General Economic Situation 8%
- The South African Government 4%
- The Poor Job Prospects in South Africa 18%
- Family Already Abroad 7%
- Better Money and Opportunities Abroad 45%

The most commonly cited reasons for considering emigration were the better financial opportunities abroad and the poor job prospects in South Africa. Political factors seemed unimportant, and crime was mentioned by only 11% of the people who said that they were 'likely' or 'very likely' to emigrate.

The most commonly cited reasons for staying were "family are in South Africa" and "love South Africa/Cape Town". Not all responses viewed life here as positively. A number of the respondents said that although they had given little or no thought to emigration, it was their lack of income and the expense of moving rather then their love for South Africa that prevented their emigration.

The picture that emerges is of young people, probably not tied down by family obligations, contemplating emigration because they assess their material prospects as better abroad than in South Africa. People who have thought about emigration are slightly more disenchanted with the new South Africa than those who have not. They are relatively negative about the direction in which the country is moving, are less likely to have voted in the 1999 elections, and feel that Members of Parliament are less interested in what people like them have to say. But consideration of 'exit' is not neatly linked to a lack of 'voice' or 'loyalty': respondents contemplating emigration have a sense of political efficacy by other measures, and are no less likely to consider themselves as South Africans, than respondents who have not considered emigrating.

7.10. Security

The CAS data allows us to investigate multiple dimensions of 'security' in Cape Town. Although security is usually though of in terms of a person's safety from violence, it also entails having proper access to life's necessities (such as food and water) as well as having enough money to pay for services (like electricity). Trust, in the sense of knowing that one can depend on family or friends to help you in a time of need, also factors into a person's sense of security.

As in most countries throughout the world, crime and security are seen by respondents as one of the major problems facing the government. Over half of all respondents reported at least occasional violence in their neighbourhoods, in the form of homes and cars being broken into and to a lesser extent people being attacked. Most respondents report that neither they nor their family have had their homes broken into or have been attacked in the last year yet a large number of respondents report having felt unsafe while walking around their neighbourhood both during the day and especially at night. Further, over half the respondents report having at one point or another felt unsafe in their own homes.

"In the past 12 months, how often have you or anyone in your family …"
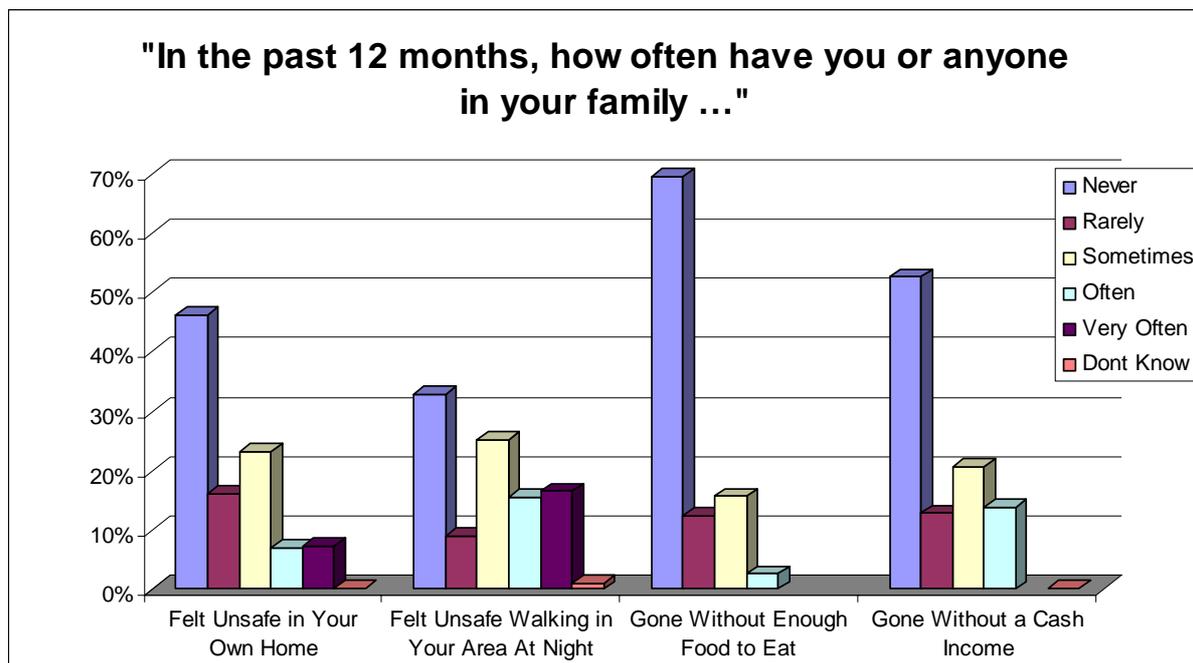
In regard to food and health security in the past year, the majority of respondents say that they have always had their necessities met. Most people report having enough to eat, having received proper medical attention when needed, as well as having shelter and water. Although this may be true, the data also shows that large minorities of African people and smaller minorities of coloured and white

people report having gone without these necessities, sometimes regularly. Over 30% of African people report having gone without enough food at least sometimes. The main reason for going without food and other basics is the lack of a cash income, which is itself a form of insecurity. Health is also a concern for many people, as respondents report poor health due to anxiety and worry.

Security in the sense of secure relations with others is also very important. Over half the respondents report that most people cannot be trusted, with coloured respondents being the least trustful of others. The overwhelming majority of respondents also felt that, given the opportunity, people would try to take advantage of them, with white people being much more trustful than African or coloured people. Notwithstanding this distrust, most people have good, regular relations with family and friends, placing both as priorities in their lives. Further, many respondents seem to trust people in their own neighbourhoods, reporting that neighbours would help each other out, and that they would watch each others property.

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The Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) was established in 1975 as part of the School of Economics and joined the CSSR in 2002. SALDRU conducted the first national household survey in 1993 (the Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development). More recently, SALDRU ran the Langeberg Integrated Family survey (1999) and the Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey (2000). Current projects include research on public works programmes, poverty and inequality.