



Working Paper

Societal attitudes towards inequality and preferences for redress

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1. Introduction

1.1. Overview

This Working Paper has been produced as part of the ESRC/NRF-funded research programme: ‘Changing Socio-Spatial Inequalities: Population change and the lived experience of inequality in urban South Africa’.

The research programme as a whole consists of a series of discrete yet interlinked strands of work, utilising both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to provide new insights into people’s lived experiences of inequality in South Africa.

The analytical focus of this Working Paper is on the ways in which people view themselves and their neighbourhoods in the context of a highly unequal South African society. This encompasses an analysis of attitudes towards inequality and preferences for different redress policy options. The findings presented here are based on a quantitative analysis of a new module of survey questions that was designed as part of this research programme and which was fielded in the 2017 round of the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS).

The findings presented and discussed here are primarily based on univariate and bivariate analysis, as the objective in this Working Paper is to convey the substantial breadth of new information collated through the SASAS module. Further in-depth multivariate analysis of particular facets of this research will be published separately, including in peer-reviewed academic journals.

1.2. Background to the study

The present research programme builds upon an earlier ESRC/NRF Pathfinder project (ES/I034889/1) which explored people’s attitudes to inequality and options for redress. In that earlier study, people’s ‘exposure’ to inequality was assumed to be a function of the types of people and the types of places that they encountered as they undertook their routine daily activities. It was therefore assumed that people could be exposed to inequality through personal interactions with people and/or through visual appreciation of the contrasts between affluence and poverty in the geographical areas that they spent their time or through which they travelled. However, as the authors of that study acknowledged, these assumptions could not be empirically validated due to a lack of suitable data on the ways in which people experience inequality (McLennan et al., 2014). At the conclusion of the Pathfinder project, the authors reflected on the data they had interrogated, the methodologies they had adopted and the resultant findings, and concluded that further primary data collection was required in order to address some of the information gaps that had been identified (McLennan et al., 2014). Information gaps were identified both in terms of understanding ‘how, when and where’ people experience inequality as well as the ways in which people’s lived experiences of inequality shape the ways in which they go about their daily lives. This current ESRC/NRF

research programme was therefore designed to contribute towards delivering on the recommendations from the earlier ESRC/NRF Pathfinder study.

The research study consists of four main workstreams: (1) Mapping the changing geographies of inequality across South Africa, using Census data and geographical information systems (GIS) techniques; (2) a qualitative analysis of people's lived experiences of inequality, their attitudes to inequality and their preferences for potential redress options, drawing on new primary data collected through 15 focus groups undertaken in the City of Cape Town metropolitan municipality; (3) a quantitative analysis of people's lived experiences of inequality, their attitudes to inequality and their support for redress options, drawing on new primary data collected through SASAS; and (4) a quantitative analysis of the extent to which people's attitudes to inequality are shaped by their lived experiences of inequality, using a combination of Census data and SASAS data.

This Working Paper contributes to workstream three set out above. The objective is to gain a better understanding of how people view themselves and their neighbourhoods in the context of a highly unequal South African society. A further working paper also contributes to informing workstream three by using SASAS to explore how, where and when people experience inequality as they go about their daily lives.

1.3. Research questions and survey specification

The broad overarching research objective of gaining a better understanding of how people feel about themselves and their local areas in the context of a highly unequal South African society can be broken down into four specific research questions:

1. How well-off do people feel in relation to those around them?
2. How do people feel the standard of living in their neighbourhood/village compares to other areas locally and nationally?
3. Do people feel satisfied and connected (i.e. attached) to their neighbourhood/village and the wider geographical area?
4. To what extent do people exhibit an aversion to inequality and how supportive are they of potential redress options?

This Working Paper therefore focuses on people attitudes to inequality and options for redress.

1.4. Data description

As has been indicated, the analysis presented in this paper uses the 2017 round of the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS).

SASAS is a nationally representative, repeated cross-sectional survey that investigates public attitudes, beliefs, behaviour patterns and values in the country. The SASAS series has been

administered by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) on an annual basis since 2003. The target population for the survey comprises individuals aged 16 and over who live in private residence (households, hostels and other structures). People living in special institutions such as hospitals and prisons were excluded from the sample. In total, 3,067 people were interviewed during the 2017 round of SASAS study. The final dataset was benchmarked and weighted to the latest mid-year population estimates released by Statistics South Africa. When weighted, these sampled respondents represent 39,797,128 South Africans aged 16 years and older. Full methodological details on the survey sampling methodology are available from the SASAS website¹.

Apart from a standard set of demographic and background variables, the SASAS questionnaire contains a core module, one or more rotating modules on specific themes, and one or more bespoke modules designed for particular research projects or designed to inform specific research objectives. The series relies on face-to-face interviewing using a paper-and-pencil survey design, and the English source questionnaires are translated into and administered in other official languages. The study design and research tools were approved by the HSRC's Research Ethics Committee (REC). Participants are asked for written informed consent, while written permission for young South Africans less than 18 years is also secured from their parents/guardians.

For the purpose of this present research programme, a new 25-item module of questions was designed to explore how, when and where people experience inequality (i.e. the focus of the accompanying Working Paper), and people's attitudes to inequality and options for redress (i.e. the focus of this particular Working Paper). In the analysis below, the relevant survey items are introduced as appropriate under the relevant analytical sections. The questionnaire, including the full 25-item list, is provided for reference in Appendix 4.

Since 2003, South Africa has, through SASAS, been a formal member of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP, www.issp.org). This is relevant because South Africa was asked to pilot the latest version of the ISSP Social Inequality V Module, by fielding it within the same 2017 round of SASAS as the module of questions that was designed specifically for this research programme. The ISSP module provides an additional broad suite of comparative data on public opinion regarding inequality and government redistribution, building on previous modules on the theme of 'social inequality' that have been fielded in 1987, 1992, 1999 and 2009 (Kelley and Evans, 1993, Evans and Kelley, 2004, Brooks and Manza, 2006, Lübker, 2006, Osberg and Smeeding, 2006, Svallfors, 2006, McCall and Kenworthy, 2009, Kelley and Evans, 2009, Kelley and Kelley, 2009). Thus, the inclusion of the ISSP module²

¹ <http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/departments/sasas>

² Two of the survey questions on exposure to inequality which were designed for the purpose of this research programme were, in fact, subsequently proposed, voted upon, and accepted as part of the ISSP Social Inequality V module, which will be fielded in approximately 40 countries (including South Africa) across different world regions during 2019.

alongside the 25-item module designed specifically for this present research programme has significantly increased the breadth of data available for analysis.

A number of explanatory variables have been used in the bivariate analyses that follow. These comprise age, sex, population group, geotype, two living standard measures (LSM3 and a geotype variant - LMS_Geo), and a subjective poverty measure – assessing how difficult it is to make ends meet – designated ‘DMEM’.

1.5. Analytical structure of this Working Paper

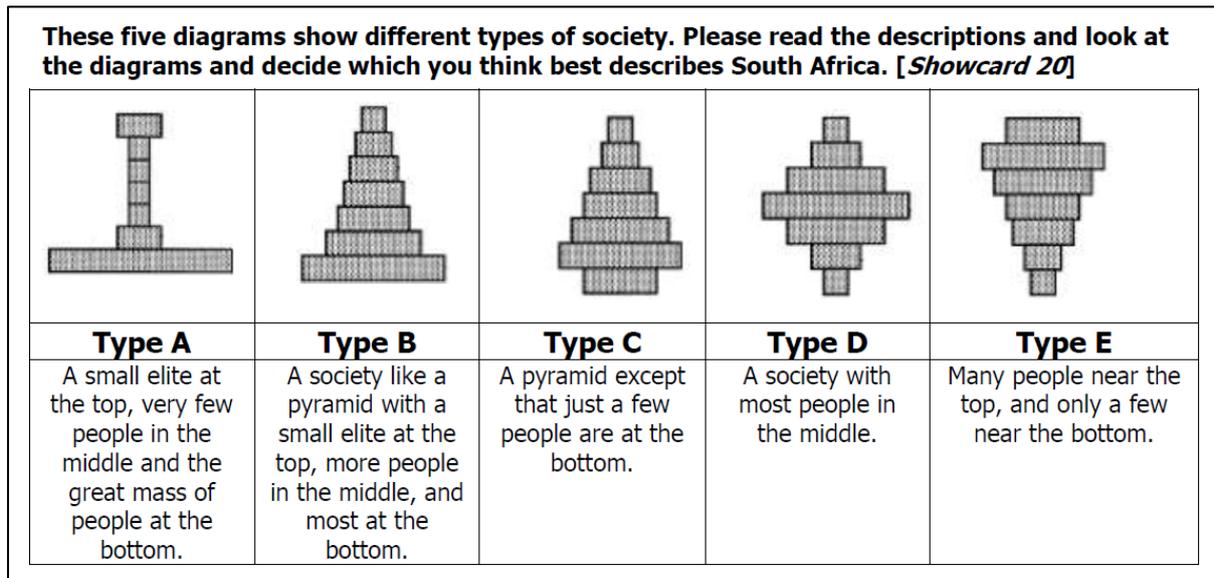
The analysis presented in this Working Paper is structured into four component sections. In Section 2, people’s views on the structure of South African society are investigated, which provides useful context for the analyses that follow. In Section 3, people’s perceptions of their social standing compared to others locally and nationally are examined. In Section 4, the focus is on people’s perceived relationships to the places in which they go about their daily lives. Finally, in Section 5, people’s attitudes to inequality and options for redress are considered. The main analytical findings are then emphasised and discussed in the Conclusion section.

2. Image of Society

One measure that the SASAS series has included in the past to gauge public views on inequality derives from the social inequality module of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP). It consists of two questions concerning people’s views on the structure of South African society, and draws on an approach based on pictorial and verbal representations of societal stratification that was experimented with in the late 1970s and extended to cross-national research from the 1990s onwards (McCall and Kenworthy, 2009, Sachweh and Olafsdottir, 2010, Kelley and Evans, 2017). This was first fielded in SASAS in 2009 and was repeated again in the 2017 round.³ Respondents are presented with a ‘showcard’ depicting five different societal structures, each with labels describing these possible configurations. The showcard is replicated below as Figure 1. Respondents are first asked to choose which image they think best reflects present-day South African society, and they are then asked to choose which image best represents their preferred or ideal structuring of South African society

³ These two image of society questions have also since been fielded in the 2018 round of SASAS.

Figure 1: Image of society showcard from SASAS 2017

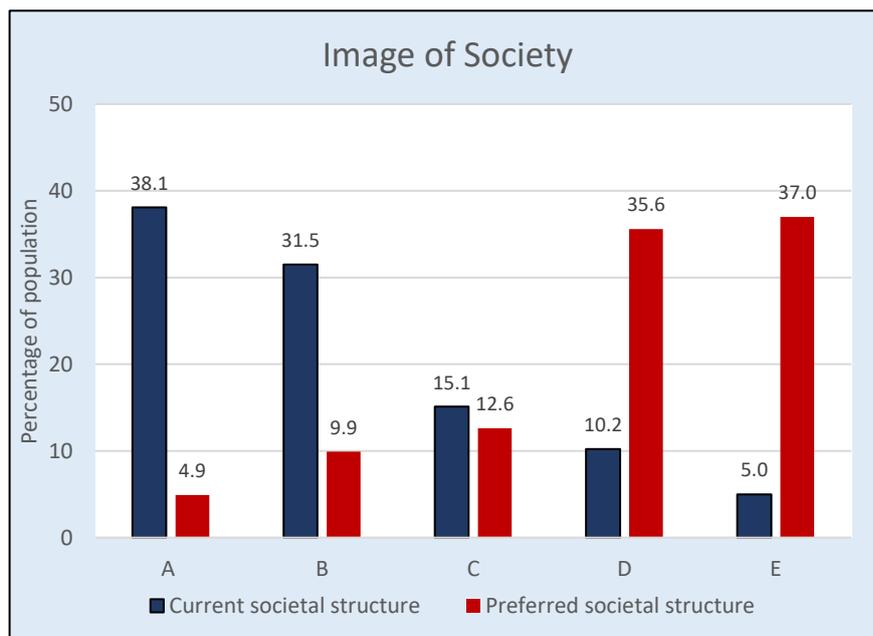


Source: SASAS 2017 final questionnaire.

These questions provided a valuable insight into people’s attitudes towards societal structures, which helps to set the foundations for the subsequent analysis of people’s attitudes to inequality and options for redress.

In Figure 2, the responses to the two SASAS questions on the image of society are displayed, with people’s views on present-day societal structure in South Africa represented by blue bars and people’s preference for the type of society that South Africa ought to be represented by red bars.

Figure 2: Image of South African Society



Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

It is clear from Figure 2 that the vast majority of the South African population perceive present-day South African society to be ‘bottom heavy’, in the sense that there are relatively few people at the top or in the middle of the distribution but a great many people towards the bottom. The most commonly chosen image of present-day South African society is Type A, which depicts a society with a small elite, very few people in the middle classes, and the vast majority of population being grouped at the very bottom. Type B was the second most commonly chosen image of present-day South Africa, which depicts a society that is similar to Type A in terms of the small elite and large grouping at the bottom, but with a more graduated transition through the middle classes than Type A. The images of Type A and Type B share the common feature of depicting the largest group of people as being at the very bottom of society. Nearly 70% of the population chose either Type A or Type B to reflect their view of present-day South Africa, which provides a powerful confirmation that the overwhelming majority of people in South Africa are acutely aware of the continuing inequality within the country. In common with the results from the 2009 fielding of this item in South Africa (Roberts, 2014), the predominant identification with either Type A or Type B is consistently observed across the South African public, irrespective of gender, age, population group, type of geographic location, living standard level and DMEM category. This confirms that the inequality in South African society is as apparent to those people located towards the top of society as it is to those in the middle and those at the bottom.

The results presented in Figure 2 also provide a powerful indication that people in South Africa want to live in a different type of society to that which currently exists. A total of 73% of the population think that South African society should look like either Type D or Type E. Those who chose Type D would prefer a society where there is much greater balance between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’, with the majority of people being placed towards the middle of the distribution. Those who chose Type E would prefer to live in a society where most people are placed towards the top of society, with relatively few people down towards the bottom. Again, there is consistency in preference for Type D or Type E across all population groups, the four geotype categories, the three LSM categories and the five DMEM categories. This finding confirms that there is consensus across South Africans from all walks of life that the current socio-economic structure is unequal and that the country would be a better place to live if this structure was more balanced.

The findings presented here clearly indicate that the vast majority of people regard present-day South African society to be ‘bottom heavy’ and that they would prefer to live in a society characterised by greater balance between the social classes, with a particular emphasis on reducing the numbers of people at the very bottom of society. In terms of people’s views of present-day society, these findings suggest that people are aware of the large gap between the lives and lifestyles of the small minority placed the ‘top’ of society and the lives and lifestyles of the vast majority of the population who find themselves at the ‘bottom’ of society. This provides a foundation upon which to build the subsequent analyses of people’s lived experiences of inequality.

3. Perceptions of socio-economic standing

The purpose of the analysis presented in this section is to provide new insights into how people compare themselves to others locally, and how they compare their own village/neighbourhood to other places locally and nationally.

In the context of attitudes to inequality, income comparisons are of interest due to their potential bearing on subjective wellbeing and the demand for redistribution. In the case of Europeans, evidence from the European Social Survey (ESS) has shown that when people are asked to compare their own household incomes with that of others households, there is a tendency for the comparisons to be largely upward towards reference groups better-off than oneself. The ESS studies suggest that this tendency for upward comparisons serves to depress subjective wellbeing and promote a greater demand for state-led income redistribution (Clark and Senik, 2010). Many studies on income comparisons have assumed a specific reference group for analytical purposes. For instance, Easterlin (1995) tacitly assumes that individuals compare themselves with all others in the country, Clark and Oswald (1996) refer to ‘people like you’, McBride (2001) opts for individuals in the same country aged between 5 years younger or older than the individual concerned, while Ferrer-i-Carbonell (2005) assumes the reference group to be individuals in the country with similar education level, age bracket and region of residence. Only in a rare few cases are survey respondents asked about the reference groups to which incomes are compared. In China, the main comparison group reported was individuals in one’s own village (Knight and Gunatilaka, 2009), in Europe work colleagues predominated (Clark and Senik, 2010), while in South Africa neighbours were the most common basis of income comparison followed by family (Roberts, personal communication).

In this study, three questions were included in the 2017 round of SASAS to enable an exploration of how people perceive themselves to be faring in relation to others within their neighbourhoods, and subsequently how they perceive their neighbourhoods to be faring in relation to other areas locally and nationally. So, the comparative reference group in this instance refers to different spatial levels, with the aim of trying to ascertain the degree to which individuals feel their own personal context as well their own area of residence compares to others economically/materially.

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

Compared to other villages/neighbourhoods that I travel to regularly as I go about my daily life, I think people in my village/neighbourhood are generally...

... much richer	1
A little richer	2
About the same	3
A little poorer	4
Much poorer	5
(I don't often travel to other villages/neighbourhoods)	6
(Do not know)	8

Compared to the rest of South Africa, I think people in my village/neighbourhood are generally...

... much richer	1
A little richer	2
About the same	3
A little poorer	4
Much poorer	5
(Do not know)	8

A comparative perspective on one's own household income

Focusing first on the question relating to how people compare their own household income with that of others in the village or neighbourhood, Table 1 shows the results for the country as a whole (in the final column of the table), as well as separately according to people's reported level of 'difficulty in making ends meet'. In addition to showing the pattern of responses for each of the possible response categories, from 'much above average income' through to 'much below average income', Table 1 also presents two summary rows at the bottom where the two 'above' response categories have been combined together and the two 'below' response categories have similarly been added together. These two summary rows have been included to aid interpretation of the table.

Table 1: Personal income comparisons relative to one’s neighbourhood/village of residence, national and by perceived ability to make ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

How does your HH income compare with other HH in your neighbourhood/village?	Difficulty of making ends meet					
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	South Africa
Much above average income	3	2	2	1	6	2
Above average income	5	9	13	15	44	10
Average income	20	37	54	62	34	39
Below average income	35	38	19	9	4	29
Much below average income	35	9	6	2	2	15
(Do not know)	2	4	5	11	11	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
‘Much above + Above’	8	11	15	16	50	13
‘Much below + Below’	70	48	25	11	6	44

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

Looking at the overall national picture, approximately two-fifths (39%) of South Africans were of the view that their household had an “average income” when compared to the household incomes of their neighbours. This is perhaps as might be expected, given how people’s housing choices are often constrained by their level of income (or wealth), such that people often live amongst other people of similar socio-economic standing (Reardon and Bischoff, 2011). However, a particularly noteworthy finding is that 44% of people regarded their household income as either “below average” or “much below average” compared to that of their neighbours, in contrast with just 13% stating that their household income was “much above” or “above” the average income of their neighbours. In general, therefore, the percentage of people perceiving themselves to be faring materially worse-off than others locally is almost three times higher than the percentage perceiving themselves to be faring better than others living in their locality.

This disparity is even more evident when examining perceived income comparisons by reported ability to make ends meet. From Table 1, a clear gradient in responses can be observed across the DMEM categories. It can be seen that 70% of those people who reported finding it ‘Very difficult to make ends meet’ said their household income was lower than average for their neighbourhood, and that this value *decreases incrementally* across the DMEM categories down to a figure of 8% for those people who regarded themselves as finding it ‘very easy to make ends meet’. A similar pattern of *incremental increases* in the proportion of people perceiving their income to be better than average for the local area is observed across the DMEM categories, from a low of 8% of those who are most struggling, to a high of 50% of those who are finding it easiest to make ends meet.

People’s perception of their level of difficulty in making ends meet is, of course, likely to be partly shaped by their perception of how they are faring relative to their neighbours. In order to qualify the findings concerning the gradient of responses across the different categories of DMEM, Table 2 presents equivalent results but this time disaggregated according to living standard level (LSM3) categorisation, which may be regarded as a more objective measure of material wellbeing (and therefore complements the subjective measure provided by the DMEM categorisation).

Table 2: Personal income comparisons relative to one’s neighbourhood/village of residence, national and by living standard level (column percentages, 2017)

Compare HH income to neighbourhood	LSM group: three categories (equal sized)		
	1: Low living standard	2: Medium living standard	3: High living standard
1. Much above average income	2	2	3
2. Above average income	4	10	17
3. Average income	26	39	51
4. Below average income	35	33	17
5. Much below average income	29	12	5
8. (Do not know)	4	4	8
Total	100	100	100
‘Much above + Above’	6	12	20
‘Much below + Below’	64	45	21

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

Table 2 provides further support for the income comparison findings from Table 1. Specifically, over ten times the proportion of people in the low-LSM group said that their income was below the local average (64%) than above the local average (6%). Around four times the proportion of people in the medium-LSM group said their income is below the local average (45%) than above the local average (12%), while for the high-LSM group the proportions perceiving themselves to be below and above local average are approximately equal (21% and 20%, respectively).

It is not possible to state definitive reasons for why such high proportions of the population perceive that they are faring worse than others in their local geographical area. The finding that 64% of people in the low-LSM group state that they are doing worse than their neighbours while just 6% said they are doing better than their neighbours is particularly striking. Given that the sampling methodology of SASAS involves respondents being selected *randomly* from within an enumeration area, one might expect there to be a more even balance between those who regarded their incomes as better than average and those that regarded their incomes as worse than average. The fact that this is not borne out by the data may indicate that people are consciously or sub-consciously choosing a more affluent benchmark as a frame of reference when comparing themselves to others, and therefore expressing a sense of being relatively deprived. If this is indeed the case, then it may be that people’s choices of benchmark are shaped by having expanded boundaries of what they regard as their local area, and thus taking wider local areas into account when thinking about

their neighbourhood/village, or it may be due to the emergence of greater income mixing within communities i.e. observing neighbours who are moving up the economic ladder leading to a sense of deprivation in comparison.

A comparative material perspective on one’s place of residence

In order to further investigate people’s sense of relative deprivation (or relative affluence), two survey questions were designed with the specific focus on the perceived relative income positioning of one’s residential neighbourhood. One of the questions asks people to compare their own neighbourhood with other neighbourhoods which they travel to regularly, while the other question asks people to compare their neighbourhood to the broader context of South Africa as a whole. These two questions therefore continue to approach the issue of relative deprivation through the lens of spatial inequality.

Table 3 shows how people view their neighbourhood in relation to other neighbourhoods they travel to regularly as they go about their daily lives. Again, the results are presented for the country as a whole (in the final column of the table) and separately according to the difficulty with which people make ends meet.

Table 3: Material comparisons of one’s village/neighbourhood of residence to other local areas, national and by perceived ability to make ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

Compared to other villages/neighbourhoods that I travel to regularly as I go about my daily life, I think people in my village/neighbourhood are generally	Difficulty of making ends meet					South Africa
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	
1. Much richer	6	2	3	5	4	4
2. A little richer	15	19	14	22	34	17
3. About the same	28	35	45	43	35	36
4. A little poorer	19	22	23	14	11	20
5. Much poorer	25	14	8	9	5	15
6. (I don't often travel to other villages/neighbourhoods)	7	6	5	4	11	6
8. (Do not know)	1	2	3	4	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
'Much richer' + 'A little richer'	20	22	17	26	38	21
'Much poorer' + 'A little poorer'	44	36	31	23	16	35

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

It is evident from Table 3 that the most common response across the country was that people perceived their own neighbourhood to be “about the same” as others they travel to regularly (36%). However, a notably higher percentage of people indicated that people in their neighbourhoods were “worse-off” than “better-off” compared to the other areas. It can be seen that 35% of people said that people in their neighbourhood were either “a little poorer”

or “much poorer”, while just 21% said that people in their neighbourhood were “a little richer” or “much richer”.

When reviewing the results across the five making ends meet (DMEM) categories, an incremental gradient can again be observed in the proportions of people regarding their area as being relatively deprived compared to the relevant benchmark. The analysis reveals that 44% of those who find it “very difficult” to make ends meet said that their neighbourhood is either “a little poorer” or “much poorer” than the other areas to which they travel regularly. This figure decreases incrementally down to just 16% for those who found it “very easy” to make ends meet. The two key points to take from Table 3 are therefore that: (i) a larger share of the public regards their own neighbourhood as poorer compared to other areas locally, than regards their neighbourhood as richer than other areas locally; and (ii) this articulation of relative deprivation between geographical spaces is particularly prevalent amongst those people in society who are struggling to make ends meet. In these two regards, the general pattern of results shown in Table 3 are similar to those discussed earlier when looking at how people compare themselves to others within their own neighbourhood.

The third and final question in this section is concerned with how people perceive their own neighbourhood in relation to South Africa as a whole. As with the tables above, Table 4 shows the overall results in the ‘South Africa’ column on the right-hand side of the table, as well as the results broken down by the five DMEM categories.

Table 4: Material comparisons of one’s village/neighbourhood of residence to the rest of South Africa, national and by perceived ability to make ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

Compared to the rest of South Africa, I think people in my village/neighbourhood are generally	Difficulty of making ends meet					South Africa
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	
1. Much richer	5	4	5	7	6	5
2. A little richer	12	18	15	19	23	16
3. About the same	22	29	41	41	46	31
4. A little poorer	21	27	25	15	20	23
5. Much poorer	39	20	10	16	2	22
8. (Do not know)	1	2	4	3	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
‘Much richer’ + ‘A little richer’	17	21	20	25	29	20
‘Much poorer’ + ‘A little poorer’	60	47	35	31	22	46

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

It was observed from the two preceding questions that people, on the whole, tend to regard both their own households and their neighbourhoods are faring somewhat worse than average. As is evident from Table 4, this tendency also applies when people are asked to compare their neighbourhood with the rest of the country. Specifically, 46% said that their neighbourhood is characteristically poorer (much poorer + a little poorer) than the rest of

South Africa, while just 20% perceive their neighbourhood to be richer (much richer + a little richer) than the rest of South Africa. So, again, people tend to articulate that they are relatively deprived compared to the particular benchmark they are being asked to compare themselves against.

Table 4 also provides further evidence that perceptions of relative deprivation are particularly strong amongst those who perceive themselves to be in the lower socio-economic positions. From the analysis it can be seen that 60% of those who find it “very difficult” to make ends meet consider their neighbourhoods to be “a little poorer” or “much poorer” compared to the rest of the country. In contrast, just 22% of those who find it “very easy” to make ends meet consider their neighbourhoods to be “a little poorer” or “much poorer” than the rest of the country.

Examining the pattern of responses across the three questions analysed above, one can see a clear and consistent pattern of results concerning how people view themselves and their areas in the context of the highly unequal South African society. It can be seen that, irrespective of whether people are asked to compare themselves with their neighbours, or compare their own neighbourhood with other local areas, or compare their neighbourhood with the rest of South Africa, people tend, on the whole, to report that they are faring relatively poorly compared to others. This articulation of relative deprivation is particularly strong amongst those who are struggling to make ends meet.

When the results across these three questions are correlated, relatively strong positive associations are observed between the two questions concerning inter-area comparisons ($r=0.56$), and positive (but weaker) associations are seen between these two questions and the question concerning income comparisons with one’s immediate neighbours ($r=0.25$; $r=0.28$). The findings presented in this section therefore raise interesting questions about how people choose their reference points when comparing themselves to others. It may be that people’s choices of reference points are drawn towards those members of society (and those areas of the country) that are seen to be thriving, thus emphasising a sense of relative deprivation for those people who are enjoying the same positive opportunities or outputs in life. These results for South Africa therefore appear to be consistent with Clark & Senik’s (2010) findings from their analysis of the European Social Survey in that they are suggestive of a general inclination towards upwards comparisons that depress relative income evaluations.

The analysis presented here has explored the question of how people perceive themselves and their neighbourhood in relation to other people and other areas locally and nationally. The following section develops this line of enquiry further in order to better understand how people regard their own neighbourhoods and other areas in the local vicinity.

4. Relationship to place

The qualitative component of this research programme revealed how many economic migrants to Cape Town contrasted their lives within the city to their earlier lives in the rural areas (often the former homelands in the Eastern Cape). The feeling among many members of the focus groups was that whilst the city offered them economic opportunities that were unavailable in the rural areas, they still very much regarded the rural areas as ‘home’ and the place they intended to return to if/when their financial situation allowed it. The focus group participants commonly highlighted issues such as crime, lack of services and lack of social cohesion as reasons why they did not feel a strong attachment to where they lived in Cape Town. Participants frequently contrasted the poor living conditions they experienced in their own urban neighbourhoods to the high living standards enjoyed by residents of wealthier neighbourhoods across the city. The qualitative research therefore revealed how the stark spatial inequalities in affluence, service provision and safety accentuated people’s feelings about the geographical areas in which they lived. The generally weak attachment to Cape Town reported by many focus group members was also recognised to have further implications for social cohesion and risk of crime, thereby exacerbating the factors that promoted the feelings of detachment from place. Feelings of detachment from place may also have important implications for people’s attitudes to inequality and preferences for redress options, particularly if detachment from place leads to feelings of disassociation from the *people* that share that place and a consequent weakening of social solidarity.

The analysis presented in this section commences with a consideration of people’s perceived relationship to the place in which they currently reside. The aim is to explore how people regard their home neighbourhood in the context of a highly unequal (and spatially unequal) society. The analysis then focusses on one facet of people’s attitudes towards geographical spaces that emerged strongly during the qualitative part of this study: namely, the extent to which people consider that different types of areas are treated differently by government and other key institutions. This particular distributive fairness issue is explored here through a survey question that asks people whether they think emergency services respond equally quickly in all types of areas, or whether certain types of areas receive preferential treatment.

A set of four questions was designed for inclusion in the 2017 round of SASAS in order to explore how people regard the areas in which they live and spend time. In addition to the question tapping into distributive fairness, people were asked about their level of satisfaction with the area in which they currently live, whether they would like to move house to live in another neighbourhood, and lastly whether there were certain neighbourhoods locally that they would deliberately avoid as places to live, work or meet friends. These questions were included in order to get a sense of people’s feelings towards the places in which they go about their daily lives.

How satisfied are you with the area in which you are currently living? [*Showcard 2*]

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

Would you like to move to a different village/neighbourhood? This could be somewhere close to where you currently live or somewhere further afield (e.g. a different province)

Yes, definitely	1
Yes, possibly	2
No, probably not	3
No, not at all	4
(Do not know)	8

Are there certain residential village/neighbourhoods within your local area that you would deliberately avoid as places to live, work or meet friends?

Yes	1
No	2
(Do not know)	8

Satisfaction with local area of residence

The first of the four relationship to place questions focuses on people's satisfaction with the area in which they live. The results are presented in Table 5, with the overall figures presented in the 'South Africa' column and then also broken down according to people's reported difficulty in making ends meet.

Table 5: Residential satisfaction, national and by perceived ability to make ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

How satisfied are you with the area in which you currently live?	Difficulty of making ends meet					South Africa
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	
1. Very satisfied	5	7	10	17	33	9
2. Satisfied	29	36	36	56	52	37
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	21	21	30	13	2	22
4. Dissatisfied	21	31	20	7	3	22
5. Very dissatisfied	24	6	5	6	11	11
8. (Do not know)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
'Very satisfied' + 'Satisfied'	34	42	45	74	85	46
'Very dissatisfied' + 'Dissatisfied'	45	37	24	13	13	33

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

The first point of note is that, across the country as a whole, 46% of people were satisfied ('Very satisfied' + 'Satisfied') while 33% were dissatisfied ('Very dissatisfied' + 'Dissatisfied'). At face value, the fact that almost half of the population expressed contentment with the area in which they live is perhaps somewhat surprising given the high levels of poverty and/or crime that characterise many areas in South Africa, often combined with a lack of job opportunities and poor service provision (Noble et al., 2009). However, Scannell and Gifford (2010) argue that place attachment is a multidimensional construct, and the effect of place attributes such as crime and poverty can be offset by other cultural, psychological and social/physical factors. In other words, a deep attachment to place can result in people being less sensitive to the detrimental aspects of their neighbourhoods such as drug dealing and use, gang activity, graffiti etc.

The analysis revealed that the greatest levels of satisfaction (and the lowest levels of dissatisfaction) were reported by those people who felt it was 'very easy to make ends meet'. Those who said it was 'very difficult to make ends meet', on the other hand, reported the greatest levels of *dissatisfaction* (and lowest levels of satisfaction). This is evidenced by the fact that 85% of those who found it "very easy" to make ends meet indicated that they were "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with the area in which they live, compared to the 34% of those who find it "very difficult" to make ends meet.

However, although those people who reported that it was 'very difficult to make ends meet' exhibited the lowest levels of satisfaction and highest levels of dissatisfaction, the fact that over a third of people in this group still reported being satisfied with the area in which they live is again consistent with the multi-dimensional model of Scannell & Gifford (2010) outlined above.

Reported 'no-go' areas in local place of residence

Prior to analysing people's overall attachment to a neighbourhood or wider spatial area, analysis was undertaken on questions that might be considered as predictors of a person's level of attachment to the area in which they live or wider spatial area. So, for example, there was a question as to whether there were particular geographical areas that people would deliberately avoid. This question was included in order to give an insight into the extent to which people felt that certain local areas were 'off limits' to them. There was also a follow up open-ended question to enable respondents to provide some reasons for their choice. As can be seen from Table 6, around three-fifths (59%) of South Africans indicated that there were indeed certain residential neighbourhoods they would deliberately avoid while 37% indicated that there were no areas that they would avoid. Based on a review of the open-ended responses, commonly cited reasons for avoiding certain areas included crime and safety concerns, as well as lack of services within the avoided areas.

While national figures indicated that the majority of South Africans avoid certain areas, analysis by population group showed that white adults were least likely to indicate that there were certain neighbourhoods they would actively avoid (38%).

Table 6: Reported ‘no-go’ areas in place of residence, national and by population group (column percentage, 2017)

Are there certain residential village/neighbourhoods in your local area that you would deliberately avoid as places to live, work or meet friends	Population group				
	1. Black African	2. Coloured	3. Indian/Asian	4. White	South African average
1. Yes	62	53	60	38	59
2. No	35	42	38	53	37
8. (Do not know)	4	5	2	10	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

Area-based distributive fairness: The way essential services respond to emergencies in rich versus poor areas

As reported above, during the focus groups many participants highlighted the perceived risk of crime and lack of services as reasons for avoiding certain geographical areas, and this was supported by many of the responses to the open-ended question in the SASAS module. There was a feeling within the focus group discussions that certain areas enjoyed preferential treatment when it came to matters of policing and service delivery. In order to further explore this issue of inequality of safety and service delivery across geographical spaces, the following question was designed for and included in the 2017 round of SASAS:

When a person makes a distress call to the police, ambulance or fire brigade emergency services, do you think that the emergency services respond quickest in rich areas, quickest in poor areas, or respond equally quickly in rich and poor areas?	
Respond quicker in rich areas	1
Respond quicker in poor areas	2
Respond in about the same time in rich and poor areas	3
(Do not know)	8

This question, like the previous one on “no go areas” has a bearing on people’s level of attachment to the area in which they live or wider spatial area. The results from this question are presented in Table 7. The national pattern of responses is presented in the ‘South Africa’ column, and in this table the results are also broken down according to the type of area in which respondents lived, using the type of geographic location (GeoType) classification in the survey.

Table 7: Perceived area-based distributive fairness, national and by type of geographic location (column percentages, 2017)

When a person makes a distress call to the police, ambulance or fire brigade emergency service, they respond...(q92)	Geo-type				
	1. Urban, Formal	2. Urban, Informal	3. Trad. Auth. Areas	4. Rural, Formal	South Africa
1. Respond quicker in rich areas	73	86	78	77	75
2. Respond quicker in poor areas	4	4	7	4	5
3. Respond in about the same time	20	7	14	15	18
8. (Do not know)	3	3	1	5	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

The findings suggest that a sizeable majority of South Africans (75%) consider that emergency services respond more promptly in rich areas than in poor areas. Just 5% said that response times were faster in poor areas than rich areas, while close to a fifth (18%) thought that response times were about the same irrespective of the level of affluence in the area.

The perception that rich areas are prioritized is common among people of different types of geographical area, although there are some differences in the magnitude of support for this perspective. For instance, residents of urban informal settlements registered the highest percentage (86%) stating that emergency response is quicker in rich areas. The differential response time of emergency services was highlighted in the focus group with domestic workers who lived in informal settlements but worked in nearby middle-class neighbourhoods.

The discussion above has provided some new insights into how people feel about the geographical areas in which they reside. South Africans on average tend to express moderately greater residential satisfaction than dissatisfaction, but this is strongly shaped by socio-economic status, with social disadvantage associated with more critical views of one's local area. While residential satisfaction is the norm, approximately six in ten South Africans are able to identify 'no-go' areas in and around their local area. An even larger majority (75%) believes that poorer areas fare worse than rich areas in terms of the time taken by essential services to respond to an emergency. Class-based attributes again significantly shape the pattern of these responses. Multivariate analysis reveals that these factors all exert an influence on the attachment individuals have to the area in which they live. Residential satisfaction has a positive effect on place attachment, the existence of local no-go areas reduces place attachment, while believing that poorer areas are unfavourably treated by emergency services also serves to weaken these bonds.

How attached to place are people?

Having established people’s general levels of satisfaction with their local area, the question as to whether people would like to remain in their current neighbourhood or move to a different neighbourhood is explored. Table 8 presents the overall national results in the ‘South Africa’ column, and also disaggregates the results according to a measure of socio-economic status, using the LSM3_geo categorisation in order to examine differences in results between urban and rural areas.

Table 8: Preference for moving to a different neighbourhood, national and by living standard level (column percentages, 2017)

Like to move neighbourhood	lsm3_geo					
	LSM1 rural	LSM1 urban	LSM2 rural	LSM2 urban	LSM3	South Africa
1. Yes, definitely	18	38	20	31	18	24
2. Yes, possibly	21	22	26	26	29	26
3. No, probably not	25	14	22	21	23	22
4. No, not at all	35	23	29	20	28	27
8. (Do not know)	1	2	2	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
‘Yes’ (definitely + possibly)	39	61	46	57	46	49
‘No’ (probably not + not at all)	60	37	52	41	51	49

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

There are two particularly noteworthy findings in Table 8. First, when looking at the national pattern of results, an equal split can be observed between those who *do* wish to move to a different neighbourhood (49%) and those who *do not* wish to move (also 49%). A similar question was fielded in SASAS 2003 which asked participants “Thinking about the area in which you live. How strong is your preference to continue living in this area?” To which the national aggregation of scores indicated that 63% expressed a strong/moderate preference to stay; 15% expressed a strong/moderate preference to leave and 21% were unsure. The contrast in the distribution of scores for both questions at the two time points illustrates an increase in the percentage of South Africans demonstrating a desire to leave their neighbourhood.

The second main finding is that clear differences emerge between people living in urban and rural areas in terms of their preferences for moving or remaining in the area. Amongst rural dwellers in the low and medium living standards level groups the majority of people preferred to stay in their current area, while amongst urban dwellers the majority wanted to move. The urban/rural differences are particularly stark amongst the low-LSM group: 60% of those in rural areas wanted to stay in their current area (and 39% wanted to move), while 61% of those in urban areas wanted to move (and 37% wanted to stay). If people’s preference for remaining in or moving from a place is one indication of their level of attachment to that place, then the findings here may suggest a stronger attachment to place for rural dwellers than urban dwellers.

5. Attitudes to inequality and support for redress options

This final section of the analysis begins by exploring the level of inequality aversion in South Africa, before turning to consider the level of public support for certain redress options. The redress options encompass both *person-focused* policies, such as increased government spending on school education system, and also *area-focused* policies, particularly those concerned with tackling spatial inequality through ‘mixed communities’ spatial planning.

5.1. Aversion to inequality

In addressing income and other social inequalities in South African society, one could maintain that one of the preconditions would be for a general recognition or awareness among the public that income inequality is detrimental to the developmental agenda. Apart from the societal image questions analysed earlier in this paper, several additional measures are present in the ISSP Social Inequality pilot module that enable us to further examine the extent of inequality aversion in the country and income distribution preferences, and we explore these in detail below.

The first of these items is a common question included in both SASAS and ISSP to provide an indicative sense of awareness of income inequality. It involves asking respondents to state using a five-point agreement scale the extent to which they support or reject the notion that “Differences in income in South Africa are too large”. McCall and Kenworthy (2009) note that this measure combines individual awareness of the scale of inequality together with judgements about the fairness of this perceived level of inequality.

Table 9: Perceived inequality aversion, nationally and by reported ability to make ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

Differences in income are too large	Difficulty of making ends meet					South Africa
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	
1. Strongly agree	46	33	26	35	39	36
2. Agree	44	57	53	52	54	52
3. Neither agree nor disagree	5	5	11	7	3	7
4. Disagree	3	3	6	5	3	4
5. Strongly disagree	1	1	2	1	0	1
8. Do not know	1	0	2	0	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
‘Strongly agree’ + ‘Agree’	90	91	79	87	94	88
‘Strongly disagree’ + ‘Disagree’	4	4	8	6	3	5

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

As shown in Table 9, 87% of the population either agreed or agreed strongly that differences in income are too large, which points to an overwhelming consensus regarding the scale of income inequality characterising South African society. Only marginal differences can be

discerned based on socio-demographic attributes. For instance, those reporting that they find it ‘very easy to make ends meet’ were almost equally as convinced of the detrimental nature of the scale of inequality than those that reported extreme difficulty in making ends meet (94% vs.90%). In a recent empirical study by Starman, Sheskin and Bloom (2017), it is found that “humans naturally favour fair distributions, not equal ones, and that when fairness and equality clash, people prefer fair inequality over unfair equality”. Based on experimental as well as quantitative cross-cultural data, the authors demonstrate that people prefer fair distributions of income and wealth over equal distributions of resources.

In response to a second question about the perceived fairness of the income distribution in South Africa, which draws on a survey item fielded biennially in Latinobarometro since 1995, three-quarters (75%) of the population deemed it to be either unfair or very unfair (Table 10). Although the intensity of the consensus about the unfairness of the country’s income distribution is not as striking as the ‘income differences are too large’ item, with a notable minority share dissenting (23% regard the income distribution as fair), this nonetheless represents strong recognition of the structural injustice of inequality. It should be noted that the ‘very easy to make ends meet’ group find it particularly unfair.

Table 10: Perceived fairness of the income distribution in South Africa, nationally and by reported ability to make ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

Fairness of SA income distribution	Difficulty of making ends meet					South African average
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	
1. Very fair	7	4	5	3	4	5
2. Fair	10	23	20	19	11	18
3. Unfair	38	42	52	50	33	44
4. Very unfair	41	30	21	25	51	31
8. (Do not know)	3	1	2	2	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
‘Very fair’ + ‘Fair’	18	28	25	22	15	23
‘Very unfair’ + ‘Unfair’	79	72	74	75	85	75

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

The following table (Table 11) details the extent to which people stated that they are angry about the income differences. This is of relevance since an intense emotional response to large-scale, persisting income inequality might predispose individuals towards a stronger willingness to support redistributive policies. Notably, 82% of the population said that they were angry at the differences, and over half were either very angry or moderately angry. As might be expected, those who find it very difficult to make ends meet were the angriest (66% either extremely or very angry). However, 40% of those relatively well-off who find it very easy to make ends meet were either very angry or extremely angry. Conversely, the proportion of each subgroup that said they were not at all angry ranged from 12% to 26% – in every case a minority of the group in question.

Table 11: Self-report anger at income differences in country, nationally and by reported ability to make ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

Angry at income differences	Difficulty of making ends meet					
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	South African average
1. Extremely angry	28	16	10	15	16	18
2. Very angry	38	35	32	19	25	33
3. Moderately angry	12	21	26	20	13	19
4. Slightly angry	8	13	10	15	14	11
5. Not at all angry	14	12	18	26	21	16
8. (Can't choose)	1	2	3	5	12	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Extremely + Very angry	66	52	43	34	41	51

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

Table 12 presents results for anger about income differences, separately by population group. Those expressing any anger range from 84% for the coloured group, 83% for the Indian/Asian group, 82% for the black African group down to 77% for the white group. Given that the white group has, on average, the highest income of all groups this expression of anger is somewhat surprising. It is, however, important to note that this group is less extremely/very angry than other groups, with their anger concentrated more in the moderately/slightly angry categories.

Table 12: Self-report anger at income differences in country, nationally and by population group (column percentages, 2017)

Angry at income differences	Population Group				
	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	South African average
1. Extremely angry	20	14	15	10	18
2. Very angry	35	33	33	20	33
3. Moderately angry	17	22	25	33	19
4. Slightly angry	11	15	11	14	11
5. Not at all angry	15	13	15	19	16
8. (Can't choose)	3	2	2	4	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Extremely + Very angry	55	47	47	28	51

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

5.2. Evaluations of government performance in reducing income differences

How do such attitudes relate to issues about redress? Table 13 presents results for a question about the success of government in reducing the income gap.

48. How successful do you think the government in South Africa is nowadays in reducing the differences in income between people with high incomes and people with low incomes?	
Very unsuccessful	1
Quite unsuccessful	2
Neither unsuccessful nor successful	3
Quite successful	4
Very successful	5
(Can't choose)	8

Just over three quarters (76%) of respondents said that it is the responsibility of the government to reduce the income gap between those with high and low incomes (Q43), and yet 64% regarded the government as either quite or very unsuccessful at reducing the income gap (Q48). There was a clear gradient in the association with the question on anger about income differences: 77% of those who said they were extremely angry said that the government was very/quite unsuccessful at reducing income gaps, compared to a lower 50% of those moderately angry saying that the government was very/quite unsuccessful about reducing income gaps.

Table 13: Evaluation of government's efforts at reducing income gaps, national and by self-reported anger at income differences (column percentages, 2017)

Gov successful at reducing income gaps	Angry at income differences						
	1. Extreme ly angry	2. Very angry	3. Moderat ely angry	4. Slightly angry	5. Not at all angry	8. (Can't choose)	South Africa
1. Very unsuccessful	47	21	15	20	25	24	25
2. Quite unsuccessful	30	52	35	40	26	28	39
3. Neither unsuccessful nor successful	12	19	41	25	22	10	23
4. Quite successful	6	3	6	10	13	2	7
5. Very successful	3	2	1	3	6	1	3
8. (Can't choose)	2	2	2	2	8	35	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
'Unsuccessful' (very + quite)	77	73	50	60	51	52	64
'Successful' (very + quite)	9	5	7	12	18	4	9

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

There was a similar gradient evident when the success or otherwise of the government at reducing income gaps was examined in terms of people's difficulty in making ends meet. Table 14 shows that for the group that finds it 'very difficult to make ends meet, 74% said that government had been very or quite unsuccessful at reducing the income gap.

Table 14: Evaluation of government’s efforts at reducing income gaps, national and by reported difficulty in making ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

Gov successful at reducing income gaps	Difficulty of making ends meet					
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	South African average
1. Very unsuccessful	36	23	16	25	18	25
2. Quite unsuccessful	38	45	32	38	36	39
3. Neither unsuccessful nor successful	17	21	35	20	14	22
4. Quite successful	4	6	9	10	9	7
5. Very successful	3	3	2	1	18	3
8. (Can't choose)	3	2	6	6	5	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
‘Unsuccessful’ (very + quite)	74	68	49	64	54	65
‘Successful’ (very + quite)	7	9	11	11	27	9

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

5.3. Support for person-focused redress policies

As regards specific forms of redress, the following case study relating to education is instructive. Ninety-three percent of the population regard their own education as essential or very important in getting ahead (Q21). The importance accorded to education is reflected in terms of people’s attitudes to government provision of better quality education for all. Nearly 90% of the population agreed or strongly agreed with the proposition that government should provide better quality education for all (Table 15). And, again using the "difficulty of making ends meet" question as a proxy for income, all subgroups supported this proposition.

Table 15: Support for better quality government provided education for all, national and by reported difficulty in making ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

Gov should provide better quality education for all	Difficulty of making ends meet					
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	South African average
1. Strongly agree	67	46	47	58	68	54
2. Agree	28	43	34	36	22	35
3. Neither agree nor disagree	4	7	16	4	9	8
4. Disagree	1	3	2	1	1	2
5. Strongly disagree	0	1	1	0	2	1
8. (Do not know)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
‘Strongly agree’ + ‘Agree’	95	89	81	95	89	90
‘Strongly disagree’ + ‘Disagree’	1	4	3	1	2	3

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

In a similar vein there is considerable support for government interventions to provide a decent standard of living for unemployed people (Table 16). As with education there is considerable support across all income groups as measured by the ability to make ends meet:

Table 16: Support for government provision of a decent standard of living for the unemployed, national and by reported difficulty in making ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

Gov should provide DSOL for unemployed	Difficulty of making ends meet					
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	South African average
1. Strongly agree	48	37	30	34	29	38
2. Agree	40	48	50	46	44	46
3. Neither agree nor disagree	8	12	15	12	19	12
4. Disagree	4	3	3	5	6	4
5. Strongly disagree	0	0	1	2	2	1
8. Do not know	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
'Strongly agree' + 'Agree'	88	85	80	80	73	84
'Strongly disagree' + 'Disagree'	4	3	5	7	8	4

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

In this case, the extent of those agreeing or strongly agreeing with the proposition for a decent standard of living is associated with the ability to make ends meet. 88% of those finding it very difficult to make ends meet agreed or strongly agreed with the proposition. At the other end of the scale a lower (but still very high) 73% of those finding it very easy to make ends meet also agreed with the proposition.

This resonates with the findings from an earlier SASAS survey (2006) which specifically asked about cash support for the unemployed through the social grants system:

Table 17: Cash Support for the unemployed

People who can't get work deserve help in the form of social grants	Unemployed				
	Non poor	Just get by	Poor		All
Strongly agree/agree	66	74	84	79	74
Neither	19	11	5	8	12
Strongly disagree/disagree	15	14	10	12	13
(cannot decide)	0	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Note: SASAS 2006 Groups analysed: All respondents by self assessed poverty and the unemployed as a subset

Source: Table 3.8 Noble et al. (2007), p.10

However, it is one thing to support the provision of better quality education for all (or social grants for the unemployed) but it is another thing to agree on how to fund it. From Table 18,

it is clear that overall 65% of the population agree or strongly agree to support increases in employee taxes to fund better education. Again, using our income proxy variable, this is reflected in most groups, with 75% of those finding it very difficult to make ends meet agreeing or strongly agreeing with that proposition. However, this falls to 53% for the group finding it fairly easy to make ends meet, rising again to 63% for the group finding it very easy to make ends meet. This, on the face of it suggests that there is support for increased taxation even amongst those most likely to be paying taxes.

Table 18: Support for increased taxation to finance better education, national and by reported difficulty in making ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

Increase employee taxes to fund better education	Difficulty of making ends meet					
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	South African average
1. Strongly agree	42	22	16	23	20	27
2. Agree	34	46	39	30	43	39
3. Neither agree nor disagree	11	17	27	23	19	18
4. Disagree	7	10	12	21	10	11
5. Strongly disagree	3	3	3	3	7	3
8. (Do not know)	3	2	3	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
'Strongly agree' + 'Agree'	75	67	55	53	63	65
'Strongly disagree' + 'Disagree'	10	13	15	23	18	14

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

One might expect the willingness to agree to an increase in employee taxes might be weakest among those in employment. Table 19 below shows that 61% of those with salaries/wages as the main source of income either agreed or strongly agreed with the proposition to increase employee taxes to fund better education. This was identical to those with no income. The group with the lowest commitment was those whose main source of income was the sale of farm products but even here there was a majority who could either agree or strongly agree with the proposition (52%).

Table 19: Support for increased taxation to finance better education, national and by main income source (column percentages, 2017)

Increase employee taxes to fund better education	Income: main income source						
	1. Salaries and/or wages	2. Remittances	3. Pensions and/or grants	4. Sale of farm products and services	5. Other non-farm income	6. No income	South African average
1. Strongly agree	23	25	32	17	20	28	26
2. Agree	38	61	39	35	45	33	39
3. Neither agree nor disagree	20	6	15	26	25	29	18
4. Disagree	12	7	8	16	10	6	11
5. Strongly disagree	4	0	2	6	1	1	3
8. (Do not know)	3	0	4	0	0	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
'Strongly agree' + 'Agree'	61	86	71	52	65	61	65
'Strongly disagree' + 'Disagree'	17	7	10	22	10	7	14

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

Again this resonates with earlier findings in South Africa as regards social grants (Noble et al., 2007) – see Table 20 below:

Table 20: Higher taxes to pay for social grants

The government should spend more money on social grants for the poor, even if it leads to higher taxes'	Household in receipt of Grants			Unemployed	Working for Pay	All
	Non poor	Just get by	Poor			
Strongly agree/agree	59	65	74	72	71	66
Neither	12	12	6	9	8	11
Strongly disagree/disagree	27	22	15	17	18	21
(cannot decide)	2	1	5	2	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: SASAS 2006 Groups analysed: All respondents by self-assessed poverty; those living in households in receipt of social grants as a sub group; the unemployed as a sub group; those working for pay as a sub group
Source: Table 3.12 Noble et al. (2007), p.13

More generally, the commitment to a more progressive taxation arrangement in South Africa was positive. In response to a question (Q50) "Do you think people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share?" 64% of the population said that people with higher income should pay a larger or much larger share than they currently do. However, this seems at odds with the response to the following question (Q51): "Generally, how would you describe taxes in South Africa today for those with high incomes?". In this case just under 50% of respondents felt that taxes for high earners were too high or much too high.

5.4. Support for area-focused redress policies: The case of Mixed Communities

The term ‘mixed communities’ is frequently used in debates about the design and implementation of urban renewal policies aimed at improving the lives of disadvantaged people living in deprived neighbourhoods. Although there is no clear agreement internationally on the exact definition of what constitutes a ‘mixed community’ (Power, 2007), the term is typically used in an aspirational sense to describe the process of transforming economically and socially isolated communities into more thriving geographical spaces characterised by greater heterogeneity in population mix, particularly income mix.

The lives of people living in deprived neighbourhoods in South Africa are often characterised by multiple socio-economic challenges, consisting of severe income poverty, poor education, lack of job opportunities, poor health, poor housing, lack of services and persistent risk of violent crime. These highly deprived areas are also often located on the geographical periphery of urban areas (Pernegger and Godehart, 2007) which has led to a degree of social and economic disconnect between the poorer areas and the urban core. The processes through which this situation has arisen can be traced back to the discriminatory policies of the colonial, segregationist and apartheid periods, in which people’s rights in terms of citizenship and land ownership were determined by their designated population group (Christopher, 1994, Christopher, 2001). As was demonstrated by McLennan et al (McLennan et al., 2016, McLennan et al., 2014) the patterns of socio-spatial residential segregation persisted into the post-apartheid era and, indeed, other work undertaken as part of this present research programme has shown how these patterns of segregation are still starkly apparent today.

In recognition of the challenges posed by the persisting spatial inequalities within urban areas in South Africa, efforts have been made at both the national and local government levels to encourage mixed community development (SACN, 2016). Both the National Development Plan (NDP, 2012) and the Integrated Urban Development Framework (CoGTA, 2016) emphasise the importance of mixed communities spatial planning for tackling poverty, unemployment and inequality.

In order to provide evidence as to whether or not there is public support for some form of ‘mixed communities’ policy as a means of reducing spatial inequality in South Africa, two new questions were designed for inclusion within the 2017 round of SASAS. The first of these questions asked people whether they thought their neighbourhood would be improved if there was a more heterogeneous mix of household incomes within the area. The second question asked whether people thought their neighbourhood would be improved if there was a greater heterogeneity of composition by population group (i.e. greater racial mixing).

Do you think your village/neighbourhood would be a better or worse place to live if there was a greater mix of people with high and low incomes living close to each other?

Much better	1
A bit better	2
About the same	3
A bit worse	4
Much worse	5
(Do not know)	8

Do you think your village/neighbourhood would be a better or worse place to live if there was a greater mix of people from different race groups living close to each other?

Much better	1
A bit better	2
About the same	3
A bit worse	4
Much worse	5
(Do not know)	8

Table 21 shows the results on the question that asked people whether they thought their area would be improved if there was a greater mix of incomes. The overall figures for South Africa as a whole are shown in the ‘South Africa’ column, while the results are also broken down according to the DMEM classification.

Table 21: Views on the effect of mixed income communities, national and by reported difficulty in making ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

Do you think your village/neighbourhood would be better or worse place to live if there was a greater mix of people with high and low incomes living close to each other?	Difficulty of making ends meet					
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	South Africa
1. Much better	22	14	14	13	13	16
2. A bit better	30	33	21	22	24	28
3. About the same	28	35	45	40	51	36
4. A bit worse	7	9	9	15	6	9
5. Much worse	7	3	6	7	5	6
8. (Do not know)	5	5	5	4	1	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
‘Much better’ + ‘A bit better’	53	47	35	35	37	44
‘Much worse’ + ‘A bit worse’	14	13	16	22	11	15

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

The main message from Table 21 is that, on the whole, people seem to be broadly in favour of greater income mixing within their home neighbourhoods. Forty-four per cent reported that they thought their local area would be ‘much better’ or ‘a bit better’ if there was a greater

income mix, whereas just 15% said that a greater income mix would make their area ‘much worse’ or ‘a bit worse’. It is also noteworthy that just over a third of people (36%) said that having a greater income mix would be neither better nor worse for their neighbourhood. These findings suggest that South Africans are, in the main, receptive to the idea of their neighbourhoods becoming more heterogeneous in terms of income mix.

Given that the purpose of mixed community policies is typically to improve the social, economic and environmental conditions in deprived neighbourhoods, one might expect support for mixed community initiatives to be higher amongst the poorer groups in society who potentially have most to gain from these policies. It is indeed the case that the highest support for increased income mixing is observed amongst the most deprived group (with 53% saying their area would be ‘much better’ or ‘a little better’ as a result). However, perhaps the most notable finding from Table 21 is that, across all five DMEM categories, the level of support for greater income mixing exceeded the level of opposition to greater income mixing. Indeed, even amongst the group who reported finding it ‘very easy to make ends meet’, 37% said greater income mixing would make their local area better, while just 11% said it would make their local area worse. These findings provide an indication that people across the socio-economic spectrum are open to policies aimed at increasing income mixing within neighbourhoods and, as such, it seems that mixed communities policies could be a viable approach to tackling the entrenched spatial inequality that continues to characterise South Africa today.

As well as striving to achieve a greater mix of incomes amongst residents of deprived neighbourhoods, mixed communities policies might also strive to increase heterogeneity in the composition of population groups within geographical areas. As noted above, during the colonial, segregationist and apartheid eras, deliberate spatial segregation was enforced upon people according to their designated population group. Although these residence restrictions were abandoned in the lead up to the transition to democracy in 1994, the legacy of decades of spatial control is still starkly evident in some communities. If an objective of mixed community policies is to reduce the degree of spatial segregation between population groups, in addition to reducing the degree of spatial inequality in incomes, then it will be important to understand the extent of public support for such policies. To explore this issue, people were therefore asked whether they thought their local area would be made better or worse if there was a greater mix of people from different population groups. The results are presented in Table 22.

Table 22: Views on the effect of more racially desegregated communities, national and by reported difficulty in making ends meet (column percentages, 2017)

Do you think your village/neighbourhood would be better or worse place to live if there was a greater mix of people from different race groups living close to each other?	Difficulty of making ends meet					
	1. Very difficult	2. Fairly difficult	3. Neither easy nor difficult	4. Fairly easy	5. Very easy	South African average
1. Much better	17	13	12	8	15	13
2. A bit better	22	25	18	28	10	23
3. About the same	32	36	42	37	39	37
4. A bit worse	13	15	13	10	20	14
5. Much worse	10	5	8	13	12	8
8. (Do not know)	7	5	7	4	4	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
'Much better' + 'A bit better'	39	38	30	36	24	36
'Much worse' + 'A bit worse'	22	21	21	23	33	22

Source: Authors calculations based on SASAS 2017.

Reviewing the overall results on this particular survey question (presented in the 'South African average' column in Table 22) reveals that a greater share of the population is in favour of increased mixing of population groups (36%) than is opposed (22%). However, it is also evident that the magnitude of support for mixing by population group is somewhat lower than was observed above in relation to increased mixing by income. Reviewing the results by DMEM group reveals no clear pattern, although the least deprived category (i.e. those that regard it as 'very easy to make ends meet') differs from the other four categories in that more people are opposed to greater mixing by population group than are supportive of it.

In summary, therefore, the analysis in relation to people's views around different types of mixed communities suggests that, at a national level, there is broad support for greater mixing of income groups and also broad support for greater mixing of population groups. Of the two forms of mixing enquired about here, there appears to be slightly more appetite for increased mixing by income than by population group. When the results are considered by people's socio-economic status, support for increased income mixing is common across all DMEM groups, while support for greater mixing by population groups is seen across all DMEM groups except the most advantaged. Based on the analysis of both approaches to mixed community neighbourhood development, it therefore appears that South Africans, both rich and poor, are more inclined to favour class-based redress (i.e. greater mixing by income) than race-based redress (i.e. greater mixing by population group). These findings have implications for the potential acceptability of mixed community policies by the South African population and, as such, are of relevance to debates around the types of policies that could be designed and implemented to reduce spatial inequality within the country.

6. Conclusion

This working paper has been informed by and touches upon some of the same issues raised in the focus groups undertaken during this research programme which examined people's lived experiences of inequality in Cape Town. However, as SASAS is a nationally representative survey, it enables us to take a quantitative perspective looking across the whole country and so complements the qualitative work. The new 25-item module of questions that was designed and fielded for the purpose of this research project was relatively experimental in nature. We were also fortunate that our module was fielded within the same survey as the ISSP module on social inequality, thereby greatly increasing the number and breadth of questions available to us.

The analysis in this report began by considering people's perceptions about the type of society that South Africa is today and juxtaposed this with their aspirations as to their preferred type of society. From this it was clear that people perceive South Africa to be a very unequal society but have aspirations for a more equal society. This set the context for examining different aspects of inequality. These aspects included the way that people compare their own household and their own neighbourhood with selected benchmarks, locally and nationally. This was followed by an analysis of people's attitudes towards the geographical places in which they live, their aversion to inequality and their preferred redress options.

With regards to income comparisons, the analysis indicated that people tend to feel a general sense of relative deprivation compared to other households and other geographical areas, both locally and nationally. Although there were observable gradients in the feelings of relative deprivation according to income status, the general pattern was of more people feeling relatively deprived than relatively affluent. This finding could be indicative of people's reference points being skewed upwards through their lived experiences of inequality. The results are consistent with Clark & Senik's (2010) findings from their analysis of the European Social Survey in that they are suggestive of a general inclination towards upwards comparisons that depress relative income evaluations. The analysis revealed that feelings of relative deprivation are strongest among those who find it most difficult to make ends meet.

The analysis of people's attitudes to and relationships with the places in which they live revealed that despite a general feeling of relative deprivation at the neighbourhood level, more people express satisfaction with their neighbourhood than dissatisfaction. However, greater dissatisfaction than satisfaction is expressed by those finding it most difficult to make ends meet. Further analysis of people's attitudes toward the places in which they live revealed that a desire to move neighbourhood has an urban/rural element as well as a socio-economic status element, where the highest desire to move is found amongst poor urban dwellers.

The extent to which South Africans were averse to inequality was also explored, and the results indicated an acute awareness by South Africans of the unequal socio-economic

structure associated with present day society. Additionally, the results indicated that there is a strong preference among the public for greater socio-economic equality than is the case with the current societal structure. South Africans also expressed a strong discontent with the current income distribution in the country and indicated that the government has a responsibility to reduce the current income differences in the country. All these findings demonstrate the fact that South Africans are averse to inequality and have a desire for change. In examining the level of support that South Africans have toward specific person- and place-focused policies for redress, the results indicated that there was general support for both, but with somewhat stronger support for person focused redress policies than there was for specific area focused ones.

As stated in the introduction to this Working Paper, the objective was to explore a range of concepts relating to people's lived experiences of inequality in South Africa using nationally representative survey data, thereby complementing the qualitative focus group work undertaken within the City of Cape Town. The results presented here provide some new insights into the ways that people feel about themselves, their local areas and society more broadly, in the context of the high levels of socio-economic and socio-spatial inequality that persist in present-day South Africa. Each of the concepts explored here is worthy of further in-depth quantitative and qualitative research in South Africa. Future research could explore these concepts in other international contexts to examine the extent to which public attitudes vary according to the levels of poverty, deprivation and inequality within different countries. The ISSP module on social inequalities is already being rolled out to around 40 countries internationally and so this offers an ideal opportunity for such comparative international work to take place.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Explanatory variables used in the analysis

Gender

This is a standard variable in SASAS. It is a binary variable coded as either female or male.

Age group

This is a standard variable in SASAS. It is a 7-category variable ranging from age 16-19 to age 65+.

Population Group

This is a standard variable in SASAS. The analyses in this working paper all make use of the post-apartheid population group categories, used in the SASAS questionnaire. That is Black African; Coloured; Indian/Asian; White. For studies of this type, consideration needs to be given to the appropriateness of such categorisations and terminology in a democratic dispensation, especially one that is explicitly informed by constitutionally entrenched non-racialism (Bentley and Habib, 2008, Lefko-Everett et al., 2017, Seekings, 2008). As Foster and Wale (2017, p.69) assert, *‘there is no such thing as “race” in biological or physical terms. There is no underlying biological essence which permits a grouping called “race”. There is no measurement device or criterion to mark off difference by “race”.*’ Yet, at the same time, it must be recognised that population group or “race” continues to be a salient factor in many aspects of South African society, whether it be in contemporary political debates over social change, through daily discourse (including social media), in the enduring patterns of residential segregation and the lived experiences of many citizens, or in the complex realities of individual and group cultural identities. Furthermore, in relation to the topic of this research, race/population group continues to inform discussions of historical injustices, the associated legacies of social and material inequalities, as well as policies intended to promote restitution, redress and family strengthening.

Geotype

This is a standard variable in SASAS. It is a 4-category classification derived by Statistics South Africa that reflects the type of geographical area (specifically, Enumeration Area) in which the person lives. The categories are:

- Urban formal
- Urban informal
- Rural former homeland areas: these are rural, traditional authority areas that are classified by the StatsSA geotype variable as ‘tribal areas’
- Rural farms: these are areas coded as ‘rural formal’ areas by the StatsSA geotype variable and are predominantly commercial agricultural farms.

LSM3

This variable is derived from standard item variables in SASAS. It is a modified version of the commonly used Living Standards Measure (LSM), which was originally developed in the late 1980s by the South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) as a multi-item segmentation tool (Haupt 2006; Martins 2006). This measure is an index that classifies

households into ten LSM groups based upon 29 separate survey items, which focus primarily on the possession of consumer goods. Prior to developing a composite ‘living standards score’, imputation for missing data was applied to each of the 29 separate asset items in order to ensure that all respondents would be allocated a ‘living standards score’ (i.e. there would be no missing data). The composite ‘living standards score’ is calculated for each survey respondent by combining the 29 asset variables using weightings specified in the Living Standards Measure guidance documentation (SAARF 2012). Based on their score on this composite measure, respondents were allocated into one of three categories, which were derived for the purpose of this research:

- Low-LSM
- Mid-LSM
- High-LSM

Importantly, the three categories of LSM3 used here are of equal size.⁴ This is in contrast to the conventional Living Standards Measure classification that is used in other research, where the groups are not of equal size. In the LSM3 categorisation used here, the low-LSM group consists of the one-third of population with the lowest values on the composite living standards score. Similarly, those in the high-LSM group can be thought of as the one-third of population with the highest living standards scores. Those in the mid-LSM group make up the ‘middle’ one-third of the population according to the values on the composite living standards score. The LSM3 categorisation therefore acts as a useful proxy for material wellbeing. Please see Appendix 2 for further details of the methodology behind the LSM3 classification.

LSM3_Geo

This is a variant of the LSM3 categorisation, in that each of the low-LSM and high-LSM groups are further broken down according to the GeoType of the person’s home residence:

- Low-LSM-Urban
- Low-LSM-Rural
- Mid-LSM-Urban
- Mid-LSM-Rural
- High-LSM

The high-LSM group is not broken down by urban/rural status as the vast majority of this group lives in urban areas. It should be noted that the urban and rural components of the low-LSM and mid-LSM groups are not of equal size, but rather reflect the split between urban and rural locations within the respective LSM3 category.

DMEM (Difficulty in making ends meet)

This is variable that was included in the SASAS 2017 round as part of the ISSP Social Inequality module. It is a 5-category classification reflecting people’s subjective poverty. It is based on people’s responses to the following survey question:

⁴ Note that survey weights were taken into account when splitting the overall distribution across the living standards measure scores into three equally sized groups.

Thinking of your household's total income, including all the sources of income of all the members who contribute to it, how difficult or easy is it currently for your household to make ends meet?

Very difficult	1
Fairly difficult	2
Neither easy nor difficult	3
Fairly easy	4
Very easy	5
(Can't choose)	8

Further information on the value of this variable for subgroup analysis is provided in Appendix 3.

Appendix 2. Imputation of missing data for the items used to calculate a living standards score

The SASAS dataset provided by HSRC for the purpose of this project included a pre-coded living standards measure variable. However, our initial review of this pre-coded variable revealed that approximately 10% of the cases had missing values. Further investigation revealed that any respondent who had a missing value on any one or more of the 29 input variables on which the living standards measure was based would also then have a missing value on the resultant living standards measure. Given that the living standards variable would play an important role in the sub group analysis it was necessary to impute missing values. Imputation was applied to each of the 29 input variables using an appropriate model form (e.g. OLS linear regression for continuous variables; logistic regression for binary variables; ordered logit for ordered categorical variables; multinomial logistic regression for non-ordered categorical variables).

To impute the missing values, the process involved (1) Identifying the 29 questions/items related to LSM formulation, plus any potentially valuable covariates; (2) recoding all ‘don’t know’ and ‘not specified’ responses to missing so that these could be imputed; and (3) running imputation models to predict the missing cases.

(1) Identifying all questions/items related to LSM formulation this also includes variables that act as covariates

The process of identifying the questions related to LSM formulation was informed by the work of the South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF) in which they list the 29 questions used to create the LSM. In addition to using the 29 prescribed questions as set out by SAARF, a series of potentially valuable covariates were also identified. The covariates were included in order to increase the accuracy of the imputed results. Covariates were identified as “highest level of education completed”, “self-perceived societal position at time of survey interview”, “self-perceived societal position during childhood”, “perceived difficulty in making ends meet”, “anticipated likelihood of experiencing poverty in next 12 months”, “anticipated likelihood of not receiving health care when needed in next 12 months”, “sex”, “race”, “marital status”, “current employment status” “any social grants received by household”, “perceived social class”, “income (personal)”, “income (household)”, “age group” and “GeoType”.

(2) Recoding all ‘don’t know’ and ‘not specified’ responses to missing so that these could be imputed

For both the 29 input variables and the additional covariates listed above, any responses of ‘don’t know’ or ‘not specified’ were recoded to missing in order that these cases could be imputed.

(3) Running imputation models to predict the missing cases

The order in which the variables were treated as the dependent variables in the regressions was determined by the proportion of cases that had missing values. The variables were therefore ranked from least missing to most missing, and the variable with least missing values was regressed on the other variables. Those cases with missing values on that particular dependent variable were then replaced with their imputed values. The process then continued by selecting the variable from the initial list with the second-fewest missing values. This variable was regressed on the other variables (included the now fully populated (i.e. no missing values) first variable imputed). Those cases with missing values on this second dependent variable were then replaced with their imputed values. This process continued iteratively until the variable with the most missing values was treated as the dependent variable. This final variable was regressed on the other variables (included the now fully populated (i.e. no missing values) list of other variables that had been previously imputed). Those cases with missing values on this final dependent variable were then replaced with their imputed values. The resultant dataset consisted of all 29 input variables needed for the LSM computation having fully populated (i.e. no missing values) responses.

Based on number of missing cases the order of the imputation process followed the pattern in Table A1 below.

Depending on whether the dependent variable was binary or was ordered categorical, different properties were used. Therefore, for binary variables the standard logit (logit) was used and for the categorical ones the ordered logit (ologit) property was used. Multinomial logit (mlogit) was used for variables with non-ordered categories such as marital status.

Once all predictions were made, all cases with missing were replaced with the predicted/imputed values.

Table A1: Ordering of variables entered into the imputation models

Rank (least missing cases)	Name of variable	Impute variable for LSM	Percentage missing	Model form
1	Age group	Non LSM input	0.23%	Ordered logit
2	Top bottom now	Non LSM input	0.49%	Ordered logit
3	Top bottom growing up	Non LSM input	0.49%	Ordered logit
4	House cluster town house	LSM input	1.60%	Standard/binary logit
5	Water in the house/plot	LSM input	1.60%	Standard/binary logit
6	Flush toilet	LSM input	1.63%	Standard/binary logit
7	Fridge	LSM input	1.86%	Standard/binary logit
8	Cellphones 3+	LSM input	1.86%	Standard/binary logit
9	Cellphones 2	LSM input	1.86%	Standard/binary logit
10	TV set	LSM input	1.96%	Standard/binary logit
11	Highest education	LSM input	1.99%	Ordered logit
12	Microwave	LSM input	1.99%	Standard/binary logit
13	Kitchen sink	LSM input	2.02%	Standard/binary logit
14	Electric stove	LSM input	2.05%	Standard/binary logit
15	No domestic worker	LSM input	2.15%	Standard/binary logit
16	Washing machine	LSM input	2.18%	Standard/binary logit
17	Motor vehicle	LSM input	2.22%	Standard/binary logit
18	Vacuum cleaner	LSM input	2.22%	Standard/binary logit
19	Pay tv	LSM input	2.25%	Standard/binary logit
20	DVD player	LSM input	2.28%	Standard/binary logit
21	Hot water geyser	LSM input	2.31%	Standard/binary logit
22	Home security service	LSM input	2.31%	Standard/binary logit
23	Home theatre system	LSM input	2.31%	Standard/binary logit
24	Computer	LSM input	2.35%	Standard/binary logit
25	None or 1 radio	LSM input	2.35%	Standard/binary logit
26	Home telephone	LSM input	2.35%	Standard/binary logit
27	Swimming pool	LSM input	2.38%	Standard/binary logit
28	Deep freezer	LSM input	2.41%	Standard/binary logit
29	Make ends meet	Non LSM input	2.45%	Ordered logit
30	Air conditioner	LSM input	2.45%	Standard/binary logit
31	Tumble dryer	LSM input	2.51%	Standard/binary logit
32	Dishwasher	LSM input	2.54%	Standard/binary logit
33	Marital status	Non LSM input	2.77%	Ordered logit
34	Perceived class	Non LSM input	3.55%	Ordered logit
35	Current employment	Non LSM input	3.78%	Ordered logit
36	Anticipated poverty	Non LSM input	4.73%	Ordered logit
37	Anticipated health	Non LSM input	7.24%	ordered logit
38	Income hh	Non LSM input	19.37%	ordered logit
39	Income pers	Non LSM input	28.17%	ordered logit

Appendix 3 Suitability of the question on perceived ‘difficulty in making ends meet’ as a proxy for income

For some of the analysis in this Working Paper, a variable on the ‘difficulty in making ends meet’ has been used as a proxy for income. This variable is a derived version of the variable q76 but with the response "can't choose" recoded to missing. The following table shows the weighted distribution of the responses for this variable:

Table A2: Tabulation of “difficulty in making ends meet”

Difficulty of making ends meet	Percent
1. Very difficult	30
2. Fairly difficult	33
3. Neither easy nor difficult	22
4. Fairly easy	11
5. Very easy	3
Missing	2

As can be seen this variable is complete for a high proportion of cases. The variable was tested to ascertain the extent to which it could be used as a proxy for income. The following table presents the weighted responses to a question about gross household income. This question is framed as a request to select the appropriate band of monthly income.

Tabulation of gross household income

Income: gross HH income	Percent	Cum.%
1. No income	2	2
2. R1 - R500	2	4
3. R501 - R750	2	6
4. R751 - R1 000	3	9
5. R1 001-R1 500	7	16
6. R1 501 - R2 000	10	26
7. R2 001 - R3 000	12	38
8. R3 001 - R5 000	12	49
9. R5 001 - R7 500	6	55
10. R7 501 - R10 000	4	59
11. R10 001 - R15 000	4	62
12. R15 001 - R20 000	3	65
13. R20 001 - R30 000	2	68
14. R30 001 - R50 000	2	69
15. R 50 001 +	1	70
97. (Refuse to answer)	14	85
98. (Uncertain/Don't know)	14	99
99. (No answer)	1	100

As can be seen, for around 30% of cases there was no income data either because the respondent refused to answer, wasn't certain, or data were missing. This renders the question difficult to use directly without substantial income imputation being employed. Although this variable was subjected to imputation as part of the process of imputing the 29 variables that feed into the LSM calculation, its use there was only as a covariate to increase the robustness

of the imputations of the 29 input items. The high proportion of missing cases on the income variable was deemed too high to warrant using the imputed income values in the main analysis.

However, the decision was made to use the income data, albeit incomplete, to validate the "difficulty in making ends meet" question. In the first instance the banded income was replaced by point income data. Statistics South Africa's procedure for this which was adopted in the latest census was employed. So, for the first band with income (band 2) two thirds of the upper limit was applied. For the 15th band (R 50,001 and above) double the upper limit of the previous band (band 14) was applied. For all other bands other than band 1, band 2, and band 15, the logarithmic mean of the upper and lower limit of the band was applied. This is set out in the table below:

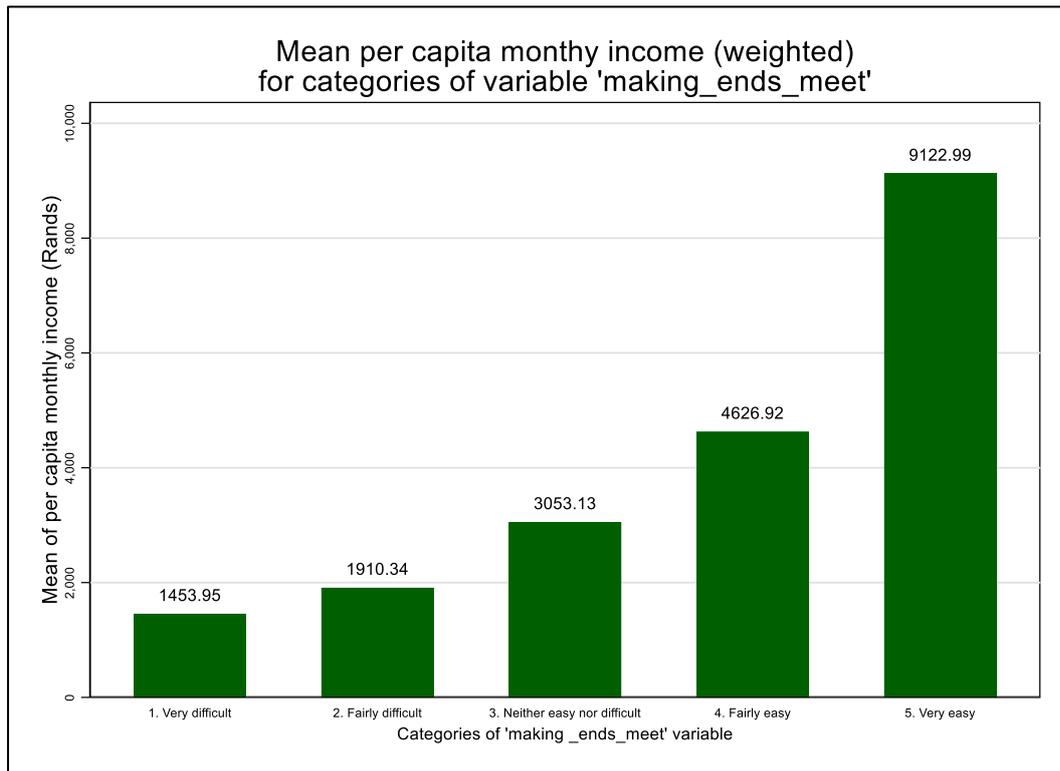
Table A2: Banded income data

Band	Range	Assumed Monthly amount
1	No income	0
2	R1 – R500	333
3	R501 –R750	617
4	R751 – R1 000	870
5	R1 001-R1 500	1,234
6	R1 501 – R2 000	1,739
7	R2 001 – R3 000	2,467
8	R3 001 – R5 000	3,916
9	R5 001 – R7 500	6,166
10	R7 501 – R10 000	8,691
11	R10 001 – R15 000	12,332
12	R15 001 – R20 000	17,381
13	R20 001 – R30 000	24,664
14	R30 001 – R50 000	39,153
15	R 50 001 +	100,000

From this, per capita household income was calculated for each respondent with a non-missing case.

The following graph shows the weighted mean per capita income for each category of the variable "difficulty in making ends meet". All things considered this would appear to be a reasonable proxy for income.

Figure A1: Mean per capita monthly income (weighted) for categories of variable



Appendix 4. SASAS 2017 Questionnaire which contains the Module on the Lived Experience of Inequality in South Africa

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL ATTITUDES SURVEY Questionnaire 2: October/December 2017



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	TIME STARTED		TIME COMPLETED		**RESPONSE	
			HR	MIN	HR	MIN		
First visit	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Second visit	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Third visit	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

**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/...../.....2017		

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	13	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 2: 2017

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	Household head	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
<p><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></p> <p><i>Note: Circle the number next to the name of the household head.</i></p>		01	01				
		02	02				
		03	03				
		04	04				
		05	05				
		06	06				
		07	07				
		08	08				
		09	09				
		10	10				
		11	11				
		12	12				
		13	13				
		14	14				
		15	15				
		16	16				
		17	17				
		18	18				
		19	19				
		20	20				
		21	21				
		22	22				
		23	23				
		24	24				
		25	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/foster 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. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy is working in South Africa? [*Showcard 2*]

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

2. 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)
3. Church or other religious institution	1	2	3	4	5	8
4. National government	1	2	3	4	5	8
5. Courts	1	2	3	4	5	8
6. Parliament	1	2	3	4	5	8
7. Your local government	1	2	3	4	5	8
8. The police	1	2	3	4	5	8
9. Defence force	1	2	3	4	5	8

PERSONAL WELLBEING INDEX

The following questions ask how **satisfied** you feel, on a scale from zero to 10. **Zero** means you feel no satisfaction at all and **10** means you feel completely satisfied.

10. Thinking about your own life and personal circumstances, how satisfied are you **with your life as a whole**? [*Showcard 16*]

No satisfaction at all											Completely Satisfied
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>											

11. How satisfied are you **with your standard of living**? [*Showcard 16*]

No satisfaction at all											Completely Satisfied
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>											

12. How satisfied are you with your health? [Showcard 16]

No satisfaction at all											Completely Satisfied
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>											

13. How satisfied are you with what you are achieving in life? [Showcard 16]

No satisfaction at all											Completely Satisfied
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>											

14. How satisfied are you with your personal relationships? [Showcard 16]

No satisfaction at all											Completely Satisfied
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>											

15. How satisfied are you with how safe you feel? [Showcard 16]

No satisfaction at all											Completely Satisfied
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>											

16. How satisfied are you with feeling part of your community? [Showcard 16]

No satisfaction at all											Completely Satisfied
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>											

17. How satisfied are you with your future (financial) security? [Showcard 16]

No satisfaction at all											Completely Satisfied
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<input type="checkbox"/>											

18. How satisfied are you with your spirituality or religion? [Showcard 16]

	No satisfaction at all										Completely Satisfied
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	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"/>

ISSP SOCIAL INEQUALITY

To begin we have some questions about opportunities for getting ahead in life...

How important do you think each of the following is for getting ahead in life... [Showcard 17]

		Essential	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not important at all	(Can't choose)
19.	...how important is coming from a wealthy family?	1	2	3	4	5	8
20.	... how important is having well-educated parents?	1	2	3	4	5	8
21.	... how important is having a good education yourself?	1	2	3	4	5	8
22.	... how important is hard work?	1	2	3	4	5	8
23.	... how important is knowing the right people?	1	2	3	4	5	8
24.	... how important is having political connections?	1	2	3	4	5	8
25.	...how important is giving bribes?	1	2	3	4	5	8
26.	... how important is a person's race?	1	2	3	4	5	8
27.	... how important is a person's religion?	1	2	3	4	5	8
28.	... how important is being born a man or a woman?	1	2	3	4	5	8

29. Would you say that you earn...

INTERVIEWER: IF THE RESPONDENT IS NOT WORKING NOW, PLEASE ASK ABOUT THE LAST JOB THAT HE OR SHE HAD.

Much less than I deserve	1
Less than I deserve	2
What I deserve	3
More than I deserve	4
Much more than I deserve	5
Never worked	6
(Can't choose)	8

We would like to know what you think people in these jobs actually earn. Please write in how much you think they usually earn each MONTH, BEFORE taxes. Many people are not exactly sure about this, but your best guess will be close enough. This may be difficult, but it is very important. So please try.

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE WRITE IN HOW MUCH THEY ACTUALLY EARN EACH MONTH BEFORE TAXES.

30.	About how much do you think a doctor in general practice earns?	R
31.	How much do you think a chairman of a large national corporation earns?	R
32.	How much do you think a shop assistant earns	R
33.	How much do you think an unskilled worker in a factory earns?	R
34.	How much do you think a cabinet minister in the national government earns?	R
35.	How much do you think a school teacher earns?	R

Next, what do you think people in these jobs ought to be paid. How much do you think they should earn each MONTH, BEFORE taxes, regardless of what they actually get...

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE WRITE IN HOW MUCH THEY SHOULD EARN EACH MONTH BEFORE TAXES.

36.	About how much do you think a doctor in general practice should earn?	R
37.	How much do you think a chairman of a large national corporation should earn?	R
38.	How much do you think a shop assistant should earn?	R
39.	How much do you think an unskilled worker in a factory should earn?	R
40.	How much do you think a cabinet minister in the national government should earn?	R
41.	How much do you think a school teacher should earn?	R

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)	
42.	Differences in income in South Africa are too large	1	2	3	4	5	8
43.	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
44.	The government should provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed.	1	2	3	4	5	8
45.	It is the responsibility of private companies to reduce the differences in pay between employees with high pay and those with low pay.	1	2	3	4	5	8
46.	Private companies should pay more of their profits to their employees and less to the owners	1	2	3	4	5	8

47. Differences in income can cause people to feel angry. How do you feel when you think about differences in income in South Africa?

Extremely angry	1
Very angry	2
Moderately angry	3
Slightly angry	4
Not at all angry	5
(Can't choose)	8

48. How successful do you think the government in South Africa is nowadays in reducing the differences in income between people with high incomes and people with low incomes?

Very unsuccessful	1
Quite unsuccessful	2
Neither unsuccessful nor successful	3
Quite successful	4
Very successful	5
(Can't choose)	8

49. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most politicians do not care about reducing the differences in income between people with high incomes and people with low incomes. [*Showcard 1*]

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5
(Can't choose)	8

50. Do you think people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share?

Much larger share	1
Larger	2
The same share	3
Smaller	4
Much smaller share	5
(Can't choose)	8

51. Generally, how would you describe taxes in South Africa today for those with high incomes? Taxes are...

...much too high	1
...too high	2
...about right	3
...too low	4
...much too low	5
(Can't choose)	8

52. Is it fair or unfair that people with higher incomes can buy better health care than people with lower incomes?

Very fair	1
Somewhat fair	2
Neither fair nor unfair	3
Somewhat unfair	4
Very unfair	5
(Can't choose)	8

53. Is it fair or unfair that people with higher incomes can buy better education for their children than people with lower incomes?

Very fair	1
Somewhat fair	2
Neither fair nor unfair	3
Somewhat unfair	4
Very unfair	5
(Can't choose)	8

54. Looking at the list below, which one of the following groups and organisations do you think should have the greatest responsibility for reducing differences in income between those with high incomes and those with low incomes?

Private companies	1
Government	2
High-income individuals themselves	3
Low-income individuals themselves	4
Income differences should not be reduced	5
(Can't choose)	8

55. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: present economic differences between rich and poor countries are too large. [*Showcard 1*]

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5
(Can't choose)	8

56. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: people in wealthy countries should make an additional tax contribution to help people in poor countries. [*Showcard 1*]

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5
(Can't choose)	8

57. (a) In general, do you think that South Africa should trade more or trade less with other countries? Would you say it should trade...

... Much more	1
More	2
Less	3
Much less	4
(Don't know/can't tell)	8

58. (b) In general, do you think that trade between South Africa and other countries is a good thing or a bad thing for South Africa?

Very good	1
Good	2
Bad	3
Very bad	4
(Don't know/can't tell)	8

In all countries, there are differences or even conflicts between different social groups. In your opinion, in South Africa how much conflict is there between... [Showcard 18]

		Very strong conflicts	Strong conflicts	Not very strong conflicts	There are no conflicts	(Can't choose)
59.	... poor people and rich people?	1	2	3	4	8
60.	... the working class and the middle class?	1	2	3	4	8
61.	... management and workers	1	2	3	4	8
62.	... young people and older people	1	2	3	4	8
63.	... People born in South Africa and people from other countries who have come to live in South Africa.	1	2	3	4	8

64. 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? [Showcard 15]

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

65. And if you think about the family that you grew up in, where did they fit in then? [Showcard 15]

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

66. And thinking ahead 10 years from now, where do you think you will be on a scale of 1 to 10 where 10 is the top and 1 the bottom? [Showcard 15]

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

67. How often do you have any contact with people who are **a lot richer than you** when you are out and about¹? This could be in the street, in shops, in your neighbourhood² or while travelling between places. [*Showcard 19*]

INTERVIEWER: ANY CONTACT SHOULD BE INCLUDED, WHETHER VERBAL OR NON-VERBAL.

Never	1
Less than once a month	2
Once a month	3
Several times a month	4
Once a week	5
Several times a week	6
Every day	7
(Can't choose)	8

68. How often do you have any contact with people who are **a lot poorer than you** when you are out and about³? This could be in the street, in shops, in your neighbourhood⁴ or while travelling between places. [*Showcard 19*]

INTERVIEWER: ANY CONTACT SHOULD BE INCLUDED, WHETHER VERBAL OR NON-VERBAL.

Never	1
Less than once a month	2
Once a month	3
Several times a month	4
Once a week	5
Several times a week	6
Every day	7
(Can't choose)	8

In deciding how much people ought to earn, how important should each of these things be, in your opinion... [*Showcard 17*]

	Essential	Very Important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not important at all	(Can't choose)
69. How much responsibility goes with the job – how important do you think that ought to be in deciding pay?	1	2	3	4	5	8
70. ... the number of years spent in education and training?	1	2	3	4	5	8
71. ... whether the person has children to support – how important should that be in deciding pay?	1	2	3	4	5	8
72. ... how well he or she does the job – how important should that be in deciding pay?	1	2	3	4	5	8

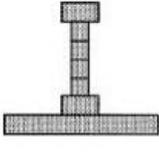
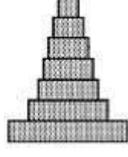
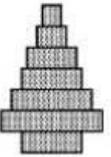
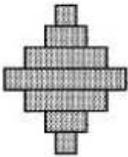
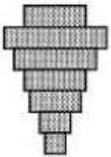
¹ 'Out and about' in the sense of 'when in public and not at home'.

² 'Neighbourhood' in the sense of 'local area'.

³ 'Out and about' in the sense of 'when in public and not at home'.

⁴ 'Neighbourhood' in the sense of 'local area'.

These five diagrams show different types of society. Please read the descriptions and look at the diagrams and decide which you think best describes South Africa. [Showcard 20]

				
Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Type E
A small elite at the top, very few people in the middle and the great mass of people at the bottom.	A society like a pyramid with a small elite at the top, more people in the middle, and most at the bottom.	A pyramid except that just a few people are at the bottom.	A society with most people in the middle.	Many people near the top, and only a few near the bottom.

73. First, what type of society is South Africa today – which diagram comes closest?

Type A	1
Type B	2
Type C	3
Type D	4
Type E	5
(Can't choose)	8

74. What do you think South Africa ought to be like – which would you prefer?

Type A	1
Type B	2
Type C	3
Type D	4
Type E	5
(Can't choose)	8

75. How fair do you think the income distribution is in South Africa?

Very fair	1
Fair	2
Unfair	3
Very unfair	4
(Do not know)	8

76. Thinking of your household's total income, including all the sources of income of all the members who contribute to it, how difficult or easy is it currently for your household to make ends meet?

Very difficult	1
Fairly difficult	2
Neither easy nor difficult	3
Fairly easy	4
Very easy	5
(Can't choose)	8

77. How likely it is that during the next 12 months there will be some periods when you don't have enough money to make ends meet?

Not at all likely	1
Not very likely	2
Likely	3
Very likely	4
(Can't choose)	8

78. And during the next 12 months how likely is it that you will be unemployed and looking for work at least four consecutive weeks?

Not at all likely	1
Not very likely	2
Likely	3
Very likely	4
(Never worked OR no longer working and not looking for work)	5
(Can't choose)	8

79. And during the next 12 months how likely is it that you will not receive the health care you really need if you become ill?

Not at all likely	1
Not very likely	2
Likely	3
Very likely	4
Don't know	8

80. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 means you can't be too careful and 10 means that most people can be trusted. [Showcard 4]

You cannot be too careful										Most people can be trusted	(Do not know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

ESRC LIVED EXPERIENCE OF INEQUALITY

I am going to ask a few more questions about your experiences of the differences between the rich and poor in South Africa

81. Do you have regular contact with people who are **MUCH POORER THAN YOU** while doing any of the following activities?

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED - CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY
 'CONTACT' CAN BE VERBAL OR ANY FORM OF NON-VERBAL CONTACT (E.G. YOU SEE POOR PEOPLE WALKING DOWN THE STREET OR LIVING IN SHACKS).

a	Working or seeking work	01
b	Studying	02
c	Travelling by public transport or in your own vehicle	03
d	Shopping	04
e	Child-related activities (e.g. at their school)	05
f	At place of worship	06
g	Visiting friends or family	07
h	Spending time at home with my family	08
i	Other (please specify)	09
j	(No one poorer than me)	66
k	(Do not know)	88

82. Do you have regular contact with people who are **MUCH RICHER THAN YOU** while doing any of the following activities?

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED - CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY
 'CONTACT' IN THIS CASE CAN BE VERBAL OR ANY FORM OF NON-VERBAL CONTACT (E.G. YOU SEE RICH PEOPLE WALKING DOWN THE STREET OR DRIVING THEIR EXPENSIVE CARS)

a	Working or seeking work	01
b	Studying	02
c	Travelling by public transport or in your own vehicle	03
d	Shopping	04
e	Child-related activities (e.g. at their school)	05
f	At place of worship	06
g	Visiting friends or family	07
h	Spending time at home with my family	08
i	Other (please specify)	09
j	(No one richer than me)	66
k	(Do not know)	88

83. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Watching the television, listening to the radio, reading newspapers or using social media shows me what life is like for people with much lower incomes than me.** [*Showcard 1*]

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

84. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Watching the television, listening to the radio, reading newspapers or using social media shows me what life is like for people with much higher incomes than me.** [*Showcard 1*]

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

85. 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

86. How many of your friends, extended family or neighbours have a household income that is **MUCH LOWER** than your own household?

All or nearly all	1
Many	2
Some	3
None	4
(Do not know)	8

87. How many of your friends, extended family or neighbours have a household income that is MUCH HIGHER than your own household?

All or nearly all	1
Many	2
Some	3
None	4
(Do not know)	8

88. Compared to other villages/neighbourhoods that I travel to regularly as I go about my daily life, I think people in my village/neighbourhood are generally...

... much richer	1
A little richer	2
About the same	3
A little poorer	4
Much poorer	5
(I don't often travel to other villages/neighbourhoods)	6
(Do not know)	8

89. Compared to the rest of South Africa, I think people in my village/neighbourhood are generally...

... much richer	1
A little richer	2
About the same	3
A little poorer	4
Much poorer	5
(Do not know)	8

90. Thinking about an area that is richer than yours that you visit regularly or occasionally (not your own), what three factors are generally better than in your own local area?

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER OF THE RESPONDENT IN THE SPACE PROVIDED BELOW. PLEASE WRITE THE RESPONSES IN ENGLISH, AND KEEPING AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO THE DIRECT TRANSLATION.
NECESSARY PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE?

91. Thinking about an area that is poorer than yours that you visit regularly or occasionally (not your own), what three factors are generally worse than in your own local area?

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER OF THE RESPONDENT IN THE SPACE PROVIDED BELOW. PLEASE WRITE THE RESPONSES IN ENGLISH, ANDKEEPING AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO THE DIRECT TRANSLATION.
NECESSARY PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE?

92. When a person makes a distress call to the police, ambulance or fire brigade emergency services, do you think that the emergency services respond quickest in rich areas, quickest in poor areas, or respond equally quickly in rich and poor areas?

Respond quicker in rich areas	1
Respond quicker in poor areas	2
Respond in about the same time in rich and poor areas	3
(Do not know)	8

93. How satisfied are you with the area in which you are currently living? [*Showcard 2*]

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

94. Would you like to move to a different village/neighbourhood? This could be somewhere close to where you currently live or somewhere further afield (e.g. a different province)

Yes, definitely	1
Yes, possibly	2
No, probably not	3
No, not at all	4
(Do not know)	8

95. Please explain the main reasons for your answer.

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE WRITE DOWN UP TO A MAXIMUM OF THREE ANSWERS PROVIDED BY THE RESPONDENT IN THE SPACE PROVIDED BELOW. IF THE RESPONDENT MENTIONS MORE THAN THREE REASONS, PLEASE ASK THEM TO NARROW IT DOWN TO THE TOP THREE REASONS.
PLEASE WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER IN ENGLISH, BUT KEEPING AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO THE DIRECT TRANSLATION. IF NECESSARY PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE?

96. Are there certain residential village/neighbourhoods within your local area that you would deliberately avoid as places to live, work or meet friends?

Yes	1
No	2
(Do not know)	8

97. What are the reasons for this (max three)? [this could be reasons for avoiding or not avoiding, depending on their answer to the previous question]

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER OF THE RESPONDENT IN THE SPACE PROVIDED BELOW. IF NECESSARY PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE?

98. Do you think your village/neighbourhood would be a better or worse place to live if there was a greater mix of people with high and low incomes living close to each other?

Much better	1
A bit better	2
About the same	3
A bit worse	4
Much worse	5
(Do not know)	8

99. Do you think your village/neighbourhood would be a better or worse place to live if there was a greater mix of people from different race groups living close to each other?

Much better	1
A bit better	2
About the same	3
A bit worse	4
Much worse	5
(Do not know)	8

100. Why, in your opinion, are there people who live in poverty? Here are four options - which one is the closest to your opinion? [*Showcard 21*]

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

101. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The government should provide better quality education for all children in South Africa? [*Showcard 1*]

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

102. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The tax that employed people pay on their income should be increased so the government can provide better quality education for all children in South Africa? [*Showcard 1*]

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

103. A large gap between the incomes of unskilled/low skilled people and professional/highly skilled people is good because it encourages hard work. [*Showcard 1*]

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

SANDF ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE DEFENCE FORCE

I am now going to ask you some questions about the South African National Defence Force (SANDF)

104. Overall, would you say you are very knowledgeable, somewhat knowledgeable, not very knowledgeable, or not at all knowledgeable about the South African National Defence Force?

Very knowledgeable	1
Somewhat knowledgeable	2
Not very knowledgeable	3
Not at all knowledgeable	4
(Don't know)	8

105. Which of the following do you think are branches of the South African National Defence Force?

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

a.	Air Force	1
b.	Army	2
c.	Military Health Service	3
d.	Navy	4
e.	(None of the above)	5
f.	(Don't know)	8

106. When you think of the South African National Defence Force, which of the following sources would you say provide you with the best/most information? [Showcard 22]

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

a.	Shows and exhibitions	01
b.	Radio	02
c.	TV	03
d.	Newspapers	04
e.	Magazine	05
f.	Internet and other social media (Facebook, Twitter)	06
g.	Personal experience	07
h.	Friends/family	08
i.	Other (specify)...	09
j.	(None of the above)	10
k.	(Don't know)	88

107. Have you personally ever attended any event that showcases the SANDF (such as Arms Forces Day , SANDF shows, SANDF exhibits, etc.)?

Have attended in the past year	1
Have attended it in the past 5 years	2
Have attended it in the more distant past	3
Have not attended it but would want to do it	4
Have not attended and would not want to attend it	5
(Do not know)	8

108. To what extent do you feel that it is important for the SANDF to showcase its operations through shows, exhibitions and Armed Forces Days?

Very important	1
Much needed	2
Needed	3
Neither nor	4
Unnecessary	5
Very unnecessary	8
(Don't Know)	

109. Please say whether you think the SANDF should spend more or less on shows and exhibitions?

Spend much more	1
Spend more	2
Spend the same as now	3
Spend less	4
Spend much less	5
(Can't choose)	8

110. In your view, which of the following are the most important reasons why the SANDF should hold shows and exhibitions [Showcard 23]

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

a.	It raises the profile of the SANDF	01
b.	It allows the SANDF an opportunity to interact with communities	02
c.	It helps South Africans to feel proud of the country	03
d.	It unites South Africans behind the SANDF	04
e.	It gives the SANDF an opportunity to showcase its latest military equipment and power	05
f.	It showcases job opportunities within the SANDF	06
g.	It helps ordinary people to gain knowledge of the SANDF	07
h.	It demonstrates military combat readiness	08
i.	It reminds us of the past	09
j.	(None of these)	97
k.	(Don't know)	98
l.	(Refused)	99

111. Have you personally ever had any military experience or training?

Yes, before 1994	1
Yes, after 1994	2
Yes, both before and after 1994	3
No, never	4
(Do not know)	8

112. Has a family member or close friend ever had any military experience or training?

Yes, before 1994	1
Yes, after 1994	2
Yes, both before and after 1994	3
No, never	4
(Do not know)	8

113. How proud are you of the South African National Defence Force?

Very proud	1
Somewhat proud	2
Not very proud	3
Not proud at all	4
(Can't choose)	8

114. Indicate the extent to which you trust or distrust the Defence Force in South Africa at present?

Strongly trust	1
Trust	2
Neither trust nor distrust	3
Distrust	4
Strongly distrust	5
(Do not know)	8

115. Compared to before 1994 and considering the degree to which the country is now threatened, to what extent does South Africa still need a strong defence force? A strong national defence force is...

Much needed	1
Needed	2
Neither nor	3
Unnecessary	4
Very unnecessary	5
(Don't Know)	8

116. To what extent do you agree or disagree that there is a role for the South African National Defence Force during times of peace? [Showcard 1]

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5
(Don't Know)	8

I'm going to read a list of possible roles that the South Africa National Defence Force (SANDF) might have. For each one please say whether you think it should be a very important role, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all? [Showcard 24]

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not very important	Not important at all	(Don't know)
117. Helping other government departments in times of disaster or emergency	1	2	3	4	8
118. Defend and protect South Africa	1	2	3	4	8
119. Peacekeeping in other countries	1	2	3	4	8
120. Safeguard and patrol the country's borders	1	2	3	4	8
121. Assist the South African Police Service (SAPS) to uphold law and order in the country	1	2	3	4	8
122. Provide young South Africans with skills, values and discipline	1	2	3	4	8
123. Help build or repair infrastructure such as bridges, roads and clinics in rural areas	1	2	3	4	8
124. Work with the United Nations and African Union to prevent and resolve conflict in Africa	1	2	3	4	8

125. Taking into account all the things that you expect the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) to do, to what extent do you believe 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

Think about the job that the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) is doing. As far as you are concerned personally on a scale of 1 to 7, do you think that the SANDF is...?

[Showcard 25]

126. Fair								Unfair (Can't Choose)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			88

127. Successful								Unsuccessful (Can't Choose)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			88

128. Professional								Unprofessional (Can't Choose)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			88

129. Disciplined								Undisciplined (Can't Choose)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			88

Based on what you have heard or your own experience how successful do you think the South African National Defence Force is in performing the following roles? Choose your answer from a scale where 0 is extremely unsuccessful and 10 is extremely successful. [Showcard 26]

		Extremely unsuccessful										Extremely successful	(Can't Choose)
130.	Helping other countries in times of disaster or emergency	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
131.	Defend and protect South Africa	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
132.	Peacekeeping in other countries	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
133.	Safeguard and patrol the country's borders	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
134.	Provide young South Africans with skills, values and discipline	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

135. There are different opinions as to what it takes to be a good citizen. As far as you are concerned personally, how important is it to be willing to serve in the military at a time of need? Choose your answer from a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 is "not at all important" and 7 is "very important". [Showcard 27]

Not at all important								Very important	(Can't choose)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			8

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

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
136. I would be proud to be a member of the Defence Force (SANDF)	1	2	3	4	5	8
137. The SANDF stands up for values that are important to people like me	1	2	3	4	5	8
138. I support how the SANDF usually performs their functions	1	2	3	4	5	8

139. To what extent do you agree or disagree that the Defence Force is representative of all South Africans? [Showcard 1]

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5
(Don't Know)	8

140. Transformation in the Defence Force is....READ OUT...?

...Progressing very well	1
Progressing well	2
Progressing reasonably well	3
Progressing badly	4
Progressing very badly	5
(Don't Know)	8

141. To what extent do you agree or disagree that the SANDF offers good career opportunities for people like you? [Showcard 1]

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

142. To what extent do you think racism or racial discrimination occurs in the Defence Force?

Not at all	1
To a small extent	2
To a fair extent	3
To a considerable extent	4
To a great extent	5
(Don't Know)	8

I am now going to ask a few questions on women in the Defence Force.

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

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	(Do not know)
143. Women can perform as well as men in all areas of the military	1	2	3	4	5	8
144. A special attempt should be made to recruit more women into the Defence Force	1	2	3	4	5	8
145. Women should do combat duty in the front line	1	2	3	4	5	8

146. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I support an increased/greater involvement by the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) in peace support operations in Africa. [Showcard 1]

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

147. Please say whether you would like to see more or less government spending in the area of military and defence. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it.

Spend much more	1
Spend more	2
Spend the same as now	3
Spend less	4
Spend much less	5
(Can't choose)	8

FINANCIAL LITERACY

I would now like to ask you some questions about your family and money matters. Please can you start by telling me:

148. Who is responsible for day-to-day money management decisions in your household?

You make these decisions by yourself	1
You make these decisions with someone else	2
Someone else makes these decisions	3
(Do not know)	8
(Refused to answer)	9

149. Does your household have a budget? A household budget is used to decide what share of your income will be used for spending, saving and paying bills.

Yes	1
No	2
(Do not know)	8
(Refused)	9

I am going to read out some behaviour statements. Please can you tell me how often you do these things or not. [Showcard 28]

	Always	Often	Some of the time	Seldom	Never	(Do not know)	(Refused)	(Not applicable)
150. Before I buy something I carefully consider whether I can afford it	1	2	3	4	5	8	9	
151. I pay my bills on time	1	2	3	4	5	8	9	10
152. I keep a close personal watch on my financial affairs	1	2	3	4	5	8	9	
153. I set long-term financial goals and work hard to achieve them	1	2	3	4	5	8	9	

154. Sometimes people find that their income does not quite cover their living costs. In the last 12 months, has this happened to you?

Yes	1	} Ask Q.155 Skip to Q.157
No	2	
(Do not know)	8	
(Refused to answer)	9	

155. What did you do to make ends meet the last time this happened?

INTERVIEWER: PROBE: DID YOU DO ANYTHING ELSE? DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS. MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED.

156. Of the things you mentioned, which does your household rely on the most?

INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE OPTION ONLY.

	Q.155	Q.156 [ONE OPTION]
a. Draw money out of savings or transfer savings into current account	1	1
b. Cut back on spending, spend less, do without	2	2
c. Sell something that I own	3	3
d. Work overtime, earn extra money	4	4
e. Borrow food or money from family or friends	5	5
f. Borrow from employer/salary advance	6	6
g. Pawn something that I own	7	7
h. Take a loan from my savings and loans clubs	8	8
i. Take money out of a flexible home loan account	9	9
j. Apply for loan/withdrawal on pension fund	10	10
k. Use authorized, arranged overdraft or line of credit	11	11
l. Use credit card for a cash advance or to pay bills/buy food	12	12
m. Take out a personal loan from a formal financial service provider (including bank, credit union or microfinance)	13	13
n. Take out a payday loan (advance on salary from someone-not employer)	14	14
o. Take out a loan from an informal provider/moneylender	15	15
p. Use unauthorised overdraft	16	16
q. Pay my bills late; miss payments	17	17
r. Other (specify)	18	18
s. (Do not know)	98	98
t. (Refused to answer)	99	99

157. Have you set aside emergency or rainy day funds that would cover your expenses for 3 months, in case of sickness, job loss, economic downturn, or other emergencies?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refused)	9

I would like to know how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements: [Showcard 1]

	Completely agree	Agree	Neither Nor	Dis-agree	Completely disagree	(Do not know)	(Refused)
158. I find it more satisfying to spend money than to save it for the long term	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
159. I tend to live for today and let tomorrow take care of itself	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
160. Money is there to be spent	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
161. My financial situation limits my ability to do the things that are important to me	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
162. I have too much debt right now	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

163. In the past 12 months have you been saving money in any of the following ways? Please do not include pension savings in this question.

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

a.	Building up a balance of money in your bank account	1
b.	Paying money into a savings account	2
c.	Saving cash at home or in your wallet	3
d.	Giving money to family to save on your behalf	4
e.	Saving in a stokvel or any other informal savings club	5
f.	Buying financial investment products, other than pension funds [e.g. investment trusts, stocks and shares]	6
g.	Or saving in some other way (including remittances, buying livestock or property)	7
h.	(None of the above – has not been saving actively)	8
i.	(Do not know)	9
j.	(Refused to answer)	10

164. Overall, on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is very confident, and 5 is not at all confident; how confident are you that you have done a good job of making financial plans for your retirement? [Showcard 29]

1	Very confident
2	
3	
4	
5	Not at all confident
7	(Respondent has no retirement plan)
8	(Do not know)
9	(Refused)

PRODUCT CHOICE

I am going to start with products that people can get from banks. [*Showcard 30*]

165. Please can you tell me whether you have heard of any of the following banking products?

166. [ASK FOR ALL PRODUCTS CIRCLED IN Q.165] And now can you tell me whether you currently hold any of these types of products?

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

	165. Heard of banking products.	166. ASK FOR ALL products circled in Q.165 Currently hold types of banking products	
a.	Mzansi account	01	01
b.	Savings account	02	02
c.	Current or Cheque account	03	03
d.	Fixed deposit bank account	04	04
e.	ATM card	05	05
f.	Debit card or Cheque card	06	06
g.	Credit Card	07	07
h.	Garage card or petrol card	08	08
i.	Home loan from a big bank	09	09
j.	Savings book at a bank	10	10
k.	Post Office / Post Bank savings account	11	11
l.	Cellphone account (e.g. M-PESA)	13	13
m.	Other bank product (SPECIFY)	12	12
n.	(None of the above)	97	97
o.	(Refused)	98	98
p.	(Don't know)	99	99

I would now like to talk about various types of credit or loans. [*Showcard 31*]

167. Please can you tell me whether you have heard of any of the following types of credit or loans?

168. [ASK FOR ALL PRODUCTS CIRCLED IN Q.] And now can you tell me whether you currently hold any of these types of credit or loans?

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED

	167. Heard of type of credit or loan	168. ASK FOR ALL products circled in Q.167 Currently hold type of credit or loan
Formal credit and loans		
a.	Loan from a microlender e.g. African Bank, Credit Indemnity, Capitec Bank, Ubank (Teba)	01
b.	Vehicle or car finance through bank or dealer	02
c.	Overdraft facility	03
d.	Store card where you buy on account and pay later e.g. Edgars	04
e.	Lay-bye	05
f.	Hire Purchase (HP) / paying in monthly instalments for goods such as furniture	06
Informal credit and loans		
g.	Loan from friends or family	07
h.	Loan from an informal money lender (mashonisa / loan shark)	08
i.	Loan from a stokvel / umgalelo or savings club	09
j.	Loan from local spaza	10
k.	Store account with no card where you pay later (e.g. spaza, corner cafe, garage, general dealer)	11
l.	Loan from an employer	12
m.	(None of the above)	97
n.	(Don't know)	98
o.	(Refused)	99

I would now like to talk about savings and investments. [*Showcard 32*]

169. Please can you tell me whether you have heard of any of the following types of investment or savings products?

170. [ASK FOR ALL PRODUCTS CIRCLED IN Q.169] And now can you tell me whether you currently hold any of these types of investment or savings products?

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

	169. Heard of any of investment or savings product.	170. <u>ASK FOR ALL products circled in Q.169</u> Currently has investment or savings product
	Formal products	
a.	01	01
b.	02	02
c.	03	03
d.	04	04
	Retirement products	
e.	05	05
f.	06	06
g.	07	07
	Savings clubs	
h.	08	08
i.	09	09
j.	10	10
k.	11	11
l.	97	97
m.	98	98
n.	99	99

I would now like to talk about various types of insurance. [*Showcard 33*]

171. Please can you tell me whether you have heard of any of the following types of insurance products?

172. [ASK FOR ALL PRODUCTS CIRCLED IN Q.171] And now can you tell me whether you currently hold any of these types of insurance products?

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

	171. Heard of <u>insurance</u> <u>product</u>	172. <u>ASK FOR ALL products</u> <u>circled in Q.171</u> Currently has <u>insurance product</u>
Short-term (asset) insurance		
a.	Vehicle or car insurance	01
b.	Household contents insurance (e.g. furniture and appliances)	02
c.	Homeowners' insurance on building / house structure	03
d.	Cellphone insurance	04
Long-term insurance		
e.	Life insurance or life cover	05
f.	Insurance that pays your loan or borrowing when you die	06
g.	Disability insurance or cover	07
h.	Medical aid scheme	08
i.	Hospital cash plan	09
Funeral		
j.	Belong to a burial society	10
k.	Funeral policy with a bank (including Post Bank)	11
l.	Funeral cover through an undertaker or funeral parlour / home	12
m.	Funeral policy with an insurance company	13
n.	Funeral cover from an spaza shop or stokvel	14
o.	Funeral cover from any other source (e.g. shop, employer)	15
p.	(None of the above)	97
q.	(Don't know)	98
r.	(Refused)	99

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Totally agree	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Totally disagree	(Don't know)	(Not applicable)	(Refused)
173. I've got a clear idea of the sorts of financial products or services that I need without consulting a financial adviser	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
174. I always research my choices thoroughly before making any decisions about financial products or services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

175. In the last 12 months, have you made a decision about any of the following that you later regretted?

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

a.	Savings or investments	1
b.	Taking out a home loan	2
c.	Taking out a loan or credit agreement	3
d.	Insurance of any type	4
e.	Tax	5
f.	Managing credit/debt	6
g.	(None of the above)	7
h.	(Don't know)	8
i.	(Refused)	9

176. Within the last five years, have you discovered that you had been paying for a financial product that was clearly unsuitable for your needs? [This would include formal and informal products, covering savings, investments, credit or loans, as well as insurance]

Yes	1
No	2
(Do not know)	8
(Refused to answer)	9

177. Which one of the following statements best describes how well you [and your partner] are keeping up with your bills and credit commitments at the moment?

Keeping up with all bills and commitments without any difficulties	1
Keeping up with all bills and commitments, but it is a struggle from time to time	2
Keeping up with all bills and commitments, but it is a constant struggle	3
Falling behind with some bills or credit commitments	4
Having real financial problems and have fallen behind with many bills or credit	5
Don't have any bills or credit commitments	6
(Don't know)	8
(Refused)	9

178. How would you rate your current credit record?

Very bad	1
Bad	2
About average	3
Good	4
Very good	5
(Don't know)	8
(Refused)	9

FINANCIAL KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING

179. Thank you. And, now something slightly different. Which, if any, of these things do you personally keep an eye on?

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

a.	Changes in the housing market	01
b.	Changes in the stock market	02
c.	Changes in interest rates	03
d.	Changes in inflation	04
e.	Changes in taxation, e.g. income tax, capital gains tax	05
f.	Changes in the job market	06
g.	Changes in state pension, benefits and tax credits	07
h.	Best buys in financial products	08
i.	(None of these)	97
j.	(Don't know)	98
k.	(Refused)	99

180. Could you tell me how you would rate your overall knowledge about financial matters compared with other adults in South Africa?

Very high	1
Quite high	2
About average	3
Quite low	4
Very low	5
(Don't know)	8
(Refused)	9

The next few questions are more 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

181. Imagine that five friends are given a gift of R1 000. If the friends have to share the money equally how much does each one get?

INTERVIEWER: READ OUT THE QUESTION AGAIN IF ASKED TO DO SO

Record response numerically - - -

R	
---	--

(Don't know)	998
(Refused)	999
(Irrelevant answer)	997

182. Now imagine that the friends have to wait for one year to get their share of the R1,000 and inflation remains the same. In one year's time will they be able to buy... (Read out)

More with their share of the money than they could today	1
The same amount	2
Or, less than they could buy today	3
<i>(It depends on the types of things that they want to buy)</i>	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	8
<i>(Refused)</i>	9
<i>(Irrelevant answer)</i>	7

183. You lend R25 to a friend one evening and he gives you R25 back the next day. How much interest has he paid on this loan?

INTERVIEWER: READ OUT THE QUESTION AGAIN IF THE RESPONDENT ASK YOU TO DO SO

Record response numerically - - -

R	
----------	--

(Don't know)	998
(Refused)	999
(Irrelevant answer)	997

184. Suppose you put R100 into a savings account with a guaranteed interest rate of 2% per year. You don't make any further payments into this account and you don't withdraw any money. How much would be in the account at the end of the first year, once the interest payment is made?

INTERVIEWER: READ OUT THE QUESTION AGAIN IF THE RESPONDENT ASKS YOU TO DO SO

Record response numerically - - -

R	
----------	--

(Don't know)	998
(Refused)	999
(Irrelevant answer)	997

185. And how much would be in the account at the end of five years? Would it be...

More than R110	1
Exactly R110	2
Less than R110	3
Or is it impossible to tell from the information given	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	8
<i>(Refused)</i>	9
<i>(Irrelevant answer)</i>	7

I would like to know whether you think the following statements are true or false:

	True	False	(Do not know)	(Refused)
186. If someone offers you the chance to make a lot of money it is likely that there is also a chance that you will lose a lot of money.	1	2	8	9
187. High inflation means that the cost of living is increasing rapidly	1	2	8	9
188. It is less likely that you will lose all of your money if you save it in more than one place.	1	2	8	9

189. Which one of the following can hurt your credit rating?

Making late payments on loans and debts	1
Staying in one job too long	2
Living in the same location too long	3
Using your credit card frequently for purchases	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refused)	9

190. What can affect the amount of interest that you would pay on a loan? (one option)

Your credit rating	1
How much you borrow	2
How long you take to repay the loan	3
All of the above	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refused)	9

191. People get information about financial investments from many sources. What sources do you feel most influence your decisions about the financial investments you make?

Advertisements	01
Magazines	02
Newspapers	03
Radio or Television	04
Internet	05
Advice from a Financial Advisor	06
Advice from a knowledgeable friend	07
Other - Specify	08
(None of the above)	97
(Don't know)	98
(Refused)	99

192. Thinking about what you have learned about personal finance, where do you think that you learned the most? Was it...?

From your parents or at home	01
From the internet	02
From a financial professional	03
From self-help books or media	04
From school	05
At work	06
From friends	07
Spouse or partner	08
Learned by yourself	09
None of these/Other	10
(Don't know)	88
(Refused)	99

VOTING

I am now going to ask to a few questions about voting and elections.

193. For which party did you vote in the last national election, which was held in 2014?

194. For which party did you vote in the last municipal election, which was held in 2016?

INTERVIEWER: DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS. CIRCLE ONE OPTION IN EACH COLUMN

	193. Last national election (2014)	194. Last municipal election (2016)
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	01	01
African National Congress (ANC)	02	02
Agang South Africa	03	03
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	04	04
Congress of the People (COPE)	05	05
Democratic Party / Alliance (DA/DP)	06	06
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	07	07
Freedom Front Plus / Vryheidsfront Plus (FF+/VF+)	08	08
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	09	09
Minority Front (MF)	10	10
New Freedom Party (NFP)	11	11
Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)	12	12
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	13	13
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	14	14
Other (specify)	15	15
Did not vote	16	16
Uncertain	17	17
(Refuse to answer)	97	97
(Do not know)	98	98

195. If there were an election tomorrow, for which party would you vote?

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

African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	01	
African National Congress (ANC)	02	
Agang South Africa	03	
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	04	
Congress of the People (COPE)	05	
Democratic Party / Alliance (DA/DP)	06	
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	07	
Freedom Front Plus / Vryheidsfront Plus (FF+/VF+)	08	→ Skip to Q.197
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	09	
Minority Front (MF)	10	
New Freedom Party (NFP)	11	
Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)	12	
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	13	
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	14	
Other (specify)	15	
Will not vote	16	→ Ask Q. 196
Uncertain	17	
(Refuse to answer)	97	→ Skip to Q.197
(Do not know)	98	

196. If answered 16 in Q.195: What is your main reason for thinking that you would not vote if an election were held tomorrow?

INTERVIEWER: 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

197. To which party do you feel most close?

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

African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	01	→ Ask Q.198
African National Congress (ANC)	02	
Azania 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	
Agang South Africa	14	
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	15	
Other (specify)	16	
No party	17	→ Skip to Q.199
(Refuse to answer)	97	
(Do not know)	98	

198. 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

199. If the party you voted for did not meet your expectations, the next time there is an election would you....?

Vote for another party	1
Not vote at all	2
Give that party another chance	3
Wait for an explanation and then decide	4
Other (specify)	5
(Refused to answer)	7
(Don't know)	8

200. In political matters, people talk of 'the left' and 'the right' or 'liberal' and 'conservative'. Where would you place your views on this scale?

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

201. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the current political leaders in South Africa? [Showcard 2]

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

Indicate the extent to which you trust or distrust the following political leaders in South Africa. [Showcard 3]

	Strongly trust	Trust	Neither trust nor distrust	Distrust	Strongly distrust	(Do not know)
202. The President [Jacob Zuma]	1	2	3	4	5	8
203. The Deputy President [Cyril Ramaphosa]	1	2	3	4	5	8
204. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma	1	2	3	4	5	8
205. Leader of the EFF [Julius Malema]	1	2	3	4	5	8
206. Leader of the DA [Musi Maimane]	1	2	3	4	5	8

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

	Strongly trust	Trust	Neither trust nor distrust	Distrust	Strongly distrust	(Do not know)
207. The Ruling Party [ANC]	1	2	3	4	5	8
208. The ANC Women's League	1	2	3	4	5	8
209. The ANC Youth League	1	2	3	4	5	8
210. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	1	2	3	4	5	8
211. The Democratic Alliance (DA)	1	2	3	4	5	8
212. The Office of the Public Protector	1	2	3	4	5	8

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

213. Sex of respondent [copy from contact sheet]

Male	1
Female	2

214. Race of respondent [copy from contact sheet]

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

220. 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

221. 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

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

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

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

223. When you were 15 years old, for whom did your father work? If your father did not have a paid job at the time, please give information about his last job before that time.

Employee of a private company or business	1
Government (national, provincial or local)	2
Self-employed	3
Other (please specify)	4
(Can't choose)	8

224. When you were 15 years old, what kind of work did your father do; what was his main occupation? Describe fully, using two words or more (do not use initials or abbreviations). If your father did not have a paid job at the time, please give information about his last job before that time

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(Refused to answer) 97
 (Don't know, inadequately described) 98
 (Not applicable – did not have a father) 99

225. 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

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

Yes	1
No	2

→ Skip to Q.228

227. 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
(Do not know)	98
(Not answered)	99

228. Regardless of whether you belong to a particular religion, how religious would you say you are? [Showcard 14]

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

229. 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

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

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

a. Old Age Grant	01
b. Child Support Grant	02
c. Disability Grant	03
d. Care dependency grant	04
e. Foster care grant	05
f. Grant in aid	06
g. UIF (Blue Card) or workman's compensation	07
h. Social Relief of Distress (emergency food parcels, food vouchers or temporary cash transfer)	08
i. (No-one in household receiving any benefits)	09
j. (Refused to answer)	97
k. (Do not know)	98

231. 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

232. Taking all things in your life, how would you say things are these days? Would you say you are very happy, fairly happy, fairly unhappy or very unhappy?

Very happy	Fairly happy	Neither happy nor unhappy	Fairly unhappy	Very unhappy	(Do not know)
1	2	3	4	5	8

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

233. 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

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

INTERVIEWER: 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

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

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ONLY

Flush toilet connected to a municipal sewage system	01	} Ask Q.236
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	→ Skip to Q.237
(Do not know)	98	

236. Where is this toilet facility located?

In dwelling	1
On site (In yard)	2
Off site (outside yard)	3

237. 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
238. Hot running water from a geyser	1	2
239. Fridge/freezer combination	1	2
240. Microwave oven (in working order)	1	2
241. Domestic worker (live-in / part-time)	1	2
242. Vacuum cleaner/floor polisher	1	2
243. A washing machine	1	2
244. A computer (desktop or laptop) at home	1	2
245. DVD player / Blu Ray player	1	2
246. An electric stove	1	2
247. A TV set	1	2
248. A tumble dryer	1	2
249. A home telephone (excluding cellphone)	1	2
250. No or only one radio	1	2
251. Built in kitchen sink	1	2
252. Home security service	1	2
253. A deep freezer (in working order)	1	2
254. M-Net, DSTv, TopTV or other pay TV subscription	1	2
255. A dishwashing machine	1	2
256. There is a motor vehicle in our household	1	2
257. Home theatre system	1	2
258. Swimming pool	1	2
259. Air conditioner (excluding fans)	1	2

260. How many cellphones are there presently in your household in working order? Does your household have...?

None	1
Only one cellphone in household	2
2 cellphones in household	3
3 or more cellphones in household	4

261. Do you have access to the Internet?

INTERVIEWER: MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED. CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

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, through a wifi hotspot	6
g.	Yes, through a cellphone	7
h.	Yes, other (SPECIFY)	8
i.	None	9

PERSONAL AND HOUSEHOLD INCOME

262. 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

263. 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.

264. 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.

		263.Household	264.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

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

Amount (In Rands)

R	<input type="text"/>
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(Don't know = 98)

266. 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

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