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SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

INEQUALITY AND DIVERSITY IN CAPE TOWN: AN INTRODUCTION AND USER'S GUIDE TO THE 2005 CAPE AREA STUDY

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Inequality and Diversity in Cape Town: An Introduction and User's Guide to the 2005 Cape Area Study

The 2005 Cape Area Study comprises a survey of aspects of diversity and inequality in the South African city of Cape Town. The survey was designed as both part of an ongoing study of Cape Town (that includes a series of surveys) and part of an international, multi-city study of aspects of urban life. This report provides an introduction to the survey for prospective users as well as important information for actual users, for example details of sample design and fieldwork.

1. The Cape Area Study

The Cape Area Study (CAS) comprises an ongoing series of surveys conducted in the city of Cape Town, on the south-west tip of South Africa (and of Africa as a whole). The surveys have covered and will continue to cover a wide range of topics. Over time, however, CAS will have a quality that is unique in South Africa (and perhaps Africa as a whole), in that there will be an accumulation of publicly available data on a focused social setting across a span of time, such that the value of the 'whole' is substantially greater than the 'sum of the parts'. CAS is modelled on the Detroit Area Study, conducted over a period of more than fifty years by the University of Michigan.

CAS has comprised five surveys hitherto. Several of these surveys are more widely known under other labels (including KMPS and CAPS).

- CAS 1 (2000): a survey focused on labour market behaviour conducted in parts of Cape Town (Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain); this survey is also known as the Khayelitsha-Mitchell's Plain Study (KMPS) (see SALDRU, 2003; Nattrass, 2002).
- CAS 2 (2002): the first wave of the Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS) was conducted; this is a panel study of adolescents in Cape Town, but the first wave also included a representative sample of almost 5000 households, and

thus provides baseline data on stratification and inequality at the household level; there is also a wide range of data on young people (covering living arrangements, schooling, work and sexual relationships) (see Lam, Seekings *et al*., 2005a, 2005b).

- CAS 3 (2003): an experimental survey of social and political attitudes and behaviour (see Seekings *et al*., 2004).
- CAS 4 (2004): adults living in Khayelitsha who had been interviewed in 2000 as part of CAS 1 (or the KMPS) were re-interviewed; the original survey had not been designed as the start of a panel, but attrition was nonetheless only moderate (see Magruder and Nattrass, 2005).
- CAS 5 (2005): a study of diversity and inequality in Cape Town, discussed in detail in this document.

Surveys forming CAS cover social, economic, political and demographic aspects of life in contemporary Cape Town, and have involved social scientists from different disciplines.

The Cape Area Study is focused on Cape Town, a multi-cultural and highly unequal city that is a valuable field site for social science research. With a population of almost 3 million people, Cape Town is the oldest and is still one of the largest cities in South Africa. Its value as a research site is due primarily to the consequences of its long history of interaction between diverse peoples – interactions that were, tragically, structured by apartheid engineering for most of the second half of the twentieth century.

Khoi pastoralists probably displaced earlier San hunter-gatherers on the Cape Peninsula and across the Cape Flats in the middle of the first millennium, almost one thousand years before the first Europeans landed in the fifteenth century.[1] Portuguese, Dutch and English ships stopped at the Cape with increasing frequency, but it was not until 1620 that any sought to 'claim' the territory, and it was only in 1652 that the first settlement was established, by the Dutch East Indies Company. The new settlement was initially based around a fort and vegetable gardens, but soon expanded south-east into new farmlands along the Liesbeeck River. The population grew very slowly for the next century and a half, with immigration from Holland and Germany and the importation of slaves, mostly from other Dutch colonies spread around the Indian Ocean. Among the slaves were the first Africans, i.e. people of Bantu origin.

[1] The historical background is based largely on Worden *et al*. (1998) and Bickford-Smith *et al*. (1999).

Britain seized control of the Cape during the Napoleonic Wars. The onset of British imperial rule led to new restrictions on slavery, culminating in the Empire-wide abolition of slavery in 1834. Cape Town grew into a British colonial town and port. In 1854, representative government was introduced in the Cape with an elected Legislative Assembly (with the franchise qualified by property not race). A harbour was built in the 1860s. But the town was still small, with less than 30,000 people recorded in the first municipal census, in 1865; most of these were born in the Cape, and white people outnumbered 'others'.

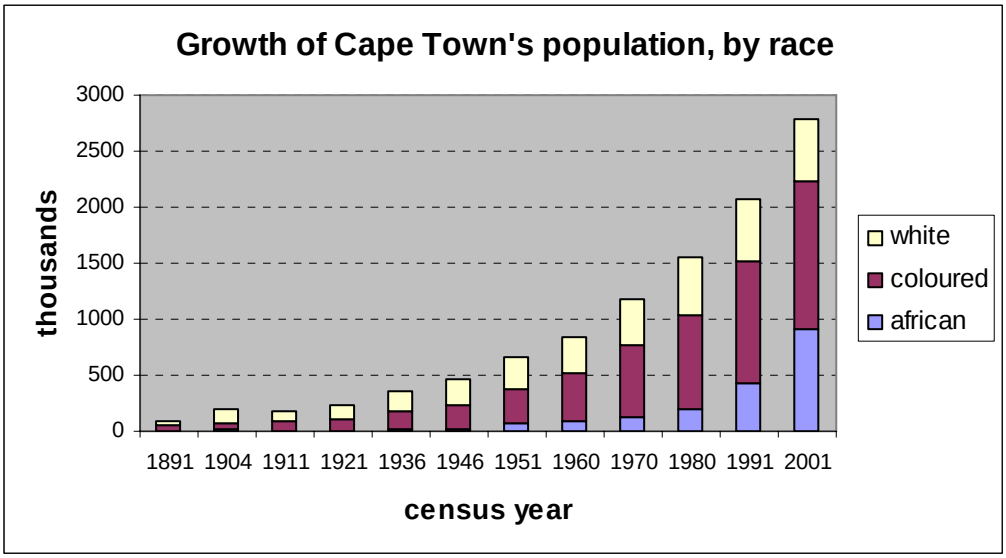
No sooner was the first harbour built than the subcontinent was transformed by mineral revolution, following the discovery of first diamonds at Kimberly and later gold on the Witwatersrand. This broader transformation changed Cape Town from 'sleepy colonial backwater to thriving city' (Worden *et al*., 1998: 211). The population of Cape Town and the suburban villages growing along new railway lines, grew to 67,000 in 1891 and 171,000 by 1904. Immigrants arrived in Cape Town in huge numbers, most from Britain, but also from Eastern Europe (especially Jews fleeing pogroms) and India, as well as Africans from across Southern Africa.

In 1910, the Cape Colony became the Cape Province of the new Union of South Africa, with Cape Town becoming South Africa's legislative (but not executive or judicial) capital. The non-racial features of the Cape's constitution were not extended to the rest of the Union. Cape Town was never a non-racial society, but between the 1920s and 1970s, the imposition of national legislation served to deepen existing and open new racial divisions. Indeed, apartheid was in part a response to the interaction of coloured and white people in the Cape. Racist white supremacists sought to protect the purity of white blood through prohibitions on sex and marriage between white and coloured people, and through reduced 'inter-racial' contact through racial segregation in public transport, public amenities and residential areas. The small minority of African people in Cape Town had long been segregated in separate residential areas – first at Ndabeni, then (from the 1920s) in Langa, and from the 1940s in Nyanga (and later Guguletu). But it was only after the onset of apartheid in 1948 that Cape Town was completely racialised through the identification of a discrete 'coloured' population and their subsequent segregation. Coloured people were removed from the Cape Province's common voters roll for provincial and national elections in the 1950s (although it took another fifteen years to complete the segregation of the municipal voters roll). Most importantly, the Group Areas Act led to the forced removal of as many as 150,000 people to new housing estates on the Cape Flats, culminating in the destruction of District 6, starting in 1966 (see further Western,

1981). African people were in an even worse position: the apartheid state's policy set out to remove them from Cape Town entirely.

The combination of apartheid engineering and the rapid growth in Cape Town's population resulted in the transformation of the geography of the city. Cape Town's population grew steadily through the twentieth century, reaching 200,000 in the early 1920s, half a million in the 1940s, one million in the 1960s and two million during the 1980s (see Figure 1). Since 2001 it has certainly passed the three million mark. This overall population growth has comprised very different growth rates in different racial categories. In 1946 there were still more white than coloured people in Cape Town. But by 1991 there were twice as many coloured as white people (see Figure 2). Many of the new coloured residents of Cape Town in the 1960s and 1970s comprised the 'surplus' population from farms in the rural Western Cape. Immigration and forced removals led to the construction of new residential areas spreading across the Cape Flats, including to Mitchell's Plain after 1974 (and to the much more distant 'Atlantis', to the north of the city).

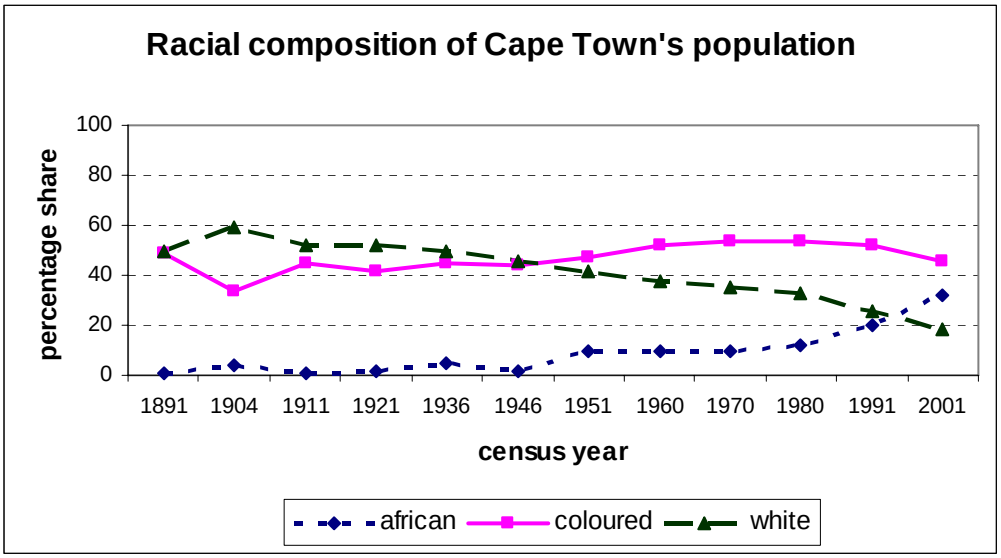
Figure 1: Growth of Cape Town's population, by race



Influx control failed to prevent the African population growing as well. Figures 1 and 2 might underestimate the African population given that many African people were in the city illegally, lacking residential rights under the pass laws. In the 1970s and early 1980s, the rising African population lived either in the backyards of recognised townships or, increasingly, in illegal shack settlements such as at Crossroads. In 1985, recognising the failure of its policies of influx control, the

state finally began to build new housing for African people at Khayelitsha, on the city's eastern perimeter. Sustained immigration from the Eastern Cape together with high natural population growth rates meant that the African population grew very rapidly: by 60 percent in the 1970s, then doubling between 1980 and 1991 and doubling again between 1991 and 2001. The result was not just increases in absolute numbers but also as a share of the total population (as shown in Figure 2): From a stable 10 percent in the 1950s and 1960s rising to more than 30 percent in the 2000s.

Figure 2: Racial composition of Cape Town's population



The transition to democracy has seen continued development of new residential areas, filling in remaining gaps between existing areas and expanding outwards on the urban periphery where land is cheap. Most dramatically, the area between Nyanga/Crossroads, Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain has been built up, Khayelitsha has expanded south-eastwards, and massive new housing development has taken place in the Delft/Blue Downs area to the north of Khayelitsha. At the same time, middle class and elite housing has expanded on the southern periphery (on the South Peninsula) and the northern periphery (beyond Milnerton, on the Tygerberg hills and towards Stellenbosch). Much of the expansion was required to accommodate the growth of the African population, fuelled by immigration from the impoverished Eastern Cape. By 2001, only 19 percent of Cape Town's population was white, compared to 48 percent coloured and 32 percent African.

Post-apartheid Cape Town is a city characterised by both multi-cultural diversity

and deep socio-economic inequality. Diversity and inequality are linked in that some racial divisions are also cultural divisions, there is a close relationship between race and class, and there remains a high level of segregation by both race and class. Table 1 shows the relationship between 'race' (or population group) and household income in Cape Town in 2002. African households are concentrated in the poorest third of the city's population and white households in the richest third, with coloured households spread across the income distribution. The mean household income for African households in 2002 was about R2000 (US$300) per month; the mean household income among coloured households was more than double this, and the mean household income among white households about five times this.[2]

Table 1: Household income by race, Cape Town, 2002

Household income (Rands per month)	*African (%)*	*Coloured (%)*	*White (%)*	*Total (%)*
0-1999	20	12	1	33
2000-5999	10	23	4	37
6000+	2	12	17	31
total	32	47	22	101

Source: CAS 2002 (i.e. Cape Area Panel Study household survey 2002).

Table 2 summarises key cultural characteristics of the different racial groups in Cape Town. Cape Town's population is divided between Afrikaans-speakers (41 percent), Xhosa-speakers (29 percent) and English-speakers (28 percent). A minority (about one-sixth) of the coloured population is Muslim, and 10 percent of the population profess to having no religion, but the bulk of the population is Christian, divided into many denominations. No single church can claim more than 10 percent of the population as adherents. Just over 9 percent of the population adhere to the Dutch Reformed Church, and almost as many adhere to the Anglican Church. Slightly smaller proportions adhere to the Roman Catholic and Methodist churches. Pentecostal, charismatic and Apostolic churches enjoy strong support. Besides language, a second strong cultural divide between coloured and African residents is length of residence in the city. Survey data from 2002 suggests that as many as 84 percent of coloured adults were born in Cape Town, with another 11 percent born elsewhere in the Western Cape.[3] Among

[2] This and subsequent data on incomes are from CAS 2002, i.e. the household survey attached to the first wave of CAPS.
[3] These data are also from CAS 2.

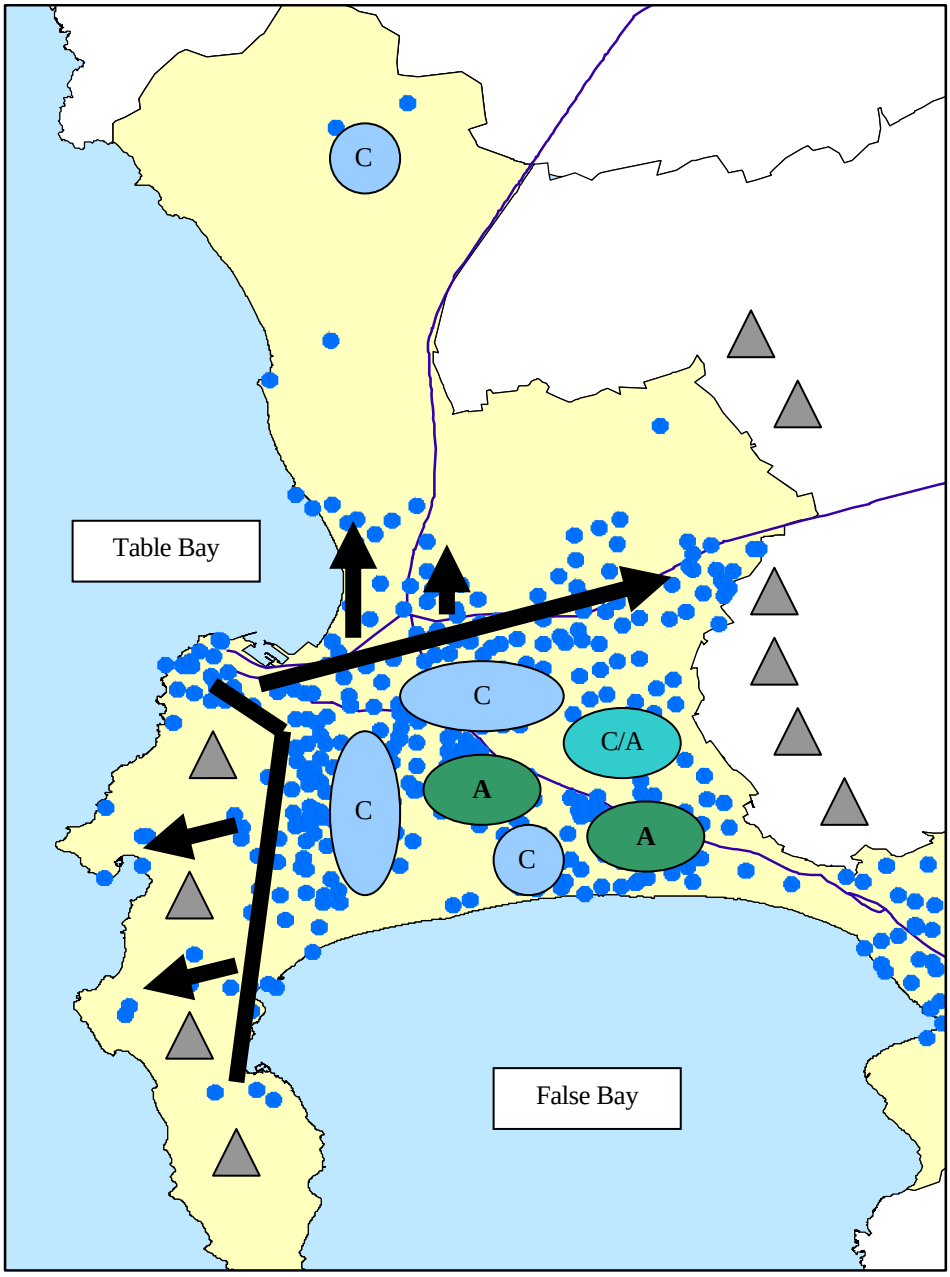
African adults, however, only 22 percent were born in Cape Town and another 2 percent elsewhere in the province. As many as 71 percent of African adults in Cape Town were born in the Eastern Cape, almost all in rural areas. Only two in five white Capetonians were born in Cape Town, but almost all white Capetonians were born in an urban area, whether in Gauteng, or outside South Africa. In many respects, the city's white and coloured populations are broadly similar, but they are clearly different to the city's African population.

Table 2: Cultural characteristics, by race, Cape Town, 2001-02

	African	*Coloured*	*White*
Home language	91% Xhosa 5% English or Afrikaans 2% Sesotho	68% Afrikaans 32% English	57% English 41% Afrikaans
Religion	28% Ethiopian or Apostolic or Zionist 21% none	17% Muslim	63% mission churches 11% none
Birthplace	22% Cape Town 71% E.Cape	84% Cape Town 11% other W.Cape	42% Cape Town Rest urban
Immigration history (adults only)	45% immigrated since 1990; another 20% immigrated in 1980s	Only 5% immigrated since 1990; only another 4% immigrated in 1980s	24% immigrated since 1990; another 11% immigrated in 1980s

Source: Population Census 2001; CAS 2002.

The map indicates the major areas of residential settlement by racial classification under the Group Areas Act. The major areas of white settlement stretch from the city 'centre' (or 'City Bowl'), which is actually far from central, south down the Cape Peninsula and east towards the Tygerberg (Tiger Mountains). These axes of growth are marked with thick black lines, with recent expansion indicated by arrows. The major areas of coloured (re-)settlement (marked by C) stretch east and south-east, across the Cape Flats (and also to the far north, to the remote apartheid creation 'Atlantis'). The city's African population is concentrated along the N2 motorway to the south-east, from Langa to Guguletu, Nyanga, Crossroads and Philippi, and onto Khayelitsha, Mfuleni and Lwandle (areas marked by A). Post-apartheid growth to the east is marked by C/A, indicating mixed settlement.



In Cape Town, as in South Africa as a whole, the end of apartheid did not mean an end to inequality. The Gini coefficient for the distribution of household income in Cape Town in 2002 was about 0.58, which is slightly lower than for the country as a whole but is nonetheless very high. The top decile of households in Cape Town, by household income, receive about 45 percent of all income in the city, or about fifty times as much as the poorest decile of Cape Town households. By standard international measures, about 10 percent of households in the city live in severe poverty; two-thirds of these are African and one-third coloured. Another 15

percent live in mild poverty; just over one half of these are African and just under one half are coloured.

Nationally, the best available data suggests that overall inequality in the distribution of income has risen slightly since the end of apartheid, as declining inter-racial inequality has been more than offset by rising intra-racial inequality (Seekings *et al*., 2004; Leibbrandt *et al*., 2004). Underlying these racial trends are two key factors: high and rising unemployment, which sentences many households to chronic poverty, and rising real earnings for a wide range of middle and working-class people who have jobs. Nationally, therefore, there is a deep divide between those households with well-paid jobs and those without. This is replicated in Cape Town. Table 3 summarises data on participation and unemployment rates in Cape Town from several sources. The 2001 Population Census indicates that the participation rate stands at about 71 percent (which is higher than for South Africa as a whole), whilst the unemployment rate stands at about 33 percent. The participation rate is slightly higher among African than among coloured or white people in Cape Town, but the unemployment rate is very much higher (at 54 percent for African people compared to 29 percent among coloured people and just 7 percent among white people). Sample surveys suggest very similar rates. There is no good data on inequalities in Cape Town over time, but taking the underlying trends into account leads inevitably to the view that inequality is probably worsening here as elsewhere in South Africa.

These economic inequalities are the primary reason why patterns of residential segregation have not broken down to any great extent since the transition to democracy. Analysing data from successive population censuses, Christopher (2001) shows that South African towns and cities began to desegregate, racially, in the 1990s. White segregation levels (as measured by a standard segregation index) peaked in Cape Town in the 1991 census (and in South Africa's other major cities in either the 1985 or 1991 censuses). Segregation levels for all racial groups declined between the 1991 and 1996 censuses. But the pace of desegregation was very slow indeed. In Cape Town, unlike Johannesburg, there has been very limited desegregation of inner-city flats. Although there are some pockets of low-income housing in areas where land prices are high (for examples, Imzamo Yethu in Hout Bay, Masiphumelele in Noordhoek and Marconi Beam in Milnerton), most new low-income housing has been provided on the borders of existing low-income areas, notably around Khayelitsha in the south-east of the city. Even progressive urban planners have been unable to reform the existing spatial structure of the city (Watson, 2002).

Table 3: Participation and unemployment rates in Cape Town

	Participation rate (%)	*Unemployment rate (strict or narrow definition) (%)*	*Unemployment rate (broad or expanded definition) (%)*
CAS 2000 (i.e. Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain only	79	28	46
Population Census 2001	71	Not available	33 (Afr 54; col 29; whi 7)
CAS 2002	68	15	Not available
CAS 2005	71	Not available	31

Note: CAS 2005 is unweighted data; weighting will affect the results slightly.
Source: Nattrass, 2002 (for CAS 2000) and own calculations (other sources).

Although patterns of segregation and overall inequality have changed little, in other respects, Cape Town has changed in the decade since the transition to democracy. Most dramatically, municipal infrastructure and service provision have improved dramatically in poorer areas of the city. Table 4 summarises the state of service provision by race in the city. Even in the poorer, African parts of the city, most households have access to water and electricity and have their refuse collected regularly. The challenge of service provision has been made more difficult by immigration (and the fragmentation of existing households); the actual numbers of African households receiving services have risen dramatically in the post-apartheid decade (see further Seekings, 2005a). The provision of municipal services is now, like the provision of public welfare and education (which are in South Africa the responsibilities of provincial and national government not of municipalities), unusually egalitarian. Taking into account the value of redistribution through the budget, including benefits in kind (such as free basic services or schooling), would greatly reduce the Gini coefficient (as Van der Berg, 2002, shows at the national level).

Table 4: Municipal services, by race (2003)

	African %	*Coloured %*	*White %*	*Total %*
Refuse removed by council at least weekly	87	97	98	95
Piped water in dwelling or yard	76	95	100	91
Main source of energy for lighting is electricity	82	95	100	93
Main source of energy for cooking is electricity	60	91	98	84

The 2005 Cape Area Study was designed to shed new light on aspects of inequality and diversity in contemporary Cape Town. The survey sought to gather data on how Capetonians see themselves and others, in terms of both diversity and inequality, and how this affects or is affected by their social interactions with each other and their political engagement with the local state.

The survey was designed in light of previous research on Cape Town – including especially the 2003 CAS – and in conjunction with social scientists conducting similar research in other parts of the world through what is called the 'Social Hubble' project. This involves social scientists from cities in different parts of the world: Cape Town (South Africa), Belo Horizonte (Brazil), Warsaw (Poland), Beijing (China), Moscow (Russia) and Detroit (USA).[4] The consortium is concerned with both research and training. Its goals can be summarised as:

- to generate high quality data focused on social stratification and inequality that can inform public debate and policy-making as well as academic research;
- to generate data that facilitates cross-national comparisons;
- to develop social science research capacity among both faculty and students, including especially methodological and analytic skills; and
- to strengthen 'South-South' as well as 'North-South' academic linkages and interactions.

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

Each of the participating teams of researchers has considerable experience in conducting surveys in their respective cities. All five have, separately from the Social Hubble project, implemented or planned a city-based programme of research modelled on the Detroit Area Study. Whilst sharing common roots in the Detroit Area Study, the new studies in Warsaw, Beijing, Cape Town and Belo Horizonte were initiated independently of each other and without co-ordination on

[4] The social scientists conducting research in Detroit are actually based at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

methodology or questionnaire design. The Social Hubble project is intended to develop such interaction and co-ordination, thereby contributing to both the improvement of the quality of research in each participating country and the generation of new, comparable data across countries.

In practice, for practical reasons (including funding constraints) only Belo Horizonte and Cape Town participated in the design of common modules and questions for inclusion in their respective 'area studies' in 2005. The process of collaboration entailed intensive discussion in Belo Horizonte in mid-2004 and in Cape Town in early 2005, as well as frequent dialogue via email.

The 2005 CAS was funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation as part of its grant to establish the Centre for Social Science Research at the University of Cape Town. The project was directed by Jeremy Seekings and managed by Tracy Jooste.

2. The sample and fieldwork

Sampling for CAS 2005 was designed to generate a representative sample of 1200 adults spread across metropolitan Cape Town. We used a two-stage cluster sample design. First, a sample of seventy 'enumerator areas' (EAs) was selected. Secondly, a sample of about 1820 households was selected in these EAs. We anticipated different response rates in different kinds of area, and therefore over-sampled in some areas relative to others. We prefer to over-sample rather than allow substitutions. We anticipated an overall response rate of 66 percent, giving a sample of 1200 adults.

2.1. Selecting EAs

The selection of EAs was done by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA), because the agency is unwilling to release the EA-level data from the 2001 Population Census, that is required for sampling. Our original intention had been to select EAs without any stratification, but Stats SA preferred to draw a stratified sample.

EAs are defined by Stats SA during the demarcation phase of the national Population Census. The most recent Population Census was conducted in late 2001. EAs are designed to be homogeneous with respect to housing type and size.

Most EAs comprise between fifty and two hundred households. In metropolitan Cape Town as a whole, there are approximately 4,450 EAs.

EAs in Cape Town were categorised according to settlement type (formal, informal and small-holding) and racial composition (according to the race or population group of the head of household). The first sixty EAs for the CAS sample were to be selected on the basis of stratification by these two criteria. According to Stats SA:

> Domain analysis was done on the dominant population group where EA type and population group formed the domains. Power allocation scheme was used to distribute sixty EAs across the strata thus formed. The power used is 0.38. (personal communication)

Using this method would result in the inclusion in the sample of five 'small-holding' EAs, three 'Indian' EAs and three EAs that were in 'coloured informal settlements'. Stats SA decided to replace these eleven EAs, producing the sample of EAs described in the first column of Table 5. Given the problem of low response rates in upper income areas, i.e. predominantly 'white' urban settlements, it was decided to increase the sample in these areas by an additional ten EAs. The final sample of EAs is described in the second column of Table 5.

Table 5: Samples of EAs

	EAs in initial sample design	*EAs in final sample design*
Informal settlement – black	11	11
Urban settlement – black	15	15
Urban settlement – coloured	20	20
Urban settlement – white	14	24
Total	60	70

Our understanding is that Stats SA then drew these four samples using standard procedures: For each stratum, generate a cumulative count of the number of households in each EA, select a random starting point, define a sampling interval (selected to generate the required target number of EAs) and select the EAs for which the cumulative count of households was equal to the starting point plus multiples of the interval. This ensures that EAs are selected systematically in such

as way as to ensure that their probability of selection is proportionate to their population size. The selected EAs, the total number of households in each, and the total population of the EA according to population group (or race) are set out in Table A.1 in the Appendix.

2.2. Selecting Households

The second stage of the sampling entailed selecting households within the chosen EAs, using aerial photographs (supplied by Stats SA). These clearly display buildings – including schools and other non-residential buildings – and also show the boundaries of residential plots (or ervens) where available. Street names are also marked. For drawing a sample in each EA, we excluded people living in institutionalised settings, such as students in dormitories and prisoners as well as residents of nursing or old age homes. Our intention was to draw samples of thirty households in all but one EA (the exception being a small EA, where we intended to draw a sample of only ten households). A random start point was selected on each EA map. The first interview was conducted at this point. From this starting point, every n^{th} household on the map was selected, where n was calculated for that EA as the total number of households in the EA (from the census data) divided by 30. Shops, places of worship, schools and business premises were excluded from the counting procedure.[5]

In many cases, the information available on the map had to be supplemented with information collected in a visit to the EA. Sometimes it is impossible to distinguish between residential and non-residential buildings on the aerial photographs, especially in EAs where residential buildings have been converted into offices or other commercial buildings. It is also generally difficult to tell whether a large building is a large house or a set of semi-detached or terraced houses. It is impossible to tell from the photos how many flats there are in any block of flats, or how these are numbered. Some EAs had undergone significant development since the aerial photographs were taken. The photographs showed several EAs in 'white' areas as being largely or entirely vacant, but visits found that whole suburbs – or, generally, gated neighbourhoods – had been built in the interim.[6] Visits to these EAs allowed us to identify additional, newly-built

[5] Household selection using aerial photographs was done by Tracy Jooste.

[6] Such development since 2001 means that the selection of EAs was not probabilistic in relation to their size at the time of the survey. One EA – 17102942 – was reported to have had just 27 households in 2001, but visits found that an entire gated neighbourhood comprising hundreds of households had been built and occupied. In this and one other EA – 17103685 – the aerial

residential units and include these in our sampling. In twelve 'white' and nine 'coloured' EAs, physical visits to the EAs were required to gather necessary data to supplement the aerial photographs.[7] In Table A.2, these EAs are shown with 'listing' or 'pho + list' (i.e. photo and listing) under the 'sampling method' column. The fieldworkers were then provided with the maps and/or lists of addresses (including, in the cases of blocks of flats, the precise numbers of flats to be visited). In a minority of EAs, however, this method had to be adapted due to further complications. There were two major categories of complication: shack settlements and gated neighbourhoods.

Approximately half of our 'African' EAs comprised (entirely or in large part) shack settlements. In these areas, it was generally impossible to distinguish discrete shacks on the aerial photographs. Moreover, many of these areas had been transformed by new housing development. Conditions on the ground often bore little relation to what appeared on the aerial photographs. In every area, however, shacks (or new houses) had been numbered clearly by the municipality. We used a variety of methods to select households in these EAs. In six EAs, we listed the selected households during a visit to the EA. Typically, we selected ever n^{th} household on the ground, on the same basis as we selected every n^{th} household using aerial photos where possible. In five other EAs, to expedite the process, fieldworkers were instructed to interview in each shack those whose number ended in a -0 or -5, within clearly defined boundaries (typically roads or prominent landmarks). These samples would not have corresponded precisely to the samples that would have been drawn had we had complete information on the EAs. Also, in the absence of hand-held GIS equipment, it was often difficult to locate precisely the boundaries of the EA. It is likely therefore that some of the selected households fell just over the boundary of a selected EA in a neighbouring, non-selected EA. The EAs where either of these methods was used are indicated in Table A.2(c), under 'listing in field' or 'shack number' in the 'sampling method column. In two cases – 'African' EAs 17101918 and 17103833 – we were unable to locate the EA using the information provided by Statistics South Africa.[8]

Gated neighbourhoods posed a more intractable problem. Most new high-income housing developments in Cape Town – as elsewhere in South Africa – are now in gated neighbourhoods, where you cannot gain access to individual houses or flats

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photograph was of no value in selecting households.

[7] Field visits were done by Jeremy Seekings with help from Brendan Maughan-Brown, Ariane de Lannoy, Lori Hill and Sian Butcher.

[8] Field visits in African EAs were done by Jeremy Seekings and Thobani Ncapai.

without first gaining access through a security gate. In these areas it is sometimes impossible to even get a list of flats or houses; in others, such information was not readily available and, despite requests, we were unable to secure such information from the management of the complex concerned. Four of our EAs were, in whole or in part, impossible to access because of such security measures. In two cases the management allowed us to send letters to residents requesting interviews, but we only received one positive response. This has important implications for our sample in 'white' areas. It is not the only major problem with this sample, as we shall see below.

In all, we were able to do no or a negligible number of interviews in seven out of our seventy EAs. Three of these were gated neighbourhoods and two were African EAs that we were unable to locate. One more was an African EA – in Wallacedene – which our fieldworkers were unable to access because of local violence involving taxi-drivers. The last was an African EA where our listing identified residential units – in a former hostel in Nyanga – but our fieldworkers ascertained that there were multiple households in each 'unit'. Due to time constraints, we were unable to relist this EA and no interviews were conducted therein.

2.3. Selecting individual respondents

The next stage of sampling was conducted by the fieldworkers, on the ground. Fieldworkers were given instructions on which households to include in the sample. Within these selected households, they had to apply the "next birthday rule" in selecting an individual respondent within the household. Once inside the household, interviewers listed the names and birthdays of all household members over the age of eighteen. The individual who had the next birthday was selected for interviewing. In cases where this person was not at home, interviewers were instructed to revisit the household so as to conduct the interview with the sampled respondent. Interviewers were not permitted to replace the selected individual with anyone else in the household. For the purposes of CAS 2005, a household was defined as a group of people who 'eat from the same pot' daily; only permanent residents of the household were included, thereby excluding visitors, domestic workers and household members who live elsewhere for the purposes of work or study.

In some selected households, fieldworkers were unable to make contact with anyone, or the contacted person(s) refused to provide the information required to

select a household member. This was especially common in 'white' EAs. In a small number of cases, fieldworkers were given the information needed to apply the 'next birthday rule', but then the selected individual respondent refused to be interviewed (or was unavailable or could not be contacted). We over-sampled in each EA to take into account expected no-contact or refusal rates (using previous experience with surveys in Cape Town). Table 6 summarises the sample that we drew as well as the sample we expected to end up with. Table 7 summarises the available actual contact and refusal information for our initial samples. Full information, by EA, is appended as Table A.2 in the Appendix.

In African areas, we gave our fieldworkers a target of twenty households per EA but in about half of them we listed twenty-five or so households. In most cases, our fieldworkers did not need to visit many more than twenty before meeting the target. In all of the African EAs, only a handful of refusals or not-at-homes were recorded. Unfortunately, our fieldworkers did not keep good records of vacant selected households or refusals in those EAs where we employed the shack number system of selection (and we have no data on how many shacks in these EAs have numbers ending with -0 or -5). It is therefore impossible to identify precisely the response rate in these African EAs. Our best estimates of the response rate range from a low of 72 percent to a high of 80 percent (if we include the four 'African' EAs where we got no interviews) or 87-96 percent (if we exclude the four EAs). It is clear, however, that our contact rates in African areas were high, as expected.

Table 6: Anticipated sample and response rates

Type of area	*Number of EAs*	*Number of attempted interviews per EA*	*Expected response rate*	*Expected number of completed interviews, by population group / race*			
				African	*Coloured*	*White*	*Total*
'African'	26	20	77%	382	13	4	400
'Coloured'	20	30	80%	8	470	1	480
'White'	24	30	46%	8	28	280	320
Total	70	-	66%	398	511	285	1200

In coloured areas, also, our contact rates were more or less as expected. Interviewers failed to find anyone at home in about 3 percent of selected households, despite multiple visits. One in six selected households refused to be interviewed (mostly cases of the interviewer failing to get in the door, but in a few

cases the interviewer collected the information needed to apply the 'next birthday' rule but the selected individual refused to be interviewed). In 475 cases, the selected individual was interviewed, and in a further five cases a substitute individual in the household was interviewed (see further below), giving a total of 480 completed interviews and a response rate of 80 percent. This satisfactory response rate reflects on the considerable efforts of Citizen Surveys personnel, in preparing the way for fieldworkers through prior contact and in repeated revisits where necessary.

Table 7: Actual contact and response rates

Type of area	*1. Selected house-holds in all EAs*	*2. House-holds in inaccess-ible EAs*	*3. Selected individuals interviewed*	*3/1. Strict response rate (%)*	*3/(1-2). Less strict response rate (%)*	*4. Supple-mentary inter-views*	*5. Total interviews [=3+4]*
'African'	c.580*	c.90*	418	72-80	87-96	2	420
'Coloured'	600	0	475	79	79	5	480
'White'	720	110	205	28	34	100	305
Total	1920	200	1098	60+	64+	105	1205

* These figures are approximate (see text).

In white areas, however, non-contact and refusal rates were much higher than expected. Fieldwork in these areas proved very difficult. As already discussed, we failed to get access to all or large parts of four EAs. Even where we did get access to individual residential units, Citizen Surveys fieldworkers often failed to find anyone at home or met considerable reluctance to be interviewed. The combination of non-access to gated neighbourhoods and very low response rates in some areas meant that our sample in 'white' areas was only 28 percent, way below what we expected. Further research revealed that these problems have become standard in surveys in South Africa, whether university-based social research or commercial market research. We suspect that it is impossible to conduct a survey among a truly representative sample of white South Africans or of the population of 'white' areas.

Eventually, we allowed fieldworkers to secure the desired number of interviews in 'white' EAs by selecting a pure convenience sample, interviewing any member of any household in the designated EAs. Our entire 'white' sample should therefore be treated with considerable caution – as should all samples in 'white' areas in

South Africa. In addition to the 205 interviews with selected individuals, twenty interviews were conducted with substitute household members and another eighty with non-selected households in the same EAs. Careful attention needs to be paid to the differences between the core 205 interviews with selected individuals and these 100 substitute interviews (and the five substitute interviews in coloured EAs).

Overall, as reported in Table 7, our response rate was at least 60 percent (if we include the EAs to which we failed to get full access) or 64 percent (if we exclude those EAs). The addition of supplementary interviews allows for a larger sample – especially in 'white' EAs – but should not be understood as raising the response rate.

We are alert to the possibility that fieldworkers interviewed at the wrong addresses – either through accident (misreading a map) or intent (going to an occupied house in preference to an unoccupied one). Fieldworkers might also try to fiddle the 'next birthday' rule, filling in an imminent date for whichever person in the household seemed most easily interviewed. We sought to control this through back-checks. Citizen Surveys conducted back-checks on 82 percent of their interviews, and we conducted back-checks on 40 percent of the interviews conducted by our 'A-Team' of in-house fieldworkers. Our in-house back-checks revealed several cases of mis-selection of respondents. Some interviews had to be discarded and others redone. It is, however, possible that interviews with some mis-selected respondents slipped through these procedures.

One way of interrogating the selection of our actual sample of completed interviews is to compare the characteristics of our interviewees with the characteristics of the population of Cape Town as a whole. Table 8 compares the realised sample with the broader population by race, gender, age, education, and employment status. (Table A.11 provides a more detailed breakdown of the realised sample by the racial category of EA).

Our realised sample entailed a small over-representation of African people and under-representation of coloured people. The under-sampling of coloured people is exaggerated in Table 8, because 'coloured' people (i.e. people who would be classified as coloured in the census) are disproportionately likely to classify themselves as 'other' or to refuse to classify themselves in our survey. (Indeed, disputed or ambiguous racial classification is one of the topics our survey was designed to study).

Table 8: Characteristics of CAS 2005 realised sample compared to total population of Cape Town

		CAS 2005 realised sample %	*Cape Town 2001 Aged 18+ %*
Age	18-34	42	49
	35-64	36	44
	65+	22	7
Gender	Male	38	47
	Female	62	53
Race	African	34	31
	Coloured	40	46
	White	21	22
	Indian/other/ Refused/ don't know	6	2
Education	Less than matric	59	63
	Matric	17	25
	Post-matric	24	12
Employment status	Working	47	50
	Unemployed	22	23*
	Not in labour force	31	27*

Note: The Population Census provides data for age categories, including a category 15-19; data for 18+ has been calculated using 50% of the 15-19 category, with an inflated share to adjust for population growth at the younger end over time. 'Race' data for the CAS realised sample uses responses to question F.5. * Using broad definition of unemployment.

Source (col.2): Calculated from 2001 Population Census.

More strikingly, our realised sample has lop-sided gender and age profiles. Whereas 53 percent of the overall adult population of Cape Town are female, 62 percent of our sample are female. In previous surveys we have found that women are much more likely to be interviewed than men, in surveys where homes are sampled, both because they are more readily available at home and because they are less likely to refuse. The use of the birthday rule is intended to ensure that men as well as women are interviewed. It is implausible that we selected households with such a skewed gender profile, so we must conclude that either the initial respondents (who provided the information for the household roster used to apply the birthday rule) failed to provide full information on male household members, or the interviewers 'cooked the books' by excluding male household members who would be hard to interview. It is our impression that this kind of problem is widespread in South African survey research, and there is a clear need for further and careful analysis. Similarly, our profile is disproportionately

elderly. Whereas just 7 percent of the total adult population is aged 65 or more, 22 percent of our sample is in that age category. We over-sampled the more highly educated adults, but got a broadly representative sample in terms of crude employment status.

Overall, our sample seems to comprise too many people of the kinds more readily found at home by interviewers – i.e. women and older people – but did not neglect working people and was not substantially out-of-line in terms of race. Weights can be used to adjust for gender, age and race.

2.4 Fieldwork

Fieldwork for CAS was divided between the CSSR's in-house fieldwork team and Citizen Surveys[9], a market research company based in Cape Town. Interviews in 'African' EAs were conducted by the CSSR's fieldworkers[10]. Interviews in 'coloured' and 'white' areas were conducted by Citizen Surveys. This meant that almost all interviews with Xhosa-speaking respondents were conducted by Xhosa-speaking fieldworkers, whilst English- and Afrikaans-speaking respondents, mostly white and coloured, were interviewed by English- and Afrikaans-speaking fieldworkers, mostly coloured. It was not possible to employ sufficient white fieldworkers to complete the interviews with white respondents. No attempt was made to match fieldworkers and respondents in terms of gender (although most fieldworkers and most respondents were women). The data-set includes some information on the interviewers, allowing for analysis of possible interviewer effects. In South Africa it has always been assumed that there are racial interviewer effects, but to the best of our knowledge this has rarely been examined. Interviews were conducted between April and June 2005.

Fieldworkers were trained in the relevant protocol of interviewing such as correct manners, dress code, proper introductions and the importance of confidentiality. Training comprised workshops and practical exercises on the aims of the survey, interviewing techniques, administering the questionnaire and coping with scenarios that arise during interviews. Special emphasis was placed on

[9] See www.citizensurveys.com.

[10] The CSSR's fieldwork team (the 'A-Team') comprised Bulelwa Nokwe, Thobani Ncapai, Zodwa Somlayi, Noloyiso Balintulo, Victoria Ndyaluvana, Cordelia Ndzamela, Nomonde Khundayi, Ncedeka Mbune, Mzameli Yako, Babalwa Cekiso, Thozama Ndevu, Nomawethu Ngalimani. Fieldwork was managed by Tracy Jooste. Viki Elliott and Sian Butcher assisted with the management of data capture and personnel administration.

interviewers being as neutral and self-aware as possible, so as not to lead and influence the respondents' answers. Interviewers were instructed to adhere strictly to the order, wording and framing of the questions. Interviewers were also advised to record observations regarding the respondents' behaviour and attitude during the interview. Interviews were conducted during the week as well as on weekends, and at various times of the day. As a token of our gratitude, each respondent in CAS 2005 was given a baseball cap with an embroidered 'UCT' logo.

Interviews were only conducted after the prospective interviewee had signed a consent form. The consent form sets out the interviewee's rights and gives contact details in case the interviewee had any complaint (or suggestion). The consent form (as well as the questionnaire) were approved by the relevant independent ethical review process at the University of Cape Town. In addition, the interviewee is provided with an information sheet about the CAS project. We plan to provide interviewees with some feedback on the project at a later stage.

An intensive quality control operation was implemented within both the CSSR and Citizen Surveys. Systematic back-checks were conducted by both the CSSR and Citizen Surveys, and a small number of interviews were discarded. Where necessary fieldworkers were retrained to work through problems and queries picked up during interviewing.[11]

2.5. Data and weights

The data-set is available publicly in STATA 8 in the Data First Resource Centre in the CSSR at UCT. The data-set is cleaned of identifying information (contact information, EA, name of employer, etc). The only restriction on access is that users sign an access protocol that involves standard undertakings: the user must cite the data-set as requested, must respect the confidentiality and anonymity of respondents, must deposit copies of papers, dissertations and publications in the Data First Resource Centre, and should advise the CAS team of any problems encountered with the data and (especially) suggestions for cleaning (including appropriate do files). When possible, the data-set will be made available online through Data First's nestar-based internet facility.

[11] The quality control team from the CSSR was led by Mirah Langer, and included also Lindiwe Bardill, Andrew Faull, Anita Berk, Mary Hartley, Amy Kahn, Nicci Dennis, Chantal Adamstein and Ariane de Lannoy.

Two sets of weights are provided with the data-set. The first set is based on response rates by EA, and assumes that non-respondents in any EA have similar characteristics and attitudes as respondents in that EA. The second set of weights uses aggregate social and demographic variables (age, race and gender). These weights assume that white women, for example, who should have been interviewed but were not, have similar characteristics and attitudes as white women who were interviewed.

As with any data-set of this kind, the data is of uneven quality, and recognising flaws in the data-set is essential if the data is to be analysed appropriately. The quality of the data will be the subject of ongoing examination. Users are asked to let the CAS team know of any findings relevant to the quality of the data-set, including possible fieldworker effects.

3. The questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed by a team led by Jeremy Seekings and comprising Tracy Jooste, Mirah Langer, Anita Berk and Brendan Maughan-Brown. Many questions were formulated or adapted in consultation with the team from Belo Horizonte, especially Solange Simoes and Neuma Aguiar.

The questionnaire includes seven major modules (B to H) as well as an introductory section (A). Module A comprises basic questions about the fieldwork, the respondent's house and the neighbourhood. Module B focuses on social attitudes, and includes primarily questions about the social structure and inequality in South Africa. Module D concerns participation in civil society organisations, as well as relationships with neighbours and relatives. The short module E probes attitudes towards education. Module F explores race and culture, including both the respondents' own identities and their perceptions of and relationships with people of different races or cultures. Module G collected data about the household – its composition and income – as well as the labour market status of the respondent. Module H collected some data on the health of every household member. The final module – module C – examine political attitudes and participation, focusing on engagement with the municipality. Initially, interviews took between 90 and 120 minutes to complete, but with practice fieldworkers were completing interviews in between 50 and 90 minutes, depending primarily on the size of the household.

3.1. Vignettes

One of the features of the CAS 2005 questionnaire was the inclusion of a series of 'vignette'-based questions. Respondents are presented with a vignette describing a situation, followed by a question or series of questions related to the situation. What distinguishes the technique is that the description of the situation can be varied, allowing analysis of the effects of variation on responses. The difficulty in using vignettes is that questionnaires will differ. The use of vignettes is thus well-suited to computer-assisted interviewing. When using pen-and-paper interviewing, pages with varying vignettes need to be slotted into the rest of the standard pre-printed questionnaire.

One prominent use of vignettes to probe racial attitudes is a study by Sniderman and Piazza (1993) of the nuances of American attitudes to race. Sniderman and Piazza (1993) used vignettes in part because they wanted to test the hypothesis that 'modern' forms of racism disguise racism behind other, more innocuous, attitudes. Conservatives might discriminate against black people not because they are explicitly racist, but because (they say) black people do not adhere to the mainstream American values that conservatives hold sacrosanct. Sniderman and Piazza used a 'laid-off worker' experiment in which respondents were presented with a scenario in which a person (or subject) is retrenched, and is then invited to suggest how much (if any) financial assistance that person should receive from the government whilst looking for work. The scenario varies insofar as the subject (or retrenched person) is given different characteristics: white or black, male or female, younger or older, single or married, with or without children, and 'dependable' or 'not dependable'. Sniderman and Piazza found that white, conservative Americans are less supportive of government assistance in general than white, liberal Americans, but they are – counter-intuitively – more favourably inclined to supporting black claimants (i.e. retrenched workers, in the vignette) than white claimants. Even faced with an unmarried woman with children – i.e. a claimant who violates conservative family norms – white conservative respondents are more likely to support assistance if the claimant is black than if she is white. If the claimant is described as a dependable worker in the vignette, then conservatives are especially inclined to discriminate in favour of a black person! Sniderman and Piazza continue to show that these counter-intuitive findings co-exist with less surprising findings when white Americans are asked about the justice of claims made by black people as a group.

Experimental vignettes have been used in South Africa by Gibson and Gouws in their studies of tolerance (Gibson and Gouws, 2003) and reconciliation (Gibson,

2004). In CAS 2003 we employed a variant of Sniderman and Piazza's 'laid-off worker' experiment to probe the effects of race on distributive justice (see Seekings, 2005b, 2005c). Part of the attraction of vignettes in the South African setting is to disguise the effects of race: by including a range of characteristics, the respondent's attention is being diverted in part at least from the racial characteristic. The results of the 'laid-off worker' experiment in CAS 2003 suggested that the race of the respondent and the race of the subject were of little support in whether a respondent considered a subject deserving, but there were clear (and counter-intuitive) race effects on the amount that the respondent said that the subject should receive per month from the government. White respondents were more generous, perhaps because they had a more inflated view of what constituted a 'minimum' income; more curiously, black and coloured respondents as well as white respondents suggested that larger grants be made to white than to African or coloured subjects!

In CAS 2005, we used vignettes more ambitiously to examine a set of topics:

- distributive justice and perceived desert (questions b.28-35);
- HIV/AIDS stigma (questions b.36-41);
- attitudes to foreigners (f.41-2);
- the application of policies of affirmative action in employment (f.43-4);
- culpability for crime (f.45-46);
- racial stereotyping (f.47-50).

With the exception of the vignettes on HIV/AIDS stigma, each of these vignettes sought to identify the effects that race has on respondents' answers. The effects of race could include the effects of both the 'race' of the respondent and the 'race' of the subject in the vignette. But it was not assumed that race would determine responses. The vignettes sought to isolate the effects of race from the effects of other characteristics and factors.

3.1.1 Distributive justice vignettes

The first vignettes in CAS 2005 built on the vignette used in CAS 2003, exploring how respondents assessed the desert of subjects in need. Whereas CAS 2003 focused on a retrenched worker scenario, respondents in CAS 2005 were presented with a wider range of circumstances in which a subject might be considered deserving of financial assistance. Respondents were first told that 'The government provides grants to some people in need, for example old-age pensions to elderly people. I am going to describe a situation, and then ask you

what the government should do to help the person involved.' Specific subjects were then described. The subjects varied between interviews. Firstly, the general circumstances of the subject varied. Some subjects were described as retrenched workers, others as people who were sick; some were disabled and others abandoned by husbands; and so on. Other characteristics of the subject were also varied: race, gender, age and family status (single, with or without dependents, or married). In some cases, the subjects were said to be in some way responsible for their situation (for example, a worker might have been retrenched because he or she was always late for work). A total of about 200 different subjects were described. A summary of the manipulations is provided in Table A.3 in the Appendix.

Each respondent was presented with two such vignettes. In each case the respondent was asked whether the government should provide a monthly grant or financial assistance to the subject, and if so, how much? After the second vignette, respondents were presented with further information to see if they could be persuaded to change their minds (as was done in CAS 2003).

3.1.2 HIV/AIDS stigma vignettes

The second vignette in CAS 2005 probed stigma around HIV/AIDS. It is often said that a pandemic of stigma is part of the general HIV/AIDS pandemic in Southern Africa. CAS 2005 provided an opportunity to explore some aspects of this supposed stigma. Respondents were presented with a vignette setting out a social situation, and asked how they would respond to a subject who was variously described as HIV positive or sick with AIDS.

The vignette was designed with four objectives in mind. Firstly, it sought to assess the prevalence of stigma by distinguishing between perceived stigma, symbolic stigma, instrumental stigma, resource-based stigma and expressed stigma. Secondly, it sought to see if the gender of the subject affects the actual stigma experienced, i.e. if there are gender differences in experiences of stigma. Thirdly, it also sought to explore the relationship between stigma and the stage of the HIV/AIDS infection. Alonzo and Reynolds (1995) hypothesised that as an individual's condition deteriorated from HIV positive to the onset of AIDS, which typically involves more visible physical manifestations, that he/she will experience increased stigma. Fourthly, it sought to explore the relationship between stigma and the attribution of blame. It is hypothesised that lower levels of stigma will be expressed when subjects are explicitly described as innocent victims. Is the attribution of blame a possible source of stigma?

The basic scenario was as follows: 'You are visiting a cousin (or another relative) for a braai [barbacue]. You are talking with your cousin when he says to you, "that person there who just walked in, [*name*], he is [*HIV-positive* or *sick with AIDS*]". The subject was variously male or female. We sought to ensure that subjects were named in ways that allowed (but did not require) respondents to view the subject as belonging to the same racial group as themselves. We tried to use appropriate names according to the EA. Female subjects were named Cheryl (in coloured and white EAs) or Joyce (in African EAs). Male subjects were named either Trevor (for respondents in 'coloured' or 'white' EAs) or Lennox (in 'African' EAs). Finally, the subject was sometimes explicitly described as *not* being responsible for their HIV-status. Some subjects were said to have been 'hit by a car whilst walking across the road; in hospital he was given a contaminated blood transfusion, and became infected with HIV; now he is HIV-positive'. Having described the situation, a standard battery of questions was posed. The manipulations are set out in Table A.4 in the Appendix.

3.1.3 Racial attitudes vignettes

The remaining vignettes all focused directly on aspects of race. The first examined how race might affect acceptance of immigrants. Respondents were presented with the following introduction: 'Some people from other countries come to South Africa. Do you think that the following person is likely to make a positive contribution to society?' Then a subject was described. The subject was variously black and white, from Britain or Nigeria, with a variety of occupations, and had been in South Africa for varying lengths of time. The variants are set out in the first part of Table A.6 in the Appendix.

The next vignette explored attitudes to affirmative action policies in employment. Affirmative action in employment is one of the major mechanisms by which the post-apartheid state has sought to accelerate improved opportunities for black people. The Employment Equity Act requires employers to report on the racial composition of their personnel, and to have plans for transforming these so that they reflect more closely the racial demographics of the country. The basic vignette was as follows:

> Two young men apply for the same job at a bank. They both graduated from the University of Cape Town with the [*qualifications and marks*]. One of the men is [*race*] and the other is [*race*]. At the interview the men are told that the job is an affirmative action position. The [*race*]

man gets the job. Do you approve of this outcome?

Variation is introduced into this vignette by changing the relative qualifications and marks of the two candidates, changing their racial categorisation, and changing the outcome (i.e. who gets the job). Six different variations were used in the survey. The manipulations are set out in Table A.6 in the Appendix. Respondents were asked whether they approved of the outcome in their particular vignette.

This was followed by a vignette probing victimhood and culpability for theft. Respondents were again asked whether they approved of the outcome in their particular vignette. The structure of the vignette was as follows:

> An [*employment status / race*] man is caught stealing a loaf of bread from a shop. In court, he says that he had to steal the bread because [*reason*]. The court believes him and treats him leniently.

The reason given in the vignette was either 'because he cannot get a job and his family is hungry' or 'because apartheid had denied him chances in life'. The manipulations are set out in Table A.9.

Finally, respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with two statements about people. In each statement, the race of the people concerned was specified. The first statement was '[*race*] people cannot be trusted' and the second was '[*race*] people are more likely to commit crimes than [*race*] people'. The manipulations are set out in Table A.6.

4. Some preliminary findings

The data cover a wide range of topics, and there are many questions relating to each topic. In this section we report some preliminary findings on selected topics and questions, in order to provide some flavour of the possible uses of the data. It must be emphasised that the analysis is very preliminary.

4.1. Race and identity

CAS 2005 is the first major quantitative study of racial identity, perceptions and experiences in a South African city. It was designed to facilitate comparison with similar studies in Brazil and the USA, and the most interesting analyses will surely be informed by these comparisons. Even a preliminary inspection of the data indicates the value of the data-set.

The survey collected data on four different dimensions of racial identity: how the respondents identified themselves, how other people saw them, how they were classified under apartheid, and how the interviewer classified them. There was, in general, a high level of consistency between these dimensions. Table 9 compares respondents' apartheid classification with their own self-identification. (If the respondent was too young to have been classified under apartheid, then fieldworkers asked 'how *would* you have been classified …?'). Table 10 compares respondents' self-identification with how (they say) other people see them. The first shows that 97 percent of respondents classified as African or black under apartheid consider themselves either 'African' or 'black', and the second shows that 90 percent of respondents who consider themselves 'African' (and a higher percentage of those who consider themselves 'black') are regarded by other people as African or black (or both, given that this question allowed multiple responses, for example 'African' and 'black').

Table 9: Comparison of apartheid classification with self-classification

		Apartheid classification					
		African %	*Coloured %*	*White %*	*Other %*	*Refuse %*	*Don't know %*
Self-classification	African	54	4	2	26	0	31
	Coloured	2	82	2	31	10	54
	White	0	0	84	3	20	0
	Black	43	1	0	17	0	8
	Other	1	10	8	23	10	8
	Refuse	0	2	3	0	60	0
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Total n	406	478	252	35	10	13

Comfortingly, the tables record almost no cases of complete disjunctures. Thus no one said they were classified as white under apartheid but consider themselves black (and only one percent of respondents who considered themselves as black were seen by other people as white – and such low percentages might well reflect errors by fieldworkers, etc). But there is a small minority of people who do differ between the dimensions. For example, one in ten respondents classified as 'coloured' under apartheid do not see themselves as white, black, African or coloured. And there are clearly a number of people who see themselves as African but were not classified as African/black under apartheid and who are not seen by other people as African/black.

Table 10: Comparison of self-classification with classification by other people

		Self-classification					
		African %	*Coloured %*	*White %*	*Black %*	*Other %*	*Refused %*
How others classify me	African	30	2	1	10	0	0
	Black	39	2	0	80	1	0
	Coloured	7	88	5	2	54	39
	White	3	4	90	1	14	9
	African and black	21	0	0	7	0	0
	Other responses or combinations	0	3	2	0	18	4
	Don't know	0	1	0	1	13	22
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Total n	258	426	216	190	78	23

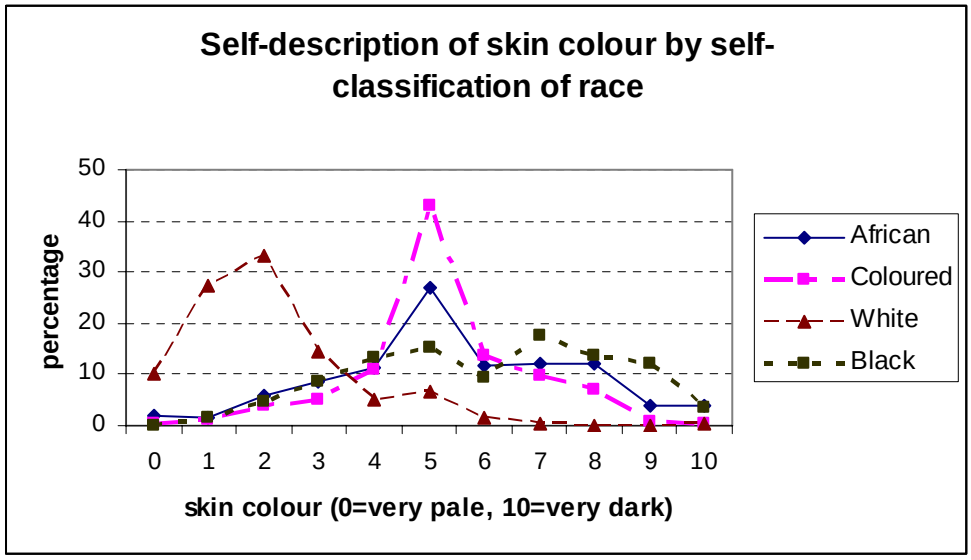
Note: Respondents could give more than one response, hence combinations such as "African" and "black".

When asked for the reasons for their self-classification, African or black people pointed to culture whilst white people emphasised either heritage or physical appearance and coloured people emphasised either apartheid or heritage. When asked to identify their cultural group, two-thirds of African people said 'Xhosa' (with small proportions saying Mfengu, Christian, etc). Coloured people identified themselves as culturally 'coloured', South African or Christian, whilst white people identified themselves as South African, Christian or 'English-speaking'.

CAS 2005 also asked respondents to categorise their own skin colour on a scale from 0 (very pale) to 10 (very dark). Figure 3 shows the distribution of responses

according to self-classification.

Figure 3: Self-description of skin colour by self-classification of race



People who identify themselves as white tend to describe the colour of their skin as pale. More than two-thirds of self-classified white people chose a point between 0 and 2 on the scale. Self-identified coloured respondents opted for the middle of the scale, with almost half choosing 5. Self-identified African respondents described their skin colour as slightly darker than coloured respondents, and self-identified black respondents described their skin colour as slightly darker still. The median responses were 2 (white respondents), 5 (among both coloured and African respondents) and 6 (black respondents). As these medians demonstrate, the differences between coloured, African and black respondents were muted.

4.2. Inter-racial attitudes and contact

The survey probed extensively the range of respondents' contacts and attitudes across racial lines. Figure 4 summarises the proportions of respondents agreeing and disagreeing with the statements "I feel uncomfortable around people who are not [*same race as respondent*]" and "I cannot imagine ever being friends with people who are not [*same race as respondent*]". Very small proportions of respondents who are white and coloured and only a small proportion of African respondents agreed with either statement.

Figure 4: Discomfort and friendship across racial lines

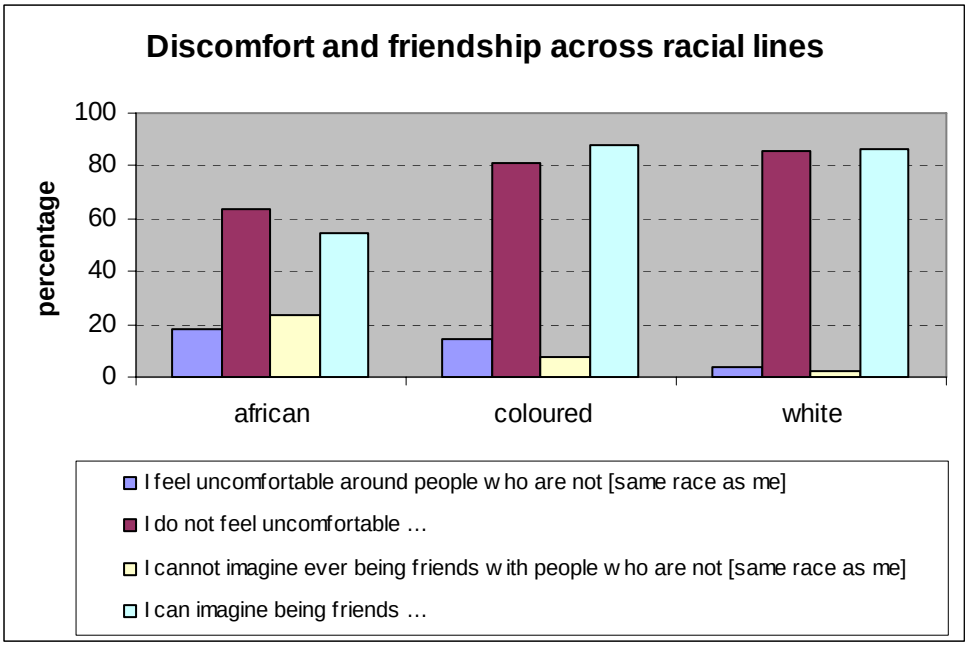
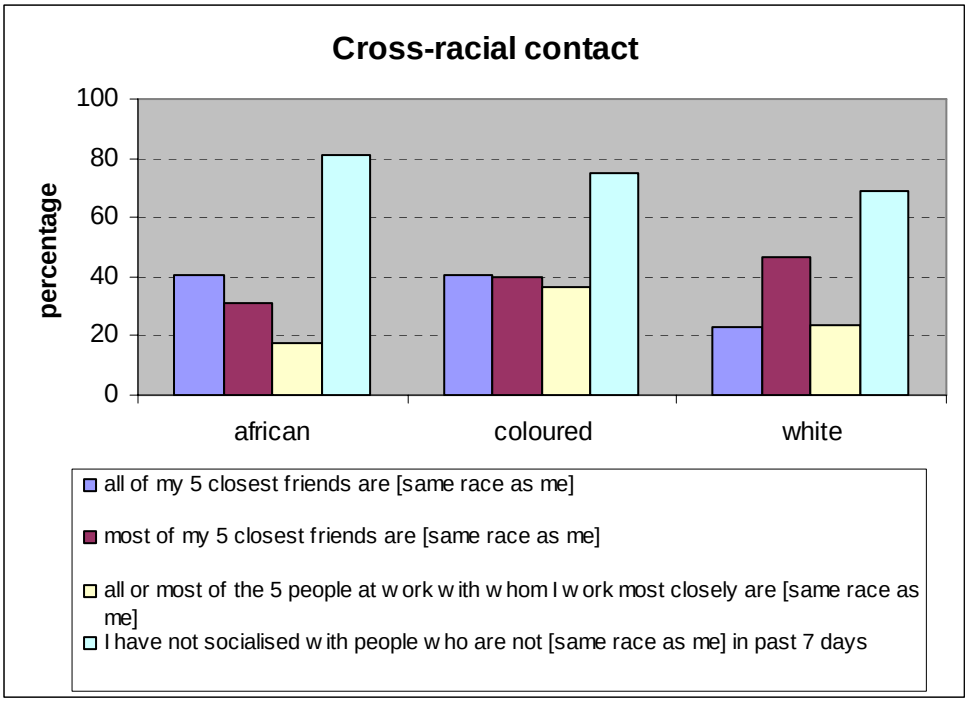


Figure 5 summarises responses on patterns of cross-racial contact. About two out of five African or coloured respondents said that all of their five closest friends were the members of the same racial group as them. Many fewer African people reported that the five people with whom they worked most closely were also African. (This question was only asked of people who were working).

These preliminary findings from CAS seem to indicate higher levels of cross-racial contact than in South Africa as a whole. This is probably in part due to the urban environment. But it is more likely a reflection of the particular demographics of Cape Town. With hindsight, CAS should have asked explicitly about interaction with people from specified racial groups, as it is likely that most white 'cross-racial' contact is with coloured people, not with African people.

If this is the case, it fits uneasily with the evidence from CAS on attitudes towards cross-racial marriage. All respondents were positive about marriages to members of their own racial group and relatively hostile to inter-racial marriage, but they did not discriminate significantly according to the precise inter-racial combination. Thus African respondents were more-or-less indifferent between kin marrying white and kin marrying coloured people, coloured respondents were more-or-less indifferent between white and African, and white respondents were more-or-less indifferent between coloured and African.

Figure 5: Cross-racial contact

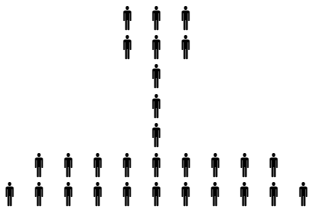
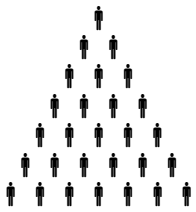
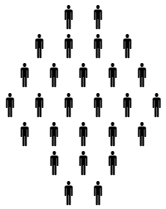
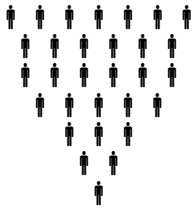


4.3. Perceptions of Inequality

Respondents were asked a series of questions probing their perception of the social structure, and in particular their attitudes towards rich and poor people. Respondents were asked to choose which of the pictures in Figure 6 best represented South Africa.

Type 2 (the pyramid) attracted the most support, being chosen by 38 percent of our respondents, but type 1 (the bipolar distribution) attracted almost as much support (30 percent). Type 3 (the onion) was selected by 19 percent of our respondents, with type 4 (the inverted pyramid) being selected by only 10 percent. The remaining 3 percent of respondents said that they did not know. We also asked respondents to place themselves, in terms of poverty or affluence relative to other people in South Africa, on a scale from 0 to 10. Most of our respondents placed themselves in the middle (in a shape not unlike type 3, but with a pointed top end and a flatter bottom end). There was only a weak relationship between self-placement on this scale and how respondents saw society. People who saw themselves as rich were less likely to choose the bipolar distribution.

Figure 6: Perceptions of inequality

Type 1 - A small elite at the top, a few people in the middle and a huge mass at the bottom. 	Type 2 - A society that is like a pyramid, with a small elite at the top, more people in the middle and a large majority at the bottom. 
Type 3 - A society with most people in the middle. 	Type 4 - Several people close to the top and only a few at the bottom. 

More than two-thirds of our respondents felt that there were more poor people in South Africa in 2005 than there had been ten years before. Most worryingly, over half felt that there would be more poor people in South Africa in 2010 than in 2005. At the same time, more than two-thirds of our respondents said that there were more rich people in South Africa in 2005 than there had been in 1995, and almost two-thirds said that there would be even more rich people in 2010. Our respondents clearly anticipated that South Africa would become an even more unequal society. The government is widely seen as contributing to this trend. About two-thirds of our sample felt that the government was not doing enough for poor people, but three-quarters felt that it was doing too much or enough for rich people.

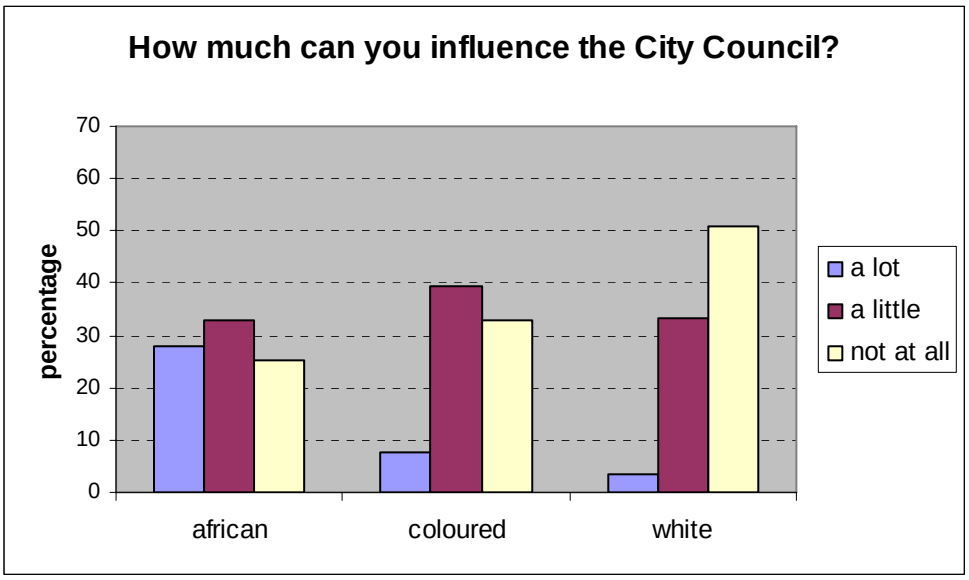
4.4. Political inequality

The survey sought to build on CAS 2003 in assessing inequalities in political life: in knowledge about or interest in politics, in grievances, in perceived self-efficacy (i.e. whether respondents feel that they can make a difference), and finally in

different forms of political participation. How are these things affected by both socio-economic inequality and cultural diversity?

Questions about political knowledge found some weak racial effects. Thus African people were disproportionately likely to identify correctly the (African) Mayor of Cape Town. We found high levels of agreement with the statement "Politics sometimes seems too complicated to understand", but there were no significant differences by race. African respondents had more confidence in their political influence than either coloured or (especially) African people (see Figure 7), indicating that it is more important for self-efficacy to have your party in government than to be rich but support the partisan opposition. Unsurprisingly, African respondents assessed the performance of the president (Mbeki), provincial premier (Rasool) and municipal mayor (Mfeketo) far more highly than either coloured or white respondents (see Figure 8): all three office-holders were members of the African National Congress, whose support is concentrated in Cape Town among African voters.

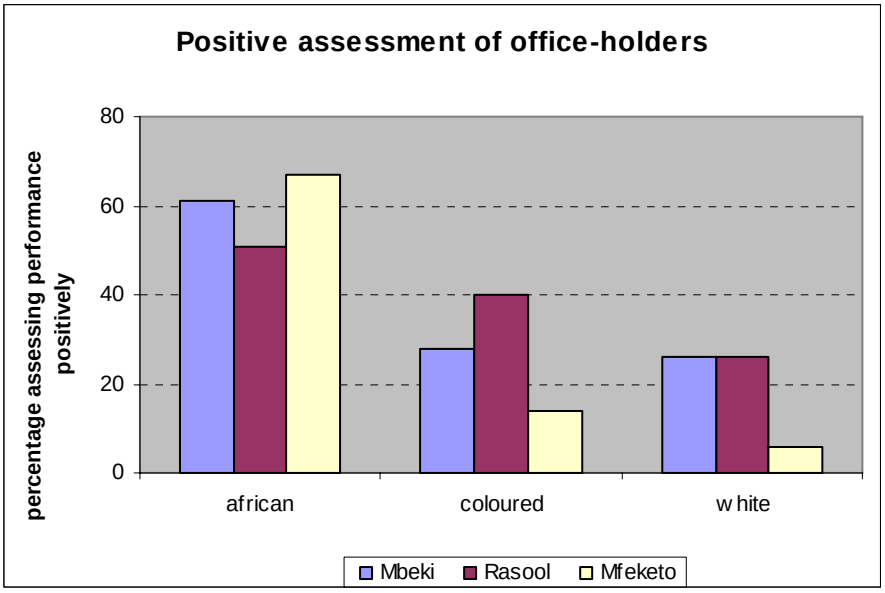
Figure 7: Influence over council



Cape Town is just about the only part of South Africa where there have been major changes in party politics since 1994, with the collapse of the National Party and the steady increase in support for the ANC. CAS 2005 provides an opportunity to assess what underlies these trends. By asking respondents about their choices in both 1994 and 2004 elections, we can separate out the effects of demographic change (with immigration swelling the ANC's vote) from the effects of partisan realignment (NP voters defecting to the ANC). The evidence suggests

that demographic effects dwarf partisan realignment. Of the respondents who said that they had voted for De Klerk and the National Party in 1994, only 7 percent said that they voted for the ANC in 2004. Conversely, only 2 percent of the ANC's 2004 voters said that they had voted for the NP ten years earlier. Apparent political realignment was the result of the ANC's predominance among new voters and the defection of many coloured voters from the NP into apathy.

Figure 8: Positive assessment of office-holders



4.5. Distributive justice

CAS 2005 sought to build on the vignettes used in CAS 2003 to probe a wide range of aspects of desert (as discussed above). One of the vignettes examined desert, through the prism of assessing whether people in a variety of different situations should be given financial support by the government, and if so, how much. The responses are summarised in Table 11 and Figure 9.

In CAS 2003 we found quite high levels of support for financial assistance to the unemployed. The 2005 data shows much higher levels of support for financial assistance to the sick and disabled, especially. Between 80 and 90 percent of respondents assessed that subjects who were "sick with AIDS and unable to work", or "disabled and unable to work", or just "disabled", should receive financial assistance from the government. More than 70 percent of respondents said the same for subjects who were "sick and unable to work", "sick with AIDS"

or just "sick". By comparison, only just over one half of our respondents supported financial assistance to subjects who "cannot find work" or who had been "retrenched because their employer closed". In assessing desert, incapacity due to health or disability seems be far more important than unemployment per se.

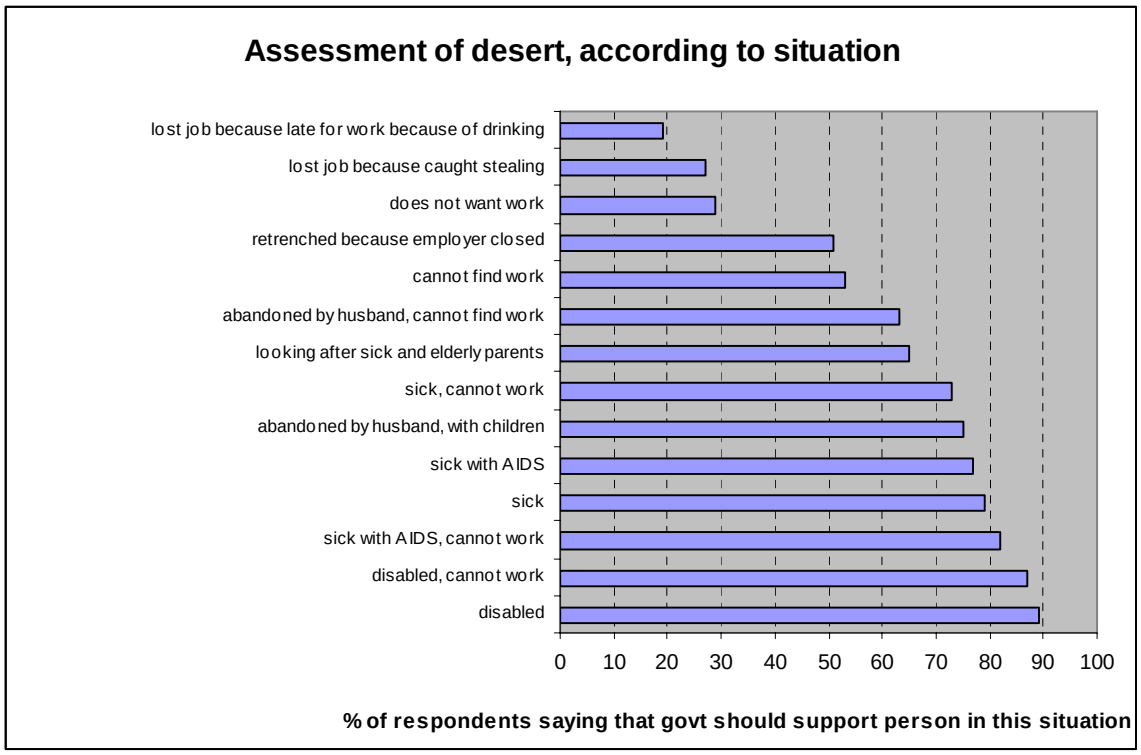
Table 11: Assessments of desert

Basis for desert *b29basis/B32basis*	*Seen as deserving %*	*Mean award* *R/month*	*n*
Retrenched because late for work because of drinking	19	126	103
Lost job because caught stealing	27	223	193
Does not want work	29	187	281
Retrenched because employer closed	51	456	219
Cannot find work	53	407	427
Husband left and cannot find work	63	450	131
Needs to look after sick and elderly parents	65	475	102
Sick, cannot work	73	665	100
Husband left and needs to look after children	75	595	128
Sick with AIDS	77	698	228
Sick	79	643	160
Sick with AIDS, cannot work	82	696	111
Disabled, cannot work	87	746	54
Disabled	89	879	157

Our respondents were least supportive of the subjects whose behaviour was questionable. Less than 20 percent supported financial assistance to subjects who had "lost their jobs because they were late for work because they had been drinking", and only slightly more supported assistance to subjects who "lost their job because they were caught stealing" or who "do not want work".

Subjects with dependants attracted support. About 75 percent supported assistance to women who had been abandoned by their husbands and had children to look after, and about two-thirds supported assistance to women who were looking after sick and elderly parents. Almost as many supported assistance to women who could not find work, having been abandoned by their husbands.

Figure 9: Assessment of desert, according to situation



As Table 11 shows, the largest mean awards were made to the more deserving subjects. The figures in Table 11 reflect awards of R0 per month if the respondent did not support any financial assistance to the subject. The mean award to the most deserving category of subject (subjects who were disabled) were seven times higher than the mean award to the least deserving category (drinkers who were late for work and lost their jobs). Further analysis will tease out how the other characteristics of the subjects and the respondents affected the assessment of desert and, if the subject was considered deserving, the size of the recommended award.

Appendix

Table A.1a: "Coloured" EAs

EA number	*Location*	*Population*	*Racial composition*				*Number of households*
			African (%)	*Coloured (%)*	*Indian (%)*	*White (%)*	
17100252	Seawinds, Simonstown	926	1	98	0	0	145
17100389	Grassy Park	758	1	98	1	0	188
17100541	Strandfontein	877	1	99	0	0	201
17100751	Hanover Park	1737	1	99	0	0	300
17100866	Hanover Park	1230	0	100	0	0	226
17101018	Woodlands	1453	2	97	0	0	257
17101183	Manenberg	1457	0	100	0	0	252
17101361	Manenberg	1079	0	99	0	1	184
17101509	Lentegeur	932	1	99	0	0	169
17101754	Lentegeur	859	2	98	0	0	159
17102191	Bonteheuwel	1624	1	99	0	0	287
17102556	Bishop Lavis	655	1	99	0	0	135
17102737	Elsiesrivier	814	2	95	1	2	175
17102871	Erica, Kuilsrivier	691	11	87	1	1	162
17103013	Belhar 13	888	4	96	0	0	147
17103151	Belhar 23	1063	4	95	0	0	200
17103310	Macassar	1021	0	99	0	0	186
17103440	Bellville South	1313	0	100	0	0	237
17104145	Eikendal, Kraaifontein	1036	1	99	0	0	201
17104409	Sherwood, Atlantis	876	7	92	1	0	146
Total		21289	2	98	0	0	3957

Source: Data from Population Census 2001, provided by Statistics South Africa.

Table A.1b: "White" EAs

EA number	*Location*	*Population*	*Racial composition*				*Number of households*
			African (%)	*Coloured (%)*	*Indian (%)*	*White (%)*	
17100097	Fish Hoek	359	1	0	0	99	141
17100189	Tokai	650	3	2	1	94	185
17100352	Diep River	555	1	11	1	88	191
17100481	Plumstead	280	3	18	1	79	175
17100660	Claremont	302	9	7	15	69	178
17100881	Rondebosch	438	3	6	2	89	119
17101192	Sea Point	167	8	9	2	81	76
17101783	Pinelands	442	3	12	1	85	121
17102727	Milnerton	397	5	7	0	88	130
17102942	Milnerton	103	0	0	6	94	27
17103133	Glenlily, Parow	697	1	20	4	76	202
17103279	Bothasig	731	1	10	0	89	185
17103408	Bothasig	416	1	5	0	94	107
17103500	Plattekloof 3, Parow	352	8	11	7	74	108
17103574	Bo-Oakdale, Bellville	296	3	13	0	84	89
17103630	Welgemoed	478	2	6	0	92	117
17103685	Protea Valley	396	1	2	2	95	113
17103785	Ridgeworth, Bellville	471	0	1	0	99	173
17103858	Kenridge	860	2	4	1	94	275
17103956	Brackenfell Heights	487	1	3	0	96	130
17104013	Vredekloof, Brackenfell	236	1	5	0	94	89
17104058	Durbanville	378	8	18	0	73	134
17104151	Kraaifontein	630	1	17	1	81	147
17104277	Kraaifontein	455	1	19	0	80	105
Total		10576	2	9	1	87	3317

Source: Data from Population Census 2001, provided by Statistics South Africa.

Table A.1c: "African" EAs

EA number	*Urban/ Informal*	*Location*	*Popu -lation*	*Racial composition*				*Number of house-holds*
				African (%)	*Coloured (%)*	*Indian (%)*	*White (%)*	
17100242	Informal	Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay	1150	97	3	0	0	244
17101303	Informal	Philippi	1040	94	6	0	0	258
17101680	Informal	Philippi	2542	99	1	0	0	776
17101876	Informal	Langa	473	100	0	0	0	135
17101997	Informal	Crossroads	719	100	0	0	0	139
17102141	Informal	Khay, Site C	482	100	0	0	0	95
17102334	Informal	Khay, T1-V4	729	100	0	0	0	148
17102489	Informal	Khay, T1-V3	857	100	0	0	0	188
17102577	Informal	Khay, T1-V3	588	99	1	0	0	145
17103833	Informal	Nomzano, Strand	1046	99	1	0	0	352
17104221	Informal	Wallacedene	821	86	14	0	0	177
17100899	Urban	Philippi	714	100	0	0	0	155
17101276	Urban	Mowbray	1069	60	15	2	23	417
17101570	Urban	Nyanga	1870	100	0	0	0	268
17101713	Urban	Nyanga	1118	99	1	0	0	296
17101824	Urban	Crossroads	1219	100	0	0	0	217
17101918	Urban	Philippi	628	100	0	0	0	175
17102030	Urban	Khay, Harare	1140	100	0	0	0	254
17102147	Urban	Khay, T1-V1	1033	100	0	0	0	192
17102231	Urban	Khay, T1-V4	992	100	0	0	0	197
17102324	Urban	Khay, T1-V2	663	100	0	0	0	123
17102408	Urban	Khay, Griffiths Mthenge	719	100	0	0	0	139
17102510	Urban	Khay, T1-V3	870	100	0	0	0	172
17102663	Urban	Delft South	864	67	33	0	0	186
17102812	Urban	Mfuleni	1540	97	3	0	0	342
17104194	Urban	Wallacedene	760	88	12	0	0	179
Total			25646	96	3	0	1	5969
Source: Data from Population Census 2001, provided by Statistics South Africa								

Table A.2a: Actual contact and response rates by EA: "Coloured" EAs

EA number	*Location*	*Sampling method*	*1. Selected house-holds*	*2. Refusal*	*3. No one at home*	*4. Completed interviews*	*4/1 Overall response rate (%)*	*5. Any household member interviewed*
17100252	Seawinds	Photo + listing	30	4	2	24	80	
17100389	Grassy Park	Photo	30	8	2	20	68	1
17100541	Strandfontein	Photo	30	9	0	21	70	
17100751	Hanover Pk	Photo + listing	30	9	1	20	68	1
17100866	Hanover Pk	Photo + listing	30	0	0	30	100	2
17101018	Woodlands	Photo + listing	30	4	2	24	80	
17101183	Manenberg	Photo + listing	30	3	0	27	90	
17101361	Manenberg	Photo + listing	30	2	3	25	83	1
17101509	Lentegeur	Photo + listing	30	7	0	23	77	
17101754	Lentegeur	Photo + listing	30	7	0	23	77	
17102191	Bonteheuwel	Photo	30	6	0	24	80	
17102556	Bishop Lavis	Photo	30	0	0	30	100	
17102737	Elsiesrivier	Photo	30	6	1	23	77	
17102871	Erica, Kuilsrivier	Photo	30	10	1	19	63	
17103013	Belhar 13	Photo	30	4	2	24	80	
17103151	Belhar 23	Photo	30	0	0	30	100	
17103310	Macassar	Photo	30	6	0	24	80	
17103440	Bellville South	Photo + listing	30	2	0	28	93	
17104145	Eikendal, Kraaifontein	Photo	30	14	0	16	53	
17104409	Sherwood, Atlantis	Photo	30	3	2	25	83	
Total			600	105	16	480	80	

Table A.2b: Actual contact and response rates by EA: "White" EAs

EA number	*Location*	*Access problems*	*Sampling method*	*1. Notion selected house-holds*	*2. No access*	*3. Never anyone at home*	*4. Refu-sal*	*5. Interview completed with selected respondent*	*6 Supplem-entary inter-views in hh*	*7 =2+3 +4+6 total*	*4/1 Response rate for selected respondents*	*8. Supple-mentary interviews: any hh*	*9 =4+6+7 Total completed interviews*
17100097	Fish Hoek		Pho + list	30		7	11	8	4	30		12	24
17100189	Tokai		Pho + list	30		0	11	17	2	30		0	19
17100352	Diep River		Pho + list	30		3	10	15	2	30		0	17
17100481	Plumstead		Pho + list	30	13	4	5	8	0	30		10	18
17100660	Claremont	Gated	By manager	30	29	0		1	0	30		0	1
17100881	Rondebosch		Pho	30		8	15	7	0	30		8	15
17101192	Sea Point	Gated	Pho + list	30		10	18	2	0	30		0	2
17101783	Pinelands		Pho	30		3	16	11	0	30		0	11
17102727	Milnerton		Pho + list	30	4	15	8	3	0	30		20	23
17102942	Milnerton Sunsetlinks	Gated	Listing	30	30			0	0	30		0	0
17103133	Glenlily, Parow		Pho	30		8	5	17	0	30		17	19
17103279	Bothasig		Photo	30		2	10	10	8	30		0	18
17103408	Bothasig		Photo	30		3	17	10	0	30		0	10
17103500	Plattekloof 3, Parow		Pho + list	30	6	10	5	8	1	30		6	15
17103574	Bo-Oakdale, Bellville		Pho	30		6	11	13	0	30		0	13
17103630	Welgemoed		Pho	30		7	18	5	0	30		0	5
17103685	Protea Valley	Gated	Listing	30	17	3	8	1	1	30		5	7
17103785	Ridgeworth, Bellville		Photo	30		3	9	18	0	30		0	18
17103858	Kenridge		Photo	30		10	6	14	0	30		0	14
17103956	Brackenfell Heights		Photo	30		14	7	9	0	30		0	9
17104013	Vredekloof, Brackenfell		Pho + list	30		0	16	14	0	30		0	14
17104058	Durbanville		Pho + list	30		15	10	4	1	30		2	7
17104151	Kraaifontein		Pho + list	30		4	11	15	0	30		0	15
17104277	Kraaifontein		Photo	30		12	7	10	1	30		0	11
TOTAL				720	99	147	234	220	20	720		80	305

Table A.2c: Actual contact and response rates by EA: "African" EAs

EA number	*Informal / Urban*	*Place Name*	*Sampling Method*	*Problem?*	*Total completed*
17100242	Informal	Imizamo Yethu	Listing in field	-	14
17101303	Informal	Philippi	Listing in field	Precisely right area?	20
17101680	Informal	Philippi	Listing in field	-	20
17101876	Informal	Langa	Photo + shack number	Precisely right area?	20
17101997	Informal	Crossroads	Shack number	Precisely right area?	20
17102141	Informal	Khayelitsha	Shack number	Precisely right area?	20
17102334	Informal	Khayelitsha	Shack number	Precisely right area?	20
17102489	Informal	Khayelitsha	Shack number	-	20
17102577	Informal	Khayelitsha	Photo	Precisely right area?	17
17104221	Informal	Wallacedene	Shack number	Precisely right area?	20
17103833	Informal	Nomzamo, Strand	Visit	STATSSA Map– unclear and unable to locate exact area	0
17101276	Urban	Mowbray *	Photo	-	15 *
17100899	Urban	Philippi	Photo	-	20
17101570	Urban	Nyanga	Photo	-	20
17101824	Urban	Crossroads	Photo + listing in field	-	17
17101918	Urban	Philippi	Photo	STATSSA Map– unclear and unable to locate exact area	0
17102030	Urban	Khayelitsha	Photo	-	20
17102147	Urban	Khayelitsha	Photo	-	20
17102231	Urban	Khayelitsha	Photo	-	19
17102324	Urban	Khayelitsha	Photo	-	19
17102408	Urban	Khayelitsha	Photo	-	20
17102510	Urban	Khayelitsha	Photo	-	19
17102663	Urban	Delft/Blue Downs	Photo	-	20
17102812	Urban	Mfuleni	Listing in field	-	20
17101713	Urban	Nyanga	Listing in field	Listing provided inadequate information for fieldworkers	0
17104194	Urban	Wallacedene	Shack number	Taxi violence prevented access	0
Total				**420**	

* Interviews in Mowbray were conducted by Citizen Surveys. Two of the completed interviews were substitute individuals in the selected household, when the selected individual was unable or unwilling to be interviewed.

Table A.3: Manipulations of desert vignette

Characteristic [variable name]			*B29 n*	*B32 n*	*Total n*
Basis for desert	2	Retrenched because late for work because of drinking	64	39	103
	3	Does not want work	111	170	281
B29basis/	4	Cannot find work	104	323	427
B32basis	5	Sick with AIDS	96	132	228
	6	Sick with AIDS, cannot work	49	62	111
	7	Sick	87	73	160
	8	Sick, cannot work	57	43	100
	9	Disabled	104	53	157
	10	Disabled, cannot work	30	24	54
	11	Retrenched because employer closed	136	83	219
	12	Husband left and cannot find work	98	33	131
	13	Husband left and needs to look after children	98	30	128
	14	Looks after sick and elderly parents	79	23	102
	15	Lost job because caught stealing	87	106	193
Gender	1	Male	404	514	918
B29gender	2	Female	796	680	1476
Race	1	African	436	329	765
	2	Coloured	368	401	769
B29race	4	White	394	464	858
Age	1	25	396	550	946
	2	55	425	462	887
B29age	3	Not specified	379	144	523
Family status	1	None: single, no children	454	510	964
	2	Family: married with children	358	462	820
B29famstatus	3	Singe parent: single, with children	128	144	272
	4	Unspecified	43	12	55
	5	Not married	93	33	127
	6	Married	41	11	52
	7	Abandoned, with children	83	22	105

Table A.4: Manipulations of HIV/AIDS stigma vignette

B41	*B41-gender*	*gender*	*B41-condition*	*Condition*	*B41-respons*	*Responsibility*	*n*
1 and 2	1	Male	1	HIV +	1	Not specified	170
3 and 4	2	Female	1	HIV+	1	Not specified	227
5 and 6	1	Male	1	HIV+	2	Infected via blood transfusion	191
7 and 8	2	Female	1	HIV+	2	Infected via blood transfusion	192
9 and 10	1	Male	2	Sick with AIDS	1	Not specified	176
11 and 12	2	Female	2	Sick with AIDS	1	Not specified	245

Table A.5: Summary of characteristics in HIV/AIDS stigma vignette

Variable	*Characteristic*	*N*
Gender	Male	537
	Female	664
HIV/AIDS status	HIV +	780
	AIDS sick	421
Responsibility	Not specified	818
	Infected via blood transfusion	383
total		1201

Table A.6: Variants in race vignettes

Question	*Variable*	*Version*	*Variant*	*N*
F41	F42	1	A black person, originally from Nigeria, who sells fruit here in Cape Town and has lived here for 20 years.	308
		2	A black professor, originally from Nigeria, who has lived and worked here in Cape Town for 20 years.	325
		3	A white person, originally from Britain, who works as a carpenter here in Cape Town and has lived here for 20 years	310
		4	A white professor, originally from Britain, who has lived and worked here in Cape Town for 20 years.	256
		Total		1199
F47	F48	1	African (black) people cannot be trusted	396
		2	Coloured people cannot be trusted	476
		3	White people cannot be trusted	328
		Total		1200
F49	F50	1	African (black) people are more likely to commit crimes than coloured people	227
		2	African (black) people are more likely to commit crimes than white people	171
		3	Coloured people are more likely to commit crimes than African (black) people	189
		4	Coloured people are more likely to commit crimes than white people	127
		5	White people are more likely to commit crimes than African (black) people	235
		6	White people are more likely to commit crimes than coloured people	251
		total		1200

Table A.7: Manipulations of affirmative action vignette

F44	*F44race*	*Race of applicants*	*F44-qual*	*Qualif-ications*	*F44-outcome*	*Outcome: who gets the job*	*n*
1	1	African + white	1	same	1	African man	163
2	2	Coloured + white	1	same	2	Coloured man	178
3	3	African + coloured	1	Same	1	African man	183
4	1	African + white	2	Different	1	African man	282
5	2	Coloured + white	2	Different	2	Coloured man	192
6	3	African + coloured	2	different	1	African man	202

Table A.8: Summary of characteristics in affirmative action vignette

variable	*characteristic*	*N*
Race	African and coloured	445
	Coloured and white	370
F44race	African and coloured	385
Qualifications	Same	524
F44qual	Different	676
Outcome	African man got job	830
F44outcome	Coloured man got job	370
total		1200

Table A.9: Manipulations of victimhood vignette

F46	*Race of thief*	*F46race*	*Defence*	*F46defence*	*N*
1	African	1	unemployed	1	182
2	Coloured	2	Unemployed	1	276
3	White	4	Unemployed	1	266
4	African	1	Apartheid	2	217
5	Coloured	2	apartheid	2	259

Table A.10: Summary of characteristics in victimhood vignette

variable	*characteristic*	*n*
Race	African	399
	Coloured	535
F46race	white	266
Defence	Unemployed	724
F46defence	Apartheid	476
total		1200

Table A.11: Characteristics of CAS 2005 realised sample by category of EA

			CAS 2005 realised sample %
White EAs	Gender	Male	39
		Female	61
	Age	18-34	25
		35-64	37
		65+	39
	Race	African	3
		Coloured	13
		White	79
	Employment status	Working	54
		Not working	46
Coloured EAs	Gender	Male	39
		Female	61
	Age	18-34	38
		35-64	38
		65+	24
	Race	African	4
		Coloured	89
	Employment status	Working	49
		Unemployed	20
		Not in labour force	31
African EAs	Gender	Male	36
		Female	64
	Age	18-34	59
		35-64	34
		65+	8
	Race	African	92
	Housing	Shack	54
		Not shack	44
	Employment status	Working	40
		Unemployed	36
		Not in labour force	23

Note: see Table 8.

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