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Constitutional legitimacy: A survey of the Gauteng adult population

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Executive Summary

1. A stratified random sample of 608 adults living in Gauteng was interviewed in October/November 2015 on their perceptions towards various aspects of the constitutional legal order in South Africa. The sample was statistically weighted based on AMPS 2015BA to reflect the demographics of the 9.2 million adult residents of Gauteng. The questionnaire was compiled by experts on the constitution and related issues.
2. The responses of the Gauteng adults were measured in relation to various facets of the questionnaire which are described below with some of the interesting results:
 - **Values:** These items were designed to understand the values of people in Gauteng, their understanding of their identity and the congruence thereof with the new constitutional order. Most respondents acknowledge as important the values of equality, dignity, freedom, democracy and the rule of law. They ascribe similar high levels of importance to various facets of their identities such as being/feeling a South African, and belonging to their religion and race though less importance to being a member of their tribe. Whilst a large number support a return of the death penalty, a similar number believes in the power of the Constitutional Court to decide the issue. Similarly, most people in Gauteng are liberal than in their attitudes towards same-sex sexuality and a large number would follow a ruling of the Constitutional Court not to discriminate against same-sex couples. A small minority is though willing to take the law into their own hands to achieve their goals. There is strong racial polarisation around affirmative action and land reform and moderate polarisation around such issues as the death penalty, and the rights of foreigners.
 - **Democracy:** This section of the questionnaire was meant to examine the attitudes of the people of Gauteng towards aspects of the constitutional architecture relating to democracy. The findings in this section suggest that most people have accepted democratic values and institutions with 80% of people agreeing that they would accept an election result even if the party they voted for lost whilst 82% think that South Africa needs strong opposition parties. The numbers also though suggest that people are not satisfied with the functioning of representative and participatory aspects of democracy: only 40% believe that parliament represents them and less than a half agree that their politicians represent them. There is a strong degree of racial polarisation around whether police use too much force against ordinary people and whether white people still hold economic power in South Africa.
 - **Accessibility of participation:** This section of the questionnaire sought to evaluate the perceptions of individuals concerning the ease with which they can participate in the polity and gain access to institutions created by the Constitution. Generally, the various forms of political participation were perceived as being difficult. At least half to two-thirds of the population express difficulty with participating in various activities such as contacting their member of parliament (66% difficulty), challenging a violation of rights in court (61% difficulty), or lodging a complaint at the Human Rights Commission (68%). Only about 20% or fewer respondents perceive any form of participation as easy.
 - **Knowledge of the Constitution:** This part of the questionnaire was designed to assess the knowledge the people of Gauteng have of various features of the constitutional scheme. The responses to only 6 of the 18 knowledge items were generally correct. This suggests a

general lack of knowledge about the constitution and the structures it sets up. The differences between the knowledge levels of the race groups are weak to moderate. The overall score for whites (44% correct responses) is slightly lower than for blacks (49%), coloureds (52%) and Indians (50%).

- **Political participation:** This section of the questionnaire sought to evaluate the actual levels of political participation by the people of Gauteng. High numbers of people in Gauteng Africa vote, with 82% having participated in national elections and 78% in local government elections. A majority of people, discuss politics regularly with friends (57%) and almost three-quarters follow the news daily (78%). Fewer members of the polity engage in more demanding political activities such as participating in a meeting where a national or provincial representative (22%-24%) is present, or participate in a strike (33%) Generally, blacks have the highest levels of political participation, followed by coloureds, and then by Indians. Whites participate the least.
 - **Perceptions of South Africa/ confidence in political leadership:** This section of the questionnaire sought to understand the attitudes of the people of Gauteng towards current problems facing South Africa and its existing leadership. The vast majority (74%) of Gauteng respondents express national pride, but only 34% agree that Jacob Zuma has done well in leading the country, and 35% have entertained thoughts about emigration. There are strong differences amongst racial groups concerning the perception of the president's political performance with 40% of black people believing him to be performing well and only 3% of whites.
 - **Awareness:** The participants were asked two open-ended questions on their awareness of two important institutions set up by the Constitution, the Constitutional Court and the South African Human Rights Commission. Just over half (55%) of the sample respondents said that they were aware of the Constitutional Court and a similar percentage of 57% (not necessarily the same respondents) said they had heard of the Human Rights Commission.
3. Using factor analysis, this report sought to move beyond the responses to individual items to understand whether there are patterns that emerge from the responses. Factor analysis helps to understand whether there are significant underlying dimensions or factors to the responses. Through understanding the correlation (or otherwise) of various responses, we were able to identify the following factors in each part of the questionnaire:
- **Values:** Support for constitutional values, Group identity, Equality, Extra-legal dissent, Attitudes to sexuality, and Attitudes to criminal justice.
 - **Democracy:** Institutional legitimacy; Political impartiality; Unequal power
 - **Accessibility of participation:** Sense of disempowerment
 - **Political participation:** Political participation; Interest in politics; Obedience to the law (anti); Political engagement
 - **Perception of SA leadership:** Confidence in political leadership
4. In general, the attitudes of blacks and whites are polarised on these factors. Compared to blacks, and to a lesser extent to the other race groups, whites tend to be more opposed to extra-legal dissent, more punitive in relation to criminal justice and less positive about the legitimacy of

democratic institutions. Furthermore, whites tend to perceive less unequal power in society, feel the most disempowered from participating in democratic institutions, participate the least in politics, be the least politically engaged, the most obedient to the law, and have the least confidence in the political leadership of the country. By contrast, blacks express the highest willingness to engage in extra-legal dissent though they also express the highest sense of institutional legitimacy. Blacks perceive the most unequal power distribution in society, participate the most in politics with the most interest and greatest engagement, feel the least disempowered, and are the most confident in the country's political leadership.

5. We then used **cluster analysis** to identify natural groupings in the factor scores of the participants. It should be noted that the demographic variables were used only to describe the clusters and not used in process of clustering the respondents. Four distinct clusters of like-minded respondents emerge:

- Cluster 1 (22%): The 'Constitutionally Engaged'

This cluster has the highest knowledge score on the 18-item knowledge test (55% on average compared to the 44%-50%). Compared to the other cluster members, Cluster 1 members are the most active participants in politics (e.g. participation in the Integrated Development Plan process, trade unions and demonstrations). They have strong confidence in the political leadership of the country. They are supportive of constitutional values (Equality, Dignity, Freedom, Democracy and the Rule of law), and have the strongest group identity (religion, race). They hold liberal views on equality (equal opportunities across gender and race groups) and sexuality. They feel the most empowered relative to members of the other clusters (e.g. they would approach the Constitutional Court directly or a member of Parliament). They do not support extra-legal dissent and are the most strongly supportive of obedience to the law.

Almost three quarters (70%) of the cluster members belong the LSMs 5-7, and are mostly (94%) black compared to 86%, 84% and 52% in the other clusters. About half (46%) the members speak Zulu at home, more than the percentage of Zulu home language speakers in the other clusters. Over half (58%) of the cluster members have matriculated, and a further third (34%) have some form of tertiary education. The vast majority (almost 90%) are employed or self-employed with only 7% looking for work. In general, households comprise 4 to 5 people, with 1-2 children and up to 3 earners.

- Cluster 2 (37%): The 'Constitutionally Disaffected'

This cluster has a relatively poor knowledge of the constitution, averaging only 44% on the 18-item knowledge test. The cluster members are generally less supportive of constitutional values. Compared to the other cluster members, they are the most supportive of extra-legal dissent (for example accepting of the burning of government property to force politicians to listen or to force the State to provide services) and, correspondingly, show the least obedience to the law (e.g. they are prepared to pay bribes to the police). They are though fairly confident in the political leadership of the country. They have a sense of unequal power in the country (for example that white people still hold the economic power in South Africa), more so than all the other clusters. They do not participate actively in politics.

This cluster is the second lowest in terms of socio economic status with 36% of members in LSMs 1-5, and is similarly ranked second lowest in terms of education, with almost a third (31%) not having matriculated. The majority of cluster members are black (86%), 4% are coloured and Indian respectively, and 6% are white. Generally, households comprise 3 to 6 people, with 1-2 children and up to 3 earners.

- Cluster 3 (17%): The 'Constitutionally Ambivalent'
The knowledge level of this cluster tends to be low, similar to that of Cluster 2, with the same average score of 44% on the 18-item knowledge test. Members of this cluster feel more disempowered than Cluster 2 members, but unlike Cluster 2 members they are not supportive of extra-legal dissent and do not support disobeying the law. They are moderately liberal in their attitudes to sexuality and generally supportive of strong criminal justice responses such as the death penalty for serious crimes. They are ranked second lowest of the clusters in terms of support for the values of the constitution and for institutional legitimacy, only higher than Cluster 2. They are fairly confident in the political leadership of the country and feel to some extent politically engaged.

This cluster has the lowest socio-economic status with almost half (47%) of members in LSMs 1-5. Members of this cluster have the lowest levels of education with 58% not matriculated and only 12% with any form of tertiary education. The cluster members tend to have the largest households, and the least number of earners. A quarter (24%) of the cluster members are at least 65 years old and retired, compared to just 5% or fewer in the other clusters. Membership is 84% black, 2% coloured and Indian, with the most children and the lowest number of earners of all the clusters.

- Cluster 4 (24%): The 'Constitutionally Disempowered'
This cluster has the second highest knowledge score of the constitution, scoring 50% on average on the 18-item knowledge test. The cluster members feel the most disempowered of all the clusters. The cluster members participate the least in politics, are the least politically engaged and have the weakest support for legitimacy of democratic institutions. However, they show strong support for the values of the constitution and political impartiality. They are the most strongly opposed to extra-legal dissent and are unsupportive of disobedience to the law. They hold the most punitive attitudes to criminal justice. They are the least confident in the political leadership of the country.

This cluster is the most affluent cluster, with a third of cluster members in LSM's 9-10 compared to fewer than 11% in any other cluster. It is also the most educated of the clusters with half the members having achieved some tertiary education. This cluster is mostly employed or self-employed (80%). The cluster comprises half black membership, 4% coloureds, 5% Indians and 40% whites. Half of the cluster members speak English or Afrikaans at home compared to under 20% in the other clusters. They tend to have households with 1-5 members, with one or two earners in the household and up to two children.

6. By studying these clusters and their demographics, we are afforded a much more in-depth understanding of like-minded people in the context of constitutional legitimacy than if we had

merely separated out the groups on a single variable such as race. Based on the mixed composition of the four clusters, it is clear that there are respondents from different race groups, from different education and socio-economic levels, who share similar outlooks. Thus, to compare views based on a variable such as race alone is simplistic and may even be deceptive.

7. From a research design perspective, this study has the potential to function as the baseline stage of longitudinal research which could track the views of a population such as Gauteng adults over time.

Background

This report summarises the statistical analysis and interpretation of the results of a survey of the Gauteng adult population on constitutional legitimacy in South Africa. The survey was commissioned by the South African Institute for Advanced Constitutional, Public, Human Rights and International Law (SAIFAC), a centre of the University of Johannesburg.

The sample comprised 608 respondents from areas within Gauteng. The results obtained from the interviews have been statistically weighted according to AMPS 2015BA to reflect the 9.2 million adult residents of Gauteng.

A team of academics and researchers on the SA constitution and related disciplines engaged in a lengthy process of collaboration to devise the questionnaire and ensure that it covered attitudes towards a wide range of features of the constitutional order.

The field work was conducted in October and November 2015.

1. Sampling and sample characteristics

This research is based on the responses of a stratified random sample of 608 adults aged 18 years or older, living in Gauteng. The sample comprised 337 blacks, 145 whites, 49 coloureds and 77 Indians.

An attempt was made to draw the sample so that it would reflect the demographics of the 9.2 million adult residents of the Johannesburg, Pretoria, Vaal, East Rand, West Rand and non-urban Gauteng areas. Accordingly, within these areas, the sample was stratified by gender, race and age based on the population of adults 18 years and older from AMPS 2015BA.¹ However, in the case of certain smaller segments, disproportionate sampling was used to ensure a large enough sample base for analysis, resulting in discrepancies between the relative percentages of the sample and population demographics. Thus, the AMPS 2015BA weighting factors for the Gauteng population were used to correct these discrepancies, so that the responses of demographic subgroups in the sample would be represented correctly. Correct representations of subgroups are important when the responses of the people interviewed are aggregated into an overall figure (Maletta, 2007), for example when computing an overall figure for the percentages of agreement of respondents in different areas of Gauteng on a particular indicator. Correct weightings thus reduce the errors of estimation that would occur if some population groups have more weight than they are eligible for and others have less. Consequently, weighting factors were used in all analyses that involved the aggregation of groups.

The demographics of the weighted sample are presented in Table 1 and the weighted sample is briefly summarised below as comprising:

- Race: 79% blacks
- Gender: half male, half female
- Age: under 30 years old (31%), 30-49 years (39%), and ages 50 or older (29%)
- Area: Johannesburg (29%) and Pretoria (21%)
- LSM: LSMs 1-5 (28%), over LSMs 6-8 (57%) and LSMs 9-10 (16%)
- Province born: almost 90% born in Gauteng
- Home language: Zulu (31%), Sotho (31%), Xhosa (9%), English (10%) and Afrikaans (12%)

¹ The All Media and Product Survey is a national, random probability consumer survey conducted by SAARF's (SA Audience Research Foundation) contractor, Nielsen Media Research. The survey is conducted twice a year with a sample size 25 000 adults, 15 years and older, projected to the adult SA population of 38.2 million. AMPS provides media owners, advertising agencies and marketers with the readership, viewership and listenership of all media types in South Africa. It also contains extensive demographic; geographic; psychographic; product and brand information.

- Highest education: not matriculated (27%), matriculated (44%), some tertiary education (29%)
- Work status: three-quarters working
- Marital status: 50% married
- People living in the household: households with 3 or fewer persons (31%), 4-5 persons (49%) and households with more than 5 persons (20%)
- Children in the household: households with no children or with one child (50%)
- Earners in the household: households with 1 earner (31%), households with 2-3 earners (64%).

The demographics are analysed and discussed in detail when the respondents are grouped into clusters of like-minded people (see Cluster analysis, p.42).

Table 1: Demographics of study participants weighted to Gauteng adult population

Demographic	Level	Row
Race	Black	79%
	Coloured	3%
	Indian	3%
	White	15%
Gender	Female	50%
	Male	50%
Age	18-24 years	15%
	25-29	16%
	30-34	13%
	35-39	12%
	40-49	14%
	50-59	20%
	60-64	2%
	65+	7%
Area	Johannesburg	29%
	Pretoria	21%
	Vaal	8%
	East Rand	28%
	West Rand	6%
	Gauteng - Non Urban	7%
LSM	LSM 1 – 4	8%
	LSM 5	20%
	LSM 6	25%
	LSM 7	19%
	LSM 8	13%
	LSM 9	9%
	LSM 10	7%
Province Born	Gauteng	89%
	KZN	1%
	Mpumalanga	2%
	Eastern Cape	3%
	North West	1%
	Free State	1%
	Limpopo	1%
	Not born in South Africa	1%
	Western Cape	0%

Demographic	Level	Row
Home language	Zulu	31%
	N.Sotho	12%
	Xhosa	9%
	S.Sotho	19%
	English	10%
	Afrikaans	12%
	Other (please specify)	7%
Highest education	Up to some Primary School	2%
	Primary school complete	5%
	Grade 8 - 10	7%
	Grade 11	13%
	Matric	44%
	Some University/Technikon	8%
	Post Matric qualification	15%
	University/Technikon undergraduate	3%
	Postgraduate	3%
Work status	Work full time	52%
	Work part time	16%
	Self employed	7%
	Unemployed - looking for work	10%
	Unemployed - not looking for work	3%
	Student	6%
	Retired	6%
Marital status	Single	41%
	Married/Living together	50%
	Separated/Divorced	7%
	Widowed	2%
People living in household	1	7%
	2	9%
	3	15%
	4	26%
	5	23%
	6	9%
	7	3%
	8	6%
	9	1%
	10	0%
	14	1%
Children in household	None	4%
	1	46%
	2	34%
	3	8%
	4	2%
	5	6%
Earners in household	1	31%
	2	47%
	3	17%
	4 – 5	5%

2. The questionnaire

The questionnaire was compiled from first principles for the purposes of the research.

2.1 Structure

The questionnaire comprised seven main sections designed to measure the following constructs:

- Values
- Attitudes towards democracy
- Knowledge of the constitution
- Political participation
- Accessibility of political participation
- Confidence in political leadership
- Awareness of the Constitutional Court and the SA Human Rights Commission (SAHRC).

The structure of the questionnaire, examples of items of each section, response descriptors and the categorisations used for statistical analysis are presented in Table 2.

2.2 Response scales

The questionnaire comprised several response scales for measurement. The use of a variety of scales is recommended in questionnaire design as it may prevent a response set, for example, the tendency for respondents to answer all the questions in the same way (to agree to all items, or to disagree to all items). Accordingly, five types of response scales were used in the questionnaire (see Table 2):

- 10-point rating scales were used for items where extremely skewed distributions of responses were anticipated, as in the items measuring the perceived importance of the values of equality, dignity, freedom, democracy and the importance of the rule of law, as well as identity questions concerning being a South African, a member of one's tribe, religion and race. The 10-point scale was preferred to the more common 5-point rating scale as the additional options are expected to be able to measure more variability in the skewed responses.
- The 5-point rating scales, with options ranging from Strongly disagree to Strongly agree, were used for items measuring attitudes towards concrete value questions, faith in democratic institutions and confidence in political leadership where a diversity of responses was anticipated.
- A 7-point rating scale used with the options of Very easy to Very difficult, plus two additional options for 'Don't know', (distinguishing between 'Don't know whether easy or difficult' and 'Don't know institution') for items measuring the accessibility of political institutions and the ease of political participation therein.

- The Yes/No dichotomous rating scale was used for behavioural items, for example whether the participant had voted in the last national election.
- The True/False/Don't know rating options were used for items tapping participants' levels of knowledge of the constitution.

Table 2: Structure of the questionnaire and items of main sections

Questionnaire main section	Example of item	Rating	Number of rating categories	Summary categorisation used
Values	Equality, democracy etc.	Importance	10-point scale: Not at all important - extremely important	Not at all important/Unimportant: 1-5 Neutral: 6-7 Important/Extremely important: 8-10
	Being a South African; Being a member of my tribe	Importance	10-point scale: Not at all important - extremely important	Not at all important/Unimportant: 1-5 Neutral: 6-7 Important/Extremely important: 8-10
	The death penalty should be brought back for murder	Extent of agreement	5-point scale: Strongly disagree - Strongly agree	Disagree/Strongly disagree: 1-2 Neutral: 3 Agree/Strongly agree: 4-5
Democracy	If the party I voted for loses a free and fair election, I will accept the result	Extent of agreement	5-point scale: Strongly disagree - Strongly agree	Disagree/Strongly disagree: 1-2 Neutral: 3 Agree/Strongly agree: 4-5
Knowledge of the constitution	In South Africa, I vote directly for the President	True/False/Don't know	3-point scale	Correct=1 Incorrect/ Don't know = 0
Political participation	I voted in the last general election	Yes/No	Dichotomous scale	Yes/No
Accessibility/ease of political participation	Contact my member of parliament if I want to express my point of view	How easy or difficult	7-point scale: 5 grades: Very easy - Very difficult; + 2 Don't know options	Difficult/Very difficult: 1-2 Moderate: 3 Easy/Very easy: 4-5
Confidence in political leadership	I think Jacob Zuma is performing very well in his job as president of this country	Extent of agreement	5-point scale: Strongly disagree - Strongly agree	Disagree/Strongly disagree: 1-2 Neutral: 3 Agree/Strongly agree: 4-5
Awareness of the Constitutional Court and the SAHRC	Have you heard of the Human Rights Commission?	Yes/No	Dichotomous scale	Yes/No
	What is the function of the Human Rights Commission?	Open-ended	Open-ended	Categorised

3. Statistical analysis of results

The results of the research are presented at various levels of detail. At the most detailed level, the responses to the individual items of the questionnaire are presented using the frequencies and percentages of responses to each of the response scale categories or combinations of categories depending on the scale of the item (for example, levels of importance, the levels of agreement, and correct/incorrect responses). Thereafter, the item-level percentages are summarised to factor scores by aggregating the responses to the items that are found to measure the same construct. Finally, participants who provide similar responses to these aggregated or factor scores are identified and characterised according to the type of responses they supply.

These three levels of summary are used to present the results in three main sections of the report as follows:

- First, item analyses:
Responses to the items within each of the main sections of the questionnaire i.e. values, attitudes towards democracy, knowledge of the constitution, political participation, accessibility of political participation, confidence in political leadership and awareness of the Constitutional Court and the SAHRC. The responses are presented in both table and graphic forms, and colour coding is applied for ease of interpretation. These analyses were descriptive and comparative:
 - i. For the total group weighted to the population: the frequencies of the categorised responses.
 - ii. Comparison of the frequencies of the categorised responses per race group using effect sizes to quantify the strength of the differences across the race groups.
- Second, dimension reduction analyses: factor analysis of responses to the items within the scales of the main sections of the questionnaire:
 - i. Factor analysis applied to the items of each of the main sections of the questionnaire i.e. values, attitudes towards democracy, knowledge of the constitution, political participation, accessibility of political participation, and confidence in political leadership.
 - ii. The reliability and distributions of the scales measuring the factors or dimensions underlying the items of the questionnaire.

- Third, cluster analysis of the factor scores computed for values, attitudes towards democracy, knowledge of the constitution, political participation, and awareness of the Constitutional Court and the SAHRC:
 - i. Comparisons and descriptions of the resultant clusters of respondents on the clustering variables (i.e. on the factor scores underlying values, attitudes towards democracy, knowledge of the constitution, political participation, accessibility of political participation, and confidence in political leadership and awareness).
 - ii. Comparisons and descriptions of the demographics of the members of the clusters.

3.1 Responses to the individual items of the questionnaire

As previously described, the questionnaire comprised seven main parts, and this section of the report presents the responses at the individual item level. The responses to each item of the questionnaire were weighted and aggregated to the Gauteng population. Frequency distributions or bar charts are used to describe these weighted categorised responses to the items of the scales (see Figure 1 - Figure 7).

The results of the frequencies are described briefly, in the order of the main sections of the questionnaire. A more detailed description of these frequencies is provided when the race groups are compared on the item responses.

3.1.1 Values

These items were designed to understand the values of people in Gauteng, their understanding of their identity and the congruence thereof with the new constitutional order. Approximately three-quarters or more of Gauteng adults view the values of equality, dignity, freedom, democracy and the rule of law as important or extremely important. They ascribe similar high levels of importance to various facets of their identities such as being/feeling a South African, and belonging to their religion and race, although slightly less importance to being a member of their tribe with 63% of responses reflecting Importance/ Extreme importance (Figure 1).

Responses on values show 66% agreement with the statement that the 'death penalty should be brought back for murder' though 68% support the power of the Constitutional Court to decide whether it is legal or illegal and 70% agree that an order of the Court in this regard must be followed. 56% of people view sexual relations between persons of the same sex as acceptable whilst 38% would have a problem renting their homes to same-sex couples. 61% would follow a Constitutional

Court ruling not to discriminate against same-sex couples. The full texture of these results can be understood by examining Figure 2 in which the items have been ranked in terms of the level of agreement expressed. The corresponding data is provided in Table 3 to assist the reader.

3.1.2 Democracy

This section of the questionnaire was meant to examine the attitudes of the people of Gauteng towards aspects of the constitutional architecture relating to democracy. 80% of people would accept an election result even if the party they voted for lost whilst 82% think that South Africa needs strong opposition parties. Only 38% believe that parliament represents them and 48% agree that their politicians represent them. See Figure 3 in which the items have been ranked in terms of the level of agreement expressed. Once again, the corresponding data is provided in Table 4 to assist the reader.

3.1.3 Accessibility of political participation

This section of the questionnaire sought to evaluate the perceptions of individuals concerning the ease with which they can participate in the polity and gain access to institutions created by the Constitution. Generally, the various forms of political participation were perceived as being difficult. At least half to two-thirds of the population express difficulty with participating in various activities such as contacting their member of parliament (66% difficulty), challenging a violation of rights in court (61% difficulty), or lodging a complaint at the Human Rights Commission (68%). Only about 20% or fewer respondents perceive any form of participation as easy. See Figure 4 in which the items have been ranked in terms of the level of perceived difficulty.

3.1.4 Knowledge of the constitution

This part of the questionnaire was designed to assess the knowledge the people of Gauteng have of various features of the constitutional scheme. Most of the participants responded correctly to 6 of the 18 knowledge items, with approximately 80% of the responses correct to three of these items: 'South Africa is made up of three levels of Government - Local, Provincial and National'; 'Every person in South Africa has a right to be treated in hospital in an emergency'; and 'The Constitution says I have a right to adequate housing'. However, most people answered most of the other items wrongly, indicating relatively high levels of ignorance concerning the constitutional architecture as a whole. In particular, wrong responses were given to items that related to the public protector (28% correct) and to the National Prosecuting Authority (19% correct). See Figure 5 in which the knowledge items have been ranked in terms of their levels of correct responses.

3.1.5 Political participation

This section of the questionnaire sought to evaluate the actual levels of political participation by the people of Gauteng. High numbers of people in Gauteng vote, with 82% having participated in national elections and 78% in local government elections. A majority of people, discuss politics regularly with friends (57%) and almost three-quarters follow the news daily (78%). Fewer members of the polity engage in more demanding political activities such as participating in a meeting where a national or provincial representative (22%-24%) is present, or participate in a strike (33%). See Figure 6 in which the political participation items have been ranked in terms of responses on level of participation.

3.1.6 Perceptions of South Africa/ Confidence in political leadership

This section of the questionnaire sought to understand the attitudes of the people of Gauteng towards current problems facing South Africa and its existing leadership. The vast majority (74%) of Gauteng respondents express national pride, but only 34% agree that Jacob Zuma has done well in leading the country, and 35% have entertained thoughts about emigration. See Figure 7 in which items tapping the perceptions of the country and its leadership have been ranked in terms of levels of agreement.

3.1.7 Awareness

The participants were asked two open-ended questions on their awareness of two important institutions set up by the Constitution, the Constitutional Court and the South African Human Rights Commission. Just over half (55%) of the sample respondents said that they were aware of the Constitutional Court and a similar percentage of 57% (not necessarily the same respondents) said they had heard of the Human Rights Commission.

Text mining was used to analyse the open-ended responses on the functions of the Constitutional Court and the Human Rights Commission.

In response to the question on the function of the Constitutional Court, the most frequent open-ended responses provided were that the Court is the supreme court of the country and its functions concern the Bill of Rights, protecting human rights, writing the laws of the country, ensuring justice is done, enforcing the rules and regulations of the country, dealing with unconstitutional behaviour and constitutional matters. Words such as: court, law protect, rights, rule, set, decide, protect, regulate, citizens and South Africa, comprised approximately 80% of the key words used in the descriptions of its functions.

In response to the question on the function of the Human Rights Commission, respondents most frequently mentioned that its function is to give people a say, to protect people, to protect human rights, and to address cases of human rights violations. Words such as: human, rights, protect, make sure, citizens, help, violations, ensure and equal, comprised approximately 80% of the key words used in the descriptions of the functions of the SAHRC.

The following bar charts describe the responses to the individual items of each of the sections of the questionnaire.

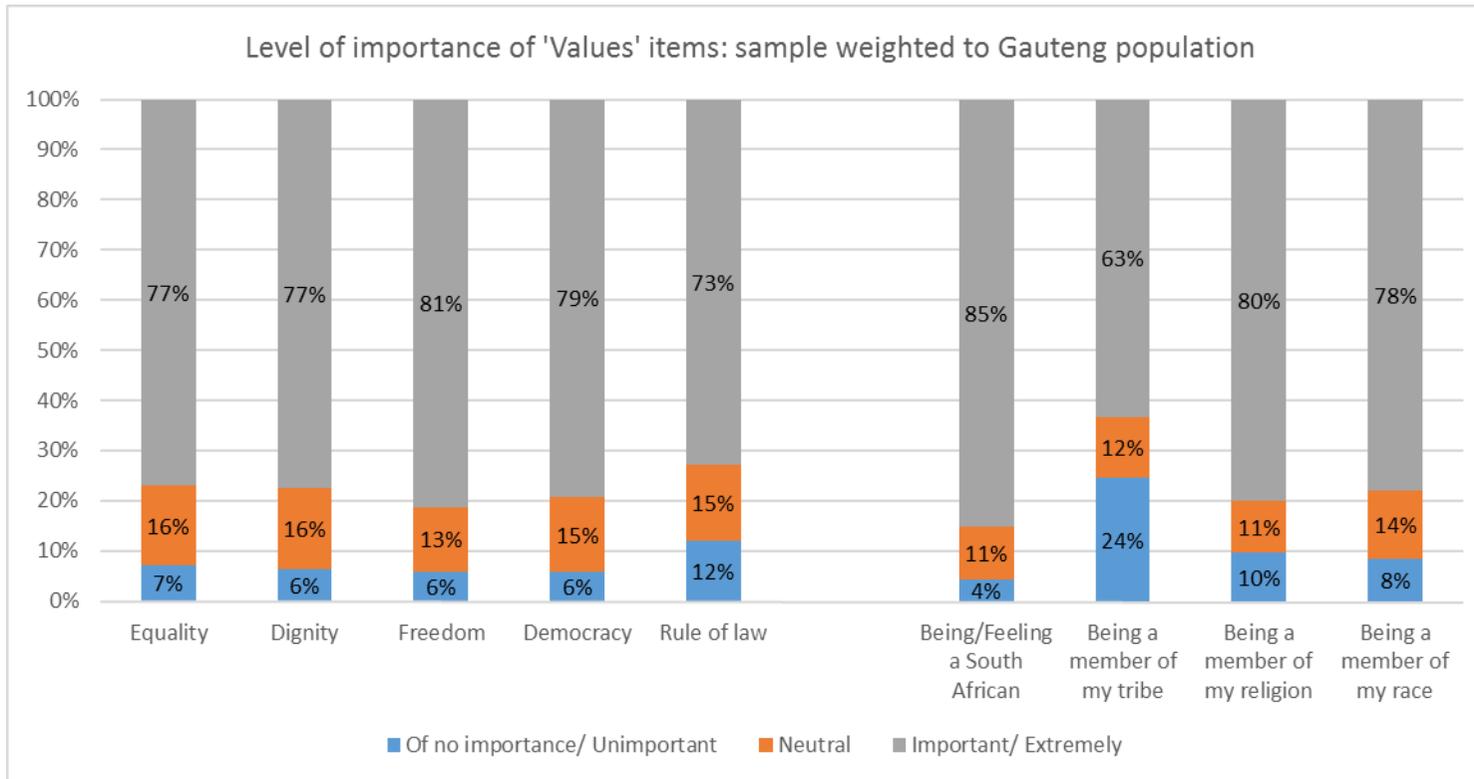


Figure 1: Perceived importance of values items

Level of agreement to 'Values' items: sample weighted to Gauteng population

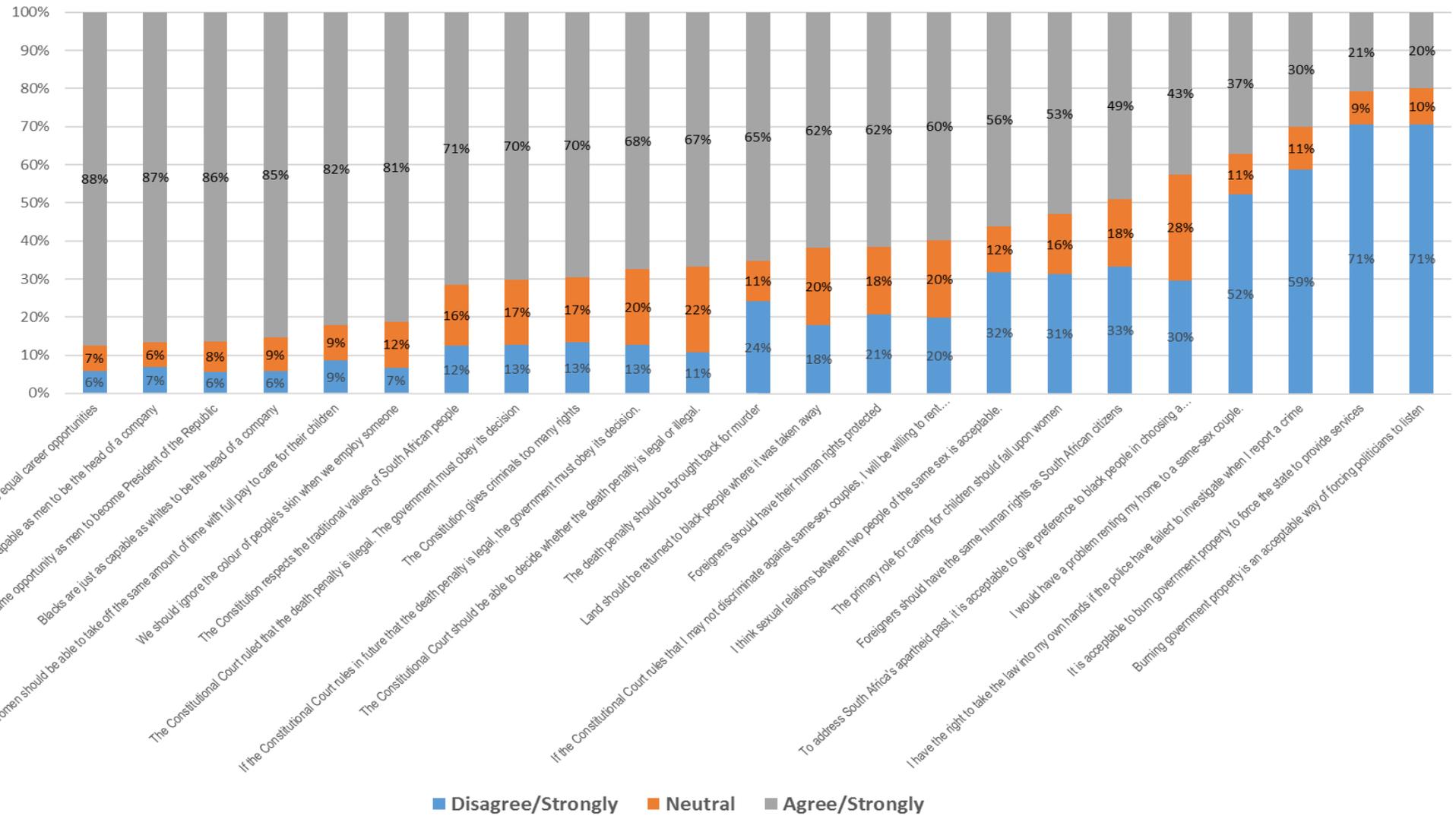


Figure 2: Level of agreement to values items

Table 3: Level of agreement to values items

	Disagree/ Strongly	Neutral	Agree/ Strongly
Men and women should have equal career opportunities	6%	7%	88%
Women are just as capable as men to be the head of a company	7%	6%	87%
Women should have the same opportunity as men to become President of the Republic	6%	8%	86%
Blacks are just as capable as whites to be the head of a company	6%	9%	85%
Men and women should be able to take off the same amount of time with full pay to care for their children	9%	9%	82%
We should ignore the colour of people's skin when we employ someone	7%	12%	81%
The Constitution respects the traditional values of South African people	12%	16%	71%
The Constitutional Court ruled that the death penalty is illegal. The government must obey its decision	13%	17%	70%
The Constitution gives criminals too many rights	13%	17%	70%
If the Constitutional Court rules in future that the death penalty is legal, the government must obey its decision.	13%	20%	68%
The Constitutional Court should be able to decide whether the death penalty is legal or illegal.	11%	22%	67%
The death penalty should be brought back for murder	24%	11%	65%
Land should be returned to black people where it was taken away	18%	20%	62%
Foreigners should have their human rights protected	21%	18%	62%
If the Constitutional Court rules that I may not discriminate against same-sex couples, I will be willing to rent my home to a same-sex couple.	20%	20%	60%
I think sexual relations between two people of the same sex is acceptable.	32%	12%	56%
The primary role for caring for children should fall upon women	31%	16%	53%
Foreigners should have the same human rights as South African citizens	33%	18%	49%
To address South Africa's apartheid past, it is acceptable to give preference to black people in choosing a person for a job	30%	28%	43%
I would have a problem renting my home to a same-sex couple.	52%	11%	37%
I have the right to take the law into my own hands if the police have failed to investigate when I report a crime	59%	11%	30%
It is acceptable to burn government property to force the state to provide services	71%	9%	21%
Burning government property is an acceptable way of forcing politicians to listen	71%	10%	20%

Level of agreement to 'Democracy' items: sample weighted to Gauteng population

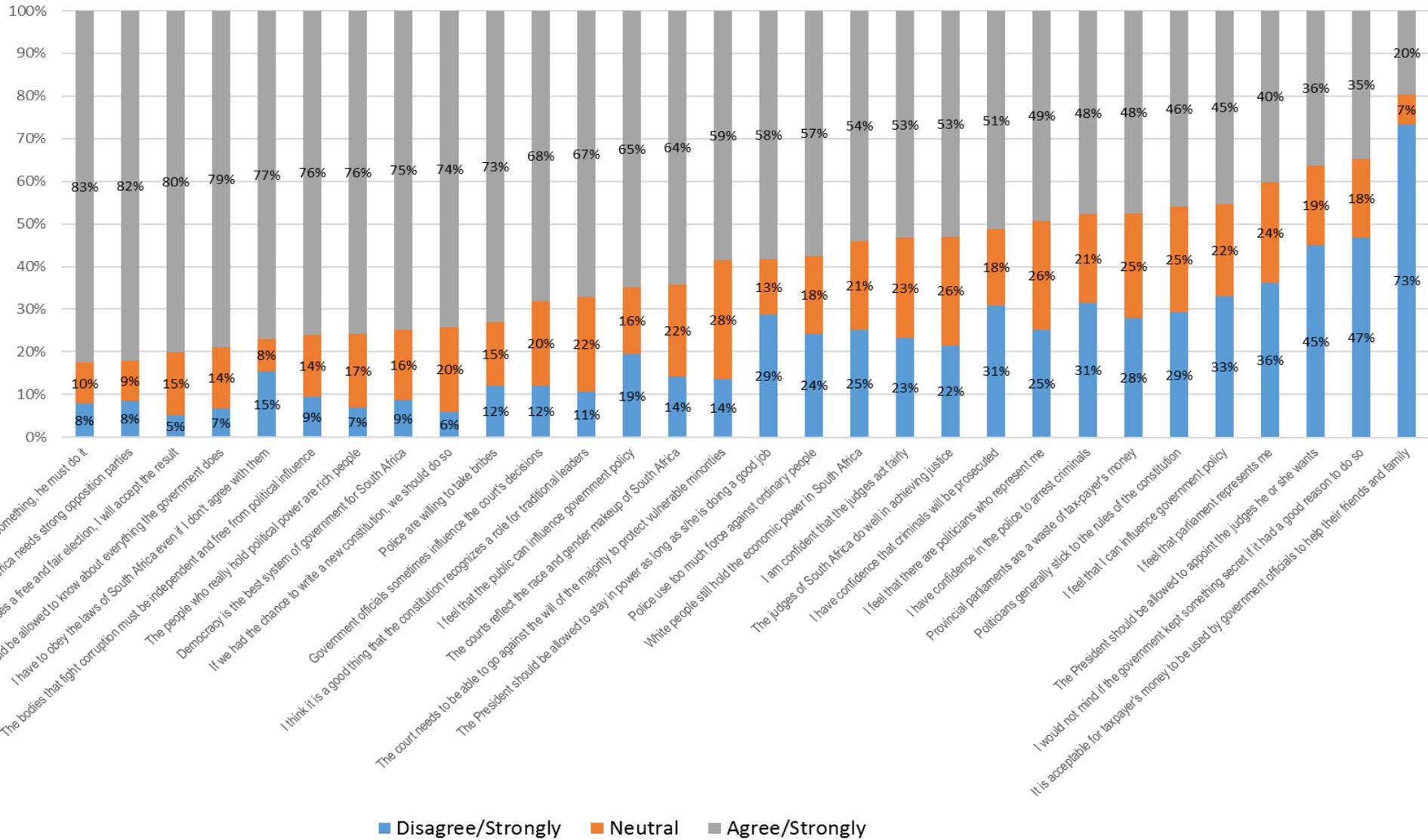


Figure 3: Level of agreement to democracy items

Table 4: Level of agreement to democracy items

	Disagree/ Strongly	Neutral	Agree/ Strongly
If a court orders the President to do something, he must do it	8%	10%	83%
I think South Africa needs strong opposition parties	8%	9%	82%
If the party I voted for loses a free and fair election, I will accept the result	5%	15%	80%
I should be allowed to know about everything the government does	7%	14%	79%
I have to obey the laws of South Africa even if I don't agree with them	15%	8%	77%
The bodies that fight corruption must be independent and free from political influence	9%	14%	76%
The people who really hold political power are rich people	7%	17%	76%
Democracy is the best system of government for South Africa	9%	16%	75%
If we had the chance to write a new constitution, we should do so	6%	20%	74%
Police are willing to take bribes	12%	15%	73%
Government officials sometimes influence the court's decisions	12%	20%	68%
I think it is a good thing that the constitution recognizes a role for traditional leaders	11%	22%	67%
I feel that the public can influence government policy	19%	16%	65%
The courts reflect the race and gender makeup of South Africa	14%	22%	64%
The court needs to be able to go against the will of the majority to protect vulnerable minorities	14%	28%	59%
The President should be allowed to stay in power as long as s/he is doing a good job	29%	13%	58%
Police use too much force against ordinary people	24%	18%	57%
White people still hold the economic power in South Africa	25%	21%	54%
I am confident that the judges act fairly	23%	23%	53%
The judges of South Africa do well in achieving justice	22%	26%	53%
I have confidence that criminals will be prosecuted	31%	18%	51%
I feel that there are politicians who represent me	25%	26%	49%
I have confidence in the police to arrest criminals	31%	21%	48%
Provincial parliaments are a waste of tax-payer's money	28%	25%	48%
Politicians generally stick to the rules of the constitution	29%	25%	46%
I feel that I can influence government policy	33%	22%	45%
I feel that parliament represents me	36%	24%	40%
The President should be allowed to appoint the judges he or she wants	45%	19%	36%
I would not mind if the government kept something secret if it had a good reason to do so	47%	18%	35%
It is acceptable for taxpayer's money to be used by government officials to help their friends and family	73%	7%	20%

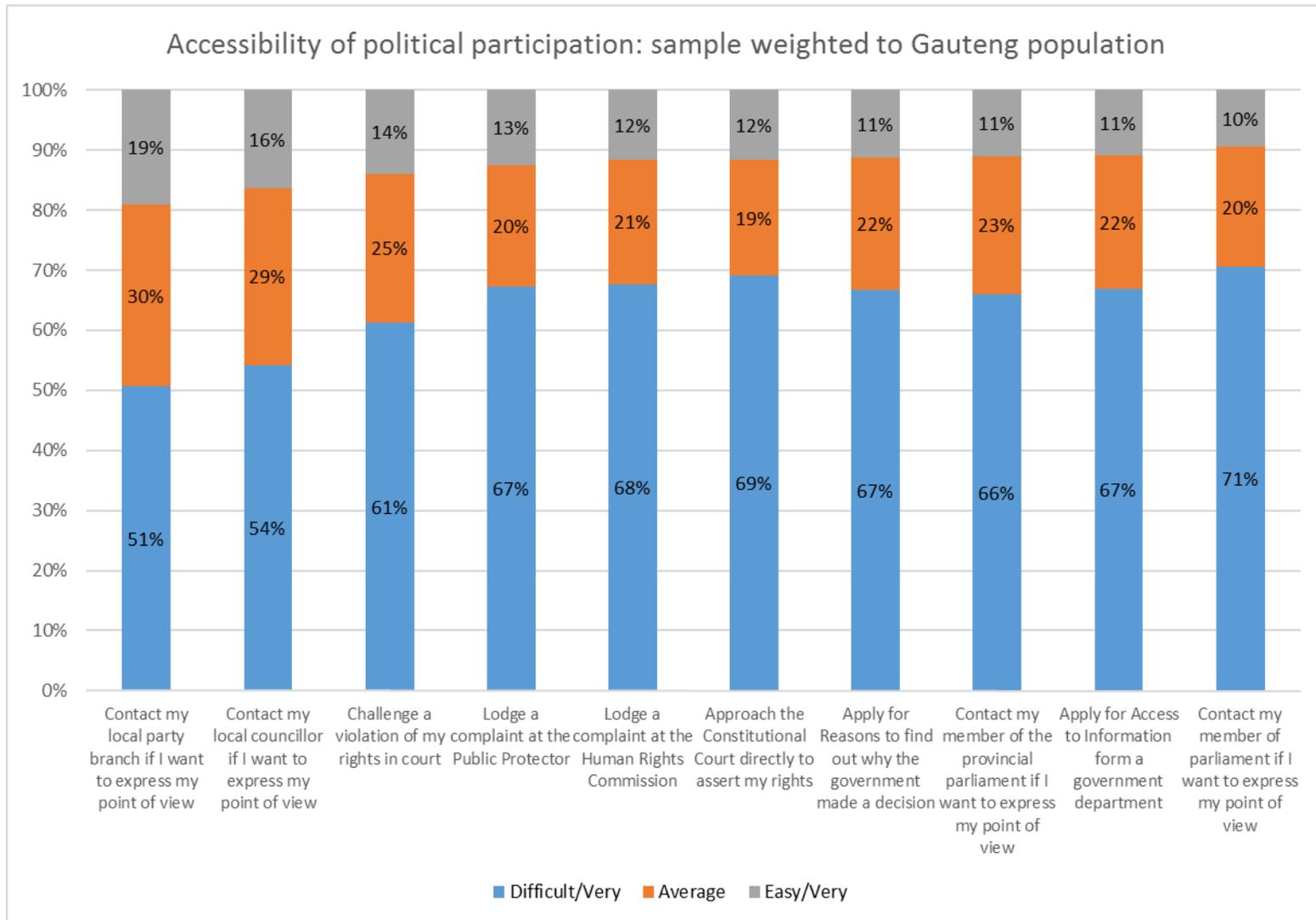


Figure 4: Accessibility of political participation

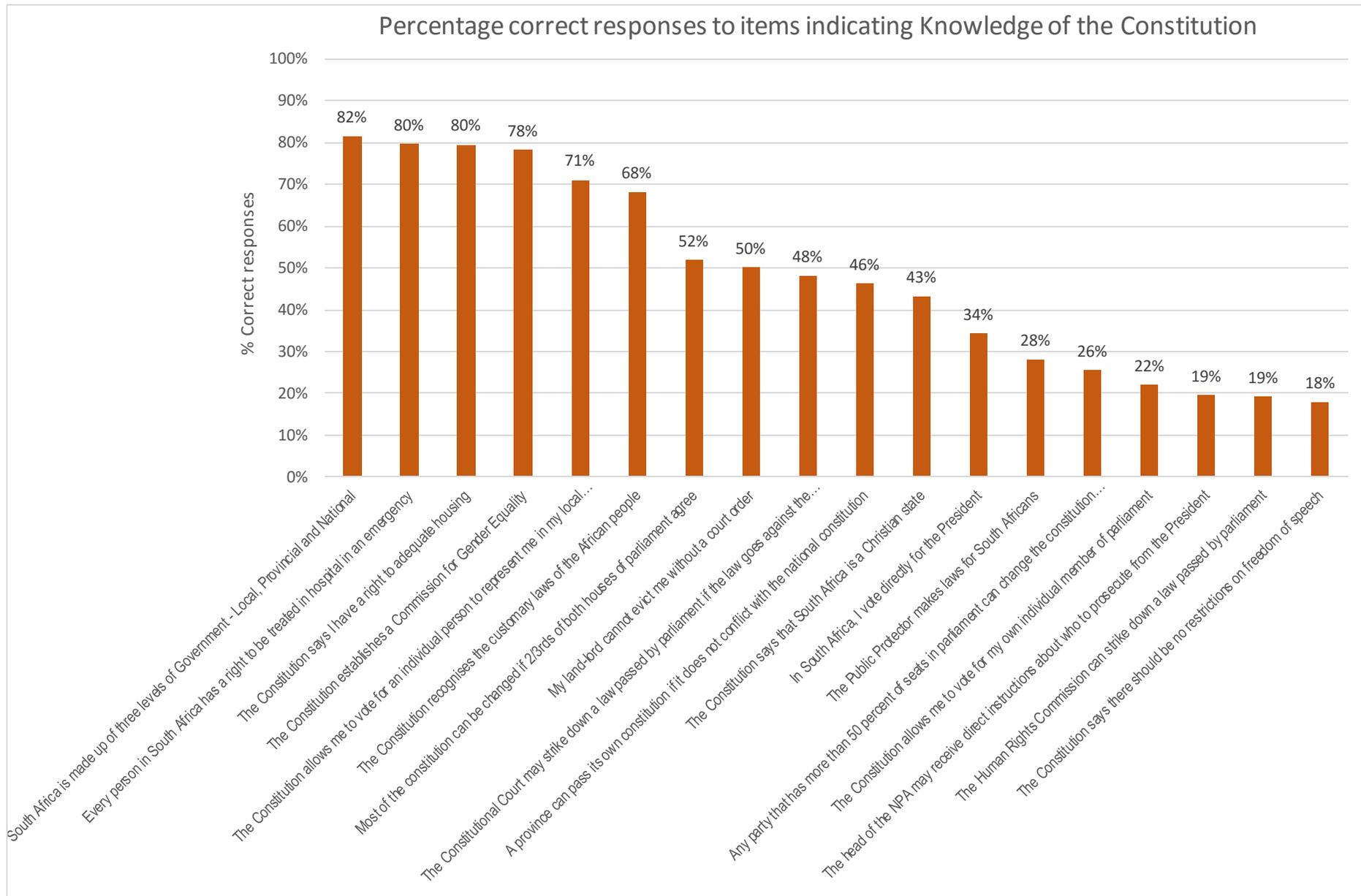


Figure 5: Percentage correct responses to knowledge items

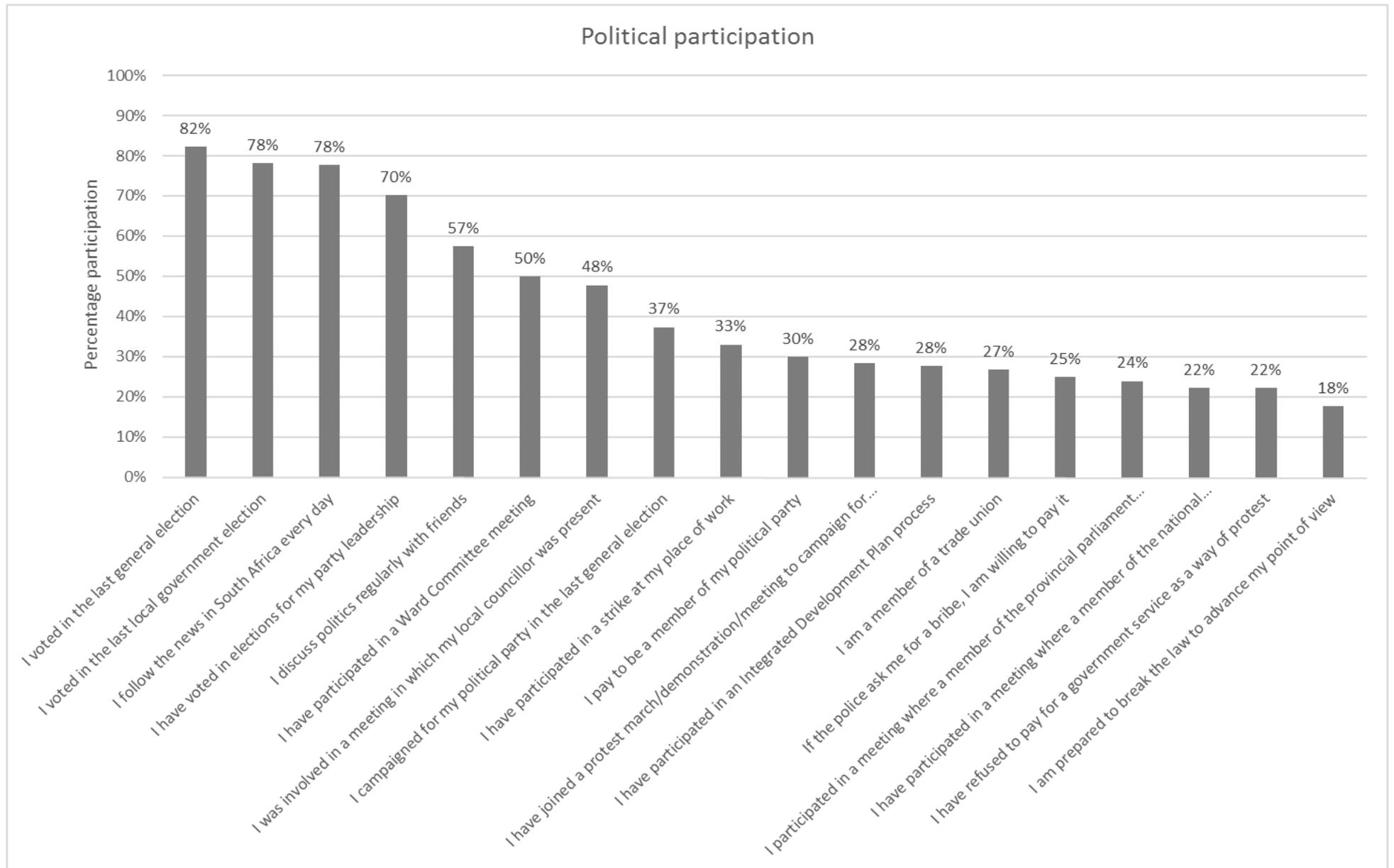


Figure 6: Percentage participation in political activities

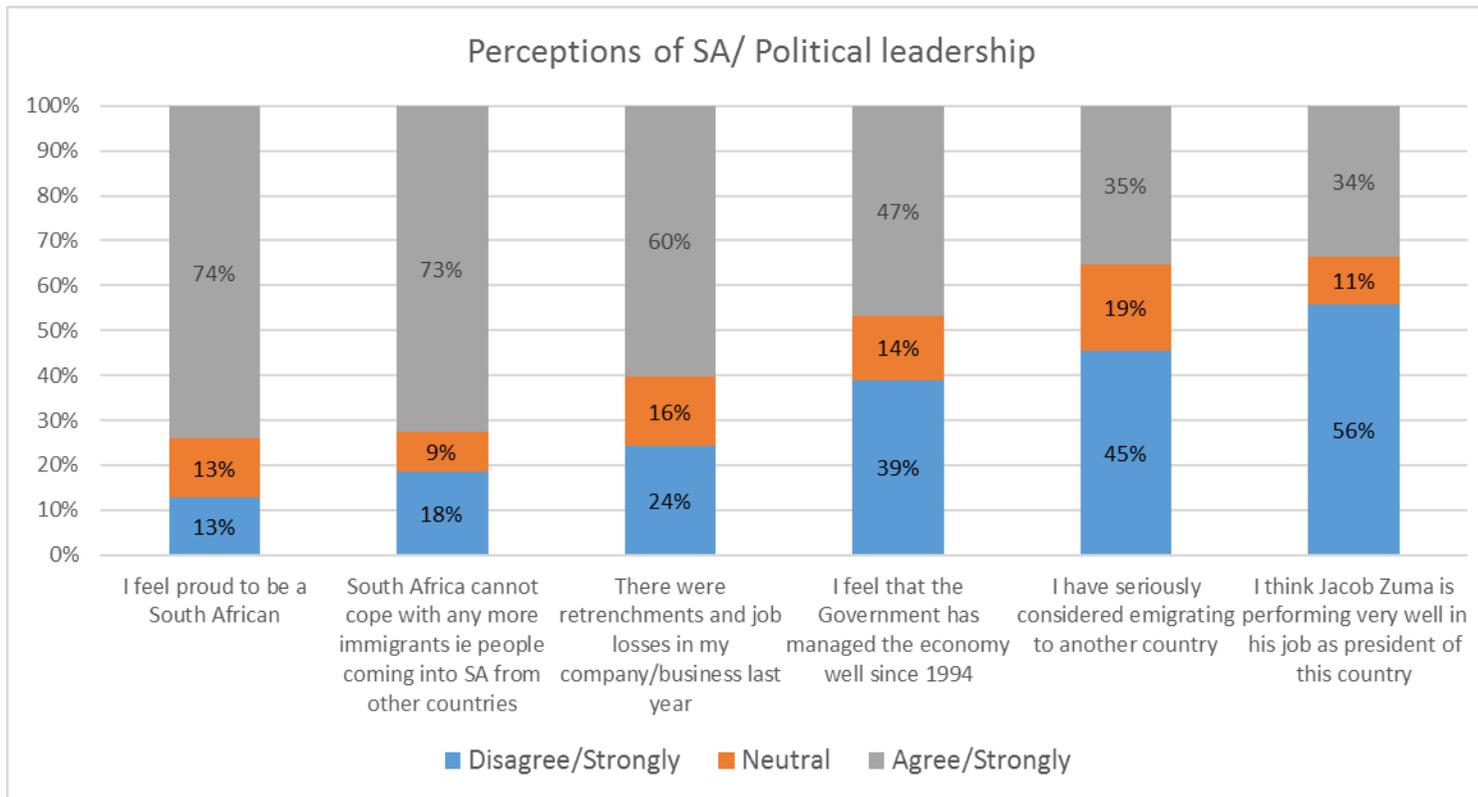


Figure 7: Level of agreement to perceptions of SA and political leadership items

3.2 Race group comparisons of responses to individual items of the questionnaire

As would be expected with excessively powerful statistical tests associated with very large sample sizes, the race group comparisons of each of the items in the questionnaire were all significant as measured by the Chi Square test. Thus emphasis is given only to the effect sizes of the comparisons, i.e. to the measure of the strength of the differences between the relative frequencies of the race groups responses to each item, rather than considering the significance levels of the Chi Square test.

The appropriate measure of effect size is Cramer's $V(2df)$, and we use the guidelines of .07, .14 and .35. respectively for weak, moderate and strong differences respectively (Zaiontz, n.d.). Accordingly, we discuss only the differences with strong or moderate effect sizes as the weaker differences are hardly meaningful.

3.2.1 Values items

- Based on the detailed results in Table 5, there are only two values items on which the race groups differed strongly: "To address South Africa's apartheid past, it is acceptable to give preference to black people in choosing a person for a job" and "Land should be returned to black people where it was taken away". On both these items the percentage agreement of whites (5% and 8% respectively) was substantially lower than in the case of all the other race groups (half to two-thirds agreement).
- Further attitudinal differences between the race groups, although only moderately strong, are evident for the following:
 - In relation to the statement, 'The death penalty should be brought back for murder', almost all whites (93%) are in favour, compared to the approximately three-quarters of coloureds and Indians, and, only 59% of blacks, that agree with this statement.
 - In relation to the statement that 'I have the right to take the law into my own hands if the police have failed to investigate when I report a crime', only 8% of whites agree with this statement, compared to 33% of blacks, 40% of coloureds and 41% of Indians.
 - The two items on the rights of foreigners also show strong divergences: in relation to the statement, 'Foreigners should have their human rights protected', 37% of whites agree/strongly as against 65% of blacks, 70% of coloureds and 64% of Indians; the statement 'Foreigners should have the same human rights as South African citizens' attracted only 25% agreement amongst whites with 53% agreement amongst black people, 51% amongst coloureds and 65% amongst Indians.

- Finally, 64% of whites compared to 89% of blacks, 86% of coloureds and 85% of Indians felt that 'Blacks are just as capable as whites to be the head of a company'.

Race group differences on the other items addressing values are weak, although there remains a general tendency for the greatest polarisation in attitudes to occur between whites and blacks.

3.2.2 Democracy items

The differences between the attitudes of the race groups to various aspects of democracy are mostly weak to moderate, with strong differences evident on only two of the 30 items (see Table 6). In relation to the statement 'Police use too much force against ordinary people', 16% of whites agreed/strongly, compared to 65% and 69% of blacks and Indians respectively and half of coloureds. 61% of black people agreed/strongly with the statement 'White people still hold the economic power in South Africa', and 65% of coloureds and 53% of Indians felt similarly. Only 12% of whites agreed/strongly with this statement.

There are several items that display moderately strong differences in the attitudes of the race groups to items tapping democracy: on these items, there is a general pattern of proportionately fewer whites than other race groups agreeing/strongly that they are represented by parliament and politicians, that they can influence government policy, that the president should be allowed to stay in power if (s)he is doing a good job, and that the president should be allowed to appoint judges if he chooses.

3.2.3 Items on accessibility of political participation

All respondents find the various forms of political activity difficult or very difficult (see Table 7). The easiest form of participation is to 'Contact my local party branch if I want to express my point of view', although the majority of respondents (51%) see even this activity as difficult/very difficult. Furthermore, the respondents see all the other activities as uniformly difficult, with only a few percentage points difference between their perceived accessibility. Although whites perceive all forms of political participation to be more difficult than do the other race groups, particularly when compared to blacks, the differences are at best only moderately strong and often weak. Thus, in general, participation is seen as inaccessible to all, and to whites somewhat more so than to the other race groups.

3.2.4 Knowledge items

The differences between the knowledge levels of the race groups are weak to moderate, with whites frequently having slightly worse scores than the other race groups (see Table 8). The overall score

for whites (47% correct responses) is slightly lower than the other race groups (52% for blacks, and 53% for both coloureds and Indians).

3.2.5 Political participation items

Blacks have the highest levels of actual political participation (see Table 9). In general, coloureds have somewhat lower levels of participation than blacks, and Indians have somewhat lower levels than coloureds. Whites participate the least.

Moderately strong black-white race group differences are evident on campaigning for a political parties (5% of whites compared to 45% of blacks), paid membership of political parties (1% or fewer whites compared to 37% of blacks), participation in protest marches (no whites compared to a third of blacks), participation in strikes (2% of whites compared to 40% of blacks), attendance at ward committee meetings (11% of whites compared to 60% of blacks), and local councillor meetings (7% of whites compared to 57% of blacks). Interestingly, there is also a difference in attitudes towards breaking the law where 20% of blacks, 32% of coloureds, 17% of Indians and 1% of whites agree that they would be prepared to break the law to advance their point of view.

3.2.6 Items on perception of South Africa and political leadership

There is a substantial difference between race groups in their perception of whether the president is performing well in his job with 40% of blacks agreeing that he is performing well and only 3% of whites feeling the same way. Similarly, there is a large difference in perception in relation to the government's management of the economy with only 5% of whites agreeing that the government has done a good job in this regard since 1994 and a much higher 55% of blacks agreeing to this statement. Fewer than half (40%) of whites are proud to be South African compared to 81% of blacks, 65% of coloureds and 60% of Indians. On the other hand, 33%-46% of all race groups have considered emigration seriously, with 46% of Indians and whites having agreed or strongly agreed to this item and a third of blacks and coloureds doing so (see Table 10).

3.2.7 Awareness of the Constitutional Court and the Human Rights Commission

The respective percentages of the race groups who said that they were aware of the Constitutional Court were: 52% of blacks, 49% of coloureds, 54% of Indians and 71% of whites, comprising 55% of the total weighted sample.

The respective percentages of the race groups who said that they were aware of the SA Human Rights Commission were: 57% of blacks, 42% of coloureds, 46% of Indians and 72% of whites, comprising 57% of the total weighted sample.

Table 5: Effect sizes for comparisons of race groups on values items

Item	% Agree/Strongly					Chi Square (6df)	Cramers V (2df)
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Total		
Freedom value	↓ 79%	↑ 90%	↑ 91%	↔ 88%	81%	110.75	● 0.11
Democracy value	↓ 78%	↔ 85%	↑ 88%	↔ 82%	79%	91.63	● 0.10
Rule of law value	↓ 70%	↑ 87%	↑ 89%	↔ 80%	73%	138.10	● 0.12
Being/Feeling a South African	↑ 87%	↑ 90%	↔ 85%	↓ 76%	85%	135.81	● 0.12
Being a member of my tribe	↔ 63%	↑ 78%	↑ 74%	↓ 58%	63%	188.47	● 0.14
Being a member of my religion	↔ 80%	↑ 92%	↑ 89%	↓ 74%	80%	112.23	● 0.11
Being a member of my race	↓ 76%	↔ 83%	↑ 89%	↔ 84%	78%	72.44	● 0.09
The death penalty should be brought back for murder	↓ 59%	↔ 73%	↔ 77%	↑ 93%	65%	598.52	● 0.25
The Constitutional Court should be able to decide whether the death penalty is legal or illegal.	↓ 65%	↔ 74%	↑ 78%	↔ 73%	67%	69.75	● 0.09
The Constitutional Court ruled that the death penalty is illegal. The government must obey its decision	↔ 71%	↓ 57%	↑ 82%	↔ 68%	70%	73.34	● 0.09
If the Constitutional Court rules in future that the death penalty is legal, the government must obey its decision.	↓ 63%	↔ 80%	↑ 86%	↑ 83%	68%	276.54	● 0.17
I have the right to take the law into my own hands if the police have failed to investigate when I report a crime	↑ 33%	↑ 40%	↑ 41%	↓ 8%	30%	451.02	● 0.22
I think sexual relations between two people of the same sex is acceptable.	↑ 60%	↔ 47%	↓ 39%	↓ 40%	56%	303.97	● 0.18
I would have a problem renting my home to a same-sex couple.	↔ 40%	↔ 32%	↑ 59%	↓ 18%	37%	295.95	● 0.18
If the Constitutional Court rules that I may not discriminate against same-sex couples, I will be willing to rent my home to a same-sex couple.	↑ 62%	↔ 57%	↑ 62%	↓ 47%	60%	226.05	● 0.16
To address South Africa's apartheid past, it is acceptable to give preference to black people in choosing a person for a job	↑ 48%	↑ 56%	↑ 56%	↓ 5%	43%	2409.94	● 0.51
The Constitution gives criminals too many rights	↓ 65%	↑ 85%	↓ 70%	↑ 90%	70%	388.27	● 0.21
The Constitution respects the traditional values of South African people	↑ 74%	↑ 72%	↑ 78%	↓ 55%	71%	285.13	● 0.18
It is acceptable to burn government property to force the state to provide services	↑ 23%	↔ 12%	↑ 23%	↓ 7%	21%	352.48	● 0.20
Foreigners should have their human rights protected	↑ 65%	↑ 70%	↑ 64%	↓ 37%	62%	425.47	● 0.21
Foreigners should have the same human rights as South African citizens	↔ 53%	↔ 51%	↑ 65%	↓ 25%	49%	410.90	● 0.21
Men and women should have equal career opportunities	↓ 86%	↑ 95%	↓ 85%	↑ 94%	88%	114.73	● 0.11
Women should have the same opportunity as men to become President of the Republic	↓ 85%	↑ 99%	↓ 88%	↓ 88%	86%	89.24	● 0.10
The primary role for caring for children should fall upon women	↑ 55%	↓ 43%	↑ 53%	↓ 42%	53%	108.58	● 0.11
Men and women should be able to take off the same amount of time with full pay to care for their children	↑ 84%	↑ 90%	↔ 82%	↓ 68%	82%	216.79	● 0.15
Women are just as capable as men to be the head of a company	↓ 85%	↑ 96%	↔ 92%	↑ 95%	87%	167.63	● 0.13
Blacks are just as capable as whites to be the head of a company	↑ 89%	↑ 86%	↑ 85%	↓ 64%	85%	629.04	● 0.26
We should ignore the colour of people's skin when we employ someone	↓ 80%	↔ 86%	↑ 90%	↔ 85%	81%	58.10	● 0.08
Land should be returned to black people where it was taken away	↑ 72%	↑ 65%	↑ 63%	↓ 8%	62%	4015.45	● 0.66
Burning government property is an acceptable way of forcing politicians to listen	↑ 23%	↑ 22%	↑ 19%	↓ 5%	20%	355.08	● 0.20

Table 6: Effect sizes for comparisons of race groups on democracy items

Item	% Agree/Strongly					Chi Square (6df)	Cramers V (2df)
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Total		
If the party I voted for loses a free and fair election, I will accept the result	↓ 79%	↓ 81%	↑ 93%	↓ 82%	80%	64.70	● 0.08
I think South Africa needs strong opposition parties	↓ 81%	↑ 84%	↑ 85%	↑ 85%	82%	157.75	● 0.13
The President should be allowed to stay in power as long as s/he is doing a good job	↑ 65%	↑ 56%	↑ 61%	↓ 23%	58%	971.72	● 0.32
I feel that parliament represents me	↑ 45%	↑ 55%	↔ 42%	↓ 8%	40%	799.82	● 0.29
I feel that there are politicians who represent me	↑ 54%	↑ 60%	↔ 48%	↓ 23%	49%	514.86	● 0.24
I feel that I can influence government policy	↑ 50%	↑ 54%	↑ 56%	↓ 17%	45%	672.82	● 0.27
I feel that the public can influence government policy	↑ 69%	↑ 64%	↑ 68%	↓ 41%	65%	474.35	● 0.23
The President should be allowed to appoint the judges he or she wants	↔ 40%	↔ 36%	↑ 56%	↓ 10%	36%	757.75	● 0.29
If a court orders the President to do something, he must do it	↔ 81%	↑ 93%	↓ 77%	↔ 88%	83%	122.14	● 0.12
The court needs to be able to go against the will of the majority to protect vulnerable minorities	↓ 58%	↑ 65%	↔ 60%	↓ 59%	59%	235.93	● 0.16
The judges of South Africa do well in achieving justice	↔ 56%	↑ 65%	↔ 54%	↓ 32%	53%	316.68	● 0.19
The courts reflect the race and gender makeup of South Africa	↑ 70%	↑ 68%	↑ 75%	↓ 30%	64%	898.84	● 0.31
Government officials sometimes influence the court's decisions	↓ 67%	↑ 79%	↔ 73%	↔ 71%	68%	164.65	● 0.13
I am confident that the judges act fairly	↑ 57%	↑ 65%	↔ 54%	↓ 32%	53%	386.66	● 0.20
It is acceptable for taxpayer's money to be used by government officials to help their friends and family	↑ 23%	↔ 16%	↔ 15%	↓ 5%	20%	285.33	● 0.18
The bodies that fight corruption must be independent and free from political influence	↔ 76%	↓ 74%	↔ 75%	↑ 79%	76%	56.65	● 0.08
I have to obey the laws of South Africa even if I don't agree with them	↓ 74%	↓ 78%	↓ 78%	↑ 90%	77%	205.30	● 0.15
I have confidence in the police to arrest criminals	↑ 52%	↑ 48%	↔ 44%	↓ 24%	48%	625.73	● 0.26
I have confidence that criminals will be prosecuted	↑ 56%	↔ 49%	↑ 62%	↓ 25%	51%	650.49	● 0.27
Police use too much force against ordinary people	↑ 65%	↔ 51%	↑ 69%	↓ 16%	57%	1270.21	● 0.37
Police are willing to take bribes	↓ 69%	↑ 89%	↔ 84%	↑ 89%	73%	297.80	● 0.18
I think it is a good thing that the constitution recognizes a role for traditional leaders	↑ 75%	↑ 76%	↑ 74%	↓ 22%	67%	1774.86	● 0.44
I should be allowed to know about everything the government does	↑ 81%	↓ 59%	↔ 74%	↔ 72%	79%	184.38	● 0.14
I would not mind if the government kept something secret if it had a good reason to do so	↔ 36%	↑ 48%	↑ 46%	↓ 20%	35%	213.41	● 0.15
The people who really hold political power are rich people	↑ 79%	↑ 85%	↑ 79%	↓ 55%	76%	554.43	● 0.25
White people still hold the economic power in South Africa	↑ 61%	↑ 65%	↑ 53%	↓ 12%	54%	2905.66	● 0.56
Democracy is the best system of government for South Africa	↑ 78%	↑ 76%	↓ 62%	↓ 59%	75%	361.18	● 0.20
Provincial parliaments are a waste of tax-payer's money	↓ 45%	↔ 53%	↔ 54%	↑ 57%	48%	138.08	● 0.12
Politicians generally stick to the rules of the constitution	↑ 51%	↔ 45%	↑ 55%	↓ 19%	46%	547.10	● 0.24
If we had the chance to write a new constitution, we should do so	↑ 78%	↑ 77%	↑ 80%	↓ 54%	74%	360.14	● 0.20

Table 7: Effect sizes for comparisons of race groups on accessibility of political participation items

Item	% Agree/Strongly					Chi Square (6df)	Cramers V (2df)
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Total		
Contact my member of parliament if I want to express my point of view	↑ 11%	↑ 11%	↔ 8%	↓ 3%	10%	247.58	● 0.16
Contact my member of the provincial parliament if I want to express my point of view	↑ 12%	↑ 14%	↓ 7%	↓ 5%	11%	178.07	● 0.14
Contact my local councillor if I want to express my point of view	↑ 17%	↑ 17%	↔ 15%	↓ 11%	16%	190.60	● 0.14
Contact my local party branch if I want to express my point of view	↘ 20%	↑ 31%	↓ 17%	↓ 13%	19%	429.71	● 0.22
Challenge a violation of my rights in court	↑ 16%	↔ 12%	↘ 8%	↓ 3%	14%	682.71	● 0.27
Approach the Constitutional Court directly to assert my rights	↑ 13%	↓ 6%	↓ 6%	↓ 5%	12%	494.17	● 0.23
Lodge a complaint at the Human Rights Commission	↑ 13%	↑ 11%	↑ 12%	↓ 5%	12%	369.94	● 0.20
Lodge a complaint at the Public Protector	↑ 15%	↘ 6%	↑ 14%	↓ 2%	13%	377.57	● 0.20
Apply for Access to Information form a government department	↑ 13%	↑ 15%	↔ 10%	↓ 1%	11%	499.82	● 0.23
Apply for Reasons to find out why the government made a decision	↑ 13%	↑ 15%	↓ 5%	↓ 2%	11%	498.27	● 0.23

Table 8: Effect sizes for comparisons of race groups on knowledge items

Item	% Correct					Chi Square (3df)	Cramers V (1df)
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Total		
In South Africa, I vote directly for the President	↓ 32%	↑ 46%	↑ 45%	↑ 43%	34%	93.75	● 0.10
The Constitutional Court may strike down a law passed by parliament if the law goes against the Constitution	↑ 49%	↓ 42%	↑ 52%	↓ 42%	48%	31.38	○ 0.06
The Human Rights Commission can strike down a law passed by parliament	↑ 82%	↓ 61%	↔ 75%	↑ 78%	81%	99.72	● 0.10
The Public Protector makes laws for South Africans	↓ 28%	↑ 44%	↔ 31%	↓ 27%	28%	43.48	○ 0.07
The Constitution says I have a right to adequate housing	↔ 81%	↑ 84%	↑ 86%	↓ 70%	80%	101.51	● 0.10
Every person in South Africa has a right to be treated in hospital in an emergency	↔ 80%	↑ 91%	↑ 87%	↓ 75%	80%	52.96	○ 0.08
My land-lord cannot evict me without a court order	↓ 49%	↓ 49%	↑ 62%	↔ 54%	50%	25.57	○ 0.05
The Constitution says that South Africa is a Christian state	↓ 43%	↑ 61%	↔ 48%	↓ 39%	43%	50.19	○ 0.07
The Constitution allows me to vote for my own individual member of parliament	↑ 23%	↓ 17%	↓ 18%	↑ 21%	22%	9.08	○ 0.03
The Constitution allows me to vote for an individual person to represent me in my local municipality	↑ 74%	↔ 66%	↓ 53%	↔ 62%	71%	125.16	● 0.12
A province can pass its own constitution if it does not conflict with the national constitution	↑ 50%	↑ 50%	↑ 54%	↓ 24%	46%	312.35	● 0.18
The Constitution recognises the customary laws of the African people	↔ 69%	↓ 66%	↑ 74%	↓ 64%	68%	15.08	○ 0.04
The Constitution says there should be no restrictions on freedom of speech	↑ 19%	↑ 18%	↓ 6%	↔ 15%	18%	42.31	○ 0.07
South Africa is made up of three levels of Government - Local, Provincial and National	↑ 84%	↑ 82%	↑ 85%	↓ 66%	82%	250.47	● 0.16
The head of the National Prosecuting Authority may receive direct instructions about who to prosecute from the President	↔ 20%	↑ 28%	↔ 20%	↓ 16%	19%	23.30	○ 0.05
Any party that has more than 50 percent of seats in parliament can change the constitution whenever it wishes	↓ 24%	↓ 26%	↔ 29%	↑ 35%	26%	79.78	○ 0.09
Most of the constitution can be changed if 2/3rds of both houses of parliament agree	↑ 52%	↓ 48%	↑ 51%	↔ 50%	52%	5.39	○ 0.02
The Constitution establishes a Commission for Gender Equality	↑ 81%	↔ 76%	↑ 82%	↓ 65%	78%	171.96	● 0.14

Table 9: Effect sizes for comparisons of race groups on political participation items

Item	% Agree							Chi Square (3df)	Cramers V (1df)
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Total				
I voted in the last general election	↑ 87%	↔ 80%	↓ 60%	↓ 61%	82%			646.76	● 0.26
I campaigned for my political party in the last general election	↑ 45%	↔ 21%	↔ 16%	↓ 5%	37%			858.08	● 0.31
I voted in the last local government election	↑ 83%	↔ 72%	↓ 50%	↓ 58%	78%			543.93	● 0.24
I pay to be a member of my political party	↑ 37%	↔ 15%	↔ 13%	↓ 1%	30%			778.88	● 0.29
I have voted in elections for my party leadership	↑ 75%	↔ 66%	↓ 50%	↓ 48%	70%			444.81	● 0.22
I have joined a protest march/demonstration/meeting to campaign for my point of view	↑ 34%	↔ 25%	↔ 19%	↓ 0%	28%			657.91	● 0.27
I am prepared to break the law to advance my point of view	↔ 20%	↑ 32%	↔ 17%	↓ 1%	18%			313.15	● 0.18
I am a member of a trade union	↑ 30%	↑ 30%	↔ 19%	↓ 8%	27%			299.54	● 0.18
I have participated in a strike at my place of work	↑ 40%	↔ 22%	↔ 13%	↓ 2%	33%			816.25	● 0.30
I have refused to pay for a government service as a way of protest	↔ 24%	↑ 34%	↔ 22%	↓ 7%	22%			231.40	● 0.16
If the police ask me for a bribe, I am willing to pay it	↑ 29%	↑ 24%	↔ 21%	↓ 4%	25%			381.86	● 0.20
I have participated in a Ward Committee meeting	↑ 60%	↓ 17%	↓ 17%	↓ 11%	50%			1355.82	● 0.38
I have participated in an Integrated Development Plan process	↑ 33%	↔ 22%	↔ 17%	↓ 2%	28%			584.51	● 0.25
I was involved in a meeting in which my local councillor was present	↑ 57%	↔ 28%	↓ 16%	↓ 7%	48%			1330.25	● 0.38
I participated in a meeting where a member of the provincial parliament was present	↑ 28%	↑ 28%	↔ 13%	↓ 3%	24%			408.70	● 0.21
I have participated in a meeting where a member of the national parliament was present	↑ 26%	↑ 25%	↔ 16%	↓ 1%	22%			408.29	● 0.21
I discuss politics regularly with friends	↑ 63%	↔ 45%	↓ 31%	↓ 36%	57%			441.74	● 0.22
I follow the news in South Africa every day	↑ 82%	↓ 58%	↓ 55%	↓ 61%	78%			462.70	● 0.22

Table 10: Effect sizes for comparisons of race groups on perception of SA and leadership items

Item	% Agree							Chi Square (3df)	Cramers V (1df)
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Total				
I think Jacob Zuma is performing very well in his job as president of this country	↑ 40%	↔ 20%	↔ 31%	↓ 3%	34%			1039.10	● 0.34
I feel proud to be a South African	↑ 81%	↔ 65%	↔ 60%	↓ 40%	74%			1119.12	● 0.35
I feel that the Government has managed the economy well since 1994	↑ 55%	↔ 37%	↔ 40%	↓ 5%	47%			1119.12	● 0.35
South Africa cannot cope with any more immigrants ie people coming into SA from other countries	↔ 71%	↓ 60%	↔ 69%	↑ 85%	73%			202.88	● 0.15
There were retrenchments and job losses in my company/business last year	↑ 63%	↓ 50%	↓ 49%	↓ 46%	60%			286.78	● 0.18
I have seriously considered emigrating to another country	↓ 33%	↓ 34%	↑ 46%	↑ 46%	35%			229.35	● 0.16

3.3 Assessment of the validity of the questionnaire: aggregating items to scale level

Our next task was to summarise the responses to the individual items by combining those items that measure the same construct into a single score. Thus our aim was to reduce the dimensionality of the data from responses to individual items to responses to their underlying dimensions. In addition to summarising the data, composite measures also result in the simultaneous cancelling out of random error or unreliability in the item-level data that occurs when respondents randomly 'over' or 'under' agree to an item relative to other similar items. However, before we could combine items into a single scale, we had to make sure that the items we would combine were actually measuring the same construct. In other words, we needed to check the validity of the questionnaire.

We now discuss the content validity and the construct validity of the questionnaire.

3.3.1 The content validity of the scale

The content validity of the questionnaire is the extent to which it incorporates the entire content or domain of the construct it is intended to measure. In this research, we were examining constitutional legitimacy, and we needed to tap various dimensions, for example, value systems, group membership, attitudes to democracy, participation in political activities, perceptions of political leadership, knowledge and awareness. In this research, a number of experts on the SA constitution and related disciplines engaged in a lengthy process of collaboration to ensure that the questionnaire incorporated a range of important aspects related to the constitution. This helps support a conclusion that there is content validity to the questionnaire.

3.3.2 The construct validity of the scale

Our next task was to investigate the construct validity of the scales of the questionnaire. The construct validity of a scale refers to whether the scale measures the construct it is intended to measure and not some other construct. To do so, the scale must possess the properties of both convergent and discriminant validity. Simply stated, convergent validity is the extent to which various items of the measurement scale that are intended to measure the same construct inter-correlate more highly than when correlated with items that are intended to measure different constructs. In other words, items intended to measure the same construct should correlate highly i.e. converge, and items that are intended to measure different constructs should correlate lower, i.e. they should diverge. Accordingly, the scale should have both convergent validity with its items correlating highly when they should correlate, and discriminant validity with its items not correlating highly when they should not.

We used exploratory factor analysis to identify which items are measuring the same constructs, and to identify these constructs. This is the process of investigating the construct validity of the measurement scales.

3.3.2.1 The factor analysis process

Exploratory factor analysis uses correlations to identify those items that converge i.e. correlate highly, while failing to correlate highly with other items i.e. diverging from them. Thereafter, we examined the content or wording of each of the groups of the highly inter-correlated items and named the various underlying factors or constructs of the scale accordingly. Through this process we reduced the dimensionality of the measurement scale from the number of items to the number of underlying dimensions or factors. We later used our reduced set of factor scores for subsequent analyses such as comparing race groups. An even more useful application of these factor scores is to identify clusters of respondents with similar factor scores, or like-minded individuals across the dimensions of the data.

Factor analyses were conducted on the items of each of the sections or subsections of the questionnaire. Accordingly, the following scales were factor-analysed separately to determine the underlying dimensions or factors of each, while retaining the fundamental structure of the questionnaire:

- The 5 fundamental constitutional values
- The 4 items on group identity
- The 23 more general values items
- The 30 democracy items
- The 18 political participation items
- The 12 accessibility of participation items
- The 6 items on perception of the country and its political leadership.

3.3.2.2 Factor analysis results

The assumptions underlying factor analysis were checked prior to carrying out each one (see

Table 11). Specifically, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (KMO) was computed to check the pattern of correlations in the data and thus the appropriateness of using factor analysis to reduce the dimensionality of the data. The KMO-values ranged from .78-.95 and so were 'good' to 'great' or even 'superb' for all the scales except for the scale measuring perception of SA leadership which was 'mediocre' with a KMO=.61 (Field, 2013). Bartlett's test of sphericity was found to be appropriately significant. The knowledge scale was not factor analysed as its items were not sufficiently correlated for factor analysis.

Thus for all scales other than the knowledge scale, the necessary assumptions were satisfied, and factor analyses were computed using Maximum Likelihood factor extraction with orthogonal Varimax rotation. The number of factors was identified by inspecting the scree plots to display the relative importance of each factor. No factor with an eigenvalue less than unity was retained (Kaiser's criterion) (Field, 2013).

The detailed results of the factor analyses are presented in Table 18-Table 23 in Appendix A. These details include the percentage of common variance extracted, the KMO values, the items and their factor loadings with the relatively high loadings (or loadings greater than .4) highlighted.

In simpler language, the appendices show the patterns from the data where there were high correlations between individual items. The items with high correlation are colour-coded: we have utilised a descriptor to label the dimension that most closely covers these items. Thus, for instance, 'equality' is utilised as the term to cover the fact that respondents answered similarly to questions surrounding the statement that 'men and women should have equal career opportunities' to the statement 'women should have the same opportunity as men to become President of South Africa'. The people who agreed with those statements also tended to agree with statements concerning equality relating to black South Africans and statements such as 'we should ignore the colour of people's skin when we employ someone'.

Through this process, as shown in both the summary and detailed tables in the appendices, the following factors or dimensions were identified:

- Support for constitutional values
- Group identity
- Equality
- Extra-legal dissent
- Attitudes to sexuality
- Attitudes to criminal justice
- Institutional legitimacy
- Political impartiality
- Unequal power
- Political participation
- Interest in politics
- Obedience to the law
- Political engagement
- Sense of disempowerment
- Confidence in political leadership

This list of factors was derived from the items that correlated highly with certain items and not with others, as previously described. Thus, we established the construct validity of the scale and reduced the dimensionality of the data from 98 attitudinal/perception items to 15 factors (excluding the knowledge scale).

Table 11: Summary of factor analyses

Scale	Number of items	KMO value	Factors	Number of factors	% common variance explained by factors
Fundamental constitutional values	5	.88	Support for constitutional values (anti)	1	.65
Values	23	.78	Equality; Extra-legal dissent; Attitudes to sexuality (liberal); Attitudes to criminal justice (punitive)	4	.38
Democracy	30	.86	Institutional legitimacy; Political impartiality; Unequal power	3	.34
Political participation	18	.85	Political participation; Interest in politics; Obedience to the law (anti); Political engagement	4	.57
Accessibility of participation	12	.95	Sense of disempowerment	1	.63
Perception of SA leadership	6	.61	Confidence in political leadership	1	.27
Group identity	4	.78	Group identity (lacking)	1	.35
Knowledge of the constitution	18	-	Knowledge	1	.13
Knowledge of the constitution	11	-	Knowledge	1	.18

3.3.3 The reliability of the factor scores

The property of measurement reliability, or consistency of measurement, is important, as a questionnaire that is lacking reliability produces inconsistencies or random error in the responses to it, and this random component in the responses cannot correlate with other constructs. In other words, unreliability in measurement reduces the extent to which the questionnaire can measure what it is supposed to measure, i.e. the validity of the scale. Thus a lack of reliability in the scale reduces the validity of the scale.

The measure of internal consistency reliability often used is Cronbach's coefficient alpha and values of at least .8 are often judged as indicating good internal consistency reliability (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010). There are however a number of caveats that need to be observed when interpreting coefficient alpha (Cortina, 1993).

- Firstly, coefficient alpha is positively correlated with the number of items in the underlying scale. Thus a longer scale with weak internal consistency could have a high alpha value and thereby mistakenly be judged as internally consistent. Conversely, shorter scales with the same level of internal consistency as longer scales will have lower coefficient alpha values, merely because of their length. Thus the complementary measure of average inter-item correlations is also used as this measure is independent of the number of items in the underlying scale. The recommended guideline for adequate average inter-item correlations is .3. In this report, both measures of internal consistency reliability are considered.
- Secondly, the measure should be used only on a unidimensional scale, i.e. on a scale that measures a single construct. Thus it was essential to examine the validity or dimensionality of each measurement scale of the questionnaire before computing its coefficient alpha.

It should be mentioned that while scale reliability is a necessary condition for scale validity, it is not a sufficient condition, as a reliable scale may not necessarily be measuring the construct for which it is intended.

Based on the dual criteria of coefficient alpha greater than .6 and average inter-item correlations greater than .3, the internal consistency reliability was found to be adequate for 12 of the 15 factors and low for three, i.e. attitudes to criminal justice (punitive), interest in politics, and obedience to the law (anti). These factor scores were nevertheless retained in subsequent analyses, although their potential for correlating and discriminating was lower than the other factors (Table 12).

Table 12: Reliability of factors²

Factors	Cronbach's coefficient alpha	Average inter-item correlations
Support for constitutional values (anti)	.90	.65
Equality	.79	.36
Extra-legal dissent	.76	.35
Attitudes to sexuality (liberal)	.68	.42
Attitudes to criminal justice (punitive)	.50	.25
Institutional legitimacy	.87	.38
Political impartiality	.76	.29
Unequal power	.64	.31
Political participation	.84	.41
Interest in politics	.59	.22
Obedience to the law (anti)	.52	.26
Political engagement	.72	.46
Sense of disempowerment	.94	.63
Confidence in political leadership	.75	.51
Group identity (lacking)	.65	.32

Finally, we examine the distributions of the factor scores.

3.3.4 Distributions of factor scores

The frequency distributions of the 15 factor scores are shown in Figure 8-Figure 9. The traditional bell-shaped 'normal' pattern of scores is ideal for subsequent parametric analyses. With the exceptions of the distributions of the factor scores of 'Support for constitutional values (anti)' and 'Group identity (lacking)' which showed skewed frequency distributions, most distributions were relatively normally distributed, i.e. the preferred condition for further analysis. However, given the very large sample sizes in this research, the normality of the distributions is not critical as the central limit theorem would render the normality assumption unimportant.

² Calculated based on items with high loadings on the factor

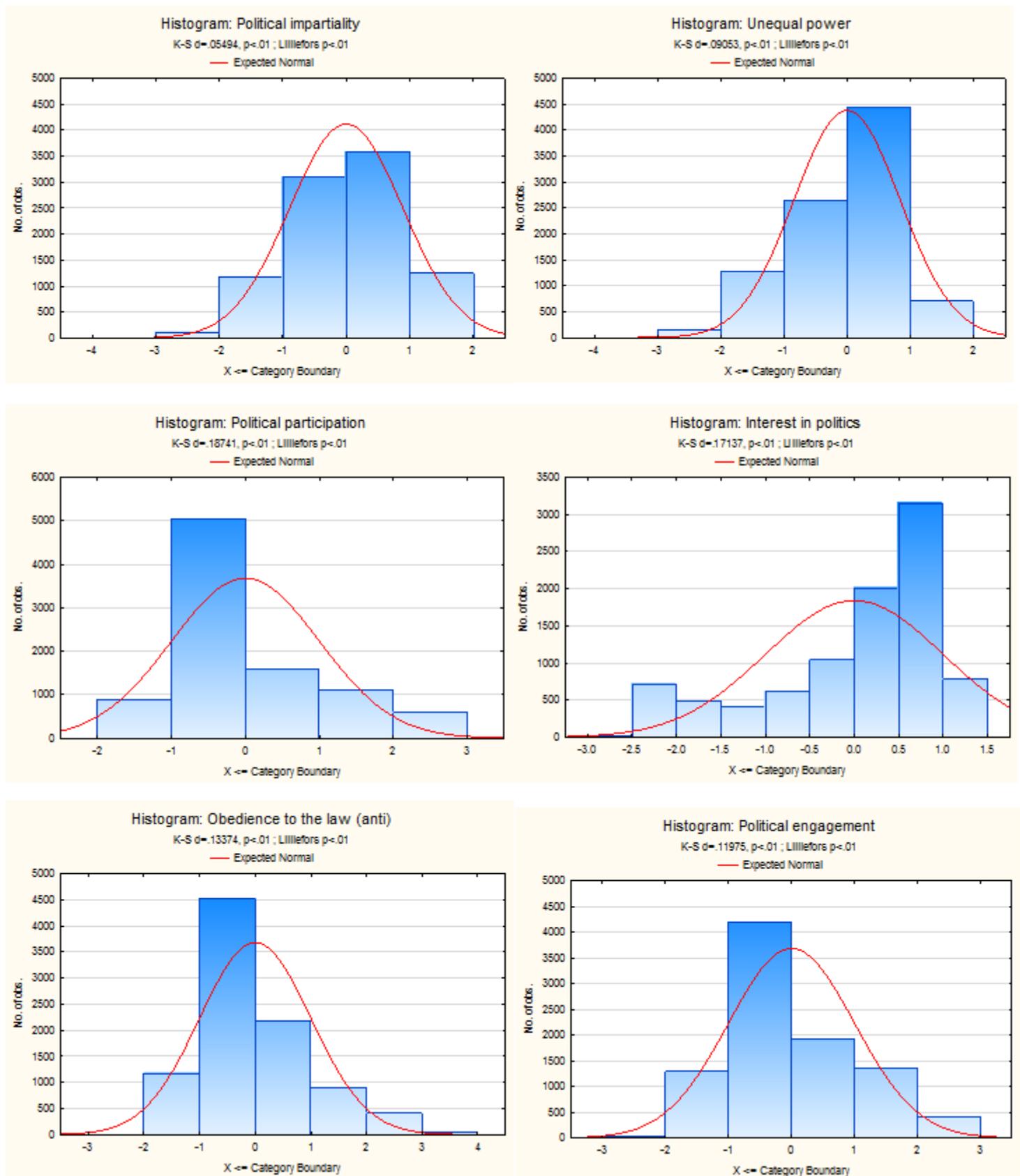


Figure 8: Distributions of factor scores

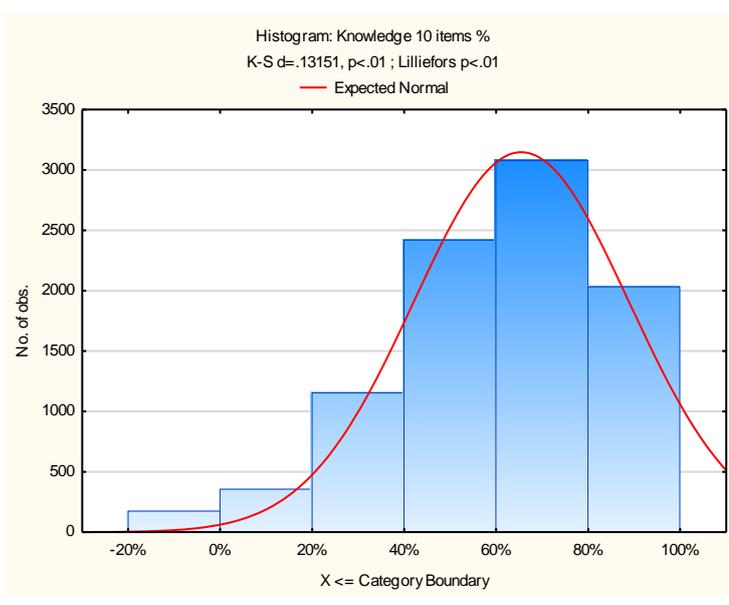
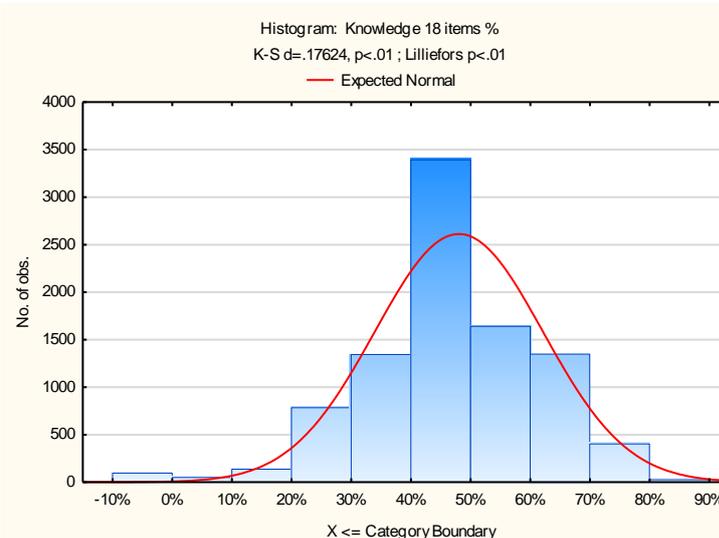
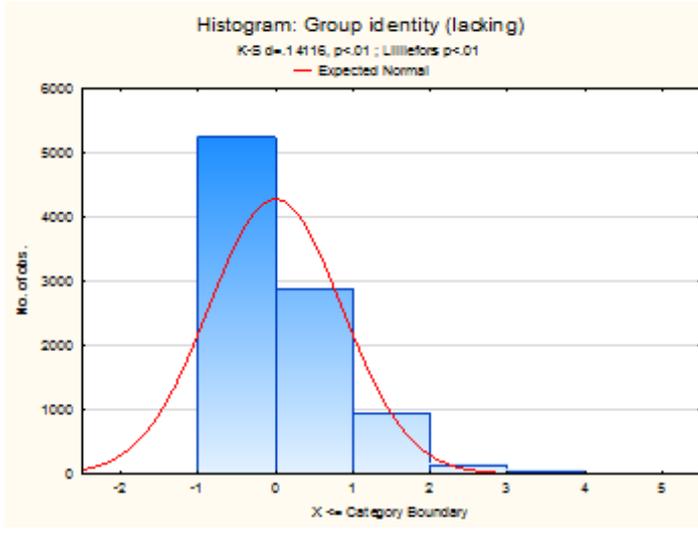
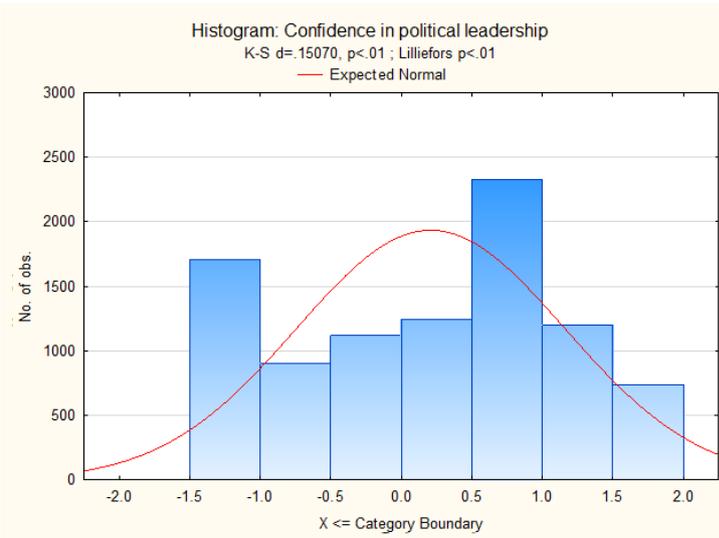
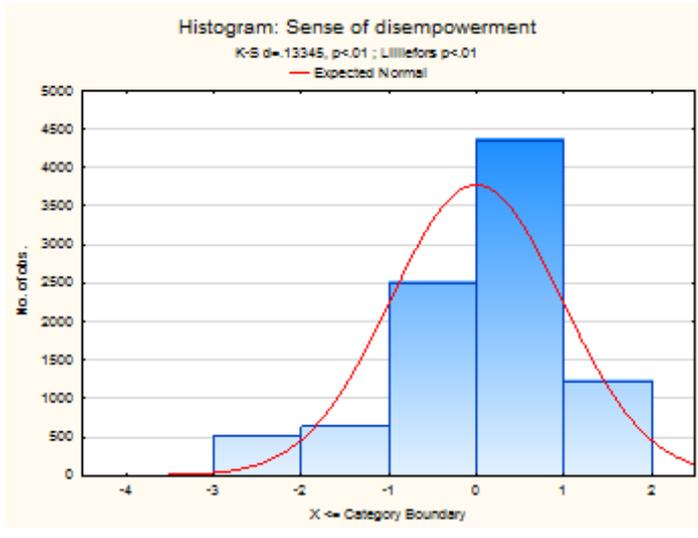


Figure 9: Distributions of factor scores and knowledge scores

3.3.5 The knowledge scale

Factor analysis was not considered relevant to the 18-item knowledge scale as the scale covered a wide range of items. Nevertheless, for the exploratory purposes, we did attempt the analysis. As expected, the scale had the poorest factor structure, with a KMO value less than .6, thus accounting for the single factor explaining only 13% of the variance. Moreover, the reliability of the 18-item scale was unacceptably low with alpha³ value = .47 and average inter-item correlation = .05. An item analysis of the knowledge items showed that by retaining only 11 of the 18 items, the alpha value improved to .69 with average inter-item correlation = .19, this latter value having improved but still low. As a result, a factor score was not used for the knowledge scale and the individual knowledge item scores were used. In subsequent analyses, the mean of the more reliable 10-item knowledge scale was considered.⁴

3.4 Comparison of the race groups on factor scores and knowledge scores

As would be expected with large sample sizes, the race group comparisons on the factor scores and on the total knowledge scores are all significant, and so once again the interpretation is based on the Eta squared effect sizes or magnitudes of the differences (Table 13) and the direction of the pairwise mean comparisons and effect sizes in Table 14.

None of the overall race group differences are strong, but there are moderately strong race group differences on the factors of extra-legal dissent, attitudes towards criminal justice, unequal power, political engagement and confidence in political leadership (Table 13).

In general, based on the pairwise means and effect sizes (Table 14), there is a polarisation in attitudes of blacks and whites. When there are race group differences on the factor scores, the differences are stronger between the whites versus the other race groups, and in particular between the whites versus the blacks, rather than between coloured, Indian and black people. Strong differences are evident between whites versus the other race groups on:

³ Also referred to as Kuder-Richardson Formula 20 (KR-20), a derivative of Cronbach's alpha for dichotomous items.

⁴ The 10 items retained for analysis at the scale level were:

- The Constitutional Court may strike down a law passed by parliament if the law goes against the Constitution
- The Constitution says I have a right to a dequate housing
- Every person in South Africa has a right to be treated in hospital in an emergency
- My land-lord cannot evict me without a court order
- The Constitution allows me to vote for an individual person to represent me in my local municipality
- A province can pass its own constitution if it does not conflict with the national constitution
- The Constitution recognises the customary laws of the African people
- South Africa is made up of three levels of Government - Local, Provincial and National
- Most of the constitution can be changed if 2/3rds of both houses of parliament agree
- The Constitution establishes a Commission for Gender Equality

- Extra-legal dissent, with whites more strongly opposed and other racial groups more accepting of this;
- Punitive attitudes to criminal justice with whites more in favour
- Institutional legitimacy with a stronger sense thereof from blacks, coloureds and Indians in comparison to whites;
- Unequal power in the country with whites perceiving there to be more equality already achieved than other groups
- Political participation with whites scoring lower than the other race groups, particularly so when compared to the coloureds
- Obedience to the law with whites more in favour of obedience and other racial groups more prepared to engage in extra-legal dissent
- Political engagement with whites lower than the other groups, the difference between the whites and blacks being the only strong one
- Confidence in political leadership with other racial groups much more confident than whites

Moderately strong differences between race groups are evident on:

- Equality, with whites being least supportive of gender and racial equality, in particular when compared to coloureds
- Interest in politics with whites and Indians showing lower interest than the other groups, and blacks being the most interested
- Sense of disempowerment with whites expressing a greater sense of disempowerment than the other race groups.

Table 13: Effect sizes for ANOVA comparisons of race groups: factor scores and knowledge levels

Factor	ANOVA F(3,9220)	Eta squared Effect size
Equality	47.80	
Extra-legal dissent	498.83	 0.14
Attitudes to sexuality (liberal)	13.10	0.00
Attitudes to criminal justice (punitive)	644.59	 0.17
Institutional legitimacy	248.68	 0.07
Political impartiality	24.02	0.01
Unequal power	717.91	 0.19
Political participation	183.41	 0.06
Interest in politics	224.25	 0.07
Obedience to the law (anti)	80.47	 0.03
Political engagement	325.95	 0.10
Sense of disempowerment	133.43	 0.04
St Confidence in political leadership	919.93	 0.23
Support for constitutional values (anti)	33.38	 0.01
Group identity (lacking)	6.94	0.00
Knowledge 18 %	53.66	 0.02
Knowledge 10%	69.20	 0.02

Table 14: Means and effect sizes for pairwise comparisons of race groups on factor scores and knowledge levels

Factor scores and knowledge scores	Means				Cohen's d Effect size					
	blacks	coloureds	Indians	whites	blacks-coloureds	blacks-Indians	blacks-whites	coloureds-Indians	coloureds-whites	Indians-whites
Equality	↔ 0.03	↑ 0.25	↑ 0.13	↓ -0.26	● 0.27	● 0.11	● 0.35	● 0.13	● 0.71	● 0.46
Extra-legal dissent	↑ 0.15	↑ 0.00	↑ 0.13	↓ -0.83	● 0.19	● 0.02	● 1.35	● 0.17	● 1.27	● 1.43
Attitudes to sexuality (liberal)	↔ -0.01	↑ 0.04	↓ -0.26	↑ 0.08	● 0.06	● 0.29	● 0.10	● 0.34	● 0.04	● 0.42
Attitudes to criminal justice (punitive)	↓ -0.16	↔ 0.17	↔ 0.10	↑ 0.81	● 0.43	● 0.37	● 1.27	● 0.10	● 0.84	● 0.99
Institutional legitimacy	↑ 0.12	↑ 0.08	↔ -0.17	↓ -0.60	● 0.05	● 0.25	● 0.88	● 0.21	● 0.79	● 0.41
Political impartiality	↓ -0.04	↔ 0.11	↓ -0.02	↑ 0.17	● 0.17	● 0.03	● 0.25	● 0.16	● 0.07	● 0.25
Unequal power	↑ 0.16	↑ 0.04	↑ 0.19	↓ -0.90	● 0.18	● 0.04	● 1.29	● 0.22	● 1.25	● 1.35
Political participation	↑ 0.12	↑ -0.05	↔ -0.24	↓ -0.55	● 0.18	● 0.39	● 0.89	● 0.25	● 0.87	● 0.58
Interest in politics	↑ 0.13	↔ -0.28	↓ -0.71	↔ -0.50	● 0.42	● 0.79	● 0.55	● 0.38	● 0.18	● 0.17
Obedience to the law (anti)	↔ 0.05	↑ 0.36	↔ 0.05	↓ -0.36	● 0.29	● 0.00	● 0.52	● 0.33	● 0.91	● 0.63
Political engagement	↑ 0.16	↓ -0.47	↔ -0.43	↓ -0.66	● 0.70	● 0.67	● 1.06	● 0.06	● 0.30	● 0.40
Sense of disempowerment	↓ -0.10	↔ 0.12	↔ 0.09	↑ 0.47	● 0.23	● 0.22	● 0.70	● 0.03	● 0.45	● 0.55
Confidence in political leadership	↑ 0.43	↔ -0.09	↔ -0.09	↓ -0.86	● 0.59	● 0.53	● 1.78	● 0.00	● 1.04	● 0.92
Support for constitutional values (anti)	↑ 0.05	↓ -0.19	↓ -0.25	↔ -0.17	● 0.29	● 0.36	● 0.26	● 0.08	● 0.03	● 0.11
Group identity (lacking)	↑ 0.00	↓ -0.12	↓ -0.17	↑ 0.05	● 0.16	● 0.20	● 0.05	● 0.06	● 0.20	● 0.24
Knowledge 18 %	↔ 0.49	↑ 0.52	↑ 0.50	↓ 0.44	● 0.23	● 0.13	● 0.29	● 0.08	● 0.48	● 0.39
Knowledge 10%	↑ 0.67	↔ 0.64	↑ 0.69	↓ 0.57	● 0.10	● 0.08	● 0.38	● 0.17	● 0.27	● 0.45

3.5 Cluster analysis

The analysis has progressed from a detailed examination of the responses of the survey participants to the individual items of the questionnaire, to summarising the responses of the participants to the dimensions or factors underlying the individual items. As such, the principle of parsimony has been applied by reducing the dimensionality of measurement. However, up to this point, there has been no attempt to summarise the respondents by identifying groups of people with similar views on the dimensions or factors identified in the data. This is the task of cluster analysis, a multivariate technique that clusters survey participants together whose responses are similar to each other, and different from other participants. Effectively, cluster analysis groups participants with similar responses. Importantly, the technique computes the best solution with no *a priori* expectations of what we may expect to find in the grouping of the respondents.

The clustering variables, or variables used to form the clusters, were the factor scores as well as the knowledge means and the awareness scores. These scores were all standardised to prevent bias resulting from differences in their measurement scales. We used the k-means clustering technique to derive the clusters. Furthermore, we implemented a 'v-fold cross-validation' algorithm (Statsoft Inc., 2013) for automatically determining the optimal number of clusters in the data. This algorithm produced four clear clusters of respondents.

It is emphasised that only the attitude and perception factor scores as well as the knowledge and awareness scores were used to form the clusters. None of the demographic variables were used in forming the clusters. However, for descriptive purposes, the clusters were analysed post hoc in relation to the demographics of the cluster members.

The following cluster descriptions are based on the standardised and normalised means in Figure 10 and Table 15, and the demographics in Table 16-Table 17.

3.5.1 Cluster 1 (22%): CONSTITUTIONALLY ENGAGED

This cluster has the highest knowledge score on the 18-item knowledge test (55% on average compared to the 44%-50%).

Compared to the other cluster members, Cluster 1 members are the most active participants in politics (e.g. participation in the Integrated Development Plan process, trade unions and demonstrations). They have strong confidence in the political leadership of the country. They are supportive of constitutional values (Equality, Dignity, Freedom, Democracy and the Rule of law), and have the strongest group identity (religion, race). They hold liberal views on equality (equal opportunities across gender and race groups) and sexuality. They feel the most empowered relative

to members of the other clusters (e.g. they would approach the Constitutional Court directly or a member of Parliament). They do not support extra-legal dissent and are the most strongly supportive of obedience to the law.

Almost three quarters (70%) of the cluster members belong the LSMs 5-7, and are mostly (94%) black compared to 86%, 84% and 52% in the other clusters. About half (46%) the members speak Zulu at home, more than the percentage of Zulu home language speakers in the other clusters. Over half (58%) of the cluster members have matriculated, and a further third (34%) have some form of tertiary education. The vast majority (almost 90%) are employed or self-employed with only 7% looking for work. In general, households comprise 4 to 5 people, with 1-2 children and up to 3 earners.

3.5.2 Cluster 2 (37%): CONSTITUTIONALLY DISAFFECTED

This cluster has a relatively poor knowledge of the constitution, averaging only 44% on the 18-item knowledge test.

The cluster members are generally less supportive of constitutional values. Compared to the other cluster members, they are the most supportive of extra-legal dissent (for example accepting of the burning of government property to force politicians to listen or to force the State to provide services) and, correspondingly, show the least obedience to the law (e.g. they are prepared to pay bribes to the police). They are though fairly confident in the political leadership of the country. They have a sense of unequal power in the country (for example that white people still hold the economic power in South Africa), more so than all the other clusters. They do not participate actively in politics.

This cluster is the second lowest in terms of socio economic status with 36% of members in LSMs 1-5, and is similarly ranked second lowest in terms of education, with almost a third (31%) not having matriculated. The majority of cluster members are black (86%), 4% are coloured and Indian respectively, and 6% are white. Generally, households comprise 3 to 6 people, with 1-2 children and up to 3 earners.

3.5.3 Cluster 3 (17%): CONSTITUTIONALLY AMBIVALENT

The knowledge level of this cluster tends to be low, similar to that of Cluster 2, with the same average score of 44% on the 18-item knowledge test.

Members of this cluster feel more disempowered than Cluster 2 members, but unlike Cluster 2 members they are not supportive of extra-legal dissent and do not support disobeying the law. They

are moderately liberal in their attitudes to sexuality and generally supportive of strong criminal justice responses such as the death penalty for serious crimes. They are ranked second lowest of the clusters in terms of support for the values of the constitution and for institutional legitimacy, only higher than Cluster 2. They are fairly confident in the political leadership of the country and feel to some extent politically engaged.

This cluster has the lowest socio-economic status with almost half (47%) of members in LSMs 1-5. Members of this cluster have the lowest levels of education with 58% not matriculated and only 12% with any form of tertiary education. The cluster members tend to have the largest households, and the least number of earners. A quarter (24%) of the cluster members are at least 65 years old and retired, compared to just 5% or fewer in the other clusters. Membership is 84% black, 2% coloured and Indian, with the most children and the lowest number of earners of all the clusters.

3.5.4 Cluster 4 (24%): CONSTITUTIONALLY DISEMPOWERED

This cluster has the second highest knowledge score of the constitution, scoring 50% on average on the 18-item knowledge test.

The cluster members feel the most disempowered of all the clusters. The cluster members participate the least in politics, are the least politically engaged and have the weakest support for legitimacy of democratic institutions. However, they show strong support for the values of the constitution and political impartiality. They are the most strongly opposed to extra-legal dissent and are unsupportive of disobedience to the law. They hold the most punitive attitudes to criminal justice. They are the least confident in the political leadership of the country.

This cluster is the most affluent cluster, with a third of cluster members in LSM's 9-10 compared to fewer than 11% in any other cluster. It is also the most educated of the clusters with half the members having achieved some tertiary education. This cluster is mostly employed or self-employed (80%). The cluster comprises half black membership, 4% coloureds, 5% Indians and 40% whites. Half of the cluster members speak English or Afrikaans at home compared to under 20% in the other clusters. They tend to have households with 1-5 members, with one or two earners in the household and up to two children.

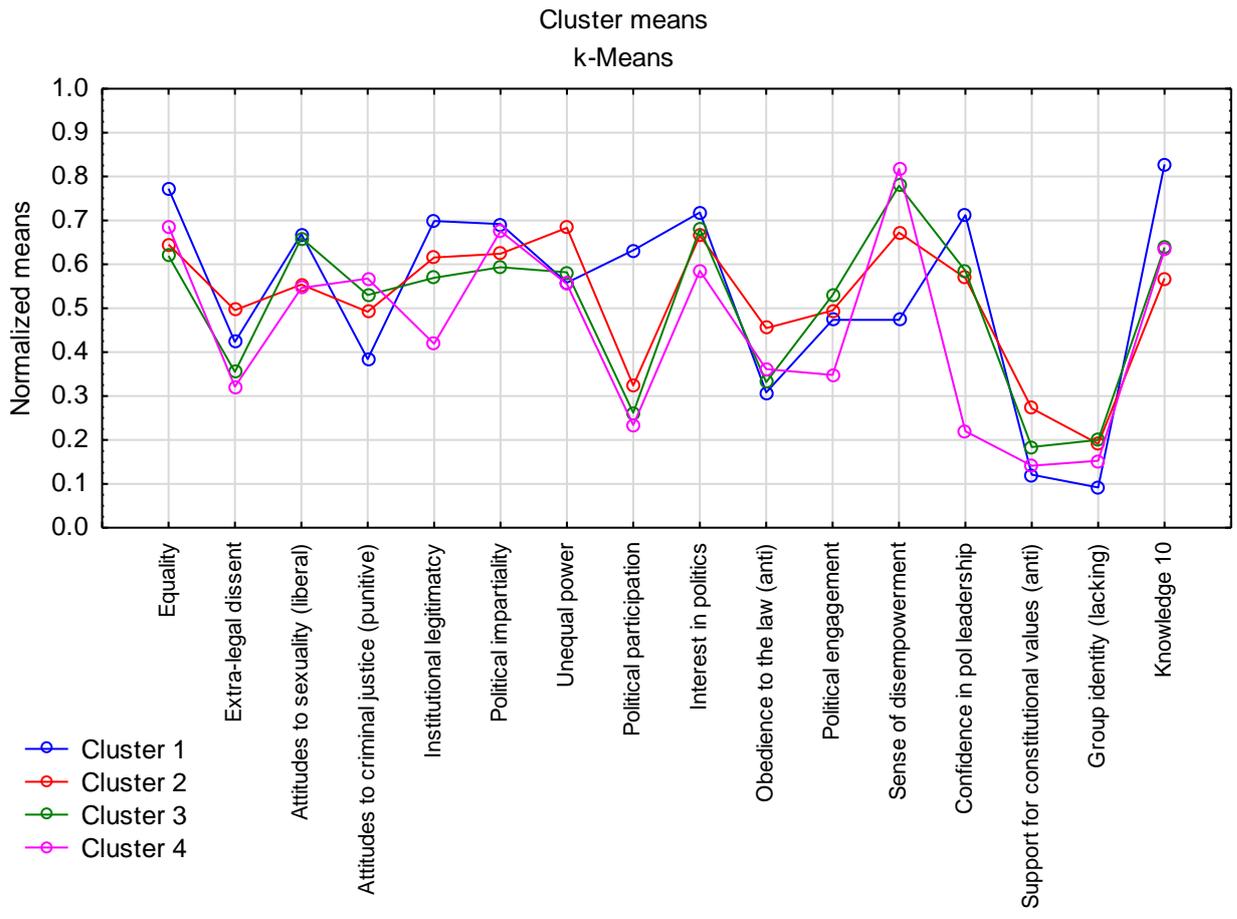


Figure 10: Means of continuous variables used to derive the clusters

Table 15: Means and effect sizes for pairwise comparisons of clusters on standardised factor scores and knowledge levels

	Standardised Means				Cohen's d Effect size					
	1	2	3	4	1-2	1-3	1-4	2-3	2-4	3-4
Equality	↑ 0.53	↓ -0.20	↓ -0.34	↔ 0.04	● 0.80	● 0.96	● 0.58	● 0.14	● 0.24	● 0.38
Extra-legal dissent	↔ 0.06	↑ 0.39	↓ -0.27	↓ -0.44	● 0.34	● 0.30	● 0.51	● 0.69	● 0.99	● 0.19
Attitudes to sexuality (liberal)	↑ 0.34	↓ -0.19	↑ 0.28	↓ -0.22	● 0.57	● 0.06	● 0.62	● 0.47	● 0.04	● 0.51
Attitudes to criminal justice (punitive)	↓ -0.59	↔ 0.00	↑ 0.21	↑ 0.43	● 0.69	● 0.88	● 0.95	● 0.26	● 0.43	● 0.21
Institutional legitimacy	↑ 0.57	↔ 0.18	↔ -0.04	↓ -0.75	● 0.47	● 0.79	● 1.57	● 0.24	● 0.96	● 0.76
Political impartiality	↑ 0.24	↔ -0.12	↓ -0.27	↑ 0.16	● 0.42	● 0.52	● 0.11	● 0.13	● 0.28	● 0.40
Unequal power	↓ -0.27	↑ 0.43	↓ -0.14	↓ -0.30	● 0.85	● 0.13	● 0.03	● 0.64	● 0.76	● 0.15
Political participation	↑ 1.13	↓ -0.15	↓ -0.41	↓ -0.53	● 1.41	● 1.75	● 2.19	● 0.34	● 0.62	● 0.21
Interest in politics	↑ 0.22	↔ 0.01	↑ 0.07	↓ -0.29	● 0.24	● 0.17	● 0.51	● 0.06	● 0.27	● 0.32
Obedience to the law (anti)	↓ -0.34	↑ 0.38	↓ -0.23	↔ -0.09	● 0.66	● 0.11	● 0.27	● 0.67	● 0.57	● 0.19
Political engagement	↔ 0.07	↑ 0.17	↑ 0.34	↔ -0.56	● 0.11	● 0.27	● 0.93	● 0.15	● 0.83	● 0.93
Sense of disempowerment	↓ -0.89	↔ -0.04	↑ 0.41	↑ 0.59	● 0.92	● 1.53	● 1.95	● 0.51	● 0.79	● 0.24
Confidence in political leadership	↑ 0.80	↔ 0.36	↑ 0.40	↓ -0.71	● 0.58	● 0.47	● 2.47	● 0.04	● 1.47	● 1.36
Support for constitutional values (anti)	↓ -0.35	↑ 0.40	↔ -0.04	↓ -0.25	● 0.78	● 0.33	● 0.11	● 0.46	● 0.70	● 0.23
Group identity (lacking)	↓ -0.46	↑ 0.20	↑ 0.26	↔ -0.05	● 0.76	● 0.76	● 0.46	● 0.06	● 0.25	● 0.29
Knowledge 10	↑ 0.74	↓ -0.37	↔ -0.06	↔ -0.09	● 1.25	● 0.98	● 0.89	● 0.35	● 0.29	● 0.03
Knowledge 18	↑ 0.46	↓ -0.25	↓ -0.27	↔ 0.15	● 0.80	● 0.84	● 0.36	● 0.01	● 0.40	● 0.42
Knowledge 10%	↑ 0.83	↓ 0.57	↔ 0.64	↔ 0.63	● 1.25	● 0.98	● 0.89	● 0.35	● 0.29	● 0.03
Knowledge 18 %	↑ 0.55	↓ 0.44	↔ 0.44	↔ 0.50	● 0.80	● 0.84	● 0.36	● 0.01	● 0.40	● 0.42

Table 16: Demographics of cluster membership

Cluster demographics	Levels	1	2	3	4	Total
		22%	37%	17%	24%	
Race	Black	94%	86%	84%	52%	79%
	Coloured	3%	4%	2%	4%	3%
	Indian	1%	4%	2%	5%	3%
	White	2%	6%	13%	40%	15%
Gender	Female	52%	45%	63%	49%	51%
	Male	48%	55%	37%	51%	50%
Age	18-24 years	16%	18%	13%	13%	15%
	25-29	20%	13%	14%	18%	16%
	30-34	5%	13%	19%	15%	13%
	35-39	18%	12%	4%	10%	12%
	40-49	10%	17%	11%	17%	14%
	50-59	27%	20%	12%	19%	20%
	60-64	3%	1%	2%	3%	2%
LSM	65+	1%	5%	24%	5%	7%
	LSM 1 - 4	7%	13%	6%	2%	8%
	LSM 5	13%	23%	41%	7%	20%
	LSM 6	29%	26%	24%	21%	25%
	LSM 7	28%	15%	16%	19%	19%
	LSM 8	15%	12%	3%	19%	13%
Home language	LSM 9	4%	6%	7%	19%	9%
	LSM 10	5%	5%	2%	13%	7%
	Zulu	46%	27%	37%	20%	31%
	Xhosa	13%	8%	12%	4%	9%
	N.Sotho	9%	18%	12%	7%	12%
	S.Sotho	21%	20%	19%	17%	19%
	English	5%	6%	7%	21%	10%
Afrikaans	3%	8%	11%	28%	12%	
Other (please specify)	4%	12%	3%	4%	7%	
Highest education	Up to some Primary School	2%	4%	0%	0%	2%
	Primary school complete	1%	1%	26%	0%	5%
	Grade 8 - 10	3%	9%	9%	6%	7%
	Grade 11	2%	17%	23%	9%	13%
	Matric	58%	48%	30%	35%	44%
	Post Matric qualification	22%	11%	8%	21%	15%
	Some University/Technikon	4%	8%	2%	17%	8%
	University/Technikon undergraduate	3%	2%	1%	6%	3%
Postgraduate	5%	1%	1%	6%	3%	
Work status	Work full time	71%	46%	24%	63%	52%
	Work part time	13%	21%	21%	10%	16%
	Unemployed - looking for work	7%	12%	17%	5%	10%
	Self employed	5%	8%	7%	6%	7%
	Student	3%	8%	3%	6%	6%
	Unemployed - not looking for work	0%	2%	4%	7%	3%
	Retired	1%	3%	25%	3%	6%
Marital status	Single	39%	45%	40%	36%	41%
	Married/Living together	59%	48%	32%	57%	50%
	Separated/Divorced	2%	5%	26%	4%	7%
	Widowed	1%	2%	2%	3%	2%
People living in household	1	2%	3%	13%	13%	7%
	2	1%	6%	13%	19%	9%
	3	10%	17%	13%	19%	15%
	4	41%	26%	11%	21%	26%
	5	37%	21%	11%	20%	23%
	6	5%	18%	6%	2%	9%
	7	2%	2%	7%	2%	3%
	8 or more	3%	7%	26%	4%	6%
Children in household	None	0%	1%	3%	11%	4%
	1	40%	47%	38%	57%	46%
	2	48%	37%	24%	24%	34%
	3	8%	8%	9%	7%	8%
	4	3%	3%	3%	1%	2%
	5	1%	4%	23%	0%	6%
Earners in household	1	21%	28%	38%	41%	31%
	2	46%	52%	48%	41%	47%
	3	22%	18%	12%	15%	17%
	4	9%	3%	0%	3%	4%
	5	1%	0%	2%	0%	1%

Table 17: Effect sizes for pairwise comparisons of clusters on demographic variables

Demographics	1-2			1-3			1 vs 4			2 vs 3			2 vs 4			3 vs 4		
	Pearson Chi-square	df	Cramers V															
Race	88.30	3	0.13	178.20	3	0.22	1026.95	3	0.49	101.26	3	0.14	1027.09	3	0.43	408.35	3	0.33
Gender	19.78	1	0.06	43.83	1	0.11	3.27	1	0.03	125.90	1	0.16	6.44	1	0.03	70.18	1	0.14
Age	298.47	7	0.23	855.14	7	0.49	294.66	7	0.26	525.74	7	0.33	64.36	7	0.11	365.43	7	0.31
LSM	243.36	6	0.21	504.10	6	0.37	467.05	6	0.33	293.31	6	0.24	799.67	6	0.38	947.06	6	0.50
Home language	388.77	6	0.27	116.55	6	0.18	974.92	6	0.48	182.01	6	0.19	848.11	6	0.39	459.96	6	0.35
Highest education	627.52	8	0.34	1279.80	8	0.60	501.22	8	0.34	989.39	8	0.45	614.52	8	0.33	1120.77	7	0.54
Work status	334.83	6	0.25	1018.25	6	0.53	197.00	6	0.21	742.95	6	0.39	344.73	6	0.25	914.08	6	0.49
Marital status	88.40	3	0.13	580.13	3	0.40	55.97	3	0.11	490.62	3	0.32	50.63	3	0.09	460.70	3	0.35
People living in household	605.55	10	0.33	1425.85	9	0.63	841.86	9	0.44	1230.61	9	0.50	806.42	9	0.38	673.08	7	0.42
Children in household	113.27	5	0.14	599.22	4	0.41	506.49	4	0.34	464.47	4	0.31	511.39	3	0.30	706.89	4	0.43
Earners in household	193.44	5	0.19	273.38	5	0.28	248.41	5	0.24	145.22	5	0.17	118.76	5	0.15	57.79	5	0.12

4. Conclusions

In addition to describing the views of the Gauteng adult population on constitutional legitimacy, this research has provided information on the dimensions underlying the various scales of measurement. It has therefore provided valuable information on the construct validity of a newly constructed measurement scale that was developed for the purpose of the research.

The factor analysis work on the construct validity of the scale has enabled us to reduce the dimensionality of the data from almost 100 item scores down to 15 factor scores. Furthermore, using these factor scores, the research has identified four clear clusters of respondents, each typifying a group of people with different sets of constitutional values, attitudes, perceptions, knowledge and awareness. By studying these clusters and their demographics, we are afforded a much more in-depth understanding of like-minded people in the context of constitutional legitimacy than if we had merely separated out the groups on a single variable such as race. Based on the mixed composition of the four clusters, it is clear that there are respondents from different race groups, from different education and socio-economic levels, who share similar outlooks. Thus, to compare views based on a variable such as race alone is simplistic and may even be deceptive.

From a research design perspective, this study has the potential to function as the baseline stage of longitudinal research which could track the views of a population such as Gauteng adults over time.

All things considered however, the research has provided the answers to the research questions posed, and has provided even more insight into the topic of constitutional legitimacy than stated in the original brief.

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APPENDIX A

Table 18: Factor analysis of Core Values items

Values items	Factor loading (Varimax raw)
	Support for constitutional values (anti)
Equality	-0.79
Dignity	-0.81
Freedom	-0.82
Democracy	-0.79
Rule of law	-0.83
Explained variance	3.25
Proportion of total	.65
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = .88	
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity: Approx Chi-Square(253)=62130.51, p< .001	
Cronbach's coefficient alpha	.90
Inter-item correlation	.65

Table 19: Factor analysis of Values items: Group belonging

Group belonging items	Factor loading (Varimax raw)
	Group identity (lacking)
Being/Feeling a South African	-0.47
Being a member of my tribe	-0.36
Being a member of my religion	-0.79
Being a member of my race	-0.67
Explained variance	1.42
Proportion of total	.35
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = .78	
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity: Approx Chi-Square(10)=27339.20, p< .001	
Cronbach's coefficient alpha	.65
Inter-item correlation	.32

Table 20: Factor analysis of Values items

Values items	Factor Loadings (Varimax raw) Extraction: Maximum likelihood factors			
	Equality	Extra-legal dissent	Attitudes to sexuality (liberal)	Attitudes to criminal justice (punitive)
The death penalty should be brought back for murder	0.01	0.08	-0.05	0.68
The Constitutional Court should be able to decide whether the death penalty is legal or illegal.	0.34	0.10	-0.05	0.32
The Constitutional Court ruled that the death penalty is illegal. The government must obey its decision	0.38	0.08	0.01	0.20
If the Constitutional Court rules in future that the death penalty is legal, the government must obey its decision	0.27	0.21	0.05	0.44
I have the right to take the law into my own hands if the police have failed to investigate when I report a crime	-0.08	0.68	-0.03	0.13
I think sexual relations between two people of the same sex is acceptable.	0.16	0.09	0.74	-0.09
I would have a problem renting my home to a same-sex couple.	-0.12	0.45	-0.49	0.02
If the Constitutional Court rules that I may not discriminate against same-sex couples, I will be willing to rent my home to a same-sex couple.	0.07	0.02	0.71	0.04
To address South Africa's apartheid past, it is acceptable to give preference to black people in choosing a person for a job	0.10	0.48	-0.06	-0.02
The Constitution gives criminals too many rights	-0.03	-0.02	-0.09	0.42
The Constitution respects the traditional values of South African people	0.45	0.30	0.02	-0.04
It is acceptable to burn government property to force the state to provide services	-0.16	0.74	0.07	0.06
Foreigners should have their human rights protected	0.40	0.35	0.07	-0.26
Foreigners should have the same human rights as South African citizens	0.22	0.38	0.11	-0.34
Men and women should have equal career opportunities	0.71	-0.21	0.12	0.06
Women should have the same opportunity as men to become President of the Republic	0.66	-0.15	0.25	-0.02
The primary role for caring for children should fall upon women	-0.12	0.20	-0.11	0.17
Men and women should be able to take off the same amount of time with full pay to care for their children	0.61	0.02	0.15	0.00
Women are just as capable as men to be the head of a company	0.60	-0.19	0.22	0.04
Blacks are just as capable as whites to be the head of a company	0.52	0.01	-0.09	-0.16
We should ignore the colour of people's skin when we employ someone	0.63	-0.11	-0.07	0.05
Land should be returned to black people where it was taken away	0.24	0.40	-0.15	-0.16
Burning government property is an acceptable way of forcing politicians to listen	-0.22	0.67	0.04	-0.01
Explained variance	3.27	2.64	1.54	1.27
Proportion of total	.14	.11	.07	.06
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = .78				
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity: Approx Chi-Square(253)=62130.51, p< .001				
Cronbach's coefficient alpha	.79	.76	.68	.50
Inter-item correlation	.36	.35	.42	.25

Table 21: Factor analysis of Democracy items

Democracy items	Factor Loadings (Varimax raw) Extraction: Maximum likelihood factors		
	Institutional legitimacy	Political impartiality	Unequal power
If the party I voted for loses a free and fair election, I will accept the result	.19	.61	.01
I think South Africa needs strong opposition parties	.00	.67	.12
The President should be allowed to stay in power as long as s/he is doing a good job	.41	-.07	-.05
I feel that parliament represents me	.72	-.03	.04
I feel that there are politicians who represent me	.69	.11	.04
I feel that I can influence government policy	.42	.16	.31
I feel that the public can influence government policy	.36	.45	.26
The President should be allowed to appoint the judges he or she wants	.57	-.09	.30
If a court orders the President to do something, he must do it	.18	.23	-.28
The court needs to be able to go against the will of the majority to protect vulnerable minorities	.34	.28	-.02
The judges of South Africa do well in achieving justice	.63	.14	.11
The courts reflect the race and gender makeup of South Africa	.37	.25	.25
Government officials sometimes influence the court's decisions	.05	.44	.26
I am confident that the judges act fairly	.69	.11	-.06
It is acceptable for taxpayer's money to be used by government officials to help their friends and family	.30	-.30	.37
The bodies that fight corruption must be independent and free from political influence	.15	.45	-.19
I have to obey the laws of South Africa even if I don't agree with them	.32	.50	.07
I have confidence in the police to arrest criminals	.74	.08	.11
I have confidence that criminals will be prosecuted	.70	.24	.12
Police use too much force against ordinary people	.08	.20	.54
Police are willing to take bribes	-.29	.10	.06
I think it is a good thing that the constitution recognizes a role for traditional leaders	.27	.19	.20
I should be allowed to know about everything the government does	.20	.43	-.09
I would not mind if the government kept something secret if it had a good reason to do so	.33	.08	.44
The people who really hold political power are rich people	-.05	.41	.42
White people still hold the economic power in South Africa	.21	.19	.58
Democracy is the best system of government for South Africa	.50	.30	-.08
Provincial parliaments are a waste of tax-payer's money	.11	.06	.22
Politicians generally stick to the rules of the constitution	.59	.00	.08
If we had the chance to write a new constitution, we should do so	.09	.56	.31
Explained variance	5.18	3.00	1.91
Proportion of total	.17	.10	.06
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = .86			
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity: Approx Chi-Square(435)=86190.63, p< .001			
Cronbach's coefficient alpha	.87	.76	.64
Inter-item correlation	.38	.29	.31

Table 22: Factor analysis of Political participation items

Participation items	Factor Loadings (Varimax raw) Extraction: Maximum likelihood factors			
	Political participation	Interest in politics	Obedience to the law (anti)	Political engagement
I voted in the last general election	.05	.80	.04	.13
I campaigned for my political party in the last general election	.53	.17	-.01	.44
I voted in the last local government election	-.02	.75	.01	.16
I pay to be a member of my political party	-.01	.10	.32	.75
I have voted in elections for my party leadership	.21	.69	.06	.18
I have joined a protest march/demonstration/meeting to campaign for my point of view	.72	.08	.05	.17
I am prepared to break the law to advance my point of view	.28	-.11	.66	.19
I am a member of a trade union	.76	.09	-.15	.05
I have participated in a strike at my place of work	.64	.21	.01	.19
I have refused to pay for a government service as a way of protest	.05	.00	.51	.38
If the police ask me for a bribe, I am willing to pay it	-.05	.12	.72	.00
I have participated in a Ward Committee meeting	.38	.31	-.07	.60
I have participated in an Integrated Development Plan process	.76	.00	.15	.16
I was involved in a meeting in which my local councillor was present	.42	.24	-.11	.66
I participated in a meeting where a member of the provincial parliament was present	.61	.02	.42	.07
I have participated in a meeting where a member of the national parliament was present	.64	.00	.38	.06
I discuss politics regularly with friends	.34	.48	.22	-.05
I follow the news in South Africa every day	.03	.71	-.09	.08
Explained variance	3.71	2.71	1.77	1.99
Proportion of total	.21	.15	.10	.11
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = .85				
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity: Approx Chi-Square(153)=54847.96, p< .001				
Cronbach's coefficient alpha	.84	.59	.52	.72
Inter-item correlation	.41	.22	.26	.46

Table 24: Factor analysis of Accessibility of political participation items

Accessibility of participation items	Factor loading (Varimax raw)
	Sense of disempowerment
Contact my member of parliament if I want to express my point of view	-.84
Contact my member of the provincial parliament if I want to express my point of view	-.80
Contact my local councillor if I want to express my point of view	-.67
Contact my local party branch if I want to express my point of view	-.64
Challenge a violation of my rights in court	-.78
Approach the Constitutional Court directly to assert my rights	-.87
Lodge a complaint at the Human Rights Commission	-.82
Lodge a complaint at the Public Protector	-.79
Apply for Access to Information form a government department	-.83
Apply for Reasons to find out why the government made a decision	-.84
Explained variance	6.26
Proportion of total	.63
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = .95	
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity: Approx Chi-Square(45)=62086.42, p< .001	
Cronbach's coefficient alpha	.94
Inter-item correlation	.63

Table 23: Factor analysis of Perceptions of South African leadership items

SA perception item	Factor loading (Varimax raw)
	Confidence in political leadership
I think Jacob Zuma is performing very well in his job as president of this country	.66
I feel proud to be a South African	.53
I feel that the Government has managed the economy well since 1994	.93
South Africa cannot cope with any more immigrants ie people coming into SA from other countries	.05
There were retrenchments and job losses in my company/business last year	.17
I have seriously considered emigrating to another country	.00
Explained variance	1.61
Proportion of total	.27
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = .61	
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity: Approx Chi-Square(15)=5889.38, p< .001	
Cronbach's coefficient alpha	.75
Inter-item correlation	.51