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APPENDIX 2 – Examples of qualitative fieldwork

In-depth interview template

The series of in-depth interviews we conducted throughout the project were semi-structured in format and included some specific themes that were common throughout. Essentially, the following four themes formed the structure of each of the interviews:

- 1) Experience of Election Day
- 2) Perceptions of the 'atmosphere of elections'
- 3) What influenced the electoral decision?
- 4) Memory of previous elections
- 5) Conception of electoral projection and of the responsibility and role of voters

The interviews were conducted with citizens who had declared that they had voted in the specific election. Alongside the verbatim transcripts, we also collected notes on non-verbal communication during the length of the interview such as any hesitation, laughter, tonal indications, etc. or any other relevant remarks or observations that the interviewer perceived to be interesting and important.

Here we now detail some of the key aspects of the four main themes that formed the basis of the in-depth interviews.

I – THE VOTING EXPERIENCE

In this section, we asked respondents how exactly did they feel when they visited the polling station to cast their vote so for example questions were posed as to what emotions, what thoughts, etc. were present in their minds as they were in the polling station and then when they were in the polling booth itself. We were also interested in whether the individual was actually surprised by their own thoughts, etc. We also asked respondents to describe the experience of Election Day, how did they go to vote? Did they go on their own? With other people? Did they speak about it before or after with anyone?

II – THE ATMOSPHERE OF ELECTIONS

1. When you think about who to vote for, do you usually think more about what matters to you or for the country as a whole? How? Or who do you think about for instance?
2. How about election night? Do you usually watch it? Do you get excited about it?
3. Do you have any significant memory for past election night?
Prompt if needed: Surprise? Doubt? Happiness? Anger? Images from tv? Or simply where you were and with whom?
4. Do you like the atmosphere of elections? How would you describe it?
Prompt if needed: do you think it's exciting? Stressful? Solemn?
5. How about the place were you voted? How would you describe it? How does it feel when you are there?
6. Do you actually like the polling station?

III - THE ELECTORAL DECISION

1. Think about this election. When you think about it, when would you say that you actually decided who you would vote for?
2. And in what circumstances?
Prompt if needed: Did it come out of the blue? After something specific?
Something else
3. Is it usual for you to make up your mind about who to vote for in this way? Or was this election quite different from usual?
4. Do you remember ever hesitating about who to vote for in an election? Could you tell me about it?
 - a. When was it?
 - b. What were the circumstances?
 - c. Who were you hesitating between and why?
5. Do you remember ever changing your mind about who to vote for in an election? Could you tell me about it?
 - a. When was it?
 - b. What were the circumstances?
 - c. Who did you change your mind from/to and why?
6. I know it is a bit of a strange question, but how do you usually decide about who to vote for? Is it something you tend to 'think about', something that comes naturally, something you tend to discuss?
 - a. Prompt if needed: do you think discussing it with others can influence you,
 - b. How about the campaign, do you think it usually matters?
 - c. Do you think the debates do
7. Do you care about the way people around you vote? For instance your partner? Your family members? Your parents or children? Your friends?
 - a. Prompt if needed. Would you mind if these people voted differently from you? Or for some specific parties? Or would you like it?
 - b. Do you tend to care about how people around you perceive the way you vote? Do you like to talk about it? Do you like to argue about it? Etc.

IV – MEMORY OF PAST ELECTIONS

1. Now we just talked about this election, but how about previous ones – can you remember anything at all about any past election?
 - a. Then prompt to mention which;
 - b. Then prompt to mention check on specific elections:
 - i. do you remember the first time you voted,
 - ii. do you remember the 1979 election (if person at least a child then),
 - iii. the 1992 election (if person was at least a child then)
 - iv. do you remember the 1997 election,
 - v. do you remember the last election
2. And what do you remember from them?
prompt about various possibilities –

- i. do you remember going to the polling station/being there,
 - ii. do you remember any election scene with your parents when you were a child
 - iii. do you remember anything your children asked or said about an election (if the person has children)
 - iv. remember discussions with friends or family,
 - v. remember arguments with friends or family,
 - vi. remember any interaction with polling station people
 - vii. remember images of the election, posters,
 - viii. remember tv moments, debates, election clips or promises
 - ix. remember who won and/or how you voted
3. Do you have any funny memory from past elections?
 4. Any sad memory?
 5. Any other memory you want to mention?

IV – ELECTORAL RESPONSIBILITY AND PROJECTION

1. Now let's go back to the election on Thursday – when you went to vote, did you feel
 - a. any pressure?
 - b. any doubt?
 - c. Did you have the feeling that you had a responsibility on your shoulders?
Towards whom?
 - d. Do you think a lot about it? Does it worry you?
 - e. Were you worried about voting for the wrong people/party?
2. And how do you feel about it when it comes to elections in general?
 - a. Do you usually feel that you have this responsibility on your shoulder?
 - b. Do you usually feel pressure or doubt about voting or worry about making the wrong choice?
 - c. Are you ever worried about not being able to vote when there is an election
3. And in your own words, how would you describe the responsibility how you see your responsibility when you go to vote?
4. How about people who don't vote? What do you think about them?

Example of polling station observation

Polling station questionnaire – At the heart of democracy

FIRST PART: PROFILE

1. In the past, how often have you been a polling station observer or manager or assistant (please indicate 0 if this is your first time)

I have already been a polling station observer/manager/assistant three times in 1976, 2008 and 2013.

2. When you think of acting as a polling station observer, manager, or assistant in today's General Election, what are the first three adjectives that come to your mind?

Meticulous Energetic Observant.

3. Could you please rank your main motivations for volunteering as a polling station manager, observer, or assistant in today's election from 1 (main motivation), 2 (second main motivation), etc. If one of the elements proposed is not relevant at all in your case, please mark 0.

3 Civic duty 1 Duty towards my party 0 Curiosity 4 Personal interest
2 Caution/ensure a fraud-less election 0 Academic interest

4. Gender : Female X Male

5. Age : 68

SECOND PART: THE POLLING STATION

1. Location : Tal-Pieta'

2. Area : Rural Urban (wealthy) X Urban (average) Urban (deprived) Other :

3. Historically, the polling station where I am observer/manager/assistant tend to be
X balanced

4. Historically, in this polling station, do minor or extreme parties score well?
X Not at all

5. Historically, how is turnout in this polling station?
Very high

6. Overall, would you describe the voters in this polling station as generally :

	Very	Rather	Not really	Not at all
Young			X	
Wealthy				X
Ethnically mixed				X
Vulnerable to social tension		X		
Vulnerable to crime			X	

THIRD PART: THE VOTERS TODAY

For all of the following questions, we are interested in your approximate estimates rather than 'exact' figures. Please don't worry if your estimates are vague or if totals do not equal 100%, it is of no importance! Please indicate those estimates as percentages rounded to the nearest 10 (e.g 0%, 10%, 20%... 50%... 90%, 100%) however imprecise.

1. In your estimate, approximately what proportion of voters in the polling station arrived:

	%
On their own	60
As a couple	30
With children (under 18)	0
With elderly people	6
As a group (neighbours, friends, etc)	4
Other (specify)	

2. In your estimate, approximately what proportion of voters in the polling station did:

	%
Remain silent throughout their time in the polling station (bar compulsory formalities)	48
Speak to other people they arrived with at the polling station	36
Speak to other people who had not arrived with them	10
Speak to polling station officials (beyond compulsory formalities)	2
Say hello to polling station officials	3
Ask questions relating to the voting process (e.g. how many do I need to choose, where should I go to vote, where should I put my ballot, etc)	1
Ask questions not relating to the voting process (e.g. is turnout high today, are you not bored/hungry, etc)	0

1. In your estimate, approximately what proportion of voters in the polling station appeared:

	%
Excited	3
Happy	0
Worried	0
Nervous	30
Proud	10
Suspicious	10
Panicked	2
Moved	0
Feeling important	5
Thoughtful	40
Ill at ease/hesitating	0

2. In your estimate, approximately what proportion of voters in the polling station arrived

	%
In the morning	45
Around lunch time	15
In early/mid-afternoon	20

FOURTH PART: OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

For the following open-ended questions, we simply want to get a sense of your impressions. Please just indicate your thoughts, subjective perceptions, and anecdotes freely and without worrying about being too accurate or specific.

1. Please tell us about the voters that made an impression on you today and why.

Malta is a very small island and practically everybody knows the political creed of each other especially those living in the same locality. I was amazed by some voters who despite being traditionally attached to a particular party voted for the opposing party.

2. Please tell us about scenes involving children that made an impression on you today and why

I was impressed with some children roaming the streets with political parties flags and singing the anthems of their respective party.

3. Please tell us about questions that you noticed or which you heard a lot today

I think the most asked and repeated question was 'Is our party going to win this election or are we going to remain in opposition for the rest of the century.'

4. Please tell us about discussions between voters that you overheard or noticed

One heated argument I overheard was between two elderly men of different political convictions one saying to the other 'you've been in government for more than a quarter of a century and not five years as your leader stated lately on the national broadcasting television. We need to change otherwise we are going to end up as a totalitarian government.'

5. Please tell us about comments made in front of you (whoever made them) and which you noticed, found amusing, shocking, or surprising.

The most amusing comment was made by one particular naive octogenarian who explicitly stated that he was going to vote for a particular candidate who had left the political scene for over two decades and who unfortunately passed away a few months ago. A typical Freudian slip.

6. Please tell us about any other observation, thought, or idea about today's voters, their attitude and behaviour.

As a person who has followed with interest the last thirteen elections held between 1955 and 2013 I unhesitatingly state that Malta is a truly democratic country. Although in the past the electorate was rather bi-partisan, I think nowadays the voter has politically matured and the number of floating voters and cross party voting has increased;. This is healthy in a democratic society.

7. Please describe, in your own words, the atmosphere of the polling station today

Most people keep asking questions whether or not their party is going to make it, but always calm compared to other elections.

Family focus group thematic structure

Conditions:

Family focus groups of 2-8 people, minimum of two different generations, ideally three or four.

Themes:

Triple focus on:

- the shared experiences (e.g. memories of parent-child interaction in election time, visits to polling stations, election nights, etc)
- cross-generational comparisons (e.g. what does election mean to the different generations, electoral identity, sense of responsibility, duty to vote/excitement of voting, sociotropic vs egocentric, etc)
- Cross-generational perceptions (e.g. how does each generation feel that it differs from younger or older generations and how does this tally with the actual reports from each generation?)

The goals of the focus groups are multiple: cross-examination of electoral experience (for instance are there some shared electoral memories, similar or different realignment elections, etc), contrast amongst generations, evaluation of perceptions of other generations of voters, but also reconciliation/dynamics of discussion when prejudiced perceptions are confronted with self-evaluations: ie are parents surprised to see what elections mean to their children, are there commonalities that the different generations did not suspect, are some family "traditions" and habits perpetuated and replicated without older generations being aware of it, do young generations replicate the socialisation efforts of their own parents when they start having children themselves or do they contrast with them, etc.

Topics:

- Electoral memory: which elections do various generations of voters remember, do different generations have "symmetric" memories (e.g. first time x brought their child to the polling station and first time y remembers being brought to the polling station by his/her parents, etc), how about a child's first vote, dinner table conversations, arguments, taking children to polling station, election night, etc. Also different perception of locale and electoral and polling station setting.
- Electoral identity (referees vs supporters)
- Emotions associated with the vote (happiness, pride, sense of duty, sense of excitement, sense of responsibility, solemnity, etc)
- Egocentric vs sociotropic voting and evaluations
- Rituals and habits (voting time, election procedure, who goes to vote, election night habits, etc)

- Perceptions of differences of electoral identity amongst generations as well as within generations
- Comparing sense of projection across generations (voting for other generations, transmitting, sharing, socialising, projecting, etc)
- Surprise element (how do people see themselves, the others within their families – same or different generations – etc and are they surprised, shocked, happy by what they hear others say, greater or lower proximity of generational perceptions, emotions, and habits).

Procedure:

Semi-structured, try to ensure fair voice to all the generations, try to organise times when each member speak about themselves and when they explain what they believe other family members think and do, organise final comparison/reconciliation (implicit and explicit queries on whether each member is surprised by what the others do, and by what the others think/thought of them), pay particular attention to equality of status and time between generations, gender roles, etc.

Typical time and setting:

No or small incentive, family home or neutral location, focus group of 30-60 minutes each preferably in the respondents' mother tongue.

Example of aggregated Election Diary from South Africa, including pre-post questionnaires (May 2014 General Election)

PRE-TEST QUESTIONNAIRE

Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: When you think of the word 'election', what are the first three ideas that come to your mind?

1.Voting

2.ANC

3.Corruption

Q3: Please enter your age:

Age:59

Q4: What is your gender?

Female

Q5: Would you say that you currently live in:

a large urban area

Q6: In general, regardless of whether you voted or not, do you remember the following elections (regardless of the type of memory that you have of it: personal memory, campaign memory, how you voted, a discussion you had, etc)

An election that took place when I was a child I don't really remember it

The 1989 election I remember it quite well

The 1992 election I remember it quite well

The 1994 election I remember it very well

The 2009 election I remember it very well

Q7: And when you think of the elections that you have experienced, to what extent do you remember the following elements?

Whether I hesitated on who to vote for It's one of the main things that I remember

Who I voted for It's one of the main things that I remember

Some of the campaign ads, posters, etc It's one of the main things that I remember

Some experience of the polling station (the polling station, its atmosphere, something that happened or that I thought there) I remember this quite well

A discussion with my family or friends I remember this quite well

An argument with my family or friends It's one of the main things that I remember

Some campaign promises or motto I remember this quite well

Who won the election It's one of the main things that I remember

Who lost the election It's one of the main things that I remember

Some image from election night (watching it on tv, the photo of the winner, etc) It's one of the main things that I remember

Q8: Who do you typically go with to the polling station? Please tick all that apply

On your own

With your spouse or partner

Q9: Would you say that most often you go to vote:

Any time or I don't remember

Q10: In general, during the election period how do you usually follow election campaigns?:

On TV Occasionally

In national papers Occasionally

In local papers Occasionally

On the radio Occasionally
On the internet (except social media) Not at all
In magazines Not at all
Through campaign posters Occasionally
Through candidates' flyers, mails, etc Occasionally

Q11: In general, during the election period do you tend to talk about the election:
With your spouse/partner Occasionally

With your children or parents Occasionally
With other family members Occasionally
With friends Occasionally
With neighbours Never
With work colleagues Occasionally
With people belonging to clubs, societies, religious organisations etc you belong to Occasionally
With members of political parties Occasionally

Q12: If you could choose the main themes that should be discussed and debated during the current election campaign, which are the three that you would choose?
The economy

Racial inequality
Crime/law and order
Corruption
Education
Sexual Violence
Youth unemployment
Foreign affairs

Q13: And in your opinion, which are the three topics that are actually discussed most in the current campaign?:
The economy

Poverty
Racial inequality
Social inequality
Aids
Education
Pan-African unity
Sexual Violence
Youth unemployment

Q14: In general, do you find the current election campaign:
Very interesting

Q15: And when you think about past election campaigns in general since you have had the right to vote. Would you say that on average, they have been
Very interesting

Q16: And thinking again of all the elections you have taken part in since having the right to vote, would you say that:

You have almost always felt that you had to choose the 'lesser evil' between the parties in competition

Q17: When you think of the forthcoming election, do you feel
Excited Quite

Bored Not really
Enthusiastic Not at all
Worried Very
Impatient Quite

Indifferent Quite
Curious Quite
Apprehensive Very
Moved Not really

Q18: Please could you tell us which party you are most likely to vote for?

Q19: Between the 10th February 2014 (when the election was officially called) and now, have you changed your mind as to whom you would be most likely to vote for?

No I have always preferred the same party

Q20: And would you say that it is likely that you will change your mind between now and 7th May (election day)?

Not very likely

Q21: Could you give us three words that describe what it means to you to be a citizen of South of Africa?

1.scared

2.limited

3.frustrated

Q22: In which country were you born?

South Africa

Q23: Have you ever voted as a citizen of another country than South Africa, and if so as citizen of which country?

No

Q24: If you answered yes to above question (Q27): You said that at least once in your life, you have voted both in elections in South Africa and in elections as a citizen of another country. Could you please tell us how you would compare the atmosphere of elections in South Africa and in the other country where you have voted?

Respondent skipped this question

Q25: and again if you answered Yes to question Q27:And how would you compare your emotions when voting in elections in South Africa and when voting in elections of the other country in which you are or were a citizen?

Respondent skipped this question

Q26: When it comes to defending the best interest of the citizens of South Africa, to what extent do you trust the following institutions?

Politicians in general not at all

The media a lot

The Justice system not really

The School system a little bit

Academics a lot

The largest South African companies a lot

Small South African companies not really

People who live in South Africa but are not South African a little bit

People from ethnic minorities a little bit

The police a little bit

Q27: Do you already have any plans for election day?

es, I intend to vote

Q28: And do you already have any plans for election night?

Not at all

Q29: Do you have any further comment or thought about the election that you would like to share?

I think the elections will be biased towards the ANC. Once a political party comes to power in Africa, it stays in power at all costs. Elections are therefore a waste of time.
Q30: In politics, people often speak of 'left' and 'right' preferences. On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the most left and 10 means the most right, where would you place yourself?

5

Q31: Are you a member of (choose all that apply)

A cultural or national origin society

A social society or a charity

A sports or leisure groups

Q32: When did you leave the school and university system:

After a graduate degree (MA, PhD or equivalent)

Q33: Do you currently live

On your own

Q34: Are you currently:

In part-time employment

Q35: What is your current job:

National Tourist Guide

DAILY ELECTION DIARY

DAY 1

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: Date :

Date:05/03/2014

Q3: Have you heard about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you have heard and what were the circumstances?

Yes. Most of what I have heard is on the radio. Mostly in the car. The politicians and people in power who have been interviewed all seem to accept the status quo they accept that much needs to be put right and they now talk of fixing the many problems that affect this young nation. There is no acknowledgement that many of the problems have been created in their period of office.

Q4: Have you talked to anyone (family member, friend, colleague, anyone else) about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you discussed and what were the circumstances?

I have spoken with many friends and colleagues. We are white and in many ways do not feel involved or fully represented. There is such a difference from our expectations. wants and needs to the majority of the voters. So it is hard to be involved knowing our views are such a minority. Conversations were brief. I think we feel resigned to whatever is next.

Q5: Have you thought at all about the election today? If so, could you tell us a bit more about your thoughts?

See above. Yes I will vote and unfortunately there will be little enthusiasm. It will be a reflective day

Q6: Is there anything else you want to tell us about the election today?

I hope the election passes peacefully. I hope the outcome of the election is in the best interest of this wonderful country for the next 4 years

DAY2

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: Date :

Date:04/30/2014

Q3: Please can you tell us about your earliest memory from an election?

I grew up in Paarl, where most of the citizens voted for the Nationalist Party. There were huge divisions between the United Party and Nationalist supporters. Blacks and Coloured citizens were not allowed to vote. In spite of a variety of opinions on politics, voting was kept extremely secretive.

Q4: Please can you tell us of an election related memory that truly marked you?

I remember when the Progressive Federal Party was established and Dr. Frederick van Zyl Slabbert was chosen as leader. We all thought that he would change the country and were hoping for a greater swing towards liberation.

Q5: Have you heard about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you have heard and what were the circumstances?

Yes, I have heard about the election today. Voting started today, but I don't know why and who has been allowed to vote as I have been out of communication over the last week.

Q6: Have you talked to anyone (family member, friend, colleague, anyone else) about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you discussed and what were the circumstances?

No, I have not spoken to anyone about the election today. As far as I know the election day is on the 7th May, 2014 and not today. I do not know why vote took place today

Q7: Have you thought at all about the election today? If so, could you tell us a bit more about your thoughts?

See above

Q8: Is there anything else you want to tell us about the election today?

See above

DAY3

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: Date :

Date:04/30/1954

Q3: Have you heard about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you have heard and what were the circumstances?

This morning I listened to Cape Talk on MW 567 and heard various parties talk about their views on employment and Nationalization of the mines. The DA had delivered the best speeches, as did the Agang Party. The ANC encouraged the listeners to vote for them.

Q4: Have you talked to anyone (family member, friend, colleague, anyone else) about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you discussed and what were the circumstances?

I have spoken to various friends about the elections. Most people feels that the ANC will win with a vast majority. We are all hoping that they do not get more than 66 and 2/3 majority rule and thereby change to the Constitution. There is a general apathy amongst citizens to vote. Most people feel that South Africa will go exactly the same way as Zimbabwe; that corruption will persist and that unemployment, theft and murder will become the order of the day heat

Q5: Have you thought at all about the election today? If so, could you tell us a bit more about your thoughts?

I believe that we should have a canton system similar to Switzerland and The United States of America, where each separate state elects its own governor, who then becomes a representative in Parliament. These separate states should take all its citizens into consideration and provide adequate jobs, education, hospitalization and a municipal infrastructure for the benefit of all concerned. States that do not have a big enough earning capacity to sustain themselves, should be given loans by the central government and those states that do earn substantially should contribute towards to

overall revenue of the country. In that way, each state should be wealthy enough to build up a healthy National Economy.

Q6: Is there anything else you want to tell us about the election today?

I am scared for the future of South Africa, which has vast mineral resources, but is poorly managed. Many of the politicians in this country don't have a clue to run the country efficiently and the country is going backward. The country needs productive intelligent people to rule it. The present ANC is no different from the Nationalist Party in terms of what takes for itself and what it does for its people. In fact the country was better off during the reign of the Nationalist Party than it is today. Even though I did not believe in the party's policies, law and order was better was maintained.

DAY 4 – NO RESPONSE

DAY 5

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: Date :

Date:04/30/1954

Q3: Have you heard about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you have heard and what were the circumstances?

I heard about the elections on Cape Talk, MW 567 I heard about the varying political parties and their campaigns. One party, which is headed by a professor from Potchefstroom, has formed an Afrikaans party to preserve Afrikaner Nationalism in order to maintain the Afrikaans culture, beliefs, interests and rites. He believe that the Afrikaans Culture is dying out due to pressure from the ANC to enforce Black rituals and rites and would like to form a party representing minority groups specifically designed to maintain their heritage. He does not believe that an Afrikaans speaking Coloured should join his party as the Coloured people have a different set of rules for themselves and have a unique identity of their own. By mixing the two ethnic groups, each group will lose its unique identity.

Q4: Have you talked to anyone (family member, friend, colleague, anyone else) about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you discussed and what were the circumstances?

I have Cape Malay painters working at my house. They also feel they would like to keep their own identity and religion. They do not want to be influenced by other racial groups and join forces with them. They have come along a long hard road to be what they are today and would like to have independence and opportunities to give themselves their children a better chance in life, without having to change their value systems, beliefs and way of life.

Q5: Have you thought at all about the election today? If so, could you tell us a bit more about your thoughts?

I have thought about the elections today and have wondered what the future for women is in this country. Women are considered to be second rate citizens and few have the chance to self actualize and stand up for their rites. So many women are abused and have to be subservient to men.

Q6: Is there anything else you want to tell us about the election today?

I cannot wait to see the results. I believe there will be a huge shift in power. Twenty years of ANC has seen more than 20 years of black academic education. Many of these people now hold key positions and many of them do not like the direction that the ANC has taken. They are voting for other up and coming parties, like Agaap and the D.A.

DAY 6

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: Date :

Date:05/01/2014

Q3: Please could you tell us about a discussion or argument you had with someone about an election in the past?

I remember having an argument with my father about the elections. He decided to vote for the Nationalist Party in the 1990's because he believed that the country would go to the dogs if a blacks took control. He also believed that the Nationalists were protective and that there were golden opportunities for White immigrants, like himself. Having been born here and having read sociology at UCT, I believed that the Nationalists were fascists and were ill-treating the "Non White" citizens. I wanted all the citizens to get a fair chance in society. I also warned my father that we would have major problems of theft, murder and mayhem, if the governing body did not do more for education and employment across the colour bar.

Q4: Who do you usually talk about elections with most?

I talk to my academic friends, work associates and children about the elections. I like to hear different points of view about the coming elections.

Q5: Have you heard about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you have heard and what were the circumstances?

Yes, I heard Mamphela Ramphele say that there are two types of people who vote for the ANC - those that believe in the policies of the ANC and those who vote for the party out of tradition and loyalty. She feels the urgency to reform old educational institutions and public services. She believes that the present ANC leaders are only in politics for their own benefit and not for the people. She has risen to the top through dedicated hard work and earned her money, while the other party leaders have gained wealth by ill gotten means. She believes in a democratic society for the people. The main problems faced in South Africa are lack of work opportunities, education and overall poverty. This has to stop.

Q6: Have you talked to anyone (family member, friend, colleague, anyone else) about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you discussed and what were the circumstances?

The people I have spoken to share my views. The ANC will win at all costs. We need to vote for one part to form a strong opposition. The government needs a strong opposition.

Q7: Have you thought at all about the election today? If so, could you tell us a bit more about your thoughts?

I have written my thoughts already.

Q8: Is there anything else you want to tell us about the election today?

No

DAY 7 – NO RESPONSE

DAY 8

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: Date :

Date:05/04/2014

Q3: Please could you tell us what are three main campaign issues that matter most to you?

1. Employment

2. Education

3. Security

DAY 9

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: Date :

Date:05/04/2014

Q3: Have you heard about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you have heard and what were the circumstances?

News had it that State President, Jacob Zuma, addressed the public of Soweto (South Western Districts (Gauteng) at the JNB Football Stadium, Orlando today, to speak about the ANC and its policies. Protests by the Economic Freedom Front supporters, led by Julius Malema interrupted the speeches. Mr. Zuma suggested that the amended Labour laws that have recently been passed in parliament will affect the issue of unemployment. Mr Malema said that life is not about the amount of money earned, it is more about commitment and enjoyment of work done. The struggle for power in Soweto is a critical issue as the ANC is losing support in that region.

Q4: Have you talked to anyone (family member, friend, colleague, anyone else) about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you discussed and what were the circumstances?

I asked my daughter of 29, if she will be voting. She replied that he had not registered to vote and realized that she had made a mistake as her non participation would mean that she will be for the ruling government, the ANC. At the time of the previous elections her ID book had been stolen and not in time for her to register to vote. This means that she has never voted and is apathetic about South African politics. She works as a fine artist and is not formally employed. She would like to work in Europe, but cannot do so as she is a South African citizen and was forced to return to the country when her visa expired two years ago after she had gone to Geneva to study Art and French. I feel very sorry for her as she was engaged. The romance ended when she had to return to South Africa.

Q5: Have you thought at all about the election today? If so, could you tell us a bit more about your thoughts?

I think the White people in South Africa are doomed. We are a minority. Because of the Black Economic Empowerment (B.E.E.) Scheme, which was formulated by the ANC 20 years ago, Whites lost their jobs in preference to blacks and stood very little chance to find new jobs. There are many unemployed whites in this country, who are supported by trusts and parents. Those fortunate enough to have foreign passports have fled to other countries, especially in the 70's and 80's. (Massive Brain Drain.) At least 4 million people left South Africa. Their loss has affected the country, which has lead to a deterioration in especially public services. Due to lack of experience, skills and inferior education performance in the modern work situation, has deteriorated in public services and corruption has become the order of the day. It is most frustrating for tourists and citizens who have known a better standard of living.

Q6: Is there anything else you want to tell us about the election today?

Yes, as a White woman I worry about the future for my children and grandchildren. Africa is for the Africans and here is a strong movement to drive the whites into the sea or wipe us out altogether. We have nowhere to go and there is no one to hear our cry, particularly not in the countries of our origin.

DAY 10

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: Date :

Date:05/05/2014

Q3: Have you heard about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you have heard and what were the circumstances?

Yes, I have heard about the elections on Radio 567 and seen write up in the Newspapers. I understand that a D.A. supporter was stoned to death. What is this world coming to? Besides that, the Platinum Mine Workers have been on Strike for the last two weeks demanding better wages. In the North West Province and districts of Limpopo, the mines belong to the Baralong Tribe. Are they exploiting their workers like to Old

Colonialists did? Furthermore, Jacob Zuma admitted to spending vast amounts of money on security because one of his wives had been raped in 1999, when she lived in a shack in a different part of South Africa. This argument broaches many topics. How can a President spend tax payer's money on his Nkandla Estate and blame it on rape of his wife, when she was not living on the Estate and this, just before the elections. How can a President behave like this and get away with it?

Q4: Have you talked to anyone (family member, friend, colleague, anyone else) about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you discussed and what were the circumstances?

My children and I spoke about Zuma. We think his rise to power is a farce and do not believe that there will ever be a chance for anyone outside of his dominion.

Q5: Have you thought at all about the election today? If so, could you tell us a bit more about your thoughts?

Of course I think about the elections. Unless I leave, there is no hope for me and my children. We are going to go the same way as Zimbabwe. What I cannot understand is why intelligent people like you, want our opinions, but yet do nothing to change this "quasi democratic" system of voting, nor find a reasonable outlet for fair governance to suit all people of the Universe.

Q6: Is there anything else you want to tell us about the election today?

Get rid of politicians and the political systems of rule. The politicians are in there for themselves and the democratic vote does not work. Regional power and central Governance controlled by knowledgeable people, who have studied sociology, politics, philosophy and economics are needed to redefine systems of survival for all.

DAY 11 – DAY BEFORE ELECTION DAY

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

408054

Q2: Date :

Date:06/05/2014

Q3: Could you please tell us a little bit about your state of mind and emotions as election day is approaching?

I have been very nervous about the coming elections as I think that the ANC will win by an overwhelming majority. in spite of the Nkandla scandal related to President Zuma. There are people who will vote for the party and people who will vote with their head. The majority of people identify with the ANC and what it stands for. This is tragic as the ANC have done nothing for the people of South Africa.

Q4: And could you tell us a little bit more about how you perceive the state of mind and emotions of people around you (family, friends, colleagues, etc) as election day is approaching?

Many people with whom I speak agree with my sentiments and would like to see President Zuma removed from office. The overall feeling is that the country needs a good opposition. Unfortunately, the strongest opposing party in the country, the D.A. is lead by a White leader, Helen Zille. The majority of black people will not vote for her because they are racist. There are a lot of protests and violent gatherings around the country.e.g. Gugulethu and Markana. The people are angry and want their voices heard.

Q5: Do you already have any plan about election day? If so could you tell us more about it?

I shall be going to the polling booth to cast my vote when there are not too many people in the cue. Hopefully, there will not be too many people.

Q6: And do you already have any plan about election night? Again, could you tell us more about it?

I have been invited by a neighbour to attend a meeting regarding house break-ins and theft in our road. We have been inundated with thefts lately. Thereafter I am expecting my son to come for dinner. I shall keep the radio on to hear the results.

Q7: Could you give us three words that characterise how you feel about the forthcoming election?

1.Apathy

2.Dispondent

3.Frustrated

Q8: And could you give us three words that characterise the campaign so far in your view?

1.Fair

2.Free

3.Objective

Q9: And three words that characterise the party you like best?

1.Forthright

2.Democratic

3.Determined

Q10: And three words that characterise the party you like least?

1.Everything

2.For

3.Free

Q11: At this stage, on a scale from 0-100 where 0 means that you have absolutely no idea how you will vote and 100 means that you are absolutely certain how you will vote, how certain are you about how you will cast your vote on election day?

Please enter a value of 0-100:100

Q12: And when would you say that you actually last made up or changed your mind about how you would vote?:

More than 6 months ago

Q13: Would you say that the current campaign is making you feel any more positive or any more negative about the state of democracy in South Africa?

Somewhat more positive

Q14: For you, what have been the most significant moments of the campaign so far, in terms of your own circle (discussion, argument, emotional moment, etc)?

Unemployment and the state of the economy have been driven the campaign thus far. Many of the opposition parties have campaigned against the Government's inability to provide jobs, let alone job satisfaction in the country. There have also been concerns regarding education and poor health facilities. I am also concerned about the violence that has taken place and that a member of the D.A. was stoned to death.

Q15: And what have been the most significant moments of the campaign so far for the country as a whole?

The ANC has promised housing facilities for citizens tthe Cape. This is a major draw card.

Q16: Have you heard about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you have heard and what were the circumstances?

Today I heard that a member of the D.A. was stoned to death and also that a passenger was shot dead when he was mistaken for the taxi driver. Violence is spreading in the townships and this is not a good sign. Helen Zille said that she had good and positive feedback in Gauteng. She is aware of the fact that the D.A. won the elections in the Cape by a margin and has urged all her supporters to go and vote tomorrow. Every vote counts. The ANC maintained that it is democratic and has brought freedom to the people. They have a strong leadership and have brought about huge changes to the country since the days of Apartheid.

Q17: Have you talked to anyone (family member, friend, colleague, anyone else) about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you discussed and what were the circumstances?

I have spoken to the painters and the security guards. They all want to vote against the ANC. In the townships most of the people say they will vote for the D.A or for the Economic Freedom Front.

Q18: Have you thought at all about the election today? If so, could you tell us a bit more about your thoughts?

I am tired of hearing about the elections, but curious enough to know the outcome. All I can do is pray for change.

Q19: Is there anything else you want to tell us about the election today?

I hope that the elections will run smoothly and that there will be no violence.

DAY 12 – ELECTION DAY

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: Date :

Date:05/07/2014

Q3: How would you describe your state of mind on election day?

Apprehensive, but dutiful. As long as I have lived in South Africa the elections have always been won by the ruling party and I doubt very much if there will be any change this year. To my mind South Africa is a one party State with a very weak opposition, unlike European countries, the UK and the USA. The average citizen does not complain when things go wrong and even if there are complaints, voices are ignored and the State can do as it wishes. This problem stems from days when the V.O.C ruled and punishment was made public. The N.G.K. Church promulgated discipline and conscientious citizenship. It was particularly apparent during the Apartheid years. Now reluctance to change and speaking one's mind has become defused. With the introduction of the Secrecy Act, by the ANC, even more the resistance to speak out. It's Apartheid in reverse.

Q4: For what you can say, how would you describe the state of mind of the people around you (partner, children, other family members, friends, colleagues, etc) on election day?

Most young people have been apathetic about going to vote and a vast majority of people have not voted. Some people have felt the need to spoil their papers as they do not know for which party to vote and do not want to vote for the A.N.C. while others have felt they had to cast their vote. The majority of people will vote for the A.N. C in South Africa. In the Western Cape it is a swing between the D.A and the A.N.C The D.A. are hoping to gain more seats in Gauteng and the Northern Province. Most people have dutifully gone to the polls to cast their vote, but life carries on and we have all had more pressing problems to think about other than the elections..

Q5: What are your plans for election day and election night?

I had an early dinner with my son, who had been to the polling stations to cast his vote. In the evening I was at a meeting with my neighbours and two security companies in the area to discuss crime. We have had a spate of burglaries recently. The owner of one Security Company still had to vote after the meeting!

Q6: What have you heard about the election today?

I heard that there were large queues in Joubert Park, Sea Point and other popular Poll Stations, but for most of the citizens, voting went smoothly and quickly. At the Sea Point Polling Station, Cape Town a young lady received a ballot paper with a cross next to the A.N.C. She complained and was referred to the Commissioner of Police, who said, "These things happen. People are paid to do so at the printers". That ballot paper was scrapped and she received a new one. Another polling station complained that the ballot boxes had been lifted and tampered with. Investigations are following.

Q7: Have you talked to anyone (family member, friend, colleague, anyone else) about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you discussed and what were the circumstances?

Please see above

Q8: Have you thought about the election today? If so, could you tell us a bit more about your thoughts?

I just hope that the A.N.C. will lose some of its power and that a new State President will come into office.

Q9: Is there anything else you want to tell us about the election today?

I don't think that the present voting system is truly democratic. There are too many people who complain about the Government, but it still stays in power. It seems we are living under a Dictatorship.

DAY 13 – POST ELECTION DIARY

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: Date :

Date:05/08/2014

Q3: Please could you tell us how you felt when you learnt about the results of the election?

The elections results are not yet concluded. However, the ruling party, the A.N.C. is claiming majority votes thus far. It comes as no surprise. Thus far they have 63% of the votes. I am disappointed as I fear that South Africa will become a second Zimbabwe, unless the ANC changes tactics and turns South Africa into the economically viable, safe and secure country it was.

Q4: Please could you tell us how you feel about how other people voted in the election?

The only other political party that has done reasonably well has been the D.A. They have gained about 33% of the votes. The E.F.F. have won 5% of the votes. These are the old 3 parties who have performed. The I.F.P. have done relatively well and the U.D.M got 1,2% of the votes. There has no performance by the other parties. The only other political party, who had a positive vision for the country is Agang and their results have been dismal. There have been 185 000 spoiled votes.

Q5: Have you heard about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you have heard and what were the circumstances?

I have heard about the overall success of the A.N.C. I have also heard that a number of bags of ballot papers, in favour of the D.A. were dumped in a car park in Lynnwood Park, Pretoria. The matter is being investigated. The D.A. is outraged and obviously concerned. It has been reported that more ballot papers were found dumped in the township of Diepkloof in Gauteng. More reports of dumping is being reported. This could affect the D.A.'s position in Gauteng enormously. It beckons the honest distribution of ballot papers in Gauteng and the true reflection of the A.N.C's support.

Q6: Have you talked to anyone (family member, friend, colleague, anyone else) about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you discussed and what were the circumstances?

No, I have not discussed the matter with anyone else. There is a general sense of apathy among most people. Most of my contacts are planning trips to Europe for their summer season. I am interested to hear that the Stock Market has benefited significantly and the Rand is stronger than it was. This implies confidence in the ruling party.

Q7: Have you thought at all about the election today? If so, could you tell us a bit more about your thoughts?

The IEC have done a superb job in bringing about successful elections. I am concerned about the country's bias towards the ANC and the lack of change. It seems people have doggedly voted for the ANC, irrespective of the fact that the ANC has been corrupt, self-gratifying and racist. Since the 2009 elctions. they have done nothing in getting the population to think about their votes, educate their children and nor eradicate poverty. I have just heard a political review about the A.N.C.where the spokeswoman, Ms Patel,

said, that the ANC will be concentrating on economic transformation in the next 5 years. I shall wait and see the outcome.

Q8: Is there anything else you want to tell us about the election today?

If Jacob Zuma is elected as President again, I'll emigrate.

DAY 14

Q1: Please enter your unique respondent number:

40854

Q2: Date :

Date:05/09/2014

Q3: When you think of the word 'democracy', what three words/ideas come to your mind?

1.One man one vote

2.Freedom of Speech

3.Equal chances for all

Q4: Please could you tell us if you think elections in South Africa are in anyway different from elections that take place in other countries? If so, please describe how and in what ways below?

Elections in South Africa are very different from elections in 1st World Countries. I am not sure how they compare with other African countries. Elections here have always been manipulated by the party in power, whether they be the Nationalists or the ANC. Even though the IEC brag about their efficiency, there is corruption and the party in power wins at all costs. Having said that there are many illiterate voters, who are "helped to put their cross" by the ANC. These people vote with their hearts and not their heads. Unlike 1st world countries, where everyone gets an education, more than half of the South African population is unschooled. These people will vote for their own people, irrespective of the fact that their lifestyles have not improved since the previous Government was in power. Democracy is one thing, but it is not the solution, A change of President and a change of Governance should occur every 4-8 years. Perhaps then we might see progress

Q5: Have you heard about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you have heard and what were the circumstances?

The ANC have won the elections by a 63% majority and the D.A. have the Western Province, which they have won by an overwhelming majority. They have made inroads into the other provinces and have won a number of votes off the ANC, especially in the province of Gauteng. I have also heard that there were more spoilt ballot papers in this election than there were in the last election and the final count has not even been reached. Over and above that there were reports that several ballot papers, which were largely D.A. supportive, were found dumped in various regions of Gauteng. Not nice.

Q6: Have you talked to anyone (family member, friend, colleague, anyone else) about the election today? If so, could you tell us more about what you discussed and what were the circumstances?

We all think the same

Q7: Have you thought at all about the election today? If so, could you tell us a bit more about your thoughts?

It's time the elections were put to bed. I am curious to see what the ANC has up its sleeve for this beautiful minerally wealthy, culturally interesting country for the next five years.

Q8: Is there anything else you want to tell us about the election today?

Said enough

DAY 15 – POST-TEST QUESTIONNAIRE

Q1: Please enter your respondent ID:

40854

Q2: When you think of the word 'election', what are the first three ideas that come to your mind?

1. Democracy

2. Fair

3. Peace

Q3: Thinking of yesterday in general, would you say that you were

Bored Quite

Enthusiastic Not really

Worried Very

Impatient Quite

Indifferent Quite

Happy Not at all

Curious Quite

Apprehensive Quite

Moved Not at all

PAGE 2

Q4: Please can you tell us whether you voted in advance or on election day yesterday?

I voted yesterday on election day

Q5: Around what time did you go to vote?

Time: 01:30 PM

Q6: Did you go to vote:

Alone

Q7: This time, thinking of the time when you were in the polling booth ready to cast your vote, did you feel

Excited Not at all

Bored Quite

Enthusiastic Not really

Impatient Not really

Indifferent Not really

Happy Not at all

Curious Quite

Apprehensive Not at all

Moved Not at all

Q8: When you went to vote did you meet anyone you knew without it being planned? (Please tick all that apply):

Respondent skipped this question

Q9: And when you met them, what happened? Would you say that you... (Please tick all that apply)

Other (please specify) Did not see anyone I knew

Q10: In one sentence, what thoughts went through your mind when you were in the polling booth ready to cast your vote?

I was hoping that I had filled the forms in correctly so that it would be valid and that my vote to contribute towards the D.A. gaining greater power Nationally and over the Western Cape

Q11: How would you describe your experience in the polling station? Tell us about what happened and/or how you felt there?

It was fair and efficient. The polling station was peaceful and the IEC staff were most helpful, Disabled voters were assisted with respect, which was pleasing to see..

Q12: In general, what are the THREE main elements that most mattered in your decision on who to vote for?

The personality of the likely President of one of the lists I didn't want to win

The personality of the MP I was voting for
The party I was voting for

Q13: And among the campaign themes, what are the THREE that mattered most in your decision?

The Economy

Crime / Law and Order
Corruption
Youth Unemployment

Q14: Thinking again about your vote, would you say that you:

Voted for a party you think will form an acceptable government

Q15: And who did you vote for?

Democratic Alliance

Q16: And when would you say you made up your mind about your vote?

I've always known who I would vote for

Q17: And did you ever change your mind about who you would vote for?

No I never changed my mind

PAGE 3

Q18: How would you describe your experience of election day in general? Tell us about what happened or how you felt during that day?

It was a lovely day and I chose to vote at a less popular voting station, where I thought my vote counted as the area is mixed. I decided to wait until lunch time to vote because I wanted to avoid the cues. Voting went smoothly and efficiently. It was over in to minutes. The IEC can be commended for doing a good job.

Q19: Did you watch all or part of election night?

Not at all

Q20: And if you followed part or all of election night, was it: (Please tick all that apply)

On the radio

Q21: If, for the sake of argument, you think of the election as the political equivalent of the South African Football League Grand Final, and you think of your own position as a voter. Would you say that you were more like:

Mostly a supporter

Q22: If you followed part or all of election night, would you say that you felt

Excited Not at all

Bored Very

Enthusiastic Not really

Worried Quite

Impatient Not at all

Indifferent Quite

Happy Not really

Curious Quite

Apprehensive Very

Moved Not at all

Q23: Overall, did you speak of the election with others:

With your children Occasionally last week

With friends Occasionally last week

With colleagues Occasionally last week

With members of clubs/societies you are part of Occasionally last week

Q24: And did you mostly speak (Please tick all that apply)

Of the candidates

Of the programs

Of the likely consequences of the election
Of politics in general

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Q25: Have any of the following things happened to you during the campaign, on election day, and or/on election night. Have you ever: (please tick all that apply)
Felt uncomfortable because of something someone said to me or asked me about the election During the campaign

Felt betrayed or let down in relation to the election On election night

Spoke about the election with children During the campaign

Given advice to someone about who to vote for During the campaign

Felt despair about human nature or fellow citizens in relation to the election During the campaign, On election day, On election night

Laughed because of the election During the campaign

Q26: Thinking again about the election, was there a particularly 'strong' or decisive moment for you? Please can you describe this moment in the box below.

There was no strong or decisive moment for me.

Q27: Please can you tell us about the most moving moments of the election for you?

I was moved by the fact that signed ballot papers, which were mainly signed by D.A. supporters had been dumped and found in the streets of a suburb in Pretoria and that similar incidents of dumped ballot papers had been found in Alexandria Township outside Johannesburg. Latest news has it that inhabitants are fighting and rioting as result. There is also a possibility that Alexandria might have to vote again.

Q28: Could you tell us about any other particularly important image or moment for you during the election or campaign?

Jacob Zuma's smile at winning the elections caught my eye. He looked as pleased as punch, knowing full well that there is a lot of corruption behind the votes and also stands to be president for another 5 years.

END