

SECTION F– PROJECT RECONCILIATION BAROMETER

- ASK MALES AND FEMALES -

► **INTRODUCTION:** I would now like to ask you some questions about relationships between South Africans in general and your perceptions about government in dealing with reconciliation issues.

SHOW CARD: Please can you tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements? Would you say you strongly agree, agree, are uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
F.1 The people who run the country are not really concerned with what happens to people like me.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.2 Most of the time I can trust the country's national leaders to do what is right.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.3 It is alright to get around the law as long as you don't actually break it.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.4 It is desirable to create one united South African nation out of all the different groups who live in this country	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.5 If public officials are not interested in hearing what people like me think, there is really no way to make them listen.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.6 The South African Parliament treats all people who come before it – black, white, coloured and Indian – the same.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

SHOW CARD: Once again, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, are uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY AGREE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
F.7 The government should require radio and TV stations to have more shows where South Africans can talk to each other about things like transformation and nation-building.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.8 The South African Parliament can usually be trusted to make decisions that are right for the country as a whole.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.9 Different churches or religious organisations should start holding some services together so that different South Africans can get to know one another better.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.10 If the South African Parliament started making a lot of decisions that most people disagree with, it might be better to do away with Parliament altogether.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.11 The ruling of South African courts should be in accordance with the South African Constitution, even if it contradicts the will of the majority of South Africans	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.12 South Africans courts can generally be trusted to make judgements that are fair towards all South Africans	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.13 My local government can be trusted to deliver the services that one expects from this sphere of government	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

SHOW CARD: Now I would like to hear some things about your expectations for the future. Please tell me whether you think these things will get a lot better, get a little better, stay about the same, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

	GET A LOT BETTER	GET A LITTLE BETTER	STAY ABOUT THE SAME	GET A LITTLE WORSE	GET A LOT WORSE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
F.14 How do you think the economic situation in South Africa will change in the next 12 months? Will it ...	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.15 How do you think the economic situation of people like you will change during the next two years? Will it ...	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.16 How do you think the general level of safety of South Africans will change in the next 12 months? Will it ...	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.17 How do you think the personal safety of people like you will change during the next two years? Will it....	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

SHOW CARD: South Africa has many different language and religious groups. Now I would like to know whether you think that the following situations will get a lot better, get a little better, stay about the same, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

	GET A LOT BETTER	GET A LITTLE BETTER	STAY ABOUT THE SAME	GET A LITTLE WORSE	GET A LOT WORSE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
F.18 In the next 12 months do you think government support for these groups to practice their language or religion will...?	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.19 In the next 12 months, do you think the situation of these groups being able to practice their religion or language without interference will...?	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.20 Over the next two years do you think other people's respect for your religious or language group will...?	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

SHOW CARD: Now I would like to hear some things about your living conditions. Please tell me whether you think these things got a great deal better, got a little better, stayed about the same, got a little worse or got a lot worse?

	A GREAT DEAL BETTER	A LITTLE BETTER	ABOUT THE SAME	A LITTLE WORSE	A GREAT DEAL WORSE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
F.21 How does your financial situation compare to that of your parents? Is it...	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.22 How do your living conditions compare to those of your parents? Are they...	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.23 How does your financial situation compare to what it was like 12 months ago? Is it...	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.24 How do your living conditions compare to what they were like 12 months ago? Are they...	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.25 How do the chances of you finding a job compare to what they were like 12 months ago? Are they...	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

SHOW CARD: I just want to ask two more questions about your thoughts about your future. Please tell me whether you think the following is highly likely, likely, neither, unlikely or highly unlikely.

		HIGHLY LIKELY	LIKELY	NEITHER	UNLIKELY	HIGHLY UNLIKELY	DON'T KNOW
							DNRO
F.26	How likely is it that your house, property or land rights will be taken away from you during the next 12 months?	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.27	How likely is it that the houses, properties or land rights of people like you will be taken away from them during the next two years?	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

SHOW CARD: Now I am going to read you a list of statements, please tell me whether you think they are certainly true, probably true, probably not true or certainly not true.

		CERTAINLY TRUE	PROBABLY TRUE	PROBABLY NOT TRUE	CERTAINLY NOT TRUE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
F.28	Apartheid was a crime against humanity.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
F.29	South Africa has great income differences today because in the past blacks were not given the same education opportunities as whites.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
F.30	In the past the state committed horrific atrocities against those struggling against apartheid.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

SHOW CARD: Here are some different actions people could take if government was **disregarding** or **violating** or **going against** their human rights. I would like you to tell me if it would be justified if some people did the following?

		COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED	PROBABLY JUSTIFIED	UNCERTAIN	PROBABLY UNJUSTIFIED	COMPLETELY UNJUSTIFIED	DON'T KNOW
							DNRO
F.31	Took part in demonstrations.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.32	Joined strikes.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

SHOW CARD: If this did not work, would it be justified if they:

		COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED	PROBABLY JUSTIFIED	UNCERTAIN	PROBABLY UNJUSTIFIED	COMPLETELY UNJUSTIFIED	DON'T KNOW
							DNRO
F.33	Used force or violent methods, such as damaging public property or taking hostages.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

Please can you tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements? Would you say you strongly agree, agree, are uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree?

		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
							DNRO
F.34	I think it is fair that the people who discriminated against others during apartheid feel what it is like to be discriminated against.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.35	Sometimes it might be better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately rather than wait for a legal solution.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.36	People who suffered during apartheid have no right to make public the names and abusive actions of those responsible for their suffering.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.37	People who abused others during apartheid must be punished, even if it means going against the decision of the courts.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.38	It is not necessary to obey the laws of a government that I did not vote for.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.39	The use of racial categories must be retained to measure the impact of government programmes on previously	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

SHOW CARD: Once again, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, are uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
F.40 It is highly likely that I will be unemployed at some stage during the next year.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.41 It is better to have a low-paying full time job than it is to have to make your own living.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.42 The government's policies over the last 12 months have strongly improved the prospects of people like me finding jobs.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.43 The government's policies over the last 12 months have worsened the quality of education provided to my children or the children of friends.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.44 The quality of education your children or the children of friends receive is high	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.45 The education system prepares your children or the children of friends to find jobs.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

NOTE TO INTERVIEWERS: Replace [GROUP] as follows:

If Respondent is white, insert (black, coloured or Indian)

If Respondent is Black, insert (white, Indian or coloured)

If Respondent is Coloured, insert (white, black or Indian)

If Respondent is Indian, insert (white, black or coloured)

You must read out all 3 population groups as they are listed in brackets. We are interested in total contact with population groups other than the one the respondent belongs to, irrespective of whether a respondent has more contact with one population group than another.

SHOW CARD: Now we would like to ask you some questions about the contact you have with [GROUP] people.

	NEVER	RARELY	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	ALWAYS	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
F.46 On a typical day during the week, whether at work or otherwise, how often do you talk to [GROUP] people?	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.47 When socialising in your own home or the homes of friends, how often do you talk to [GROUP] people?	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

SHOW CARD:

F.48 If you had a choice, would you want to talk to [GROUP] people...?

MORE OFTEN	ABOUT THE SAME AS NOW	LESS OFTEN	NEVER	DON'T KNOW
				DNRO
-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

SHOW CARD: Would you say you strongly agree, agree, are uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree with these statements?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	NOT APPLICABLE	DON'T KNOW
							DNRO
F.49 I want to forget about the past and just get on with my life.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7
F.50 I am trying to forgive those who hurt me during apartheid.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7

And would you say you strongly agree, agree, are uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree with these statements?							
	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW	
						DNRO	
F.51	I find it difficult to understand the customs and ways of [GROUP] people.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.52	[GROUP] people are untrustworthy.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.53	I could never imagine being part of a political party made up mainly of [GROUP] people.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

SHOW CARD: Now I would like to know how you feel about the following. In each one please tell me whether you would strongly disapprove, disapprove, neither disapprove nor approve, approve or strongly approve any of the following things:

	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	DISAPPROVE	NEITHER DISAPPROVE NOR APPROVE	APPROVE	STRONGLY APPROVE	DON'T KNOW	
						DNRO	
F.54	Living in a neighbourhood where half my neighbours are [GROUP] people.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.55	Having a close relative marry a [GROUP] person.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.56	Having a [GROUP] person sitting next to my child, or the child of a family member, at school	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

F.57 **SHOW CARD:** People sometimes talk about the divisions between people in South Africa. Sometimes these divisions cause people to be left out or discriminated against. In other instances it can lead to anger and even violence between groups. What, in your experience, is the biggest division in South Africa today? Record first mention. **READ OUT**

ASK: Apart from this one, which would you say is the second biggest division in South Africa today? **READ OUT** Record as second mention

	FIRST MENTION	SECOND MENTION
	OMO	OMO
A. The division between the supporters of different political parties, like between those belonging to the ANC and the IFP	-1	-1
B. The division between poor and middle income/wealthy South Africans	-2	-2
C. The division between those living with HIV/Aids and other infectious diseases and the rest of the community	-3	-3
D. The division between members of different religions	-4	-4
E. The division between black, white, coloured and Indian South Africans	-5	-5
F. The division between South Africans of different language groups	-6	-6

SHOW CARD: During the past decade out country has experienced numerous changes. Some were aimed at doing away with our divided past and some to herald in our united future. Many of these changes had symbolic significance, such as changes in geographical names, the creation of new monuments and the introduction of new public holidays. I would like to know whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW	
						DNRO	
F.58	It is important that town and city names reflect the culture of the original inhabitants of that geographic area	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.59	It is acceptable to name cities and towns after prominent political leaders	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.60	More national monuments should be erected to commemorate the sacrifices made in the struggle for a non-racial South Africa	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.61	Individual South African population groups should be encouraged to erect monuments that celebrate their particular culture	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.62	I celebrate public holidays – at home or at organised events – that commemorate the triumph of a united nation over the apartheid system	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

SHOW CARD: Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) has been a much debated issue in recent years. In terms of the Broad-based Economic Empowerment Act (53 of 2003), integrated BEE strategies should promote broader and meaningful participation of all black South Africans in the economy, by “increasing the number of black people that manage, own and control enterprises”. The act defines “black South Africans” as Africans, coloureds, and Indians. I would like to know what you think about the following statements on BEE. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with them?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
F.63 There is a common understanding about the meaning of the BEE concept amongst the people that I know	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.64 More state intervention in the economy is necessary to rectify the injustices of the past	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.65 Private companies are making good progress in addressing the inequalities within the business sector	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.66 BEE policies have been successful at providing new business opportunities for a broad range of black-owned small and medium size businesses	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.67 It helps to have strong connections to the ruling party when it comes to obtaining BEE contracts from government	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
F.68 Broad public debate on BEE neglects the issue of economic redress for black women	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6