

SECTION – RECONCILIATION BAROMETER 2008

- 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.

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

SHOWCARD: Please indicate how much confidence you have in each of the following institutions? Would you say a great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?

	A GREAT DEAL	QUITE A LOT	NOT VERY MUCH	NONE AT ALL	DON'T KNOW DNRO
8. The Presidency	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
9. National government	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
10. Provincial government	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
11. Local government	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
12. Parliament	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
13. Big companies	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
14. Political parties	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
15. The Police	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
16. Print media e.g. newspapers	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
17. Broadcast media e.g. radio & TV	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
18. The SA Human Rights Commission	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
19. Religious institutions	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
20. The Constitutional Court	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
21. The legal system in general	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

SHOWCARD: 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
21. The South African Parliament can usually be trusted to make decisions that are right for the country as a whole.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
22. 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.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
23. The rulings of South African courts should be in accordance with the South African Constitution, even if it contradicts what the majority of South Africans want	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

SHOWCARD: The issue of race remains present in all areas of public debate, ranging from politics and economics to issues such as public health, sport and the environment. It evokes strong emotions, yet, because of its sensitive nature, some South Africans are not willing to publicly express their true opinions about how the issue of race affects our lives. Please look at the different situations below and tell us under which circumstances you would be willing to tell us what you really think about this issue.

READ OUT BEFORE EACH STATEMENT.

Would you reveal your true thoughts about how racial issues affect your life ...

	ALWAYS	ONLY UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES	NEVER	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
24. When interviewed in the street by a reporter for television news	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1
25. When phoning in to a radio talk show	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1
26. When writing a letter to your local newspaper	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1
27. When posting a comment on the Internet	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1
28. When debating the issue with people from your own racial group	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1
29. When debating the issue with people from different racial groups	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1

SHOW CARD: Now I would like to hear about your expectations for the future. Please tell me whether you think it 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
30. How do you think the economic situation of people like you will change during the next two years? Will it ...	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
31. How do you think the personal safety of people like you will change during the next two years? Will it....	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

SHOWCARD: The South African Constitution requires the state to guarantee and protect the rights of citizens like you and me, so that we may practice our cultures and religions and use our mother tongue language. Please look at the statements below and indicate to which extent you agree. Would you say you strongly agree, agree, are uncertain, disagree, or strongly disagree?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW DNRO
32. In South Africa, all religious groups enjoy equal rights.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
33. My mother tongue language gets the recognition it deserves in a democratic South Africa	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
34. The promotion of the rights of other social or cultural groups is done to the detriment of the group that I belong to.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

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

	A GREAT DEAL BETTER	GOT A LOT BETTER	STAYED ABOUT THE SAME	GOT A LITTLE WORSE	GOT A GREAT DEAL WORSE	DON'T KNOW DNRO
35. How does your financial situation compare to what it was like 12 months ago? Is it...	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
36. How do your living conditions compare to what they were like 12 months ago? Are they...	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
37. Whether you currently have a job or not, how do the chances of you finding a job compare to what they were like 12 months ago? Are they...	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

SHOW CARD: I just want to ask two more questions about your future. Please tell me whether you think the following is highly likely, likely, likely nor unlikely, unlikely or highly unlikely.

	HIGHLY LIKELY	LIKELY	LIKELY NOR UNLIKELY	UNLIKELY	HIGHLY UNLIKELY	DON'T KNOW DNRO
38. How likely is it that your house, property or land rights will be taken away from you during the next 12 months?	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
39. How likely is it that the houses, properties or land rights of people like you will be taken away during the next two years?	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

We want to know how you would compare the South Africa of today with the country it was in 1994, when it became a democracy. Would you say that the following have improved a great deal, improved somewhat, stayed the same, worsened somewhat, or worsened a great deal?

	IMPROVED A GREAT DEAL	IMPROVED SOMEWHAT	STAYED THE SAME	WORSENERD SOMEWHAT	WORSENERD A GREAT DEAL	DON'T KNOW
40. Personal economic circumstances	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
41. Race relations	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
42. Moral values	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
43. Family life	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
44. The gap between rich and poor	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
45. Employment opportunities	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
46. Your hope for the future	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
47. Your personal safety	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

SHOW CARD: Please tell me whether you think the following 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
48. Apartheid was a crime against humanity.	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
49. South Africa has great income differences today, because in the past, black people were not given the same education opportunities as white people.	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
50. In the past, the state committed horrific atrocities against those struggling against apartheid.	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

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? Would it be completely justified, probably justified, uncertain, probably unjustified or completely unjustified.

	COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED	PROBABLY JUSTIFIED	UNCERTAIN DNRO	PROBABLY UNJUSTIFIED	COMPLETELY UNJUSTIFIED	DON'T KNOW DNRO
51. Took part in demonstrations.	48-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
52. Joined strikes.	49-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

SHOW CARD: If this does not work, would it be justified to:

	COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED	PROBABLY JUSTIFIED	UNCERTAIN DNRO	PROBABLY UNJUSTIFIED	COMPLETELY UNJUSTIFIED	DON'T KNOW DNRO
53. Use force or violent methods, such as damaging public property or taking hostages.	50-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

SHOW CARD: Please could you tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements? Do you strongly agree, agree, are you uncertain, or do you disagree or strongly disagree?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN DNRO	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW DNRO
54. I think it is fair that the people who discriminated against others during apartheid feel what it is like to be discriminated against.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
55. Sometimes it might be better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately, rather than wait for a legal solution.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
56. Government has done enough to prosecute perpetrators of apartheid crimes.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
57. It is not necessary to obey the laws of a government that I did not vote for.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
58. Government has not done enough to support victims who experienced human rights abuse under apartheid.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
59. The use of racial categories must be retained to measure the impact of government programmes on previously disadvantaged communities	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
60. It should be a national priority to make the workforce of each South African institution representative of all races	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN DNRO	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW DNRO
61.	It should be a national priority to make the workforce of each South African institution representative of both genders.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
62.	It should be a national priority to make the workforce of each South African institution representative in terms of physical ability and disability.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
63.	Little progress has been made in returning land to people that have been evicted under apartheid law.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-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 DNRO	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW DNRO
64.	It is highly likely that you will be unemployed at some stage during the next year.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
65.	It is better to have a low-paying fulltime job than to make your own living.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
66.	Your child/children or the child/children of friends, receive education of a high standard.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
67.	The education system prepares your child/children or the child/children of friends, to find jobs.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-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. Would you say it occurs always, often, sometimes, rarely or never?

		ALWAYS	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER	DON'T KNOW DNRO
68.	On a typical day during the week, whether at work or otherwise, how often do you talk to [GROUP] people?	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
69.	When socialising in your own home or the homes of friends, how often do you talk to [GROUP] people?	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
SHOWCARD:			MORE OFTEN	ABOUT THE SAME AS NOW	LESS OFTEN	NEVER	DON'T KNOW DNRO
70.	If you had a choice, would you want to talk to [GROUP] people...?		65-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

SHOWCARD: 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
71. I want to forget about the past and just get on with my life.	66-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6	-7
72. I am trying to forgive those who hurt me during apartheid.	67-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6	-7

INSTRUCTION: REPLACE GROUP WITH RELEVANT GROUP. SHOWCARD: Thinking of the combination of groups previously mentioned (**NAME OF GROUP** selected prior to Q.70.) Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, are uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree that...

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW DNRO
73. You find it difficult to understand the customs and ways of [GROUP] people.	68-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
74. You want to learn more about the customs and ways of [GROUP] people	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
75. [GROUP] people are untrustworthy.	69-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
76. You could never imagine being part of a political party made up mainly of [GROUP] people.	70-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

77. Which ONE of the following groups, apart from your own, do you find most difficult to associate with? READ OUT. ONE MENTION ONLY.	1. Black South Africans	1	
	2. Indian South Africans	-2	
	3. White South Africans	-3	
	4. Coloured South Africans	-4	

SHOWCARD: Now I would like you to tell me how you feel about the following. Again, think of ... **[GROUP MENTIONED IN Q78]** tell me in each of the following statements whether you would strongly approve, approve, neither disapprove nor approve, disapprove, or strongly disapprove any of the following things?:

	STRONGLY APPROVE	APPROVE	NEITHER DISAPPROVE NOR APPROVE	DISAPPROVE	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	DON'T KNOW DNRO
78. Living in a neighbourhood where half of your neighbours are [GROUP] people.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
79. Having to work for and take instructions from a [GROUP] person.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
80. Having a close relative marry a [GROUP] person.	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6
81. Having a [GROUP] person sitting next to my child, or the child of a family member, at school	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	-6

<p>82. SHOW CARD WITH STATEMENTS 1 - 12: In all societies, people belong to one or more social groups. Some of these groups, like social clubs, we choose to belong to, while others, such as religious, racial or gender groups we may not belong to by choice, but by virtue or by birth. In this list you will find a number of social groups that people typically associate with. When you think of yourself and your daily interaction with others, which group do you associate with primarily? And which group is the secondary one you feel you belong to? (NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: ONLY ONE RESPONSE PER COLUMN)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Those who speak the same language -mother tongue- as I do 2. Those who belong to the same ethnic group as I do e.g. Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaner, Venda, Sesotho 3. Those who belong to the same racial group as I do e.g. Black, Coloured, Indian, White 4. Those who are in the same economic class e.g. poor, middle class, upper income 5. Those who live in the same neighbourhood as I do 6. Those who have the same religious beliefs as I do e.g. Christian, Muslim, Jewish, atheist, agnostic. 7. Those who regard themselves primarily as South Africans. 8. Those who belong to the same social, savings or sports club as I do. 9. Those who work or study with me. 10. Those who are in the same age group as I am. 11. Those who regard themselves as primarily African. 12. Those who are the same gender as I am -male or female- 	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>PRIMARY GROUP</th> <th>SECONDARY GROUP</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>-1</td><td>-1</td></tr> <tr><td>-2</td><td>-2</td></tr> <tr><td>-3</td><td>-3</td></tr> <tr><td>-4</td><td>-4</td></tr> <tr><td>-5</td><td>-5</td></tr> <tr><td>-6</td><td>-6</td></tr> <tr><td>-7</td><td>-7</td></tr> <tr><td>-8</td><td>-8</td></tr> <tr><td>-9</td><td>-9</td></tr> <tr><td>-10</td><td>-10</td></tr> <tr><td>-11</td><td>-11</td></tr> <tr><td>-12</td><td>-12</td></tr> </tbody> </table>	PRIMARY GROUP	SECONDARY GROUP	-1	-1	-2	-2	-3	-3	-4	-4	-5	-5	-6	-6	-7	-7	-8	-8	-9	-9	-10	-10	-11	-11	-12	-12
PRIMARY GROUP	SECONDARY GROUP																											
-1	-1																											
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-9	-9																											
-10	-10																											
-11	-11																											
-12	-12																											
<p>83. SHOW CARD: Still looking at the list, how important is this primary identity to you? Would you say that it is very important; somewhat important; not very important; not important at all?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Very important 3. Somewhat important 2. Not very important 1. Not important at all 9. Don't know 6. Refused 	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr><td>-4</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>-3</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>-2</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>-1</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>-9</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>-6</td><td></td></tr> </tbody> </table>	-4		-3		-2		-1		-9		-6															
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<p>SHOW CARD: People have different feelings because they are members of a certain group. Which of the following characteristics describes how you feel about the primary group you associate yourself with, namely (READ GROUP FROM Q.21) [PRIMARY GROUP IDENTIFIED IN ABOVE QUESTION]?</p>																												
<p>READ OUT BEFORE EACH STATEMENT. To which extent do you agree that ...</p>	<p>STRONGLY AGREE</p>	<p>AGREE</p>	<p>UNCERTAIN</p>	<p>DISAGREE</p>	<p>STRONGLY DISAGREE</p>	<p>DON'T KNOW DNRO</p>																						
<p>84. belonging to this group makes you feel good about yourself</p>	<p>-5</p>	<p>-4</p>	<p>-3</p>	<p>-2</p>	<p>-1</p>	<p>-6</p>																						
<p>85. belonging to this group makes you feel important</p>	<p>-5</p>	<p>-4</p>	<p>-3</p>	<p>-2</p>	<p>-1</p>	<p>-6</p>																						
<p>86. belonging to this group makes you feel secure</p>	<p>-5</p>	<p>-4</p>	<p>-3</p>	<p>-2</p>	<p>-1</p>	<p>-6</p>																						

87. **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 OMO	SECOND MENTION OMO
A. The division between the supporters of different political parties.	-1	-1
B. The division between poor and middle class or 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