

# SA Reconciliation Barometer 2010

2010 SA RECONCILIATION BAROMETER SURVEY REPORT



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# 2010 Reconciliation Barometer Survey Report

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# ACRONYMS

<b>AMPS</b>	All Media Products Survey
<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>BEE</b>	black economic empowerment
<b>COPE</b>	Congress of the People
<b>COSATU</b>	Congress of South African Trade Unions
<b>DA</b>	Democratic Alliance
<b>DED</b>	Department of Economic Development
<b>GNU</b>	Government of National Unity
<b>ICTJ</b>	International Centre for Transitional Justice
<b>ID</b>	Independent Democrats
<b>IFP</b>	Inkatha Freedom Party
<b>IJR</b>	Institute for Justice and Reconciliation
<b>LSM</b>	Living Standards Measure
<b>PA</b>	Political Analysis programme
<b>SACP</b>	South African Congress Party
<b>TRC</b>	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
<b>UDF</b>	United Democratic Front



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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The SA Reconciliation Barometer is a nationally representative public opinion survey conducted by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) since 2003.

The Reconciliation Barometer measures citizen attitudes to political and socioeconomic transformation, and how these impact on national unity and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. Conducted bi-annually in 2003 and 2004, and once every year thereafter, the survey has become an important resource for tracking socio-political trends, and is used by policy-makers, academics and researchers, and civil society organisations alike.

Since its inception in 2003, the SA Reconciliation Barometer has recognised the difficulty of quantifying complex aspects of social change. As a result, it is multi-dimensional in approach and tests six key variables that measure aspects of reconciliation in South Africa: human security, political culture, cross-cutting political relationships, dialogue, historical confrontation and race relations.

The Report of the 2010 round of the SA Reconciliation Barometer Report is structured as follows: Section II analyses survey results related to human security, and finds that despite moderate recent improvements in perceptions of physical security, economic security has declined overall since the outset of the survey. Section III presents data on political culture and democratic consolidation in South Africa: 2010 results showed improvements in confidence in a range of public and governance institutions since declines recorded between 2006 and 2008. Trust in political leadership has also rebounded in 2010, and there has been a continued increase in the perceived importance of the rule of law. High percentages of citizens continue to believe that legal protest is justified in response to human rights violations, while low, yet consistent percentages believe violent and destructive protest is justifiable in such circumstances.

Section IV finds that, in response to questions on cross-cutting political relationships, a consistent majority of citizens believe a united South Africa is desirable, though lower percentages believe this is possible to achieve. In Section V on historical confrontation, data analysis shows that most South Africans agree that apartheid was a crime against humanity, and feel they would like to forgive those who hurt them during this period and move on with their lives. However, many also feel more work remains in prosecuting perpetrators of apartheid crimes and supporting victims of human rights abuses.

In Section VI, data shows that almost half of all South Africans believe race relations in the country have improved since 1994. About two-fifths (38%) speak to someone from another historically defined race group 'always' or 'often' on an ordinary weekday, and one-fifth (21%) 'always' or 'often' socialise with people of other race groups in their

home or the homes of friends. South Africans also view socioeconomic inequality and political party membership as the biggest sources of social division in the country in 2010. Finally, Section VII explores questions of dialogue, finding that South Africans are still most comfortable speaking openly about issues of race with others of their own race group.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The research instrument used by the SA Reconciliation Barometer is in the form of a questionnaire developed by the IJR that includes approximately one hundred survey items; all questions are close-ended, and the majority are in the form of 5-point Likert scales. Fieldwork is carried out by Ipsos-Markinor as part of the bi-annual Khayabus survey on social and political trends.

Sampling is conducted by Ipsos-Markinor: a national sample is drawn that is representative of the South African adult population (ages 16 and above), and includes approximately 2 000 metro and 1 500 non-metro inhabitants, with an equal gender split. The sample frame is based on the 2001 census enumerator areas, and random sampling 'ensures that each person in the South African adult population has an equal probability of being chosen to do the interview'. As a representative sample, the 'results of the survey can be projected onto the South African population as a mirror image of trends in attitudes and perceptions amongst adult South Africans in general'. In 2010, a sampling error of 1.7% with a confidence interval of 95% was achieved.

The metro sample is then weighted according to race, metro, gender and age, while the non-metro sample is weighted by community size, age, gender and province, based on 2009 All Media Products Survey (AMPS) data.

Fieldwork was carried out between 6 April and 7 May 2010, in all provinces of South Africa. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in six languages, according to the preferences of respondents: English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa and Tswana.

## HUMAN SECURITY

The SA Reconciliation Barometer hypothesises that if citizens feel secure economically, physically and culturally, they are more likely to reconcile with each other.

Survey results indicate a decline in economic security over successive survey rounds overall. A quarter of all South Africans (25%) feel their personal financial situation has worsened in the last year, and this is to be expected as a result of the recession and job losses incurred in 2009 and 2010. About one in three (32%) South Africans believe their prospects of finding employment have worsened in the last year and two-fifths (39%) that they will face unemployment in the year to come.

When asked about economic change over the 16 years since the transition to democracy, only about one-fourth (27%) of South Africans believe there has been an improvement in narrowing the gap between rich and poor, and a comparable percentage (26%) that access to employment opportunities has improved. Conversely, 40% believe socioeconomic inequality has worsened over this period, and 50% that access to employment opportunities has worsened.

While most citizens agree that their language gets the recognition it deserves and all religious groups are treated equally in democratic South Africa, 53% believe that promotion of the rights of other social groups is to the detriment of their own.

The SA Reconciliation Barometer has also found moderate, but overall improvements in perceptions about personal safety among respondents, and this is an important development. In 2010, 39% of South Africans feel there has been an improvement in personal safety levels since 1994; 35% feel personal safety levels have stayed the same, and 25% that they have in fact worsened over this period.

## POLITICAL CULTURE

The SA Reconciliation Barometer proposes that if citizens view the institutions, leadership and culture of democratic South Africa as legitimate and accountable, reconciliation is more likely to take place.

Since 2006, the SA Reconciliation Barometer has explored confidence in a range of public and governance institutions as important indicators of the health of political culture in South Africa. However, as reported in 2009 – and consistent with other national public opinion polls – recent survey rounds found declining confidence in many of these institutions and in political leadership, potentially to the detriment of progress in both reconciliation and democratic consolidation.

Survey results in 2010, however, suggest that this downward trajectory has been stabilised, and in fact reversed in respect of many institutions. Confidence levels have increased and this is a positive sign, particularly at the end of a recession. Results may also reflect both the wave of optimism that swept the country in the months preceding the 2010 FIFA World Cup and greater political stability in both the ruling party and the national executive.

In 2010, the broadcast media and religious institutions garner the highest level of public confidence, with 73% of South Africans reporting that they have either 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot' of confidence in both.

Moderately high levels of confidence were reported across all spheres of government, including the presidency (67%), national government (66%) and Parliament (65%), as well as for the Constitutional Court (64%) and the legal system overall (60%). Of concern, however, is that only 43% of South Africans report 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot' of confidence in local government, which remains the key point of interaction between most citizens and the democratic state.

However, more than half of all South Africans (51%) feel that political leadership is not concerned about what happens to people like themselves. A further 46% agree that if public officials are not interested in hearing people's views, there is 'really no way to make them listen. At the same time, a majority of South Africans (58%) nonetheless believe they can trust the country's leadership to do what is right most of the time.

This year's survey round found that 69% of South Africans agree that Parliament can usually be trusted to make decisions that are right for the country as a whole. A somewhat lower 54% agree that Parliament treats all people the same, irrespective of race, while 41% – consistent with previous rounds, and a cause for some concern – agree that 'if Parliament started making lots of decisions that most people disagree with', it might be better to do away with institution altogether.

In 2010, support for the rule of law has continued to grow: 59% of South Africans agree that the rulings of South African courts should be consistent with the Constitution, even if they go against the will of citizens. Only 11% of South Africans disagree.

Forty-nine per cent (49%) disagree that it is sometimes better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately rather than wait for a legal solution, and 59% disagree that it is not necessary to follow the laws of a government they did not vote for. Forty-two percent (42%) of South Africans, however, still believe that it is acceptable to 'get around the law if you don't actually break it', potentially indicating amenability to 'soft' kinds of violations perceived to have limited sanctions.

Perceptions regarding the justifiability of protest have increased overall since 2003, with about half of all South Africans in 2010 agreeing that taking part in a demonstration (51%) or joining a strike (48%) would be either completely or probably justifiable if they felt their human rights were being violated. A further 16% of South Africans also view illegal protest, including the use of 'force or violent methods, such as damaging public property or taking hostages', as justifiable when human rights are being violated.

## CROSS-CUTTING POLITICAL RELATIONS

Since the inception of the SA Reconciliation Barometer, the survey has hypothesised that if citizens are able to form working political relations across historical divides, reconciliation is more likely to progress. This variable also tests commitment and support for national unity.



In 2010, a majority of South Africans (72%) agree that it is desirable to create a 'united South African nation out of all the different groups that live in this country'; a further 19% are uncertain, and only 6% disagree. However, as found in previous rounds, the percentage of South Africans who view national unification as a real possibility is slightly lower at 64%. An additional 22% are uncertain, while 11% feel it is not possible.

However, the SA Reconciliation Barometer also finds that many South Africans do not feel they could join ranks with, and participate in a political party in which they would be a racial minority. In 2010, 43% of South Africans indicated they could never imagine themselves being part of a political party made up predominantly of people of another race group; a further 25% were uncertain, while less than one-third (28%) considered this a possibility.

## HISTORICAL CONFRONTATION

The SA Reconciliation Barometer also proposes that if citizens are able to confront and address issues of the past, they are more likely to move forward and be reconciled.

Since the first round of the SA Reconciliation Barometer, agreement surrounding the truth about South Africa's past has remained consistently high: 87% of citizens believe apartheid was a crime against humanity, and 80% also agree that in the past the state committed atrocities against anti-apartheid activists. These continued levels of acceptance are an important precondition for reconciliation.

The SA Reconciliation Barometer also explores the extent of feelings of forgiveness and vengeance among South Africans after 16 years of democracy. In 2010, just over 60% of South Africans agreed that they are trying to forgive those who hurt them during apartheid, and in fact only 5% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. Similarly, only 5% disagreed that they want to forget about the past and move on with their lives, compared to 72% agreement.

However, while these are relatively positive findings, almost two-fifths of South Africans (39%) still believe it is fair that those who discriminated against others under apartheid should be discriminated against: a percentage that has remained fairly consistent over ten rounds of the survey.

In 2010, about one in five South Africans (22%) still feels that government has not done enough to prosecute perpetrators of apartheid crimes. Close to two-fifths (39%) also feel government has not done enough to support victims of apartheid human rights abuses: sentiments that could potentially be further exacerbated by recent nominations for political pardons, and the lack of substantive progress in enacting restitutions processes recommended by the TRC.

Three in four South Africans (75%) agree that prioritisation should be given to creating a workforce that is representative of race and gender, and only a slightly lower percentage (73%) support representation in terms of physical ability.

## RACE RELATIONS

The SA Reconciliation Barometer hypothesises that if South Africans of historically defined race groups hold fewer negative perceptions of each other, reconciliation is more likely to occur. This variable also explores issues of identity, tolerance, and contact and socialisation between South Africans of different races.

Since 2007, survey respondents have consistently indicated that they identify most strongly with others who speak the same mother tongue, followed by those who are from the same ethnic group or of the same race.

Survey results also confirm that group identity remains an important source of positive individual affirmation and security. Although percentages have declined slightly since 2007, in 2010 83% of South Africans indicated that their primary identity makes them feel good about themselves, 77% that it makes them feel important and 73% that it makes them feel secure.

The results of the 2010 round of the SA Reconciliation Barometer also show that close to half of all South Africans (47%) feel that there has been an improvement in race relations in the country since 1994. A further 30% feel race relations have stayed the same over this 16-year period, and 21% that they have worsened.

Survey results in 2010 show that about two in five South Africans (38%) speak to people from other race groups either 'often' or 'always' on a typical weekday. One-fifth (20%) 'sometimes' speak to people of other race groups on a typical weekday, and a further two-fifths (42%) do so 'rarely' or 'never'. An additional 30% of South Africans would like to talk to people from other groups more often than they do at present.

The SA Reconciliation Barometer also explores the extent to which South Africans socialise with people of other race groups in more intimate settings, such as their homes or the homes of friends. In 2010, about one-fifth (21%) of South Africans indicate that they socialise with people of other race groups 'often' or 'always'; a further 18% do so 'sometimes', while 60% 'rarely' or 'never' do so.

In 2010, 62% of South Africans agree that they find the customs and ways of others difficult to understand, and a longitudinal evaluation shows a marginal increase in this percentage over time. A further 35% of South Africans view people of other race groups as untrustworthy in 2010, and this has remained fairly consistent over survey rounds.

Nonetheless, approval for interracial integration in several specific circumstances has in fact increased over time. Fifty-three per cent (53%) of South Africans indicate that they would approve, or approve strongly of a close relative marrying someone of another race. Sixty-seven per cent (67%) approve of living in multi-racial neighbourhoods and 76% of integrated classrooms in schools. A further 68% indicate approval for working for, and taking instructions from a person of another race. While there is certainly more room for improvement, these results are indeed promising.

Finally, the SA Reconciliation Barometer also examines how citizens understand the biggest sources of division in South African society today. Comparable to findings in 2009, the 2010 survey results show that the highest percentages of South Africans view political party membership (25%) and socioeconomic inequality (25%) as the biggest sources of division in the country. These are followed by race (21%), and cumulatively these three issues account for just over 70% of responses.

## DIALOGUE

The SA Reconciliation Barometer suggests that if South Africans are committed to deep dialogue with one another, reconciliation is more likely to advance.

In 2010, about 25–32% of South Africans indicate that they always feel comfortable speaking frankly about race with people they consider to be from a race group other than their own, or in public forums such as the television news, on radio or in the newspaper. South Africans continue to feel more comfortable talking openly about race with others of their own race group, and in 2010, 37% indicate that they always do so.

## CONCLUSIONS

The results of the 2010 SA Reconciliation Barometer highlight a number of positive inroads since the first survey round in 2003. Importantly, a majority of South Africans still believe that a unified country is a desirable goal, and despite some reservations about whether or not this can occur in practice, this represents a crucial foundation for reconciliation. Consensus around the truths of South Africa's apartheid past also remains firmly intact.

The SA Reconciliation Barometer has also found overall increases in support for racial integration within families, neighbourhoods, and schools, which points to significant change. A majority also support government's continued efforts to ensure that workplaces are representative according to race, gender and physical ability.

Survey results in 2010 also reveal an increase in positive evaluations of the legal system, the Constitutional Court and the police. In increasing numbers, South Africans support the authority of the law and the rulings of the courts. Importantly, more South Africans are also beginning to feel more physically secure.

Critically, previously eroded levels of confidence in governance institutions appear to be in recovery in 2010. However, perennially low levels of confidence in local government point to the need for improvements in this sphere, where the state is at the coalface of interactions with citizens. It is also important that governance institutions, including the executive, legislature, judiciary, and independent state-led institutions, are sufficiently strong, independent and credible to withstand political change and regular elections, without such significant losses in public confidence.

Other results also point to areas where substantive improvement is required. As in 2009, this year's survey results also confirm that many South Africans feel economically insecure. While recent declines are in part a consequence of the global economic recession of 2009, economic insecurity is in fact a long-term challenge for the country, and one that must be more effectively addressed if its negative impact on social stability is to be mitigated. South Africans also continue to view socioeconomic inequality as one of the foremost sources of social division in the country. A majority of South Africans feel social groups other than the one they primarily identify with, benefit from favourable and preferential treatment, to the detriment of their own group. This raises critical questions about the changes that need to take place in order for belief in equality of treatment to firmly take root.

As in previous survey rounds, it is also concerning that a majority of South Africans still believe that political leaders are not really concerned about what happens to ordinary people, and further, that there is no way to make disinterested public officials listen to citizens' concerns. South Africans also demonstrate a considerable willingness to participate in protests when their rights are at risk, even when these become violent and destructive. Legal protest is a right in South Africa.

The 2010 survey results also reveal a lingering sense that, despite an interest in leaving the past behind, government has not followed through sufficiently in its efforts to prosecute perpetrators of apartheid crimes and to support their victims.

Finally, while close to half of all South Africans believe race relations have improved in the country, levels of contact and socialisation between historically-defined race groups have been relatively slow to change, and this is fundamentally linked to socioeconomic inequality. While interaction and socialisation have increased for the wealthiest South Africans, and particularly those in metropolitan areas, the same is not true for the poorest households, and this remains a significant obstacle to improved social relations.

# I. INTRODUCTION

The SA Reconciliation Barometer is a nationally representative public opinion survey that measures citizen attitudes to political and socioeconomic transformation, and how these impact on national unity and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa.

Conducted bi-annually in 2003 and 2004, and once every year thereafter, the survey has become an important resource for tracking socio-political trends, and is used by policy-makers, academics and researchers, and civil society organisations alike.

Since the first survey round in 2003, the SA Reconciliation Barometer has quantified and captured complex aspects of social change through a multi-dimensional approach. The survey tests six key variables that measure aspects of reconciliation in South Africa: human security, political culture, cross-cutting political relationships, dialogue, historical confrontation and race relations.

The SA Reconciliation Barometer project locates itself within the achievements, outcomes and recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), and gives effect to the Commission's recommendation that civil society should – together with government – actively work to contribute to a 'society free from racism, xenophobia and related intolerance' (TRC Report Vol 6 Sec 5 Ch 7, 2003: 727). As such, the project generates regular and reliable, publicly accessible data and analysis, as well as a series of recommendations that aim to support the deepening of reconciliation in South Africa.

## BACKGROUND AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The origins of the SA Reconciliation Barometer project – and the organisational mandate of the IJR – fundamentally originate in the work of the South African TRC. Established by the Government of National Unity (GNU) following South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, the TRC enacted the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (Act No 34 of 1995). Its work, carried out through three committees, investigated and documented gross human rights violations committed between 1960 and 1994 both within and outside of South Africa, and endeavoured to 'compile as complete a picture as possible of these events and violations'. As described by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu in the Forward to the TRC's report:

All South Africans know that our recent history is littered with some horrendous occurrences – the Sharpeville and Langa killings, the Soweto uprising, the Church Street bombing, Magoo's Bar, the Amanzimtoti Wimpy Bar bombing, the St James' Church killings, Boipatong and Sebokeng. We also knew about the deaths in detention

of people such as Steve Biko, Neil Aggett, and others; necklacings, and the so-called 'black on black' violence on the East Rand and in KwaZulu-Natal which arose from the rivalries between the IFP and first the UDF and later the ANC. Our country is soaked in the blood of her children of all races and of all political persuasions.

This, according to Tutu, is the history with which South Africans 'have to come to terms' (TRC Report Vol 1, 2003: 1; 24).

The Commission also, through the work of the Reparations and Rehabilitation and Amnesty Committees respectively, sought to support victims and ensure the restoration of dignity and healing of survivors, and to consider amnesty applications from perpetrators (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development online).

South Africa's approach to reconciliation, and that embodied by the TRC process, fundamentally emphasises the importance of truth-telling, and the value of forgiveness and amnesty in exchange for full and honest disclosure, as a way of acknowledging the past while chartering a shared future and unified country. As described by Nagy (2002), the TRC emphasised the importance of 'understanding but not for vengeance', 'reparation but not for retaliation' and for 'ubuntu but not for victimisation'. Through bringing together victims and perpetrators of apartheid gross human rights violations, the TRC aimed at 'correcting imbalances [and] restoring broken relationships with healing, harmony and reconciliation' (Nagy, 2002: 324).

## MEASURING RECONCILIATION

Reconciliation is an extremely complex social process, and as it has increasingly attracted international interest as a focus of research and study, so too have understandings of its meaning become more nuanced. Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio (2004), founding director of the IJR, suggests that reconciliation involves multiple processes and parameters: it inherently interrupts established patterns of events; it may, but does not necessarily involve forgiveness; it requires 'careful listening and deep conversation at every level of society'; it entails understanding; it requires time and space for grieving and healing; it involves acknowledgement of the truth; it is about both memory and pursuing justice; and it includes reparations (Villa-Vicencio, 2004: 6–8). Philpott (2009) also refers to the central role of restoration in reconciliation, defining it as a 'holistic concept, [which] involves a process of restoration [of right relationships within a community] as

well as a state of restoration, addresses the wide range of harms that crimes cause, and enlists the wide range of persons affected by these crimes' (Philpott, 2009: 392).

Bar-Tal and Bennick (2004) synthesise 14 definitions of reconciliation as 'the formation or restoration of genuine peaceful relationships between societies that have been involved in intractable conflict, after its formal resolution is achieved' (Bar-Tal and Bennick, 2004, in Nets-Zuhngut, 2007: 55). Similarly, Kriesberg (2007) describes reconciliation as referring to

... the process of developing a mutual conciliatory accommodation between enemies or formerly antagonistic groups. It often refers to the process of moving toward a relatively cooperative and amicable relationship, typically established after a rupture in relations involving extreme injury to one or more sides in the relationship (Kriesberg, 2007: 2).

These conceptualisations of reconciliation all re-affirm its complexities and underscore the difficulty of prospects for measurement. Nagy (2002) asks whether it is indeed possible to determine 'what a reconciled people or persons ought to look like', and Borer (2004) emphasises the difficulty of quantifying 'the extent to which reconciliation is achieved, the degree of individual healing that takes place, and progress in national unity' (Nagy, 2002: 326; Borer, 2004, citing Garton Ash, 1997; see also Lefko-Everett, 2009).

In South Africa, some – like Max du Preez (2001) – have contended that reconciliation, like other social trends, in fact defies measurement (du Preez, 2001, in Gibson, 2004: 12). Others, however, maintain that measurement is possible and indeed critically important, and this was the majority consensus among participants in an Expert Survey conducted by the IJR earlier this year. Participants emphasised the value in measuring reconciliation for policy-makers and in guiding direct social action in particular, and as a means of identifying sources of social and political instability and preventing future human rights violations (see Appendix A).

Initial and important work on the practice of measuring reconciliation has been conducted by Professor James L. Gibson, who worked closely with the IJR in the early stages of the SA Reconciliation Barometer's development. Gibson (2004) proposes that reconciliation consists of 'at least four specific and perhaps even independent sub-concepts', as follows:

- 'Interracial reconciliation – defined as the willingness of people of different races to trust each other, to reject stereotypes about those of other races, and generally to get along with each other;
- Political tolerance – the commitment of people to put up with each other, even those whose political ideas they thoroughly detest;
- Support for the principles (abstract and applied) of human rights – including the strict application of the rule of law and commitment to legal universalism; [and]
- Legitimacy – in particular, the predisposition to recognise and accept the authority of the major political institutions of the New South Africa' (Gibson, 2004: 4).

Aspects of Gibson's proposals feature in the hypotheses currently tested by the SA Reconciliation Barometer.

## SURVEY DEVELOPMENT

At the outset of the Reconciliation Barometer project, the survey was envisaged as a longitudinal study with the specific aim of measuring the reconciliation process. Initial development began with an Exploratory Study conducted by the IJR in 2003, which examined: 'the meanings and associations South Africans attribute to the concept of reconciliation'; questions of where and how the reconciliation process is located; evaluations of national leadership; and assessments of the country's attempts to 'deal with the unfinished business of its past' (Lombard, 2003b: 3).

Importantly, this study asked South Africans how they understood the meaning of reconciliation, in the form of an open-ended question. Although nearly 30% of the 3 491 survey participants gave no answer to this question, other responses included the following: forgiveness (23%); unity (16%); peace (13%); racial integration (10%); forgetting (9%); cooperation (5%); dealing with the past (5%); dealing with difference (5%); socioeconomic development (4%); values (3%); ending racism (2%); and human rights (2%) (Lombard, 2003b: 5).

An additional close-ended question elicited comparable responses. When asked about the meaning of reconciliation, the highest percentages of respondents indicated that it referred to forgiveness for past actions (32%); people of different races living together in the same country (24%); or the willingness to form relationships with people of other races (18%). Comparatively, only 8% felt it referred to 'immediately addressing economic inequalities', and 7% to social and economic development (Lombard, 2003b: 7).

Writing in 2003, Lombard noted the unexpectedly low association between the concept of reconciliation and issues of socioeconomic justice, such as material compensation or reparations, financial redress or socioeconomic development. She suggested that the 'lack of immediate connection of reconciliation with the 'harder' issues of socioeconomic redress could be interpreted as these not featuring prominently in the minds of the majority of South Africans'. As an alternative interpretation, she proposed that 'reconciliation may not automatically be associated with redress, but redress seen as a mandatory condition for forgiveness, unification, peace, moving on or any of the 'softer' issues'. Reconciliation, she suggested, was viewed as a separate process independent from socioeconomic development and democratic consolidation, rather than 'interlinked dimensions of the same problem' (Lombard, 2003b: 7).

Importantly, this finding is one of the most significant sites of social change identified by the Reconciliation Barometer by 2010: socioeconomic inequality is now seen as among the largest social fault lines in South Africa, and as one of the most pressing sources of division.

This first exploratory survey round also found that the majority of citizens of all different races felt South Africans should 'forget about the past and move on', even in the absence of payment of any reparations. At the same time, most black respondents felt white South Africans continued to benefit from the legacy of apartheid, and

agreed that white South Africans should apologise for what happened in the past (Lombard, 2003b: 12–16).

The results of the IJR’s exploratory research were subsequently used to develop seven main hypotheses, which the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey aimed to test. These hypotheses and corresponding indicators are shown in Table 1.

Using these indicators, the first round of the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey found relatively high levels of support for South Africa’s post-apartheid political dispensation. Citizens appeared to be relatively committed to achieving national unity in principle, but more practically, data suggested that many were hesitant to join political parties in which they would be a racial minority (Lombard, 2003a: 4–5).

The first survey round also found South Africans relatively willing to confront the past and move forward. Yet, at the same time many still

felt a need for vengeance, and white South Africans in particular appeared unwilling to support socioeconomic transformation initiatives, for example, through the introduction of black economic empowerment (BEE) policy. Negative stereotypes and preconceptions also appeared pervasive and survey results revealed resistance to integrated schools and neighbourhoods. Further, social divisions along class lines seemed to be deepening (Lombard, 2003a: 4–5).

By 2004, the seven hypotheses originally tested by the SA Reconciliation Barometer were reduced to six, which have remained consistent through the current survey round, as shown in Table 2.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The SA Reconciliation Barometer survey is administered using a questionnaire developed by the IJR that includes approximately one

**Table 1: Original SA Reconciliation Barometer hypotheses and indicators**

<b>Human security:</b> If citizens do not feel threatened, they are more likely to be reconciled with each other and the larger system.	Physical security; economic security; cultural security.
<b>Legitimacy of the new political dispensation:</b> If citizens view the institutions, leadership and culture of the new system as legitimate and accountable, reconciliation is more likely to progress.	Justifiability of extra-legal action; legitimacy of leadership; legitimacy of Parliament; respect for the rule of law.
<b>Cross-cutting political relationships:</b> If citizens are able to form working political relationships that cross divisions, reconciliation is more likely to advance.	Commitment to national unity; commitment to multi-racial political parties.
<b>Dialogue:</b> If citizens are committed to deep dialogue, reconciliation is more likely to be advanced.	Commitment to more dialogue.
<b>Historical confrontation:</b> If citizens are able to confront and address issues from the past, they are more likely to be able to move forward and be reconciled.	Acknowledgement of the injustice of apartheid; forgiveness; reduced levels of vengeance.
<b>Commitment to socioeconomic development:</b> If citizens are able to commit themselves to transformation and redress, the national reconciliation process is more likely to progress.	Willingness to compromise.
<b>Race relations:</b> If citizens of different races hold fewer negative perceptions of each other, they are more likely to form workable relationships that will advance reconciliation.	Interracial contact; interracial preconceptions; interracial tolerance.

Source: Lombard, 2003a: 3-4.

**Table 2: SA Reconciliation Barometer hypotheses and indicators, 2004–2010**

<b>Human security:</b> If citizens do not feel threatened, they are more likely to be reconciled with each other and the larger system.	Physical security; economic security; cultural security.
<b>Political culture:</b> If citizens view the institutions, leadership and culture of the new system as legitimate and accountable, reconciliation is more likely to progress.	Justifiability of extra-legal action; legitimacy of leadership; legitimacy of Parliament; respect for the rule of law.
<b>Cross-cutting political relationships:</b> If citizens are able to form working political relationships that cross divisions, reconciliation is more likely to advance.	Commitment to national unity; commitment to multi-racial political parties.
<b>Historical confrontation:</b> If citizens are able to confront and address issues from the past, they are more likely to be able to move forward and be reconciled.	Acknowledgement of the injustice of apartheid; forgiveness; reduced levels of vengeance.
<b>Race relations:</b> If citizens of different races hold fewer negative perceptions of each other, they are more likely to form workable relationships that will advance reconciliation.	Interracial contact; interracial preconceptions; interracial tolerance.
<b>Dialogue:</b> If citizens are committed to deep dialogue, reconciliation is more likely to be advanced.	Commitment to more dialogue.

Source: Lombard, 2004a: 9–10.

hundred items. All questions are close-ended, and most are in the form of 5-point Likert scales. Fieldwork is carried out by Ipsos-Markinor as part of the bi-annual Khayabus survey focused on social and political trends.

A national sample is also selected by Ipsos-Markinor, and is representative of the South African adult population (ages 16 and above). The sample includes approximately 2 000 metro and 1 500 non-metro inhabitants, with an equal split of male and female respondents. The sample frame is based on the 2001 census enumerator areas, and random sampling ‘ensures that each person in the South African adult population has an equal probability of being chosen to do the interview’. As a result, the ‘results of the survey can be projected onto the South African population as a mirror image of trends in attitudes and perceptions amongst adult South Africans in general’. In this year’s survey round, a sampling error of 1.7% with a confidence interval of 95% was achieved (Ipsos-Markinor, 2010).

Prior to the commencement of fieldwork in 2010, pilot interviews were conducted to test several new and revised questions. Ipsos-Markinor subsequently reported that all pilots were successful, and no problems were encountered with these questions (Ipsos-Markinor, 2010).

Fieldwork was carried out between 6 April and 7 May 2010, in all provinces of South Africa. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in six languages, according to the preferences of respondents: English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa and Tswana. Ipsos-Markinor ensures a minimum back-check of 20% of interviews conducted by each fieldworker, to ensure accuracy and consistency. The full sample achieved in 2010 is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: SA Reconciliation Barometer sample, 2010				
	Achieved sample	% split	Weighted sample	% split
Female	1 776	50	16 214	50.4
Male	1 777	50	15 938	49.6
Black	2 670	75.1	24 182	75.2
Coloured	361	10.2	2 832	8.8
Indian	127	3.6	826	2.6
White	395	11.1	4 312	13.4
16–24 years	838	23.5	8 208	25.5
25–34 years	854	24	7 842	24.4
35–49 years	963	27.1	8 570	26.7
50+ years	898	25.2	7 533	23.4

Source: Ipsos-Markinor, 2010

The metro sample is then weighted according to race, metro, gender and age, while the non-metro sample is weighted by community size, age, gender and province, based on 2009 All Media Products Survey (AMPS) data (Ipsos-Markinor, 2010).

## REPORT STRUCTURE

This report presents the results of the 2010 SA Reconciliation Barometer survey, as well as providing trend analyses interpreting change over the ten survey rounds conducted between 2003 and 2010.

Survey data has been weighted for purposes of analysis, and can therefore be used to draw conclusions about the entire national population of South Africa. It also important to note that where inferential analysis is conducted on the 2010 results, statistical tests were performed on the full, unweighted sample ( $n = 3,553$ ) and confirmed using two random sub-samples (for each subsample,  $n = 500$ ).

Section II analyses survey results related to human security, and finds that despite moderate recent improvements in perceptions of physical security, positive evaluations of economic security have declined between 2009 and 2010, and since the outset of the survey overall. Section III presents data on political culture and democratic consolidation in South Africa: 2010 results showed improvements in confidence in a range of public and governance institutions since the declines that were recorded between 2006 and 2008. Trust in political leadership has also rebounded in 2010, and there has been a continued increase in the perceived importance of the rule of law. High percentages of citizens continue to believe that legal protest is justified in response to human rights violations, and low, yet increasing percentages believe violent and destructive protest is justifiable in such circumstances.

Section IV finds that, in response to questions related to cross-cutting political relationships, a consistent majority of citizens believe a united South Africa is desirable, though lower percentages believe this is possible to achieve. In Section V on historical confrontation, data analyses shows that most South Africans agree that apartheid was a crime against humanity, and feel they would like to forgive those who hurt them during this period and move on with their lives. However, many also feel more should be done in terms of prosecuting perpetrators of apartheid crimes, and supporting victims of human rights abuses.

In Section VI, data shows that almost half of all South Africans believe race relations in the country have improved since 1994. However, levels of day-to-day interaction and socialisation between historically defined race groups have remained relatively unchanged over the ten survey rounds. South Africans also view socioeconomic inequality and political party membership as the biggest sources of social division in the country in 2010. Finally, Section VII explores questions of dialogue, finding that South Africans continue to be more comfortable speaking openly about issues of race with people from their own race group than with people from other groups.

Conclusions and recommendations are offered in Section VIII. Narrative reports on the findings of the SA Reconciliation Barometer Expert Survey and the Public Dialogue on *Measuring Reconciliation* are also included as appendices.







## II. HUMAN SECURITY

Throughout the ten rounds of the SA Barometer survey, human security has been one of the main variables that has been used to measure reconciliation. Indicators and correspondent survey questions were developed in response to the hypothesis that ‘if citizens do not feel threatened they are more likely to be reconciled with each other and the larger system’.

Conceptually, the survey tests three fundamental aspects of human security: physical, economic and cultural. In defining physical security in the first rounds of the survey, Lombard referred to both the possibility of violence and conflict in South Africa’s post-transition period, as well as the ‘risk of falling prey to new forms of violence that also undermine and weaken efforts to stabilise society’ (Lombard, 2003a: 25). Citing du Toit (2003), she identifies five ways in which crime obstructs reconciliation: it ‘undermines public trust in nation-building, it creates more victims and more trauma, it reinforces apartheid segregation and socioeconomic inequality, it entrenches racial prejudice and it undermines social stability and tolerance’ (Lombard, 2003a: 27, citing du Toit, 2003: 119).

Secondly, the concept of economic security is related to levels of economic participation, and includes citizens’ perceptions about their ability to find and retain employment and to earn a livelihood. In 2003, Lombard found that ‘despite the fact that the re-structuring of the country’s economic fundamentals has reaped considerable praise, with an unemployment rate of between 30.5% and 41.8% ... many South Africans undeniably feel economically threatened.’ She also cited data that showed an increase in South Africa’s poverty rate from 41% in 1996 to 49% in 2009 (Lombard, 2003a: 30–31).

Thirdly, the SA Reconciliation Barometer explores perceptions of cultural security, informed by research conducted by the IJR on the links between identity, culture and violence. Early rounds of the survey posited that ‘fears of cultural alienation’ had worsened for some South Africans, and particularly those in minority groups. Lombard suggests that despite reconciliatory gestures and the protection of rights in the Constitution, ‘a certain degree of fear of government or societal action to curb the freedom of specific communities to freely practise their language or religion’ had emerged at the time (Lombard, 2003a: 33).

At the outset of the SA Reconciliation Barometer, the survey confirmed relatively high levels of insecurity among South Africans, particularly in relation to the variable’s physical and economic dimensions. Lombard described these circumstances as having the ‘potential of unleashing such a spectrum of negative repercussions that these two issues should be amongst the primary concerns of leader and citizen alike’ (Lombard, 2003a: 5).

### HUMAN SECURITY CONTEXT IN SOUTH AFRICA, 2010

Unfortunately, where contextual data exists, these foreshadowed the likelihood of high levels of both physical and economic insecurity in 2010.

Despite significant progress in recent years, economic development and participation have not yet reached the levels many anticipated following the transition to democracy. In June of 2009, Statistics South Africa reported an official unemployment rate of 23.6%. The broad unemployment rate, which includes discouraged job-seekers and those who are not actively looking for work, was 32.5% (The Presidency, 2009: 21). The official third-quarter official unemployment rate for 2010 has risen to 25.3%, and this change is unsurprising given last year’s global economic recession and a reported 86 000 jobs lost between the second and third quarters this year alone (Statistics South Africa, 2010: 6; Steyn and SAPA, 2010).

Overcoming poverty has also proved an enormous challenge for democratic South Africa, despite the significant expansion of the social grants system. Although a number of different poverty lines are used at present, Woolard and Leibbrandt (2009) report that in 2008, 54% of South Africans lived on less than R515 per capita per month, and 70% on less than R949 per capita per month (2008 constant rands).

Economic inequality has also continued to deepen and, as discussed by respondents to the SA Reconciliation Barometer Expert Survey, increasingly presents as among the most significant social fault lines in the country at present (see Appendix A). Based on the findings of the 2005/06 Income and Expenditure Survey (IES), Statistics South Africa reports that the poorest 40% of the population ‘accounts for less than 7% of total household income’ nationwide, and the poorest 20%, less than 1.5%. The IES also found extremely high levels of inequality in levels of income from work, producing a Gini coefficient of 0.80. This value drops to 0.73 when social grants are taken into account, yet remains untenably high (Statistics South Africa, 2008: 33–35).

Some variation remains in the reporting of South Africa’s Gini coefficient, but regardless of the measure, there can be little doubt that the country has become increasingly unequal. The Presidency’s ‘Development Indicators’, for example, reports a Gini coefficient of 0.640 in 1995 and 0.679 in 2008, based on IES data (The Presidency, 2009: 25).

Physical safety and security, as Lombard found in 2003, also remain a major concern for many South Africans. Recent data suggests that, while crime rates have fallen slightly overall, numbers of contact crimes committed – including murder and aggravated robbery – have remained high, and numbers of sexual offences reported have continued to rise.<sup>1</sup> As a result, and as recognised by government, ‘feelings of personal safety are declining’ (The Presidency, 2009: 59–62).

## ECONOMIC SECURITY

The first important aspect of human security tested through the SA Reconciliation Barometer relates to economic security, of which levels were found to be low in early rounds of the survey. Schieman and Plickert (2008), in conducting research related to education levels and individual sense of control, observe that a

lack of economic security – or economic hardship – involves difficulties meeting basic needs of housing, clothing, food, transportation and medical expenses, and not having sufficient money left over at the end of the month.

The authors describe economic hardship as a ‘one of the most pernicious stressors that can erode the sense of personal control’; they also find personal control to be highly associated with trust, defined as the belief that ‘people tend to be fair, honest and helpful’ (Schieman and Plickert, 2008, citing Rosenberg, 1956; Mirowsky and Ross, 2003; Pudrovskaya, Schieman, Pearlin and Nguyen, 2005). Conversely, they suggest that mistrust ‘reflects social isolation and a central source of alienation’, and have the ability to ‘fuel a sense of personal powerlessness’ (Schieman and Plickert, 2008, citing Seeman, 1967).

Further, Cokes and Kornblum (2010), in evaluating the mental health consequences of economic downturns, describe economic hardship and insecurity as ‘stressors that can be expected to have immediate and powerful negative consequences for mental health’.

Economic insecurity has also been identified as a structural predictor of large-scale social conflict (see Adler et al, 2004), and as described by participants in the IJR Expert Survey, a source of significant societal division with potentially destabilising consequences. Arguably, in South Africa insecurity of this kind has been among a range of motivating factors for the large numbers of protests staged around the country in recent years.

Further, research elsewhere suggests that, as described by Cordova and Seligson (2010), ‘bad economic times often mean bad times for democracy’, and a combination of ‘low levels of economic development, low economic growth, and high levels of income inequality’ can increase threats to consolidating democracies substantially’. The authors cite ‘poor economic performance’ in a number of countries as ‘an important depressor of citizens’ belief’ in state legitimacy (Cordova and Seligson, 2010). The combined effects of high unemployment and growing economic inequality poses a

potential threat to government’s ability to maintain citizen confidence and legitimacy (Lefko-Everett, 2010).

The 2010 SA Reconciliation Barometer finds that a quarter of all South Africans (25%) feel their personal financial situation has worsened in the last year, and this is to be expected as a result of the recession and job losses incurred in 2009 and 2010. About one in three (32%) South Africans believe their prospects of finding employment have worsened in the last year, and two-fifths (39%) feel that they will face unemployment in the year to come. This percentage is relatively consistent with broad unemployment rates.

When asked about economic change over the sixteen years since the transition to democracy, only about one-fourth (27%) of South Africans believe there has been an improvement in reducing the gap between rich and poor, and a comparable percentage (26%) that access to employment opportunities has improved. Conversely, 40% believe socioeconomic inequality has worsened over this period, and 50% that access to employment opportunities has worsened.

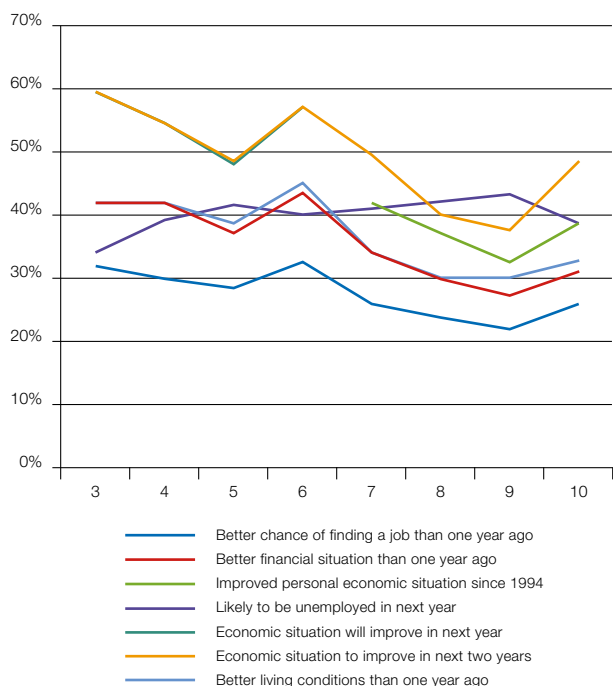
Comparative data analysis suggests that, despite some improvements between 2009 and 2010, economic security has in fact declined overall since these measures were introduced to the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey in round 3 (2004). The percentage of South Africans who positively evaluate prospects for finding employment, improved personal financial circumstances, and future economic opportunities have dropped overall, while perceived likelihood of unemployment has increased (see Figure 1).

As the country has emerged from recession, however, some positive changes are evident from data recorded in 2009: there have been increases in the percentages of South Africans who feel their chances of finding a job have improved in the last year (26% of South Africans in 2010), and in those who feel their personal financial situation has improved over the same period (31% of South Africans in 2010 (see Figure 1).

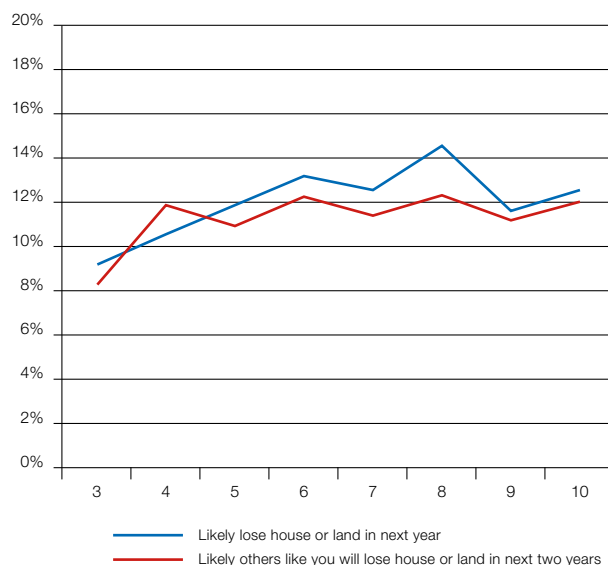
However, percentages of respondents indicating that their employment prospects or personal financial situation had improved were still lower than first recorded in round 3 of the survey (2004). This suggests a relatively consistent lack of improvement in perceived economic security, despite substantial fluctuations in the performance of the macro-economy over this time. In 2010, 48% of South Africans believe the economic situation of people like themselves will improve over the next two years: while this is an indication of growing confidence (an improvement from 2008 and 2009, rounds 8–9), it remains a lower percentage than in previous years.

Results of the SA Reconciliation Barometer do, however, reveal relatively low levels of insecurity of tenure in relation to housing, land and property rights, and these have changed only marginally since 2004. In 2010, 13% of South Africans believe it is likely they will lose their house, property or land rights in the coming year, and 12% that others like themselves are likely to lose these rights or assets in the next two years. Both have risen by four percentage points since round 3 of the survey (see Figure 2).

**Figure 1: Economic security, survey rounds 3–10 (%)**



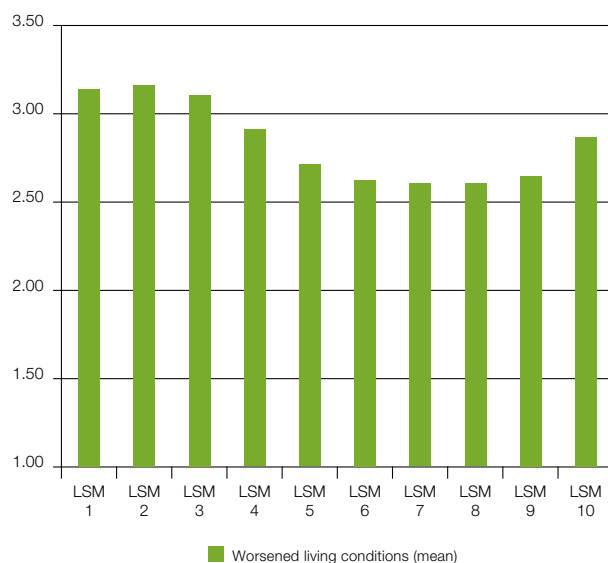
**Figure 2: Security of tenure and living conditions, round 3–10**



However, it is noteworthy that in 2010, only one-third of South Africans (33%) feel their living conditions have improved in the last year; since 2004, less than half of all survey respondents reported year-on-year improvements in living conditions and evaluations were particularly negative in survey rounds 8 and 9, before sentiment began to improve again in 2010, as shown in Figure 1.

In 2010 there were, moreover, statistically significant differences<sup>2</sup> between positive evaluations of living conditions according to respondents' Living Standards Measure (LSM)<sup>3</sup> category. Figure 3 shows that respondents categorised within the lowest four LSM groups (indicative of the poorest living conditions) – as well as those in LSM 10 – were least likely to report improved living conditions.

**Figure 3: Mean evaluations of living conditions by LSM, 2010**



## CULTURAL SECURITY

South Africa's divided history entrenched complex social cleavages along many lines, which include race, language, ethnicity and culture. The SA Reconciliation Barometer hypothesises that South Africans who feel that their language or culture is unrecognised or excluded from mainstream society, or who fear 'cultural alienation' – as in the case of some minority groups – are less likely to reconcile with other citizens (Lombard, 2003a: 33).

In 2010, the nationally representative SA Reconciliation Barometer sample was comprised of a majority of mother-tongue speakers of four languages: Zulu (24%), Xhosa (17%), Afrikaans (16%) and English (9%).

A majority of South Africans (68%) believe their first language gets the recognition it deserves in this country in 2010. As shown in Figure 4, there has been relatively little fluctuation in the percentage of survey respondents who believe the contrary. Across all four survey rounds, the highest percentage of respondents answering in this way identify themselves as mother-tongue Afrikaans language-speakers, with the second highest percentage often being English speakers. In 2010, 44% of the 497 Afrikaans home language speakers indicated they feel the language does not get the recognition it deserves; of the 411 English mother-tongue speakers, 23% answered in this way. White respondents were significantly more likely than others to indicate that their home language does not get the recognition it deserves in democratic South Africa.

A majority of South Africans (64%) in 2010 also believe that all religious groups enjoy equal rights in the country. Comparable to recognition of mother-tongue languages, the percentage that feel religious groups are not treated equally has remained consistent and relatively low since 2007 (see Figure 4).

However, there is also strong agreement among South Africans that not all social or cultural groups are treated equally, with 53% in 2010 agreeing that the promotion of the rights of other groups is to the detriment of their own. As shown in Figure 4, this percentage has increased since 2007, possibly also in response to the national economic downturn. Nonetheless, perceived inequity of the promotion of the rights of different groups in the country raises important questions as to the changes that are required in South Africa in order for belief in equality of treatment to take root.

### PHYSICAL SECURITY

Physical security and safety, and the belief therein, are important preconditions for social cohesion. During South Africa's post-transition period they have also proved to be particularly elusive. As a result, the SA Reconciliation Barometer has hypothesised that reconciliation in South Africa is more likely to occur among citizens who feel physically secure.

McCrea et al (2005) suggest that perceptions of physical insecurity, and specifically the fear of crime, hold negative consequences for individuals, communities and for society as a whole. These may include 'detrimental psychological effects' for individuals, restricted personal movement and constrained freedom, and increased dissatisfaction with overall quality of life. Other consequence may include the erosion of social cohesion and participation in collective activities (McCrea et al, 2005, citing White et al, 1987; Liska et al, 1988; Sirgy and Cornwell, 2002; Riger et al, 1981; Perkins et al, 1990; Markowitz et al, 2001). The authors add that:

... at societal level, the fear of crime burden may be unfairly placed on those already socially and economically disadvantaged, and without sufficient resources to protect themselves and their possessions or to move from the high crime areas. (McCrea et al, 2005, citing Hale, 1996)

In 2010, 39% of South Africans feel there has been an improvement in their personal safety levels since the country's democratic transition in 1994; 35% feel personal safety levels have stayed the same, and 25% that conditions have in fact worsened over this period.

National crime statistics aside, the 2010 results of the SA Reconciliation Barometer show a moderate, but overall improvement in perceptions about personal safety among South Africans since 2007, and this is an important development (see Figure 5).

There has also been visible improvement in citizens' assessments of future prospects for personal safety. In 2010, 43% of South Africans feel that the personal safety of people they consider to be like themselves will get better in the next two years. A further 31% feel their personal safety will likely stay the same, and 20% that it will become worse over this period. As shown in Figure 6, optimism regarding future safety outlook peaked in rounds 3 (2004) and 6 (2006), before dropping substantially by 2008 – consistent with other Reconciliation Barometer data – only to increase again in 2010.

A citizens' racial category was a significant predictor of optimism regarding possible improvements in future personal safety, with black respondents the most likely to anticipate improvements in personal safety in the coming two years.<sup>4</sup>

### QUALITY OF EDUCATION

In South Africa and elsewhere, there are clear links between economic opportunity and educational quality, achievement and performance.

Figure 4: Language, religious and cultural groups are not treated equally, 2007–2010 (%)

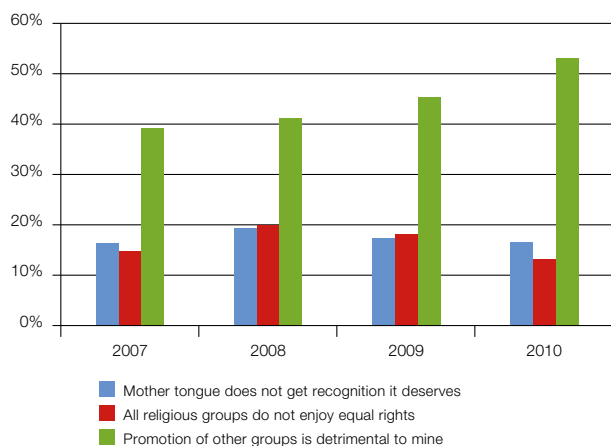
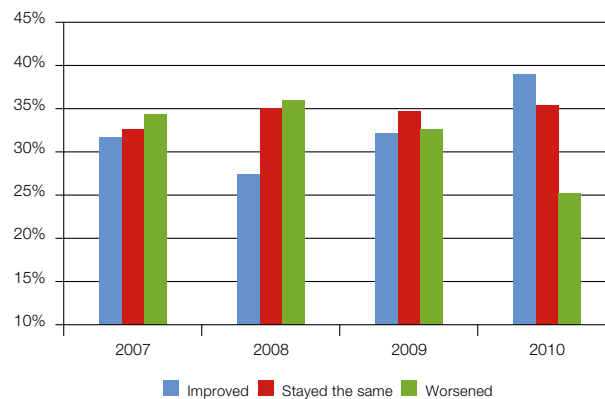
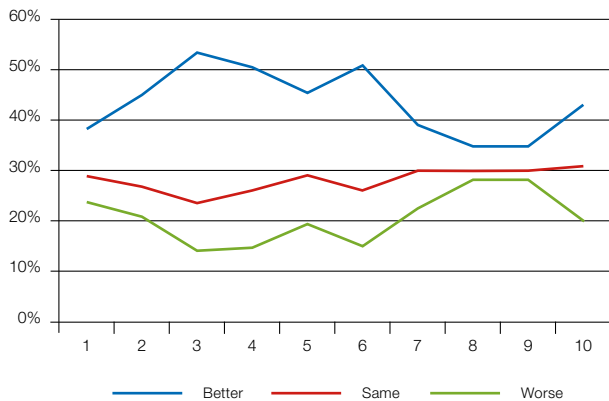


Figure 5: Changes in personal safety since 1994, 2007–2010 (%)



**Figure 6: Personal safety outlook for the next two years, rounds 1–10 (%)**



However, as Taylor and Yu (2009) find, ‘education in South Africa has become surrounded by a discourse of crisis’. The authors suggest that

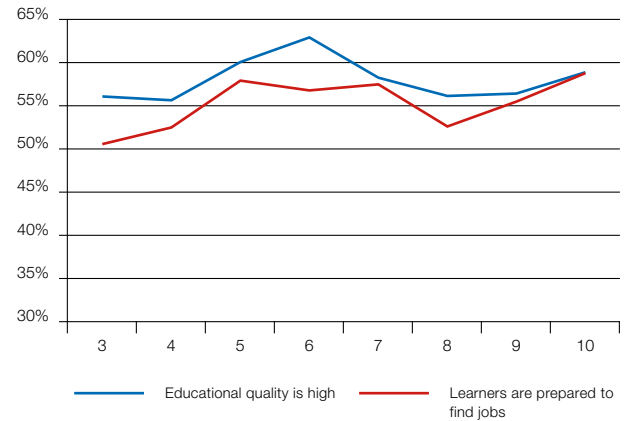
... social justice, transformation and the country’s economic development are dependent on how the education system functions. The extent to which children from disadvantaged backgrounds have a real opportunity to achieve educational outcomes that will enable them to be successful in the labour market indicates whether the school system can be expected to transform existing patterns of inequality or merely reproduce them. (Taylor and Yu, 2009: 66)

Schieman and Plickert (2008) also describe education as a ‘central source of status allocation’, which ultimately ‘differentially exposes individuals to occupation and workplace inequalities’. They add that the ‘well-educated are more likely to participate in the labour force, have higher levels of occupational status, achieve higher levels of earnings and wealth, and experience a faster ascendancy through the occupational ranks’ (Schieman and Plickert, 2008, citing Pallas, 2003; Ross and Wright, 1998; Grusky and DiPrete, 1990; Kerchkhoff et al, 2001; Sewell and Hauser, 1975). The *New Growth Path* strategic document recently released by the Department of Economic Development (DED) also underscores the critical role of basic and secondary education in ‘long-run equality, access to employment and competitiveness’ (DED, 2010b: 8).

It is interesting to note that, despite this ‘discourse of crisis’, evaluations of educational quality are moderately positive in 2010: 59% of South Africans agree that the quality of education that their children, or the children of friends, receive is high, and the same percentage (59%) agrees that the educational system prepares children to find jobs.

Looking back over the results of previous survey rounds, there is also relatively moderate and consistent approval for both educational quality and learner preparedness, as shown in Figure 7. Evaluations

**Figure 7: Evaluations of educational quality, rounds 3–10 (%)**



of both indicators were most positive in survey rounds 5 to 7 (2005–2007), before dipping slightly then beginning to recover in rounds 9 and 10.

Given the consensus among civil society organisations, academic institutions and government that educational performance and outcomes remain lower than desired, these positive results may perhaps come as unexpected. Even Basic Education Minister Angie Motshekga, while acknowledging improvements since 1994, recently conceded that ‘much still needs to be done, including addressing poor quality teaching and learning in our schools’ (Department of Basic Education, 2010b).

Indeed, high unemployment rates – particularly among young people – challenge perceptions that matriculants and school-leavers are well-prepared to find jobs. The DED, for example, recently reported that unemployment for youth aged 16 to 30 in the first quarter of 2010 stood at 40%, compared to 16% for those aged 30 to 65 (DED, 2010b: 3).

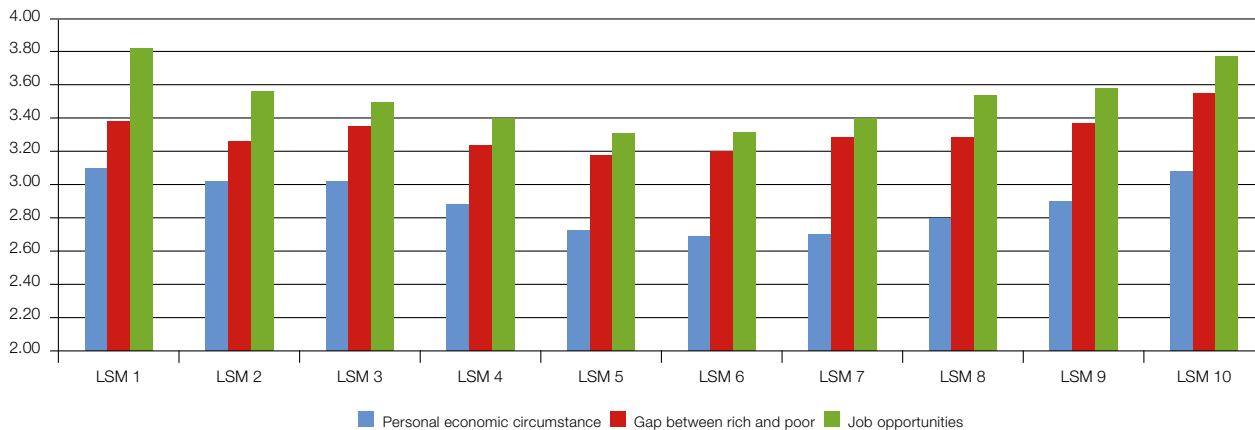
Positive public evaluations may need to be seen in the context of the rapid expansion of access and enrolment rates to educational institutions over the past 16 years, rather than on the basis actual educational output (DED, 2010a).

## CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1994

Round 7 of the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey introduced a series of items testing the extent to which citizens believe positive change has occurred in South Africa since the transition to democracy in 1994.

Data on economic security, discussed earlier in this section, suggests that citizen evaluations of change in the economy are increasingly negative. In 2010, only 38% of South Africans believe their personal economic circumstances have improved since 1994, 27% that the gap between rich and poor has been narrowed, and 26% that access

Figure 8: Worsening economic conditions since 1994 by LSM, 2010

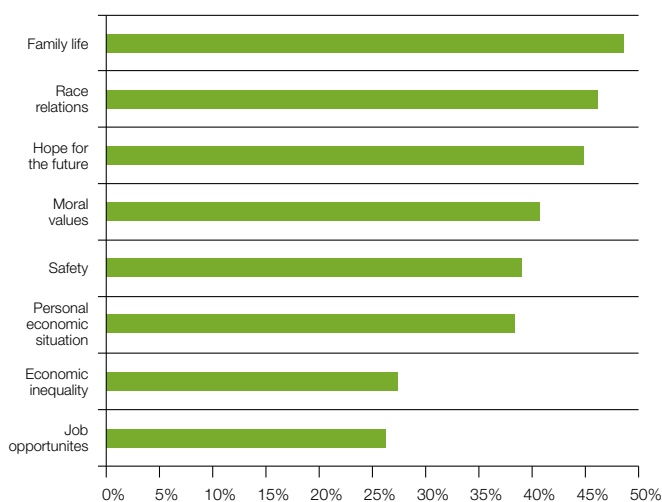


to employment opportunities has become better than before. Figure 8 shows that in 2010, average evaluations of economic change since 1994 are most negative in both the lowest and highest LSM groups.<sup>5</sup>

However, as shown in Figure 9, evaluations of improvement across a range of social indicators are more positive, with more than 40% of South Africans agreeing in 2010 that family life, race relations and hope for the future have improved since 1994. However, as is clear in Figure 10, positive evaluations declined between 2007 and 2008 before recovering slightly in 2009 and 2010.

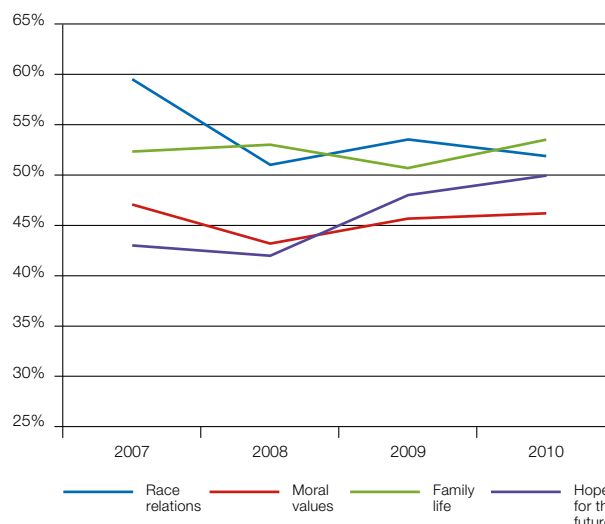
Across these four survey rounds, white South Africans have consistently recorded lower positive evaluations for race relations than those of other historically defined race categories. In 2010, there was a statistically significant difference in evaluations of changes in race relations since 1994, according to historically defined race groups: on average, black (*mean* = 2.57) and Asian/Indian (*mean* = 2.66) respondents were more likely to report improvements in race relations since 1994 than white (*mean* = 3.26) or coloured (*mean* = 3.12) respondents.<sup>6</sup>

Figure 9: Improvements in South Africa since 1994, 2010 (% agreement)



RESULTS TRENDS, 2007–2010

Figure 10: Improvements in South Africa since 1994, 2007–2010 (% agreement)



NOTES

- The recorded increase in sexual offences has also been attributed by some – including the South African Police Service (SAPS) – to the introduction of new categories of crimes included in the Sexual Offences Act (see Kgosana, 2009).
- Main Sample ( $p \leq .01$ ); Subsample 1 ( $p \leq .01$ ); Subsample 2 ( $p \leq .01$ ).
- LSM is a composite variable based on a range of household characteristics that include access to water, ownership of basic consumer goods, and level of urbanisation.
- Analysis of variance: Main Sample ( $p \leq .01$ ); Subsample 1 ( $p \leq .01$ ); Subsample 2 ( $p \leq .01$ ). Linear regression: Main Sample ( $p \leq .01$ ); Subsample 1 ( $p \leq .01$ ); Subsample 2 ( $p \leq .01$ ).
- Figure 8 shows mean evaluations of economic changes since 1994, on a scale of 1–5 in which 1 represents 'Improved a great deal' and 5 represents 'Worsened a great deal'. Higher mean values therefore suggests more negative evaluations.
- Analysis of variance (ANOVA): Main Sample ( $p \leq .01$ ); Subsample 1 ( $p \leq .01$ ); Subsample 2 ( $p \leq .01$ ).

# III. POLITICAL CULTURE

In exploring the conditions necessary for social transformation and change to take effect in post-apartheid South Africa, Gibson (2004) proposed that the process of reconciliation is not an ‘end in itself’, but rather that its value lies in ‘its contribution to the likelihood that South Africa will consolidate its democratic transition’ (Gibson, 2004: 6).

Progress in both reconciliation and democratisation, on this basis, therefore requires a healthy political culture in South Africa. This has been tested by the SA Reconciliation Barometer through measures of citizen confidence in public institutions, political leadership, the importance of the rule of law, and the overall legitimacy of the state. The Reconciliation Barometer hypothesises that positive evaluations of political culture, which confirm legitimacy and accountability, mean that reconciliation is more likely to progress. As such, political culture is an indirect measure of reconciliation that gauges public responses to democratic agents and institutions, rather than government-led reconciliation efforts in and of themselves.

## RECONCILIATION AND POLITICAL CULTURE

Conceptually, political culture refers to ‘attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes towards the role of the self in the system’ (Almond and Verba, 1963: 13). Myers and Martz (1997) suggest that research into the ‘processes of political change and the emergence of democracy’ has ‘confirmed the importance of political culture’s touchstone concept: the postulate of oriented action’. This, in turn, construes ‘actors as responding to situations through mediating orientations rather than directly’, and these orientations – or ‘the ‘mind-stuff’ of politics’ – may differ between national contexts (Myers and Martz, 1997, citing Elkins, 1993; Putnam, 1971, 1993; Thompson et al, 1990; Wildavsky, 1987; Almond, 1988; Eckstein, 1988; Mayer, 1989; Gaenslen, 1986). Citing numerous political culture theorists, Myers and Martz name three main types of mediating orientations:

Cognitive mediating orientations centre on knowledge about the political system: its roles and the incumbents of these roles, its processes and its outputs. Affective mediating orientations are feelings with respect to the political system’s institutions, roles, personnel, process and performance. Evaluative mediating orientations embody judgments about whether the political system’s process and output reflects those values. (Myers and Martz, 1997, citing Almond and Verba, 1963; Bill and Hargrave, 1981; Eckstein, 1988; Parsons and Shils, 1958)

Formisano (2001) also observes that political culture has increasingly come to refer to political attitudes and values and national characteristics, although these attributes were in fact rejected by early theorists such as Gabriel Almond (1956), and has often been measured

through quantitative public opinion research. Referring to a theoretical ‘renaissance’ of the concept in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Formisano adds that political scientists began, in greater numbers, to view political culture as a process. According to Rotberg (1999), this involves the means through which ‘a society and a collection of leaders and citizens chooses, and has chosen, to approach national political decisions’ (Formisano, 2001, citing Rotberg, 1999).

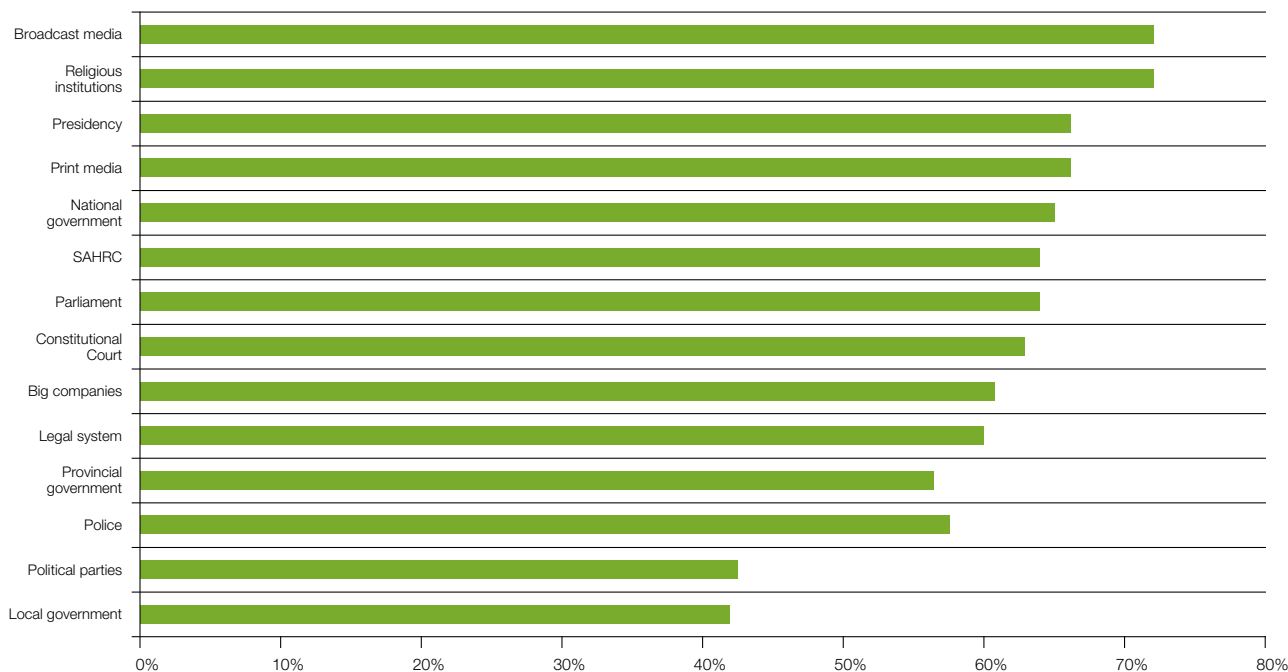
Political culture, and citizen attitudes more broadly, are also key determinants of state legitimacy, defined by Wallner (2008) as ‘general confidence among the public that a government’s power to make binding decision for the polity are justified and appropriate’. Dahl (1971) adds that legitimacy is ‘a belief in the rightness of [a] decision or the process of decision making’, and relates to the adequacy of authorities and structures in meeting citizen ‘expectations as to how the political system ought to behave’ (Wallner, 2008: 423, citing Dahl, 1998; Dahl, 1971; in Lefko-Everett, 2010).

Fraser (1974), referring to both Easton (1965) and Duverger (1966) proposes that high levels of legitimacy contribute to political stability, while low levels threaten compliance with, and the upholding of the law and political culture (Fraser, 1974: 119, citing Dahl, 1956: 46; Easton, 1965: 278; 292, and Duverger, 1966: 159; see Lefko-Everett, 2010).

The SA Reconciliation Barometer tests political culture primarily through evaluating citizen confidence and trust in state institutions, the legal system and political leadership. Grosskopf (2008) refers to institutional trust as a key aspect of legitimacy and as the ‘chicken soup of social life’ because it is the vital, yet mysterious ingredient that promotes social cohesion’ (Grosskopf, 2008). Theories of democratic consolidation also maintain that citizens must trust in leadership and governance institutions to recognise and respond to their needs, and to take their best interest into account, irrespective of the political party at the head of state. This ensures continued support for democratic practices, and reduces the likelihood of extra-legal action or other citizen-led threats to the governance system.

In South Africa’s new democracy, political leadership has a particularly important role in demonstrating a clear change from apartheid-era governance systems and practices, and creating a new relationship between citizens and the state. National institutions, leaders and public officials are also important drivers of reconciliation, and there are significant expectations that government should continue to frame and lead this process.

Figure 11: Trust in institutions, 2010 (%)



Initial research conducted by the IJR in developing the SA Reconciliation Barometer by means of the 2002 Exploratory Survey, for example, found that over one-third of South Africans (36%) believed that reconciliatory efforts should be undertaken jointly by government, the private sector and citizens. A further 16% believed the responsibility rested with government and citizens, and the same percentage (16%), with government alone.

However, questions remain as to whether or not adequate responsibility has been taken by the state for advancing reconciliation. Participants in the Expert Survey conducted by the SA Reconciliation Barometer project earlier this year expressed disappointment at a lack of ‘champions’ of reconciliation. As described by Piers Pigou of the International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), ‘they are not visible ... of course there are political, religious leaders – but we don’t see any great drive on these issues, as we are caught up in the exigencies of other priorities and crises’.

### POLITICAL CULTURE IN 2010: REBOUNDED CONFIDENCE IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Since 2006, the SA Reconciliation Barometer has explored confidence in a range of public and governance institutions as indicators of the health of South African political culture. As reported in 2009 – and consistent with other national public opinion polls – recent survey rounds found declining confidence in many of these institutions, as

well as in political leadership, potentially to the detriment of progress in both reconciliation and democratic consolidation. In 2009, declines in confidence in institutions persisted and lower levels of trust in political leadership were reported, and citizens indicated an increased willingness to protest in instances in which they felt their human rights were being violated. Yet, positive improvements were recorded in citizen regard for the rule of law.

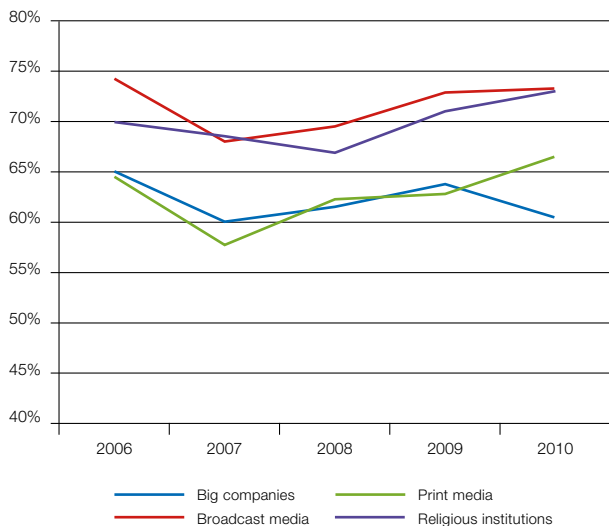
Survey results from 2010, however, suggest that this downward trajectory of sentiment towards institutions and political leadership has been stabilised, and in fact in some instances been reversed. This is a positive sign, particularly at the end of a recession, and may reflect both the wave of optimism that swept the country in the months preceding the 2010 FIFA World Cup and greater political stability, both within the ruling party and the executive.

Figure 11 shows that in 2010, the broadcast media and religious institutions garner the highest level of public confidence, with 73% of South Africans reporting that they have either ‘a great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ of confidence in both. Though attracting relatively high levels of public support across multiple survey rounds, confidence in both the broadcast and print media (73% and 67% respectively) is of particular interest this year, given the possibility that new regulatory bodies may be introduced.

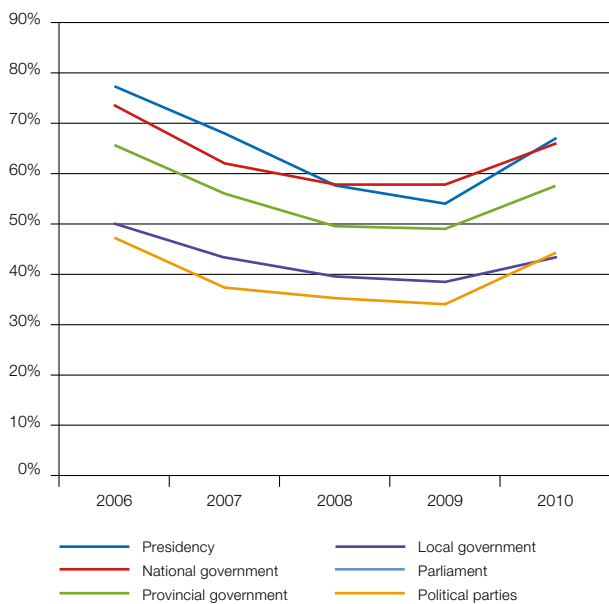
Moderately high levels of confidence were reported across all spheres of government, including the Presidency (67%), national government



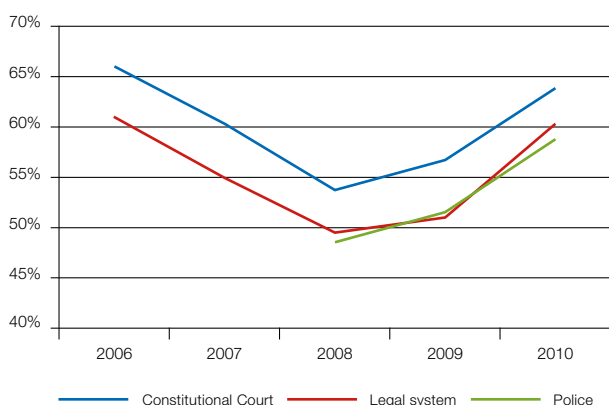
**Figure 12: Confidence in other institutions, 2006–2010 (%)**



**Figure 13: Confidence in governance institutions and political parties, 2006–2010 (%)**



**Figure 14: Confidence in legal institutions, 2006–2010 (%)**



(66%) and Parliament (65%), as well as for the Constitutional Court (64%) and the legal system overall (60%). Of concern, however, is that only 43% of South Africans report ‘a great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ of confidence in local government, which remains the key point of interaction between most citizens and the democratic state.

Improved confidence levels in public institutions in 2010 are indeed a positive finding. However, analysis of the results of previous survey rounds also shows that many institutions have still not yet recovered to confidence levels recorded in 2006, with the exception only of the print media and religious organisations, as shown in Figure 12.

Annual gains between 2009 and 2010 were particularly substantial amongst governance institutions and political parties, which recorded formidable upturns in confidence levels from those recorded last year. As is the case in most countries, political parties consistently elicit relatively low levels of public confidence; in successive rounds of the SA Reconciliation Barometer, local and provincial government are also less trusted than national government, Parliament and The Presidency (see Figure 13).

Consistent with evaluations of other institutions, both the Constitutional Court and the legal system suffered declines in public confidence between 2006 and 2008. The Presidency itself has acknowledged this ‘faltering trust’ as attributable in part to the perception that significant court judgements in the recent past were ‘seen as reflecting racial or gender stereotypes, or as having political motivation’, and this had potential to ‘detract from the popular legitimacy of the courts’ (The Presidency, 2009: 12, 47, 108, in Lefko-Everett, 2009). However, confidence in the Constitutional Court and the legal system overall, as well as in the South African Police Service (SAPS), increased considerably between 2009 and 2010, recovering to levels close to those recorded in 2006 (see Figure 14).

## CONFIDENCE IN OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

The SA Reconciliation Barometer also tests levels of citizen trust in political leadership as a crucial contributor to government legitimacy. However, previous survey rounds have shown moderate to high levels of distrust, and despite increasingly positive evaluations of government institutions in this year’s survey round, these trends have persisted in 2010. More than half of all South Africans (51%) feel that political leadership is not concerned about what happens to people they consider to be like themselves. A further 46% agree that if public officials are not interested in hearing people’s views, there is ‘really no way to make them listen’. Following on the proposals of Somin (2003) and Dahl (1971), this perception of a lack of responsiveness may in fact have consequences for state legitimacy.

At the same time, a majority of South Africans (58%) nonetheless believe they can trust the country’s leadership to do what is right most of the time, and Figure 15 illustrates that this is a substantial increase from recorded levels in 2009, from 50% to 58%. Agreement that disinterested public officials cannot be compelled to listen and that political leaders are unconcerned about ‘people like me’ dropped between 2009 and 2010, the latter substantively, from 58% to 51% (see Figure 15).

### GREATER CONFIDENCE IN PARLIAMENT

The SA Reconciliation Barometer also tests confidence in Parliament, as the main representative institution for citizens and with primary responsibility for executive oversight. Generally, across the three measures used and consistent with evaluations of other public institutions, citizen confidence in Parliament has improved in 2010 from previously recorded levels in recent survey rounds.

The 2010 survey found that 69% of South Africans agree that Parliament can usually be trusted to make decisions that are right for the country as a whole. A somewhat lower 54% agree that Parliament treats all people the same, irrespective of race, while 41% – consistent with previous rounds, and cause for some concern – agree that ‘if Parliament started making lots of decisions that most people disagree with’, it might be better to do away with institution altogether.

Figure 16 shows trends in evaluations of Parliament over time. As consistent with evaluations of other governance institutions, confidence declined between rounds 6 and 9, but has recovered in 2010.

### GROWING COMPLIANCE WITH THE RULE OF LAW

State legitimacy, as discussed above, rests in part on citizen acceptance of the rule of law, and as described by Dahl (1971) and Wallner (2008) respectively, belief in both the ‘rightness’ of democratic authorities and the justifiability and appropriateness of government decisions and action.

In 2009, the SA Reconciliation Barometer found evidence of a growing public regard for the rule of law, and this was a positive finding. However, these results were also interpreted as a possible reaction by citizens to the belief that the law has not been applied equally and consistently to all South Africans. The Presidency suggests that members of the public may have viewed recent high-profile court judgements as ‘reflecting racial or gender stereotypes, or as having political motivation’ (The Presidency, 2009: 12, 47, 108, in Lefko-Everett, 2009).

In 2010, support for the rule of law has continued to grow: 59% of South Africans agree that the rulings of South African courts should be consistent with the Constitution, even if they go against the will of citizens. Only 11% of South Africans disagree.

Forty-nine per cent (49%) disagree that it is sometimes better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately rather than wait for a legal solution, and 59% disagree that it is not necessary to follow the laws of a government they did not vote for. Forty-two percent (42%) of South Africans, however, still believe that it is acceptable to ‘get around the law if you don’t actually break it’, potentially indicating amenability to ‘soft’ kinds of violations perceived to have limited sanctions (see Figure 17).

Figure 15: Trust in leadership, rounds 1–10 (% agreement)

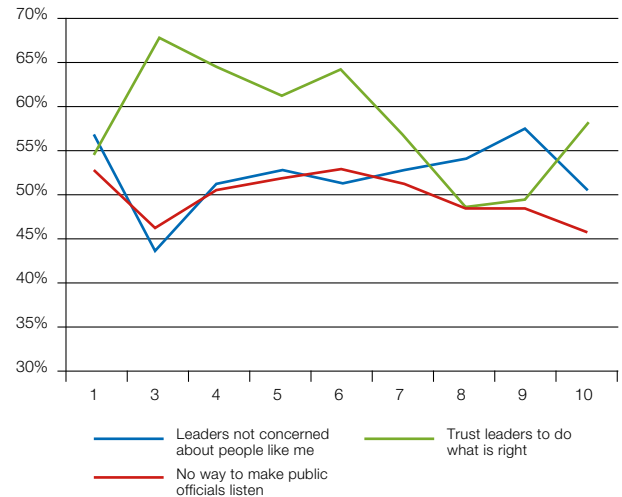


Figure 16: Confidence in Parliament, rounds 1–10 (% agreement)

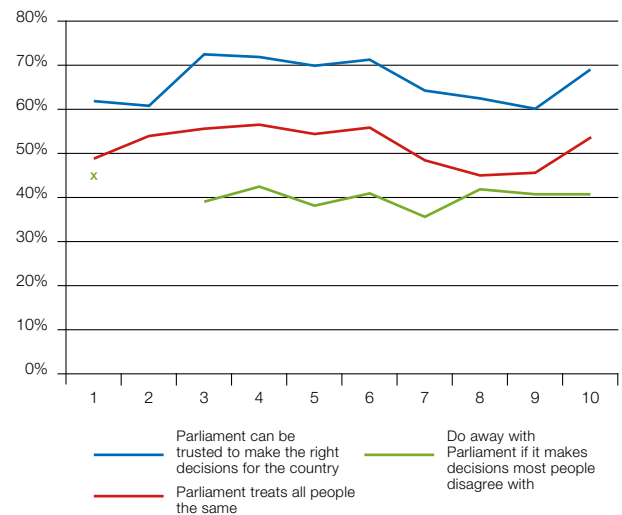
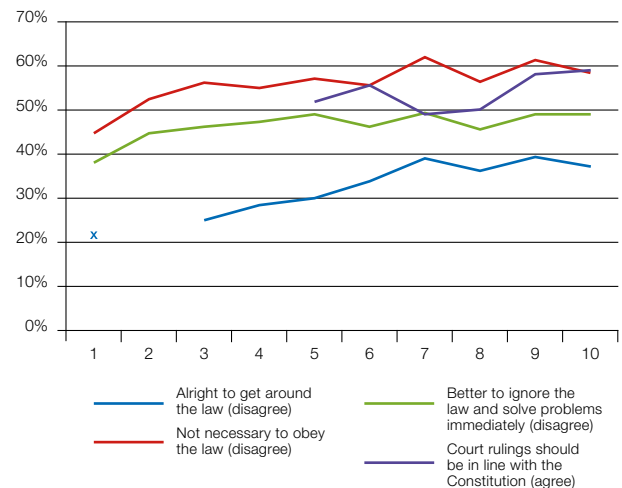


Figure 17: Increased support for the rule of law, rounds 1–10 (%)





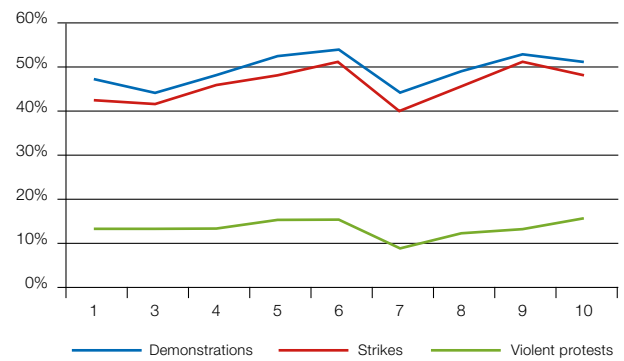
### GROWING ACCEPTANCE OF VIOLENT EXTRA-LEGAL ACTION

The 2009 round of the SA Reconciliation Barometer also found that increasing percentages of citizens viewed both legal and illegal modes of protest more justifiable, specifically in instances in which they felt their human rights were being violated. This is coherent with the visible rise in protests around the country in recent years, often attributed to dissatisfaction with public service delivery (Lefko-Everett, 2010a).

Perceptions regarding the justifiability of protest have continued to increase in 2010, with about half of all South Africans agreeing that taking part in a demonstration (51%) or joining a strike (48%) would be either completely or probably justifiable if they felt their human rights were being violated. Support for participation in legal strikes and demonstrations has fluctuated between approximately 40% to 50% of respondents since 2003 (see Figure 18).

However, a further 16% of South Africans also view illegal protest, including the use of ‘force or violent methods, such as damaging public property or taking hostages’, as justifiable when human rights are being violated. As shown in Figure 18, this percentage has increased – albeit very gradually – since round 1 of the SA Reconciliation Barometer, and may have further consequences for stability and physical safety, for example as seen in the South African National Defence Force march on the Union Buildings in 2009 (see Chauke, 2009) and the xenophobic attacks of 2008.

Figure 18: Justifiability of protest, rounds 1–10 (%)



# IV. CROSS-CUTTING POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

South African history has been characterised by deep political divisions, and since its inception the SA Reconciliation Barometer has hypothesised that if South Africans are able to more effectively form working political relationships across these divides, reconciliation is more likely to progress.

This variable has been measured through the extent to which citizens, attitudes reveal commitment to national unity and likely participation in multi-racial political parties: attitudes that transcend racial and other social divides.

The capacity to form and maintain new working political relationships, or 'new forms of social institutions and political parties with a multi-community basis', is an important aspect of the political reconciliation process (Chapman, 2002: 5).

## NATIONAL UNITY

National unity is a crucial component of reconciliation, and refers to a shared commitment amongst citizens to the institutions and values of the state. In the lead-up to the 2010 Soccer World Cup, President Jacob Zuma expressly called upon South Africans to 'renew our commitment to national unity and nation building' (SAPA, 2010a). Shortly after the tournament's conclusion, Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe also announced the launch of a dedicated campaign – together with the International Marketing Council – that would aim to '[build] on the enthusiasm of South Africans which was expressed in their cohesion as a nation, united under a common flag and anthem' and would 'seek to develop and entrench a nation brand of 'Ubuntu', of unity through our diversity, of innovation and creativity, of possibilities' (The Presidency, 2010).

In 2010, a majority of citizens (72%) agree that it is desirable to create a 'united South African nation out of all the different groups that live in this country'. A further 19% are uncertain, and only 6% disagree. However, as found in previous rounds, the percentage of South Africans who view national unity as a real possibility is slightly lower, at 64%. An additional 22% are uncertain, while 11% feel that it is in fact not possible. As shown in Figure 19, agreement on the desirability of a united South Africa peaked in round 2 (2003) of the survey and declined notably between 2006 and 2008, alongside other variables.

Figure 20 presents average responses to questions on the desirability and likelihood of a united South Africa, based on a 5-point Likert scale, and shows that in 2010, white South Africans are less likely than other groups to view national unification as either desirable or possible.

Figure 19: Agreement that a united South Africa is desirable and possible, rounds 1–10 (%)

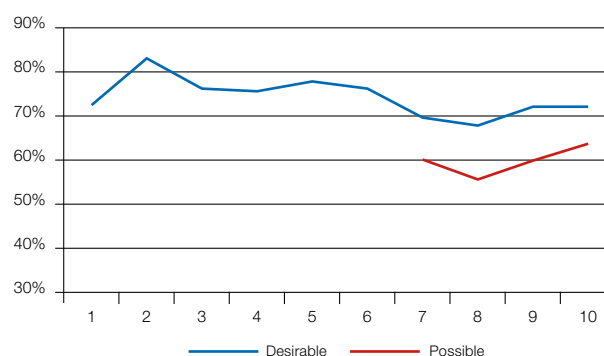
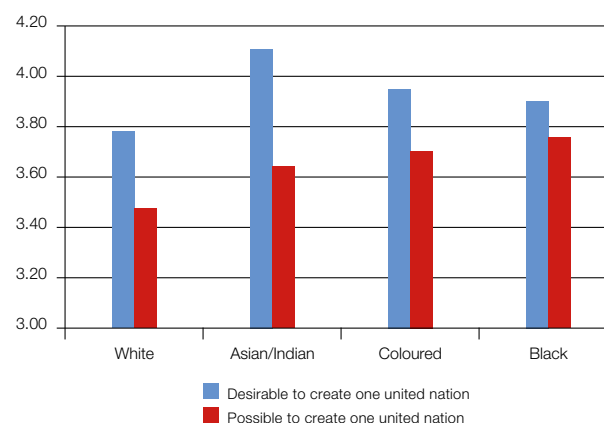


Figure 20: Average agreement that a united South Africa is desirable and possible by race, 2010 (%)



## MULTI-PARTY POLITICS

The 2009 national and provincial elections, in which the ANC's majority dominance has been perennially re-affirmed (see Southall, 2009), generated a great deal of speculation as to whether or not South Africans would move away from the partisanship and voting patterns that have characterised national polls since 1994. This was prompted in part by significant changes and political shifts within the ANC, which included the election of Jacob Zuma as party president at its national congress in Polokwane in 2007, and the appearance of a growing influence of leftwing alliance partners in the party's senior ranks.

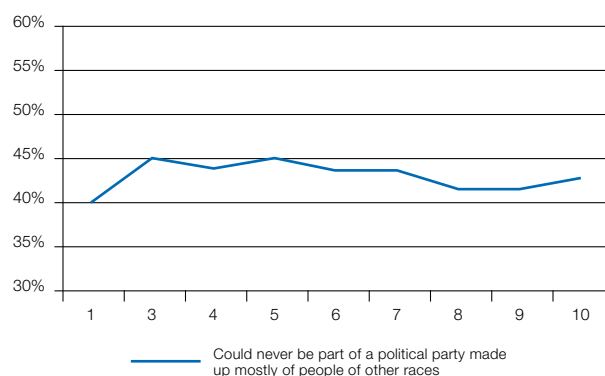
COPE, led by several high-profile ANC defectors, was officially launched just months before elections, and positioned itself specifically as an inclusive and multi-racial political ‘home for all’, while the opposition DA worked aggressively to broaden its support base beyond its traditional constituency of minority voters.

Voting patterns in South Africa are complex, and research suggests that electoral preferences are shaped by a variety of factors, including priority issues and the perception of inclusiveness. As such, construing voter preferences as determined by race, or elections as a ‘racial census’, is an oversimplification (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009: 35–37; Kersting, 2009).

However, the SA Reconciliation Barometer also finds that many South Africans do not feel that they could join ranks with, and participate in a political party in which they would be a racial minority. In 2010, 43% of South Africans indicated they could never imagine themselves being part of a political party made up predominantly of people of another race group; a further 25% were uncertain, while less than one-third (28%) considered this a possibility (see Figure 21).

On average in 2010, in response to a 5-point Likert scale, black South Africans were more likely to agree that they could never imagine being part of a political party made up mainly of people of other races (*mean* = 3.36) than white (*mean* = 2.99), coloured (*mean* = 2.68), or Indian/Asian (*mean* = 2.43) South Africans.

Figure 21: Could never be part of a political party made up mostly of people of other races, rounds 1–10 (% agreement)



**THE  
FINAL**

**THE CUP OF DREAMS**  
**DREAM**



**ABSA  
CUP  
OF DREAMS**





WE ARE HOPEFUL TO SEE PROBLEMS CONCERNING OUR DEPARTED HUSBANDS BUT URGENT

To Discuss Final RELIEF (REPARATION)

REPARATION/RELIEF IS OUR RIGHT NOT

Penwell convince URGENT PARLIAMENTS TO DISCUSS FINAL REPARATION

SPEED UP THE PROCESS OF URGENT INTERIM REPARATION

HOW DO YOU DISCUSS FINAL RELIEF WHERE YOU ARE YOUR FEET ON URGENT INTER

REPARATION/RELIEF IS OUR RIGHT NOT PRIVILEGE



# V. HISTORICAL CONFRONTATION

Gibson (2004) proposes that acceptance of the truth about South Africa's apartheid past, as captured through the TRC process, is an important precondition for reconciliation to take place.

The SA Reconciliation Barometer has, since its inception, explored questions of how citizens understand South African history, whether or not they feel 'justice' has been done, readiness to forgive others, and evaluations of the adequacy of support for victims of apartheid human rights abuses. The survey hypothesises that South Africans who are able to confront and acknowledge the country's past are more likely to move forward and reconcile with others.

## ACCEPTANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID PAST

South African history has long been characterised by a legacy of oppression, conflict and social division, from the arrival of its earliest colonisers and through to the end of the apartheid state in the 1980s.

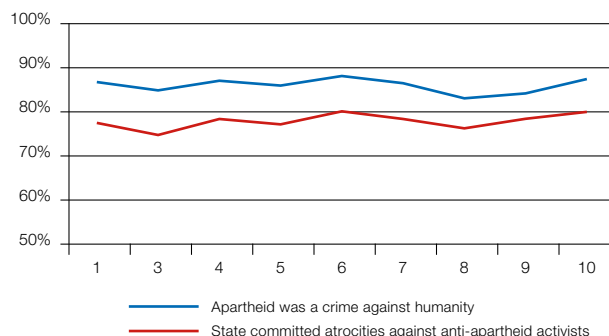
Wide contempt of the apartheid system came from within and outside the country's borders, and from 1952 onwards the United Nations General Assembly annually denounced South African racial policies. In 1973, the United Nations adopted the Convention of the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (Dugard online).

In the post-apartheid political dispensation, prospects for reconciliation have been fundamentally tied to the work of identifying and accepting the true circumstances surrounding human rights abuses committed in the past: a process institutionalised through the TRC. Recognition that apartheid was a crime against humanity was a necessary precursor to the healing of wounds of the past and the cultivation of national unity (Gibson, 2004). Professor Hugh Corder, participating in the IJR Expert Survey earlier this year, has described this process as

the exposure and confrontation of the evils of the past, and the process whereby both the members of the apartheid structures as well as all those who resisted it could be heard and brought to a stage of forgiveness at best, or grudging willingness to work together for the greater good, at the worst.

Du Pisani and Kim (2004) also place history 'at the core of the TRC process', and add that in addition to revealing the truth, the work of the Commission constitutes a 'serious effort to negotiate the writing of the new history of South Africa' and is credited 'for 'constructing a national memory' and 'creating an officially acknowledged past''. Through the TRC, Du Pisani and Kim conclude, South African history underwent a successful 'national process of change and revision'

Figure 22: Acknowledgement of South Africa's apartheid past, rounds 1–10 (% agreement)



which, alongside the drafting of the new constitution, represent 'poignant examples of how to construct a new national narrative, which acknowledges that nations and peoples have to take responsibility for the past' (citing Lalu and Harris, 1996; Verdoolaege, 2007; Burr, 2001; Thelen, 2002; Williams, 1999).

## ACKNOWLEDGING THE PAST

The SA Reconciliation Barometer asks citizens about the extent to which they believe apartheid was a crime against humanity, as it was declared internationally by the United Nations in 1966. Agreement among South Africans has been consistently high since the first survey round, and in 2010 this is still the case: 87% of citizens believe apartheid was a crime against humanity, 54% believe this with certainty, and a further 33%, that this is 'probably true'. A cumulative 80% also agree that in the past the state committed atrocities against anti-apartheid activists. Of this total figure 42% believe so with certainty, while 38% feel that it is 'probably true'. These high levels of agreement on the nature of the apartheid state constitute an important finding for reconciliation (see Figure 22).

The Barometer also explores the extent to which feelings of forgiveness and vengeance exist among South Africans, after 16 years of democracy. In 2010, just over 60% of South Africans agree that they are trying to forgive those who hurt them during apartheid, while only 5% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. Similarly, 72% agree that they want to forget about the past and move on with their lives, while only 5% disagreed (see Figure 23).

However, while these are relatively positive findings, almost two-fifths of South Africans (39%) still believe that it is fair to discriminate against those who discriminated against them under apartheid. This percentage, as in Figure 23, has remained fairly consistent over ten rounds of the survey. While this does not reflect overt interest in retribution or vengeance for the events of the past, it may yet pose an obstacle to improvements in social relations (see Figure 23).

Survey results also suggest that some South Africans feel more work still remains in pursuing justice in the wake of the TRC process. In 2010, about one in five South Africans (22%) still feel that government has not done enough to prosecute perpetrators of apartheid crimes. Close to two-fifths (39%) also feel that it has not done enough to support victims of apartheid human rights abuses. These sentiments have the potential to be further exacerbated by recent nominations for political pardons, as well as the absence of substantive progress in enacting restitutions processes that have been recommended by the TRC.

### MEASURES TO PROMOTE EQUITY

A second dimension of the historical confrontation variable tested by the SA Reconciliation Barometer explores public support for policy interventions aimed at restitution and restorative equity measures.

Survey results suggest majority support for government prioritisation of building a representative workforce in South Africa. Three in four South Africans (75%) agree that prioritisation should be given to the creation of a workforce that is representative of race and gender, and only a slightly lower percentage (73%) support representation in terms of physical ability (see Figure 24).

Survey results also suggest relatively high levels of support for the retention of race categories, specifically for the purpose of measuring the impact of government programming on previously disadvantaged persons. In 2010, 44% of South Africans support the retention of race categories, while one in five disagree (20%).

Figure 23: Forgiveness for events of the past, rounds 1–10 (% agreement)

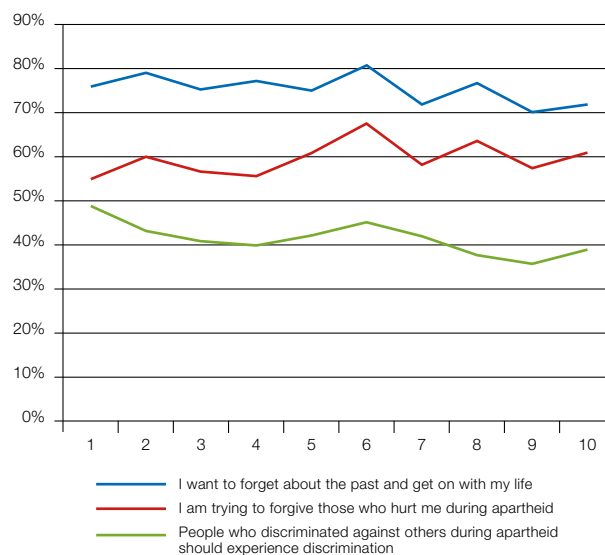
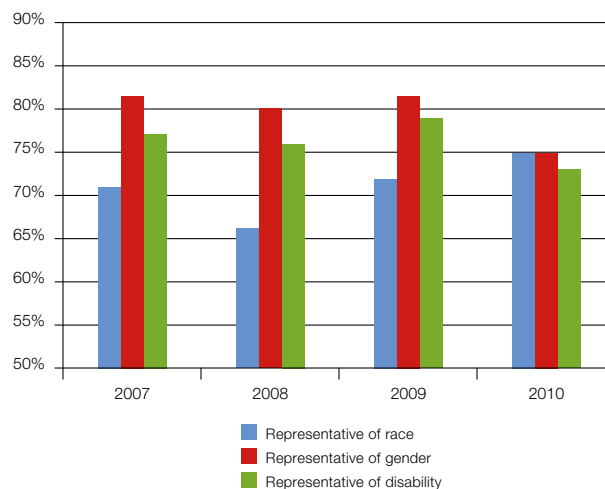


Figure 24: Support for prioritisation of ensuring a representative workforce, 2007–2010 (% agreement)



# VI. RACE RELATIONS

Since the first survey round in 2003, the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey has explored aspects of race relations in the post-apartheid period, including questions of citizen identity, attitudes towards ‘others’ and behaviour in a range of social settings. Lombard (2004a) suggests that the development of indicators of race relations at the outset of the project was fundamentally influenced by the national political climate of the time, in which interracial relations were considered to be at the core of the South African reconciliation project.

The SA Reconciliation Barometer survey hypothesises that if negative perceptions about South Africans of different historically defined race groups<sup>1</sup> are reduced, citizens are more likely to form better social relationships, and therefore reconciliation will advance. Gibson (2004) also proposed that interracial reconciliation would be evidenced through ‘the willingness of people of different races to trust each other, to reject stereotypes about those of other races, and generally to get along with each other’ (Gibson, 2004: 4). This hypothesis tests the extent to which perceptions and attitudes have changed in the post-1994 period, particularly as greater freedom and integration in a range of social environments has created opportunities for meaningful interaction between groups historically kept separate by apartheid.

## CHANGING ATTITUDES THROUGH INTEGRATION

The development of the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey items designed to test attitudes on race relations drew fundamentally on inter-group contact theory or ‘the contact hypothesis’. Primarily employed in the fields of psychology and sociology, contact theory emerged through Robin Williams’ 1947 work, *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions*, and subsequently Gordon Allport’s, *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954). Williams theorised that increased contact between members of different race groups would reduce prejudices, provided that both shared ‘similar tasks and status’ and were ‘involved in personal activities that promote[d] meaningful interpersonal interactions’ (Utsey et al, 2008, citing Williams, 1947; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006).

As described by Katz (1991), Allport proposed that discriminatory and hostile attitudes were based primarily on prejudice, defined as a cognitive tool developed early in life in order to simplify experience by grouping people into large categories. Such organisation, however, relied on broad and racialised stereotypes often based on incomplete or mistaken information. From Allport’s thesis emerged prospects for producing attitudinal change through disconfirming information, although it was also recognised that the ‘functional significance of intolerance [motivates] the bearer to employ a full range of defensive reactions whenever a negative stereotype or sentiment [is] challenged by new knowledge’ (Katz, 1991: 127, 145).

Contact theory has been the focus of a substantial volume of subsequent academic work, with social scientists across a range of disciplines variously working to confirm, refute and expand these

original hypotheses. Many argue that there are significant limitations to contact theory as defined by these early works. Powers and Ellison (1995), for example, point to a number of these critical concerns: first, they note the highly institutionalised and controlled nature of some research, and question whether observed changes (or a lack thereof) would occur in the same way in the population, and based on more spontaneous contact. Secondly, in the American context, the authors cite research that brings to question whether contact has the same positive effect on the attitudes of black Americans as it does on white. Third, they highlight the possibility of selection effects: ‘initially tolerant attitudes may lead individuals to engage in, or even to seek out, interracial contacts, while less tolerant persons eschew such contacts’ (Powers and Ellison, 1995, citing Jackman and Crane, 1986; Sigelman and Welch, 1993).

Emerson et al (2002) also refer to four additional conditions that more recent research has linked to positive attitudinal change in interracial relations, beyond contact alone: common goals; inter-group cooperation; equality of status; and authority support. The authors also suggest that further research should focus on changing behaviours, and not attitudes alone.

The research of Emerson et al (2002) and others points to the positive effects of deeper social relationships among individuals from different groups. Emerson et al find that exposure to racially diverse groups and the development of multiracial social ties increases the likelihood that individuals would seek out such relationships in the future. In Northern Ireland, Hayes and Dowds (2006) determine that social exposure and established friendship networks were important predictors of positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Pettigrew (1997), drawing on data from four European countries, also finds friendship and ‘interpersonal closeness’ to reduce prejudice, and generally contribute to more positive feelings towards a wide range of ‘out-groups’. These changes through friendship were based on four processes, which were unlikely to come about through contact alone: ‘(a) learning about the out-group; (b) empathising; and (c) identifying with the out-group; and (d) reappraising the in-group’. Pettigrew found, therefore, that a ‘situation’s ‘friendship potential’ is hence indicated as an essential condition for optimal intergroup contact’.

However, contact theory has also been challenged, making way for other proposals that aim to deconstruct racism, prejudice and stereotyping. In a study on determinants of support for immigration and cultural diversity in Canada, Mulder and Krahn (2005) found no

evidence of a ‘significant effect of contact on attitudes towards cultural diversity’, although the authors do acknowledge potential limitations of the measures used.

Mulder and Krahn (2005), however, find a positive relationship between support for cultural diversity and both higher levels of education and an individuals’ satisfaction with his or her community. Possible explanations for the first of these findings include the prospect that tolerance and other social values can be taught through the formal education system (see Wotherspoon, 1998), or that the well-educated feel less economically threatened by newcomers in ‘scare resource’ circumstances. The authors recommended public education initiatives as a potential intervention for improving social relations, teaching tolerance and increasing community satisfaction levels (Mulder and Krahn, 2005).

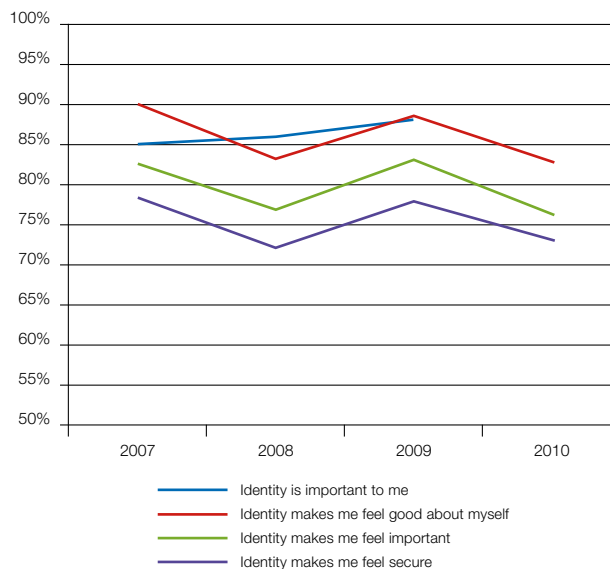
### SOUTH AFRICAN IDENTITY

As a first step in establishing how South Africans think about ‘others’, the SA Reconciliation Barometer has asked citizens about how they identify themselves, and the importance they ascribe to this identity. Since 2007, survey respondents have consistently indicated that they identify most strongly with others who speak the same mother tongue, followed by those who are from the same ethnic group or of the same race. Cumulatively, over the four survey rounds, about half of all respondents (46–54%) indicate that they identify most strongly with others in these groups. A further 10–15% of respondents have answered that they identify most strongly with others who see themselves primarily as South Africans (see Table 4).

Survey results also confirm that group identity remains an important source of positive individual affirmation and security. Although percentages have declined slightly since 2007, as shown in Figure 25, in 2010 83% of South Africans answered that their primary identity makes them feel good about themselves, 77% that it makes them feel important and 73% that it makes them feel secure.

	2007	2008	2009	2010
Language	20%	24%	19%	21%
Ethnicity	15%	18%	19%	19%
Race	12%	12%	11%	15%
Primarily South African	11%	12%	14%	14%
Neighbourhood	9%	7%	8%	9%
Religion	7%	5%	7%	6%
Class	7%	6%	5%	5%
Social/savings/sport club membership	1%	2%	2%	1%
Work colleagues/other students	4%	3%	3%	3%
Age group	5%	4%	4%	3%
Primarily African	3%	4%	3%	2%
Gender	5%	3%	3%	3%

**Figure 25: Importance of individual identity, 2007–2010 (% agreement)**



### RACE RELATIONS

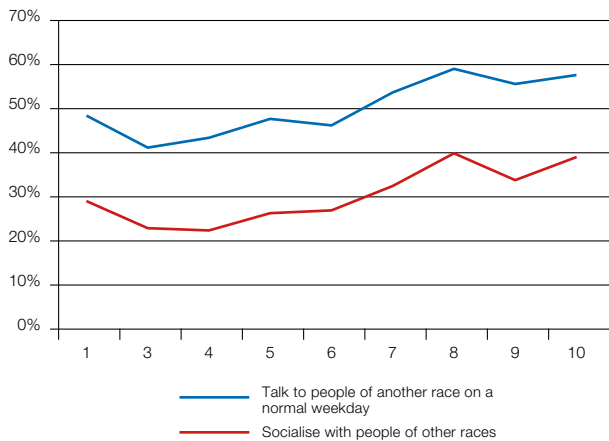
The results of the 2010 round of the SA Reconciliation Barometer also show that close to half of all South Africans (47%) feel that there has been an improvement in race relations in the country since 1994. A further 30% feel race relations have stayed the same over this 16-year period, and 21% that they have worsened.

Consistent with the early contact theory proposals of both Williams (1947) and Allport (1954), the SA Reconciliation Barometer evaluates incidences of basic interaction between people of different historically defined race groups. Survey results in 2010 show that about two in five South Africans (38%) speak to people from other race groups either ‘often’ or ‘always’ on a typical weekday. One-fifth (20%) ‘sometimes’ speak to people of other race groups on a typical weekday, and a further two-fifths (42%) do so ‘rarely’ or ‘never’ (see Figure 26). An additional 30% of South Africans would like to talk to people from other groups more often than they do at present.

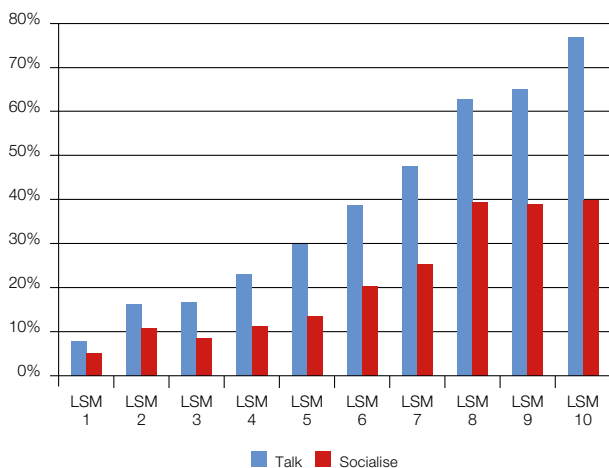
In keeping with theory on the positive effects of deeper social relationships on deconstructing prejudice, such as that of Emerson et al (2002) and Pettigrew (1997), the SA Reconciliation Barometer also explores the extent to which South Africans socialise with people of other race groups in more intimate settings, such as their homes or the homes of friends. In 2010, about one-fifth (21%) of South Africans indicate that they socialise with people of other race groups ‘often’ or ‘always’; a further 18% do so ‘sometimes’; while 60% ‘rarely’ or ‘never’ do so (see Figure 26).

Levels of both daily contact and socialisation between South Africans are significantly affected by a range of different variables. Linear regression analyses determined that race, monthly household income and LSM are all significant predictors of both levels of daily contact and socialisation (see Appendix C). As has been found in previous rounds of the SA Reconciliation Barometer, 2010 data once again confirms that levels of interracial contact and socialisation are lowest

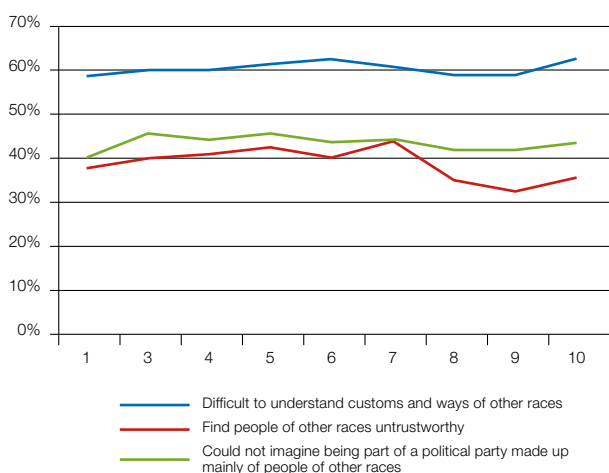
**Figure 26: Contact and socialisation between people of different races (cumulative often, always and sometimes responses), rounds 1–10 (%)**



**Figure 27: South Africans who always or often talk to or socialise with people of other races by LSM, 2010 (%)**



**Figure 28: Social distance, rounds 1–10 (% agreement)**



among the poorest households, and increase dramatically with higher household income and better living standards. As shown in Figure 27, less than 10% of households with the lowest LSM scores regularly talk or socialise with South Africans of race groups other than their own. Comparatively, close to 80% of those with the highest LSM scores talk regularly to others, and about 40% socialise with South Africans of other races in more intimate settings. As is perhaps to be expected, levels of both contact and socialisation are far lower in rural areas than in towns, cities or metros.

The SA Reconciliation Barometer also explores perceptions about 'other' groups within South Africa, and tests attitudes related to a range of circumstances in which interracial contact and socialisation would likely increase. Nine rounds of the survey have asked respondents whether or not they agree that they find it difficult to understand the 'customs and ways' of people of other race groups: in 2010, 62% of South Africans agree that they find the customs and ways of others difficult to understand. A further 35% of South Africans view people of other race groups as untrustworthy in 2010, and this has remained fairly consistent over survey rounds. As discussed in Section IV, 43% of South Africans indicated they could never imagine themselves being part of a political party made up predominantly of people of another race group (see Figure 28).<sup>2</sup>

Looking more closely at the 2010 results, there were statistically significant differences between levels of agreement with each of the statements shown in Figure 28. All measures used were 5-point Likert scales, in which 1 represented strong agreement and 5 represented strong disagreement. Analysis of the weighted, nationally representative sample shows that on average, black South Africans (*mean* = 2.38) were more likely than white (*mean* = 2.70), coloured (*mean* = 2.85) or Asian/Indian (*mean* = 3.16) South Africans to agree that it is difficult to understand the 'customs and ways' of people of other races. Black South Africans are also statistically more likely to agree that people of other races are untrustworthy, and that they could not imagine being part of a political party made up predominantly of people of other races, as shown in Table 5.<sup>3</sup>

**Table 5: Mean agreement with social distances statements according to race, 2010 \***

Agreement	White	Asian/ Indian	Coloured	Black
Find it difficult to understand the customs and ways of people of other race groups	2.70	3.16	2.85	2.38
Find people of other race groups untrustworthy	3.04	3.66	3.39	2.73
Could never imagine being part of a political party made up mainly of people of other race groups	3.01	3.57	3.32	2.64

\*Based on a 5-point scale in which 1 represents strongest agreement and 5 represents strongest disagreement. Lowest mean scores, therefore, are indicative of highest levels of agreement.

Figure 29: Approval of integration, 2006–2010 (%)

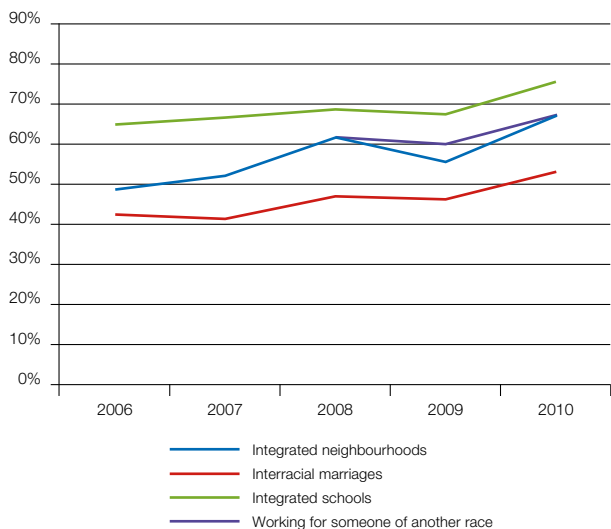
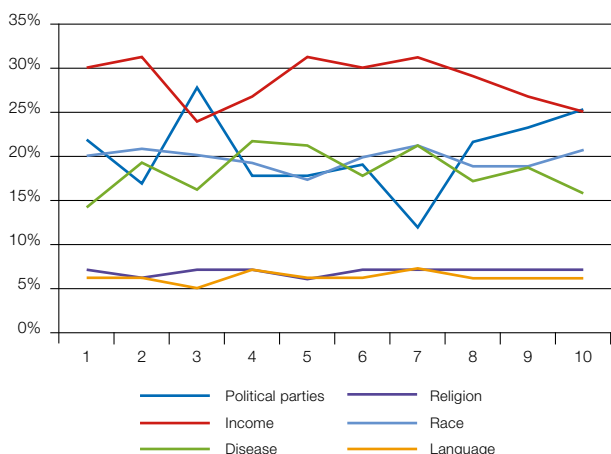


Figure 30: Biggest division in South Africa, rounds 1–10 (%)



### SUPPORT FOR INTEGRATION

The SA Reconciliation Barometer has also sought to identify the major social cleavages in the South African population, and specifically asks citizens about groups of people they find most difficult to associate with, outside of their own race group. Results from 2010 show that the highest percentages of white (51%) and coloured (47%) South Africans found it most difficult to associate with black people; most black (51%) and Indian/Asian (34%) South Africans found white people the most difficult to associate with.

Interestingly, despite the evident difficulty respondents report in understanding the ‘ways and customs’ of others, and the approximately 30–40% of respondents who indicate that they are distrustful of others over successive survey rounds, approval for interracial integration in several specific circumstances has in fact

increased over time. This also endorses the perception by close to half of all South Africans that race relations have improved since the transition to democracy.

In 2010, 53% of South Africans indicate that they would approve, or approve strongly of a close relative marrying someone of another race. Sixty-seven per cent (67%) approval of living in multi-racial neighbourhoods and 76% of integrated classrooms in schools. A further 68% indicate approval for working for, and taking instructions from a person of another race. While there is certainly more room for improvement, these results are promising (see Figure 29).

### SOCIAL DIVISIONS

Finally, the SA Reconciliation Barometer also examines how citizens understand the biggest sources of division in South African society today. Comparable to findings in 2009, the 2010 survey results show that the highest percentages of South Africans view political party membership (25%) and socioeconomic inequality (25%) as the biggest sources of division in the country. As shown in Table 6, these are followed by race (21%), and cumulatively these three issues account for just over 70% of responses.

Over the ten rounds of the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey, the gap between rich and poor has consistently been identified as among the foremost sources of social division in the country, and as discussed in Section II, South Africa’s income inequality has continued to widen. However, as shown in Figure 30, this finding has intersected with a rise in the perception of political party membership as a main source of social division in 2004 and again in 2009 and 2010, likely coinciding with elections held at these times.

	Primary	Secondary
Supporters of different political parties	25%	14%
Poor and middle income/wealthy South Africans	25%	22%
People living with HIV/AIDS or other infectious diseases	16%	12%
Members of different religions	7%	13%
People of different races	21%	25%
People of different language groups	6%	14%

However, this year’s results do not show a drop in the percentage of respondents who view political party membership as South Africa’s main source of division, as was evident in the post-election climate of round 4. Rather, perceptions about the divisive nature of political party membership have continued to increase in 2010, and this may in part reflect political contestation and reconfigurations that have occurred in the post-2009 election period: COPE has endured an ongoing and high-level leadership struggle, which has brought about the resignation of several prominent members; the ANC has often been at odds with

its tripartite alliance partners, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Congress Party (SACP); and the Independent Democrats (ID) has merged with the official opposition, the Democratic Alliance.

In the election and immediate post-election periods, it is to be expected that escalated campaigning and more pronounced partisanship could be viewed as a primary source of social division. However, it is also important for both democracy and reconciliation – as noted in last year’s SA Reconciliation Barometer report – that democratic societies are able to hold regular and contested multi-party elections without partisanship becoming a significant source of social instability. It will be important, therefore, to closely monitor future trends in this regard.

## NOTES

1. The IJR does not subscribe to the idea of historically defined race groups as descriptive categories. However, in recognising continued differences in the lived social, economic and political experiences of many South Africans, these categories are used in this analysis for the purpose of tracking change in social relations in the post-apartheid period, and monitoring convergence (or the absence thereof) in opinion on critical issues.
2. In round 6 the survey item was worded slightly differently: respondents were asked about the specific group they indicated that they found most difficult to associate with. In all other rounds, respondents were asked about all people of race categories different than their own.
3. In Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests for each statement,  $p \leq .01$ .







# VII. DIALOGUE

Previous sections of this report have explored perceptions, as well as interactions and socialisation between historically defined race groups in South Africa. The SA Reconciliation Barometer also explores issues of discourse and public dialogue, and assesses the extent South Africans feel they can speak freely in an open, democratic society – specifically about race.

Over the past year, the norms and parameters around how South Africans talk about race have been challenged and tested in a number of ways. Following a complaint of hate speech by AfriForum over the use of the lyrics *dubul'ibhunu* ('shoot the boer') while singing the anti-apartheid struggle song *Ayesaba Amagwala*, ANC Youth League President Julius Malema was barred by the Pretoria High Court from 'uttering any song of a similar nature which incites violence' (SAPA, 2010b).

Van der Westhuizen (2010) also charts the 'running battle of words' between Malema and DA leader Helen Zille. The Youth League president began by describing Zille as a 'racist, colonialist and imperialist', and then-party chairperson Joe Seremane as a 'garden boy'. As described by Van der Westhuizen, 'Zille hit back in *isiXhosa*, calling Malema an '*inkwenkwe*' (uncircumcised boy) for insulting an elder'. Malema's most recent retort was to refer to Zille as a 'cockroach', provoking controversy and outrage given the use of this word in Rwandan genocide discourse (Van der Westhuizen, 2010).

Further, the killing of AWB leader Eugene Terre'blanche in April provoked a barrage of negative race-talk and symbolism from his conservative followers, who at his funeral reportedly donned the 'movement uniform', sang the old national anthem and hung the flag of apartheid South Africa (SAPA, 2010b).

More recently, in an interview with the *Rapport*, award-winning author Annelie Botes commented that she dislikes and fears 'black people'. She added,

You tell me what the face of crime is in South Africa. If you hear the window shatter and confront the perpetrator, who do expect that crook to be? ... As a writer, I write what I see, what I experience and put it into context. (Groenewald and Harbour, 2010)

Discourse of this kind provokes important questions about the quality of dialogue and public debate on race, and how it can productively contribute to reconciliation and nation-building, rather than jeopardising these important goals.

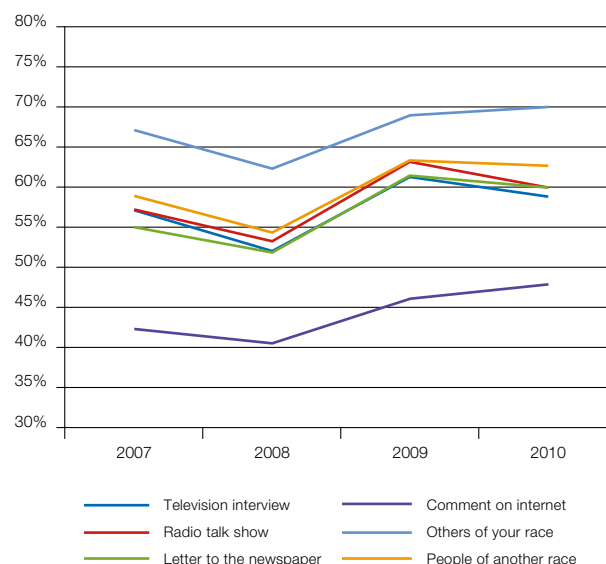
## TALKING ABOUT RACE

The SA Reconciliation Barometer asks respondents the extent to which they feel comfortable revealing their 'true thoughts' about race

issues, in a range of public and private contexts. In 2010, about 25–32% of South Africans indicate that they always feel comfortable speaking frankly about race with people they consider to be from a race group other than their own, or in public forums such as the television news, on radio or in the newspaper. South Africans continue to feel more comfortable talking openly about race with others of their own race group, and in 2010, 37% indicate that they always do so.

As shown in Figure 31, percentages of respondents indicating that they always or often feel comfortable talking openly about race in a range of contexts has remained relatively consistent over time. Though a slightly lower percentage indicate a willingness to post comments on the internet revealing their true thoughts about race, this survey item elicited a high percentage of 'don't know' responses.

Figure 31: Always or sometimes comfortable revealing true feelings about race, 2007–2010 (%)





# VIII. CONCLUSION

This year, the IJR conducted the tenth round of the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey, with a number of positive findings that may signal the beginnings of a reverse in the declines in public confidence and outlook that have characterised findings in recent years.

This will be conducive for the deepening of reconciliation and democratic consolidation overall, and while these results may in part reflect the optimism and exuberance that swept the country in the lead-up to the Soccer World Cup, they also underscore the possibility of future change for the better.

The results of the 2010 SA Reconciliation Barometer highlight a number of positive inroads since the first survey round in 2003. Importantly, a majority of South Africans still believe that a unified country is a desirable goal, and despite some reservations about whether or not this can occur in practice, this represents a crucial foundation for reconciliation.

Consensus around the truths of South Africa's apartheid past also remains firmly intact. Despite the time that has passed since the conclusion of the TRC, and suggestions by some experts that government responsibility and impetus for furthering reconciliation has waned in its aftermath, most South Africans still feel that forgiveness for the crimes of the past is possible, and agree on the importance of moving forward collectively.

Socially, South Africans continue to identify most strongly with others who speak the same language, or are of the same ethnicity or race. For most, these social identities provide individuals with positive affirmation, security and feelings of importance. While many South Africans find others outside of their primary social groups difficult to understand, the SA Reconciliation Barometer has also found overall increases in support for racial integration within families, neighbourhoods and schools, which points to significant change. A majority also support government's continued efforts to ensure that workplaces are representative according to race, gender and physical ability.

Survey results in 2010 also reveal an increase in positive evaluations of the legal system, the Constitutional Court and the police. In increasing numbers, South Africans support the authority of the law and the rulings of the courts. Importantly, more South Africans are also beginning to feel more physically secure.

Critically, previously eroded levels of confidence in governance institutions appear to be in recovery in 2010. This will, in turn, underwrite government legitimacy and credibility among citizens. However, the relatively high levels of confidence consistently enjoyed by some institutions – such as the media and religious organisations – also stands in contrast to the high degree of fluctuation in public

confidence endured by government in particular. Further, perennially low levels of confidence in local government point to the need for improvements in this sphere, where the state is at the coalface of interactions with citizens. As discussed in the 2009 SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey Report, it is also important that governance institutions – including the executive, legislature, judiciary and independent state-led institutions – are sufficiently strong, independent and credible to withstand political change and regular elections, without such significant losses in public confidence.

Other results also point to areas where substantive improvement is required. As in 2009, this year's survey results also confirm that many South Africans feel economically insecure. While recent declines are in part a consequence of the global economic recession of 2009, economic insecurity is in fact a long-term challenge for the country, and one that must be more effectively addressed if its negative impact on social stability is to be mitigated. South Africans continue to view socioeconomic inequality as one of the foremost sources of social division in the country – and in contrast to the findings of the first survey rounds, greater economic justice is now inextricably linked to reconciliation prospects in the minds of many citizens.

Perhaps linked to this socioeconomic division is the finding that a majority of South Africans feel social groups other than the one they primarily identify with benefit from favourable and preferential treatment, to the detriment of their own group. Perceived inequity of treatment cuts across race lines, and as discussed in Section II, begs questions of, first, the likely consequences for a society in which large portions of the population feel they and others like themselves are unfairly treated, and second, the changes that need to take place in South Africa in order for belief in equality of treatment to firmly take root.

As in previous survey rounds, it is also a worrying finding that a majority of South Africans still believe that political leaders are not really concerned about what happens to ordinary people, and further, that there is no way to make disinterested public officials listen to citizens' views. Questions surrounding the responsiveness of both leaders and public officials in the minds of citizens also challenge the legitimacy of the state, and may yet threaten advances made in building confidence in public institutions this year.

Further, South Africans demonstrate a considerable willingness to participate in protests when their rights are at risk, even when these become violent and destructive. Legal protest is a right in South Africa.

Given that many South Africans likely believe their constitutional entitlements to socioeconomic rights have not yet been realised, which is underscored by burgeoning income inequality and the widespread perception of inequity in treatment, these results are not inconsistent with the growing importance assigned to the rule of law, despite easy associations between protest actions and perceptions of 'lawlessness'. They also foreshadow the likelihood of continued protests around the country, until citizens are convinced that they have – or will benefit from real change.

The 2010 survey results also reveal a lingering sense that, despite an interest in leaving the past behind, government has not followed through sufficiently in its efforts to prosecute perpetrators of apartheid crimes and to support their victims. Government faces a crucial

opportunity to signal its willingness in this regard through the extent to which victims are enabled to participate in the current round of political pardons under consideration by the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, and the importance of this participation should not be underestimated.

While close to half of all South Africans believe race relations have improved in the country, levels of contact and socialisation between historically defined race groups have been relatively slow to change, and this is fundamentally linked to socioeconomic inequality. While interaction and socialisation have increased for the wealthiest South Africans, and particularly those in metropolitan areas, the same is not true for the poorest households, and this remains a significant obstacle to improved social relations.

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# APPENDIX A

## Summary of findings Expert Survey on Indicators of Reconciliation

With the tenth survey round completed earlier this year, the SA Reconciliation Barometer project sought to supplement survey data with a more in-depth, qualitative study of current conceptions of reconciliation. Invitations to participate in the electronic study were sent to more than eighty South African and international researchers, academics and practitioners actively involved in the study of reconciliation. Consisting entirely of open-ended questions, the study focused on: understandings of reconciliation during South Africa's transition to democracy and throughout the TRC process; the current meaning, sites and actors involved in reconciliation in South Africa today; and ongoing prospects for the measurement of reconciliation going forward. A follow-up dialogue was hosted by the IJR in August in Cape Town, on the topic of *Measuring Reconciliation in South Africa: Identifying and Interpreting Indicators of Change* (see Appendix B).

### REFLECTIONS ON THE PAST

To begin, the Expert Survey asked participants to reflect on the meaning and conceptions of reconciliation during South Africa's transition to democracy, and through the TRC. Participants were asked about the changes they expected within the country and key role-players in the reconciliation process.

Many participants in the Expert Survey suggested that in the past, they viewed the reconciliation process as primarily a political one, which mandated a shift in governance systems and power-sharing. Kenneth Lukoko of the IJR describes this process as a 'neutralising' of apartheid power structures in the country, which inherently limited majority power, yet brought about 'a balance between black expectations and white fears'.

It also required the exposure of human rights abuses and truth-telling – primarily through the TRC. As described by Professor Hugh Corder of the University of Cape Town, reconciliation meant the

exposure and confrontation of the evils of the past, and the process whereby both members of the apartheid structures as well as those who resisted it could be heard and brought to a stage of forgiveness at best, or grudging willingness to work together for the greater good, at the worst.

Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, founding director of the IJR, describes this as 'political co-existence', referring to the processes of

developing civic trust, entrenching mutual respect, and endeavouring to sit with adversaries to work on political answers to problems. According to Villa-Vicencio, political co-existence 'did not require embracing enemies but did involve finding ways to live together'.

Some participants also viewed the reconciliatory project during this time to be a largely elite process that took place within the highest levels of political leadership. There was some expectation that reconciliation would then 'trickle-down' to communities, but consultation with ordinary citizens was viewed as limited.

However, despite perceptions that the reconciliation process was politically located, the changes Expert Survey participants expected to see in the 'new South Africa' were primarily in everyday life, social integration and interactions between ordinary citizens. They anticipated greater levels of dialogue, racial integration, commitment to national unity and the deconstruction of segregation, for example in geographic and spatial areas, in political parties, and through interracial marriages.

Many also anticipated that greater integration would support the dissolving of stereotypes and rejection of racism, open and frank dialogue about the past, and the germination of a strong South African identity that superseded previous divisions based on race, ethnicity and language. As described anonymously by one participant, 'I followed Mandela's speech about a non-racial country that was inclusive and catered for all irrespective of race, and I expected that to happen.' Dr Sally Matthews writes, 'At the time, I believed in the rainbow nation concept – I wanted South Africa to be a place where all its inhabitants felt comfortable and at home.'

Reconciliation also brought significant expectations related to socioeconomic justice and equality, for example through poverty eradication and equal access to education, employment opportunities and public amenities and services. Masha Baraza of Warwick University expected

the removal of administrative and legal racial barriers to automatically translate into the substantial improvement in the life conditions of all South Africans. Progress in reconciliation would be led by President Mandela and his government through the redistribution of resources and affirmative action schemes aimed at righting the skewed social landscape.

Responses also underscore an expectation of willing participation in

the processes of truth-telling and disclosing apartheid human rights abuses and active contributions to improving the livelihoods of victims, for example through reparations and land redistribution. Piers Pigou of the International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) commented, 'I expected a greater emphasis on and commitment to truth recovery and accountability.' He added, 'I hoped to see acknowledgement of responsibility [and] acknowledgement of being beneficiaries.'

Participants were also asked to describe, during this particular part of South Africa's history, where they believed the reconciliatory process to be located, and between whom. In response, most participants felt reconciliation needed to take place broadly across all levels of society and at a wide range of sites, including schools and universities, religious institutions, workplaces, within the media, and in the political sphere. An anonymous South African respondent commented:

Reconciliation had to occur at all levels – in our educational institutions, in access to better services, in bringing an end to the way we continued to live in different ghettos.

Key role-players, she added 'were not just politicians but the ordinary person as well – how we interact with each other at work, in our places of worship, etcetera'.

Specific groups to be reconciled were also named, however, and included apartheid victims and perpetrators, and between citizens of different races and ethnic groups. As described by Professor Darrel Moellendorf:

I believed that it had to occur not only between victims and perpetrators of gross human rights violations, but in society broadly between the beneficiaries and victims of apartheid. The political parties were important in advancing legislation, the judiciary in enforcing rights, especially economic and social rights; educational institutions were important in expanding opportunities, [and] the healthcare system was important in promoting health broadly. Civil society was important in advocating progressive change.

## RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

Participants in the Expert Survey were then asked to consider the situation in South Africa today. Most agreed that reconciliation remains relevant and important, and will be for the foreseeable future. Many also felt that there has been some degree of success in the reconciliation process, although this has been largely political and amongst elites.

Dr Annelies Verdoolaege of Ghent University writes that reconciliation is 'still extremely important in South Africa today', adding that 'most scholars are convinced that the TRC started a process of reconciliation [but] that this process is still in an early stage'. Lindiwe Mavuso comments that there is 'still room for reconciliation between black and white ... who still mistrust one another and harbour great resentment'. Masha Baraza also suggests that perhaps during the democratic transition

the structural dynamics of violence and inequality were ignored in order to ensure that *prima facie* equality had been achieved ... in order to prevent the potential tragedy of national violence. Currently, reconciliation must be aimed at addressing the structural violence within South Africa's social, economic, legal and political framework ...

Changes cited as evidence of some progress in reconciliation included more integration in educational institutions and the media, and growing national unity as demonstrated during the 2010 Soccer World Cup. Professor John Daniel observes that the 'white minority has begun to identify with the 'new' South Africa and to embrace the concept of a non-racial South African identity'.

However, responses also revealed profound changes in the meanings, understandings and sites of reconciliation in 2010.

Conceptually, understandings of the boundaries of reconciliation had broadened for many, extending to social relations both within and between historically defined race groups, between citizens and foreign nationals and critically, to include issues of social justice. Dr Annelies Verdoolaege writes that she now has a 'much broader vision of reconciliation', which still includes 'peaceful coexistence and social interaction' but also 'mutual respect, solidarity, understanding and equality ... A nation will be more reconciled when people are getting the same opportunities in life'. Masha Baraza proposes that 'forgiveness, forgetting, issues of memory including institutional collectivisation and memory as well as the politics of recognition and redistribution illustrate the rich dimensions' of reconciliation.

Many Expert Survey participants also believed that reconciliatory work should increasingly focus on equality and citizen interactions in the future, with less emphasis on the past. Further, while many felt that racial reconciliation has not yet been achieved, economic inequality and injustice have increasingly come to the fore of this debate. The gap between rich and poor has widened, and some suggest that education, human development, infrastructure and service delivery should take precedence over improving social relations.

Jan Hofmeyr of the IJR comments that reconciliation has been re-defined to some extent in the current context: 'socioeconomic justice has come out more clearly as being in need of attention [and] inequalities still exist along historical (racial) lines and apartheid-type divisions'. An anonymous respondent writes that social class has now become South Africa's 'great leveller', taking precedence over race, while Linda Smith of the University of the Witwatersrand suggests that 'reconciliation' has occurred primarily among the elite classes'. Within these classes, she observes that

the potency of racial boundaries has receded and there is greater ease in relating. However, the struggle for social justice is now being waged among the economically oppressed, a struggle which is still largely defined by race.

Lindiwe Mavuso adds that in 2010, the language and focus of reconciliation should be on education, and work to 're-build, unite and invest'. Citing architect Mokona Makeka, she refers to South Africa's

lack of investment in public spaces as a barrier to interactions and integration between citizens.

Many Expert Survey respondents also cautioned that there is still a long way to go in South Africa's reconciliation process, and progress is inherently difficult to quantify.

Respondents also expressed concern that the impetus for reconciliation may have declined to some degree.

Dr Verdoolaege suggests that reconciliation discourse and terminology may have 'lost some of its popularity'; Kenneth Lukuko proposes that South Africans have waning confidence in the process overall. He writes,

Reconciliation has lost momentum. People have lost faith in it because they believed it would, or should have led to a change in mindsets and acknowledgements of human rights violations, but all this has not happened ... If transformation doesn't work then reconciliation hasn't worked.

Several respondents also referred to limited efforts on the part of government to follow through with the recommendations of the TRC. Piers Pigou adds,

However difficult or contested its findings and recommendations, the TRC did provide foundations for a more constructive conversation about South Africa's past. This opportunity was squandered in the immediate aftermath of the TRC, but it could be resuscitated with adequate political will.

An anonymous respondent commented, 'I'm not sure that many people take it seriously at the moment.'

Notably, while many participants viewed past reconciliatory work to be primarily confined to elite political leadership, many also suggested that political leaders today – and government overall – should take responsibility in driving reconciliation, alongside other influential public figures, including celebrities, artists, and academics, and within civil society organisations, trade unions, religious institutions, community-based organisations and the corporate sector.

An anonymous respondent commented, 'national reconciliation is very much in the hands of our politicians, but the ordinary South African can also do more on a daily basis'. Dr Fanie du Toit of the IJR also underscored the important role of political leadership, but expressed concern that new leaders have not been as involved in championing reconciliation as those of the past, such as Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela.

Dr Sally Matthews also remarks on the lack of prominent leadership figures active in working for reconciliation, as was previously the case. She adds,

To some extent, ordinary South Africans have to be the role-players. I think that while reconciliation is still very much about racial reconciliation, it is no longer useful to have this process led by representatives of each group (such as Mandela and de Klerk) as this approach in some ways entrenches difference ... It may be that cultural leaders (authors, musicians, artists) and sportspeople may eventually more successfully contribute to national reconciliation as they seem better able to attract support across racial (and also class and ethnic) divides.

Most respondents to the Expert Survey agreed that reconciliation is an ongoing process, which is likely to continue for generations to come. However, respondents also suggested that different issues and challenges will come to the fore at various stages in this process.

Aquilina Mawadza of the IJR contends that given the 'unfinished business' that remains, reconciliation will remain a 'long-term project' for the future. Carolin Gomulia, also of the IJR, construes reconciliation as 'more a process than a goal', which entails both forgiveness and 'taking action in many different ways'.

However, others including Kenneth Lukuko warn that commitment to bringing about reconciliation may fade, citing the threats of both abuse of power by current leadership, and a lack of active participation by white South Africans.

As in the current SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey, experts were asked about what they view as the most significant divisions in South Africa today. While race was viewed as a resilient source of division, many agreed that this has been surpassed by divisions along economic and class lines:

The most significant division is probably the socio-economic division, but this division runs still more or less parallel to the racial divisions from the past.

The 'haves' and the 'have-nots'.

Poverty. Far too many South Africans are unemployed and poverty-stricken, South Africa is one of the world's most economically unequal countries ...

Class. If you enjoy a certain standard of living, you can access the best this country has to offer (even if you still harbour some past grievances).

The economic inequality, created by apartheid and perpetuated by the current government's inability to address it speedily amidst a growing cancer of corruption and wasteful expenditure.

Nonetheless, participants did remark on the persistence of racial, cultural, ethnic and language divisions in the country, and increasingly, rising xenophobia and intolerance towards foreign nationals in the country.

## MEASURING RECONCILIATION

Turning to the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey itself, Expert Survey participants were asked to consider whether or not they feel work to quantify and measure progress in reconciliation remains relevant and important, and what they perceived to be indicators of reconciliation in South Africa.

Most participants agreed that there is considerable value in measuring reconciliation, particularly for policy-makers and to direct social action. The measurement of reconciliation was also viewed as an important monitoring tool to prevent future human rights violations, sources of social and political instability, and the concerns of citizens at the community level. Heindrich Wyngaard writes that there is 'most definitely' such a need, and without such measures, 'we won't know how we are progressing, and more importantly, we won't see the red lights flashing that could derail the whole process and stability in the country'.

However, a number of participants also underscored the difficulty of measuring reconciliation: as described by the IJR's Jan Hofmeyr, 'admittedly, it is not an easy task as it cannot really be done comprehensively. It is a qualitative concept captured quantitatively so the smaller nuances may be missed.' Participants warned of a lack of precise social scientific measures, but concurred that there is valuable information to be gleaned from survey data, particularly where this is accompanied by additional qualitative research. Several described survey data of this kind as 'indicative', rather than authoritative.

Participants also identified a wide range of possible indicators of reconciliation. Notably, many of these are already captured through variables included in the SA Reconciliation Barometer: support for the validity and relevance of the current research instrument. Indicators identified broadly related to the following: good governance and greater political participation; economic equality, job creation and poverty alleviation; greater physical security and reduced crime; more accessible and a higher quality of social goods and services (such as housing, education and healthcare); racial integration in residential areas, as well as within organisations and institutions; improved social relations, greater tolerance, and the rejection of prejudice and stereotypes; national unity; awareness and interest in other cultures; the use of different languages; an understanding of South African history, particularly from the perspectives of different groups within the country; affirmation and pride in individual identity; and forgiveness and addressing the issues of the past, including empowerment of victims and relative social acceptance of perpetrators. Notably, several participants also referred to individual aspirations and self-realisation, for example, through hope for the future, self-confidence, and the ability to realise ambitions. One participant emphasised the importance of youth perspectives, and a second, prospects for the reduced use of race categories in South Africa.

Participants were also asked, from a slightly different perspective, to respond to the question, 'what would a reconciled South Africa look like to you?' Comparable to the indicators identified, most responses referred to a South Africa characterised by economic equality, physical

safety, mutual respect, tolerance, and the rejection of racism and stereotypes. Participants commented,

A country where people work constantly to improve relationships between people of different backgrounds through a range of channels – e.g. places of work, places of worship, places of residence. A country where people's qualifications rather than their skin colour is taken into account for appointments. A country where we can respect each other's difference of opinion and culture. A country the young believe in, instead of dreaming of 'going overseas' to make it in life.

A reconciled South Africa would be a less divide South Africa. Reconciled South Africans would listen to the opinions of others and be more willing and able to imagine themselves in the position of others. In a reconciled South Africa, both black and white South Africans would be willing to acknowledge the evils of the past and the need for reparations for these past injustices. Racial divisions would become less stark and there would be a fairer distribution of resources.

... the nation would be reconciled where the problems and ills that ineluctably face every nation, state and society would not be referenced to that apartheid past.

Expert Survey participants also had a number of recommendations regarding the changes that would have to take place to achieve a 'reconciled South Africa':

We would have to win the battle against crime; effective service delivery, including in education. Public discourse about what is right and what is wrong in our society and what possibilities are available in the country. A new discourse of hope that is realistic and grounded in our present realities. (Dr Fanie du Toit, IJR)

Maintaining and building a vigorous and independent civil society sector, retaining the constitution as the supreme instrument of power, promoting dialogue and discussion at all levels of society, producing a well-educated citizenry and reducing levels of poverty and inequality. (Professor John Daniel, SIT)

Vision and commitment, and not seeing engagement with the past as retrogressive, but rather as an integral part of consolidating foundations for building and moving forward. (Piers Pigou, ICTJ)

Dr Sally Matthews also proposed that 'reconciliation and transformation need to be mutually reinforcing processes', and suggests that change is required in three main areas: first, 'a faster and less superficial process of redistribution is required'; second, 'white South African attitudes and ways of being in South Africa are not yet sufficiently transformed'; and third, citing Steve Biko, that 'while shifts in white

attitudes are needed, transformation in South Africa will happen only as black South Africans assert themselves and 'stake their rightful claim'.

Expert Survey participants were also asked about whether or not they were familiar with the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey, and if so, how effective a measure they believe it to be. Many were familiar with the survey and evaluated it positively. As described by Dr. Annelies Verdoolaege,

The SARB is an amazing project and I am pretty sure that it provides a fairly accurate idea of the reconciliation process in South Africa. It is an extremely important kind of research and I think that its scope should be broadened (include more respondents and ask more questions). It should be the starting point for policy-makers to design reconciliation-oriented policies (on a national and grassroots level).

Aquilina Mawadza of the IJR described the survey as effective in that 'it critically points out economic issues and the gaps that remain in South Africa' while also speaking to 'daily experiences and frustrations'. Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio commented, however, that while the Barometer is a useful tool for users such as scholars and business analysts, it may be relatively inaccessible to ordinary South Africans, grassroots organisations and communities. Kenneth Lukuko also raised issues related to, first, how South Africans react and respond to data of this kind, and secondly, how such findings can be translated into action and change.

# APPENDIX B

## Dialogue report Measuring Reconciliation in South Africa: Identifying and Interpreting Indicators of Change

On 12 August, the SA Reconciliation Barometer project of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) hosted a one-day public dialogue in Cape Town, on the topic of 'Measuring Reconciliation in South Africa: Identifying and Interpreting Indicators of Change'.

Since 2003, the IJR has sought to measure progress in reconciliation through the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey: a nationally representative public opinion poll testing citizen attitudes on reconciliation across a range of key indicators. With the tenth survey round completed this year, the Institute brought together researchers, academics, students and practitioners at the dialogue with the following aims: (1) to reflect on and assess efforts to measure progress in reconciliation to date; (2) to explore and debate the current state of reconciliation in South Africa in 2010; and, (3) to identify and interrogate indicators of reconciliation, their relevance and longevity.

### OPENING

The dialogue was opened by Dr Fanie du Toit, executive director of the IJR, who emphasised the importance of revisiting the concept of reconciliation after 16 years of democracy in South Africa. He asked whether or not the meaning of reconciliation today has changed since 1994, and if the country has overcome the divisions of the past. Dr du Toit discussed each of the six indicators used in the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey, and encouraged participants to debate and discuss their continued meaning and relevance. These indicators are: political culture; human security; cross-cutting political relationships; dialogue; historical confrontation; and race relations.

### SESSION ONE: THE PRACTICE OF MEASURING RECONCILIATION

The first session was chaired by Kate Lefko-Everett, project leader of the SA Reconciliation Barometer.

Jan Hofmeyr, manager of the IJR's Political Analysis programme, began the session with an overview of the ten rounds of the SA Reconciliation Barometer survey conducted between 2003 and 2010. His presentation included a detailed examination of the survey's research methodology and sampling strategy.

Mr Hofmeyr then outlined the trends in each of the six indicators over time. He noted the high degree of correlation between measures of

economic and physical security, as well as the overall decline in confidence in governance institutions and the implications of these findings for political stability in the country. Religious institutions continue to attract high levels of trust and confidence from citizens. Survey findings suggest that South Africans feel it is desirable to create one united country; however, economic inequality – as well as race, though to a lesser extent – is consistently viewed as the biggest source of division in the country. He also noted the positive relationship between levels of optimism and the economic cycles experienced within South Africa.

Mr Hofmeyr's presentation also identified a number of shortfalls in the SA Reconciliation Barometer's methodology and approach, the first being a lack of in-depth or qualitative data that could potentially provide greater insight into complex views on reconciliation. Public opinion surveys of this kind also elicit some challenges related to accurate translation, and the extent to which respondents answer honestly. Nonetheless, the survey's strengths include its national reach and its value as a longitudinal resource for law and policy-making. The challenge for the project going forward is ensuring that the survey continues to effectively measure national reconciliation, and ascertaining whether or not the meaning of this concept has changed over time.

Ms Lefko-Everett then presented the interim findings of an in-depth Expert Survey exploring the meaning of reconciliation in South Africa in 2010. The study posed a range of questions, including whether reconciliation is a finite process, what a reconciled South Africa should 'look like', and whether or not the measurement of reconciliation remains important and relevant.

The study elicited a wide range of responses from South Africa and abroad. In terms of past views and expectations, immediately following the democratic transition respondents viewed reconciliation as primarily taking place at a political level. Some described this as an elite process that was expected to 'filter down' to ordinary citizens. At the time, the meanings and tasks attached to reconciliation included the identification of human rights abuses that took place, racial integration, encouraging national unity and bringing about the redistribution of resources.

Many respondents felt that the reconciliation process is still ongoing today. While there have been some successes and achievements, the issues of equality and socioeconomic rights have assumed increasing precedence. New considerations have also emerged,

such as xenophobia and structural violence, indicating that the reconciliatory project may be broader and more complex than initially envisaged. Respondents also emphasised the need for more social integration.

Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, founding director of the IJR and current research associate, then discussed the climate in which the Institute was established, during a period in which reconciliation was 'in vogue'. At the time, reconciliation was conceived as beyond merely peaceful coexistence, but not quite as entailing complete forgiveness. This environment gave rise to the notion of political reconciliation, which referred to the processes of developing civic trust, entrenching mutual respect, and endeavouring to sit with adversaries and work on political answers to problems. Political reconciliation as such was a 'modest concept', in that it did not require embracing enemies but did involving finding ways to live together. Professor Villa-Vicencio described the SA Reconciliation Barometer project as an attempt to contribute to the debate on reconciliation, and to generate strong social scientific data that was widely accessible.

Professor Villa-Vicencio also observed that there have been shifts in conversations around reconciliation. People have begun to publicly state those things they used to only say in private and have become more outspoken. While there may not be reconciliation yet, the silence has been broken. He proposed that there should be consideration of how the SA Reconciliation Barometer fits into this, and how it can reflect the new dimensions of the debate. In closing, he commented that the Barometer should also become more vociferous in its expression of both anger and 'feel-good moments' such as the unifying national response to the 2010 World Cup, and should tackle important issues such as poverty.

In the discussion that followed, dialogue participants raised a range of questions and comments, including: the inclusion of issues of gender and sexual orientation in the Barometer survey; the use of accountability as an indicator; and potential consequences of a 'moderate' understanding of reconciliation. Participants also asked about reconciliation within the IJR, and more broadly, who in South Africa is engaged in the reconciliation process.

## SESSION TWO: THE STATE OF RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

The second session of the dialogue was chaired by Dr du Toit, and included inputs from Ms Raenette Taljaard of the University of Cape Town, Mr Kenneth Lukuko of the IJR, and Reverend Courtney Sampson of the Western Cape Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

To begin, Ms Taljaard shared her perspective on reconciliation, and encouraged the SA Reconciliation Barometer project to include what she termed 'inequality plus plus', in recognition of a new phase in South African history in which difficult questions about the transition to democracy and the development of the constitution are beginning to emerge.

Ms Taljaard read an excerpt from *Tales of Freedom* by Ben Okri, 'The Mysterious Anxiety of Them and Us', which she used to discuss her own conflicted feelings about South Africa's apartheid past. She emphasised the importance of recognising and confronting the challenges that poverty and inequality pose to the country's political and social stability, which to some extent have been masked by vigorous economic growth in the recent past. Class has increasingly displaced race as the dominant cleavage in South African society, and creative policy is required in order to normalise social relations. Ms Taljaard observed that pre-1994 socialisation patterns continue to be replicated because of the unresolved legacy of the past. She proposed that the SA Reconciliation Barometer should do more to address the issue of socioeconomic inequality, and harness complementarities with other civil society organisations, in order to expand the reach of the project and measure social marginalisation and exclusion.

Mr Lukuko, project leader of Community Healing at the IJR, presented a range of lessons learned through his experiences in the field. He referred to Dr du Toit's statement that the reconciliation debate is conducted primarily among elites, but noted that current research is moving closer towards communities, and with a new emphasis on the quality of interactions between South Africans. With the aim of avoiding a new pessimism around an issue in which expectations greatly exceed capabilities, the Community Healing project addresses both personal and collective reconciliation, reflecting some of these changes in research. While the project originally was based on a geographic focus, this has been re-framed to include more diverse participants, and expanded in 2007 through partnership with provincial government in the Social Transformation programme.

Mr Lukuko also discussed how work in other post-conflict societies has led to new insights about reconciliation in South Africa, particularly in terms of changing perceptions of perpetrators and victims. He added that it is important to move from acknowledging and celebrating diverse narratives, for example through the IJR's oral history programmes, to forming an inclusive narrative about the future for South African society as a whole. He also referred to the role of the media as important, particularly in a context in which access to information is uneven.

Reverend Courtney Sampson then discussed both the realities and distortions of the reconciliation debate in South Africa. He identified three generations of South Africans shaped by their experience – or lack thereof – of apartheid injustice. He suggested that this debate is often driven by a disproportionately vocal minority claiming to speak for a silent majority, but who in fact unaware of the concerns and preferences of this larger group.

Reverend Sampson addressed distortions in the current debates around race, inequality, identity, apartheid, national icons and leadership, and stressed the importance of distinguishing between 'race thinking', 'race consciousness' and racism in understanding the past. He suggested that progress in reconciliation may be threatened by those who imply that apartheid is wrongly blamed for South Africa's current problems. He concluded with comments on the state of political leadership today, which has shifted from an orientation of sacrifice to one of comfort.



An extensive and enthusiastic discussion followed these presentations, which broadly focused on: prospects for nation-building; the main drivers of reconciliation today; the concept of 'inequality plus plus' introduced by Ms Taljaard; and the scope of the SA Reconciliation Barometer. Panellists were asked to share their perspectives on the relationship between reconciliation and nation-building: it was agreed that this was an important link, but that nation-building remains elusive today for the majority of South Africans. Reverend Sampson suggested that progress could be made through, as in the USA, creating a 'state-nation' in which citizenship is fundamentally tied to constitutional allegiance.

In response to the question of who should drive reconciliation, Ms Taljaard suggested that society cannot necessarily rely on political leadership to take full responsibility for this project, and Reverend Sampson cautioned against comparing the contributions of current political leaders to those of the past. Participants expressed concern over the resilience of pockets of political extremism and the threat this poses to reconciliation; others highlighted the role of the middle class in driving this process. The discussion also focused on 'inequality plus plus', and the challenge of restoring human dignity to apartheid's victims in the current economy.

### SESSION THREE: IDENTIFYING INDICATORS OF RECONCILIATION

The third and final session of the dialogue was chaired by Mr Hofmeyr, and included presentations by Ms Helen Macdonald of Ipsos-Markinor, Professor Robert Mattes of the University of Cape Town, and Mr Irénée Bugingo and Mr Révérien Interayamahanga of the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDP), Kigali.

Ms Macdonald began with a discussion focused on operationalising reconciliation theory as an abstract concept. Based on her previous work at the IJR and the current partnership between Ipsos-Markinor and the SA Reconciliation Barometer project, she described how – at the outset of the survey – the concept of reconciliation was unpacked into separate attributes and indicators, leading to scientific generalisations. Conceptually, reconciliation consists of a set of attitudes, values and behaviours, and as such is very difficult to measure. It is also a complex and changing concept, and Ms Macdonald underscored the importance of periodically reviewing reconciliation measures. She also suggested that the project should consider: further statistical interrogation of current indicators; expanding measures related to behaviours; and qualitative research or focus groups, which would complement the survey and potentially generate new information on attitudes and indicators.

Mr Bugingo introduced the IRDP, which was founded in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide, and is currently collaborating with the IJR on conducting a Reconciliation Barometer survey in that country. The survey was conducted across Rwanda, and focused on identifying current challenges to reconciliation. Interim findings underscored challenges related to political conflict and power-sharing, as well as to identity. Many of these challenges can be traced to before the 1959 independence movement and violent conflict during the 1990s prior to the genocide. The issue of reconciliation also featured in the Arusha

talks. In Rwanda, there are still issues related to who should reconcile with whom, and how this should take place.

Mr Interayamahanga then discussed the process of developing reconciliation indicators for Rwanda, which included an in-depth review of literature and previous research, as well as consultations with a range of stakeholder institutions. The indicators developed together with the IJR aimed to measure both 'horizontal' and 'vertical' aspects of reconciliation, including levels of trust in government and institutions, and between Rwandans themselves. However, encouraging citizens to give open and honest responses proved difficult during the fieldwork, and presents a significant methodological challenge. Many citizens expressed concern over government response to the research, and this was heightened during the lead-up to the August elections.

In the final input of the session, Professor Mattes made two broad recommendations regarding the operationalisation of measures of reconciliation through the Barometer survey. First, he cautioned against incorporating both the causes and outcomes of reconciliation into the operational concept, suggesting that some variables are analytically distinct – such as those designed to measure legitimacy – and therefore do not effectively measure reconciliation in and of itself. He also observed that because the Reconciliation Barometer focuses primarily on horizontal reconciliation between groups of citizens, measures could be introduced to assess the more vertical aspects of reconciliation: for example, attitudes toward progressive taxation, property redistribution and the national anthem.

The discussion that followed focused on the broad concept of reconciliation, as well as on the framing of appropriate indicators for both South Africa and Rwanda. In Rwanda, research on reconciliation is complicated by strong sanctions around the discourse of ethnic identity, and in fact many citizens believe that talking about ethnicity is against the law altogether. Ms Macdonald addressed questions on the beneficiaries of reconciliation in South Africa, emphasising that there is no clear end-point to the process: while it first began through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), further work now continues primarily within civil society. Professor Mattes added that reconciliatory efforts were motivated in part by the need to prevent retribution; in some respects, those who benefitted through the TRC continue to benefit today.

Dialogue participants also asked panellists to discuss the role of South Africa's current socioeconomic challenges in relation to reconciliation indicators. Professor Mattes noted that issues related to economic redress and the redistributive impact of social grants could be explored further, and also suggested the inclusion of markers indicating citizens who are more or less reconciled. Ms Macdonald also commented that reconciliation occurs on different levels within South Africa. Also, it is not necessarily at the forefront of ordinary citizens' agendas any longer, and the IJR needs to work to include multiple and accurate readings through its various projects. Panellists agreed that more needs to be done in terms of measures related to poverty, inequality and socioeconomic issues, underscoring the continued relevance of measuring reconciliation through the Reconciliation Barometer survey and other mechanisms.

## CLOSE

The dialogue was closed by Ms Lefko-Everett, who thanked panellists and participants for their valuable contributions. Participants were encouraged to continue to provide feedback to the SA Reconciliation Barometer project and to the IJR, and Ms Lefko-Everett noted the availability of survey data for academics, researchers, civil society organisations, students and other interested parties.

# APPENDIX C

## Significant predictors of inter-group contact and socialisation

**Table C1: Model Summary (Predictors: LSM, Race, Monthly Household Income)**

*On a typical day during the week, whether at work or otherwise, how often do you talk to (GROUP) people?*

R	R square	Square	Std error of the estimate
.474	.225	.225	1.234

**Table C2: ANOVA**

*On a typical day during the week, whether at work or otherwise, how often do you talk to (GROUP) people?*

	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.
Regression	10789.302	3	3596.434	2361.638	.000
Residual	37139.828	24388	1.523		
Total	47929.131	24391			

**Table C3: Coefficients**

*On a typical day during the week, whether at work or otherwise, how often do you talk to (GROUP) people?*

	Unstandardised coefficients	Standardised coefficients			
	B	Std. error	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	3.906	.052		74.838	.000
Race	.121	.010	.086	12.099	.000
Monthly household income	-.048	.002	-.173	-20.481	.000
Living Standards Measure	-.168	.006	-.273	-30.239	.000

**Table C4: Model Summary (Predictors: LSM, Race, Monthly Household Income)**

*When socialising in your own home or the homes of friends, how often do you talk to (GROUP) people?*

R	R square	Square	Std error of the estimate
.364	.133	.132	1.238

Table C5: ANOVA					
<i>When socialising in your own home or the homes of friends, how often do you talk to (GROUP) people?</i>					
	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig.
Regression	5720.288	3	1906.763	1243.845	.000
Residual	37447.530	24428	1.533		
Total	43167.818	24431			

Table C6: Coefficients					
<i>When socialising in your own home or the homes of friends, how often do you talk to (GROUP) people?</i>					
	Unstandardised coefficients	Standardised coefficients			
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	4.499	.052		86.065	.000
Race	.069	.010	.052	6.887	.000
Monthly household income	-.019	.002	-.070	-7.855	.000
Living Standards Measure	-.161	.006	-.275	-28.839	.000







**T**he Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) is an independent, non-governmental organisation established in 2000 in the wake of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), with the aims of ensuring that the lessons of South Africa's successful transition to democracy remain fundamental principles central to government and society as the country moves forward. Today, the IJR works to build fair, democratic and inclusive societies across Africa after conflict.

Since 2003, the IJR's Political Analysis programme has conducted the South African Reconciliation Barometer survey: an annual national public opinion poll that measures citizen attitudes towards reconciliation, transformation and national unity in post-apartheid South Africa. Change in these complex social trends is measured through six key indicators: human security, political culture, cross-cutting political relations, race relations, historical confrontation and dialogue. As one of the few dedicated social surveys on reconciliation in Africa and worldwide, the Barometer has become an important resource for encouraging national debate, informing decision-makers, developing policy and provoking new analysis and theory on reconciliation in post-conflict societies.

*The SA Reconciliation Barometer has been extremely successful in terms of its objectives and indicators. As yet, no other institution in South Africa has embarked on a similar project. To ensure its ongoing relevance, it will be important to listen to the views of people around the country, and hear their thoughts about national reconciliation. The research instrument is of great value, not only to the Institute, but the country as a whole.*

Jan Hofmeyr, manager of the IJR Political Analysis Programme

*The SARB is an amazing project ... It is an extremely important kind of research and I think that its scope should be broadened (include more respondents and ask more questions). It should be the starting point for policy-makers to design reconciliation-oriented policies (on a national and grass-roots level).*

Dr Annelie Verdoolaege, Ghent University

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For more information, visit the IJR website at [www.ijr.org.za](http://www.ijr.org.za) or the SA Reconciliation Barometer Blog at [sabarometerblog.wordpress.com](http://sabarometerblog.wordpress.com).

