

SECTION ? – RECONCILIATION BAROMETER**- ASK MALES AND FEMALES -**

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

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
?1. The people who run the country are not really concerned with what happens to people like me.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?2. Most of the time I can trust the country's national leaders to do what is right.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?3. Our government is corrupt – it only does things for itself and not for the people.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?4. If public officials are not interested in hearing what people like me to think, there is really no way to make them listen.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?5. Different churches should start holding services together so that South Africans can get to know one another better.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?6. In our country, all political power is concentrated in the hands of a small group of people and it is impossible for the rest of us to influence what the government does.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?7. A politician's skin colour doesn't matter; they are all untrustworthy.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

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

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
?8. Radio, TV and newspapers should do more to get South Africans talking about things like discrimination, nation-building or transformation.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?9. Different churches or religious organisations should hold combined services that help South Africans understand one another better.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?10. The government should introduce a special tax for wealthy South Africans.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?11. Radio and TV stations should have more shows where South Africans can talk to each other about things like transformation and nation-building.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

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

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

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

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

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

	CERTAINLY TRUE	PROBABLY TRUE	PROBABLY NOT TRUE	CERTAINLY NOT TRUE	DON'T KNOW
					DNRO
?21. There were certainly some abuses under the old apartheid system, but the ideas behind apartheid were basically good ones.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
?22. South Africa has great income inequality because in the past blacks were not given the same education opportunities as whites.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
?23. It is likely that I will no longer be living in South Africa five years from now.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
?24. In the past the state committed horrific atrocities against those struggling against apartheid.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
?25. The country's economic inequality is partially the result of blacks not having the same education opportunities as whites in the past.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
?26. It is desirable to create one united South African nation out of all the different groups who live in this country.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
?27. The country's economic inequality is partly the result of blacks not being allowed to own property or businesses during apartheid.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

➔ Here are some different actions that people could take if they thought that the government was not trying to protect their rights. Examples of the kind of situations that government should protect them from include:

- When people are evicted from their house for missing a payment or
- When a company makes its employees work in unsafe conditions.

There are many other examples. I would like you to tell me if it would be justified if some people did the following?

	COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED	PROBABLY JUSTIFIED	UNCERTAIN	PROBABLY UNJUSTIFIED	COMPLETELY UNJUSTIFIED	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
?28. Delivered a public speech to criticise the actions of authorities	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?29. Took part in demonstrations or joined strikes	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

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

	COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED	PROBABLY JUSTIFIED	UNCERTAIN	PROBABLY UNJUSTIFIED	COMPLETELY UNJUSTIFIED	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
?30. Occupied buildings or factories	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?31. Used force or violent methods, such as damaging public property or taking hostages	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

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

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW (or in 33 Not Applicable)
						DNRO
?32. Ordinary members of the community have no right to punish people who have committed crimes.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?33. I am trying to forgive those who hurt me during apartheid.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?34. The courts sometimes let guilty people go free. It is then up to the community to make sure that the guilty people get punished.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?35. I think it is fair that the people who discriminated against others during Apartheid feel what it is like to be discriminated against.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?36. People who commit crimes must be punished, even if it means going against the decision of the courts.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?37. I want to forget about the past and just get on with my life.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?38. The courts did not punish many people who hurt fellow South Africans during apartheid. These victims have a right to ensure, by any means necessary, that these people get the punishment they deserve.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?39. Sometimes it is necessary for ordinary members of the community to punish people who have committed crimes.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

→ **NOTE TO INTERVIEWERS:** Replace [GROUP] as follows:

If Respondent is White, insert (Black, Coloured or Indian)

If Respondent is Black, insert (White, Indian or Coloured)

If Respondent is Coloured, insert (White, Black or Indian)

If Respondent is Indian, insert (White, Black or Coloured)

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

	NEVER	RARELY	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	ALWAYS	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
?40. In your work, on a typical working day, how often do you talk to [GROUP] people?	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?41. Outside of your work, how often do you talk to [GROUP] people?	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?42. When socialising in your own home or the homes of friends, how often do you talk to [GROUP] people?	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

		MORE OFTEN	ABOUT THE SAME AS NOW	LESS OFTEN	NEVER	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
	?43. If you had a choice, would you want to talk to [GROUP] people...?	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

→ Would you say you strongly agree, agree, are uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree with these statements?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
?44. I find it difficult to understand the customs and ways of [GROUP] people.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?45. Racially integrated schools should not be required by law because they make many people angry.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?46. [GROUP] people are untrustworthy.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?47. I could never imagine being part of a political party made up mainly of [GROUP] people.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?48. Listening to the viewpoints of [GROUP] people is usually a waste of time.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

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

	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	DISAPPROVE	NEITHER DISAPPROVE NOR APPROVE	APPROVE	STRONGLY APPROVE	DON'T KNOW
						DNRO
?49. Living in a neighbourhood where half my neighbours are [GROUP] people.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?50. Having a close relative marry a [GROUP] person.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
?51. Having a [GROUP] person sitting next to my child at school.	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6

?52. People sometimes talk about the divisions between people in South Africa. Sometimes these divisions cause people to be left out or discriminated against. In other instances it can lead to anger and even violence between groups. What, in your experience, is the biggest division in South Africa today? Record First Mention. READ OUT.	
ASK: Apart from this one, which would you say is the second biggest division in South Africa today? READ OUT. Record as second mention.	
a. The division between the supporters of different political parties, like between those belonging to the ANC and the IFP	-1
b. The division between poor and middle income/wealthy South Africans	-2
c. The division between those living with HIV/Aids and other infectious diseases and the rest of the community	-3
d. The division between members of different religions	-4
e. The division between Black, White, Coloured and Indian South Africans	-5
f. The division between South Africans of different language groups	-6