



# **SADA**

## **South African Data Archive**

**Attitudes of White South Africans Towards the Truth  
and Reconciliation Commission and the Apartheid**

**Past**

**May 1996**

**[South Africa]**

**SADA 0080**  
**CODEBOOK**

**Attitudes of White South Africans Towards the Truth and  
Reconciliation Commission and the Apartheid Past**

**SADA 0080**

**Principal Investigator**

**Gunnar Theissen & Brandon Hamber**

**South African Data Archive  
1998**

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Gunnar Theissen, Department of Political Science, Free University of Berlin, Germany & Brandon Hamber, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), ATTITUDES OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS TOWARDS THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION AND THE APARTHEID PAST, SOUTH AFRICA, MAY 1996; Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), Braamfontein; South Africa: South African Data Archive [distributor], 1998

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## **STUDY DESCRIPTION**

**SADA 0080:** Attitudes of White South Africans towards the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Apartheid Past, South Africa, May 1996.

**PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS:** Gunnar Theissen & Brandon Hamber

**DEPOSITOR:** Gunnar Theissen

**ABSTRACT:** The principal purpose of this explorative telephone survey was to collect information on attitudes of white South Africans towards the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and related topics at the beginning of its public hearings in April-May 1996. The following topics were included: Attitudes towards the new democracy in South Africa; ethnic and national identification, political affiliation, attitudes towards affirmative action, land reform and opening of former white schools to black South Africans, attitudes towards human rights and civil liberties; death penalty; attitudes towards blacks (subtle racism scale); attitudes towards the apartheid past; knowledge of TRC; sources of information over TRC; attitudes towards amnesty for political motivated human rights violations, attitudes towards investigation of past human rights violations, attitudes towards the TRC, reparation, compensation, opinions about the political responsibility for the repression of black communities.

**GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION:** South Africa

**IMPORTANT VARIABLES:** Attitudes towards the new democracy in South Africa; ethnic and national identification, political affiliation, attitudes towards affirmative action, land reform and opening of former white schools to black South Africans, attitudes towards human rights and civil liberties; death penalty; attitudes towards blacks (subtle racism scale); attitudes towards the apartheid past; knowledge of TRC; sources of information over TRC; attitudes towards amnesty for political motivated human rights violations, attitudes towards investigation of past human rights violations, attitudes towards the TRC, reparation, compensation, opinions about the political responsibility for the repression of black communities.

**DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES:** Age; gender; highest educational level; current occupation; readership of newspaper; gross income; living area.

**UNIVERSE:** White South Africans

**METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION:** Survey Questionnaire

**TYPE OF DATA:** Structured survey

**UNITS OF OBSERVATION:** Households

**DATE OF DATA COLLECTION:** May 1996

**Principal Investigator and Co-Investigator:**

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**Sampling:**

A random sample of adult (18+) white South African households with a telephone (1996: 89%) was derived from a complete set of the latest edition of official Telkom phone books. The "next-birthday-method" was used for intra-household respondent selection (the respondent in the household is selected randomly by interviewing that member of the household, whose birthday is next). Black, Indian and Coloured respondents were excluded through an introductory question.

**Response rate:**

A maximum of six contact attempts were made at different times to speak to the selected respondent. The response rate was 56 Percent. See Theissen (1997, Chapter 4) for further details.

**Interview:**

Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI) were held in English (direct coding, data entry and checking).

**Number of cases (N):** 124

**Number of variables:** 152 variables

**File Name:** trc.sav (SPSS portable)

**File Size:** 42 008 bytes (41,0 KB)

**EXTENT OF DATA COLLECTION:** 1 data file in SPSS and hard copy documentation and questionnaire.

Number of cases:	124
Number of records:	124
Number of variables:	152
Number of records per case:	1
Logical record length:	80+
Number of kilobytes: SPSS	41

**PUBLICATIONS:**

Theissen, Gunnar (1996): Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Südafrika. Die südafrikanische Wahrheits- und Versöhnungskommission. MA Thesis, Dep. of Political Science, Free University of Berlin.

Theissen, Gunnar (1997): Between acknowledgement and ignorance. How white South Africans have dealt with the apartheid past. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Theissen, Gunnar & Brandon Hamber (1998): Conformity and denial. White South African's Attitudes to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In: Indicator SA, Forthcoming.



# Questionnaire of the CSVR Survey

*Questioning was done with this questionnaire and question-order. The numbers of the questions do not reflect the question order. People who said they were “undecided” were always classified to the “don’t know” category*

## INTRODUCTION

My name is XXXX and I am calling from the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation which is part of the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

I am phoning because we are conducting a nation-wide telephone survey among white South Africans. The purpose of the survey is to find out how white South Africans feel about the new situation and current political issues in order to give decision-makers a feed-back about the feelings of the white community.

Your number was selected at random from a local telephone directory and your responses will be confidential. Your co-operation is voluntary, but we appreciate your help. Please feel free to ask questions at any time and if you feel uncomfortable with any of the questions, please say so. Okay?

## RESPONDENT SELECTION

This survey is only looking at the white population group: Are the members of this household South African citizens and do they belong to the white population group?

IF NO: Well, for this study we are only interviewing white South Africans, because we want to find out how those are dealing with the past and how they feel about the future. We are sorry that we bothered you. Have a nice day (afternoon, evening), good bye.

IF YES: Secondly I will have to find out, who is supposed to be interviewed in your household. We need to give every adult who is staying with you the same chance to be interviewed. Please think about everybody who is 18 years of age or older. Whose birthday is next? Would you be that person?

IF NO: May I speak to him / her (that person)?

IF NOT AVAILABLE: When could I contact her/him? Could you give me (again) the Christian name of that person? Thank you very much. Would you please tell her/him that we will phone again for an interview. Thank you very much for your co-operation so far, good bye.

## INTERVIEWER FALL-BACK STATEMENTS

EXPLANATION OF THE SURVEY: The survey takes about 15 minutes time. Most of the Questions deal with your opinions towards the new South Africa and current political issues as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. We want to get a true picture about the public opinion of white South Africans throughout the country, because we feel their views must be heard in the New South Africa.

HOW CONFIDENTIAL IS THE SURVEY: Well, I do not know your name or address. The answers will all be grouped together, so no responses can be identified with any particular person.

USE OF THE SURVEY: The results of the survey will be published by us/the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Political parties and government institutions will have access to the results. But no responses can be identified with any specific person.

WHERE DID YOU GET MY PHONE NUMBER? Telephone numbers have been selected by using the official Telkom-telephone directories. Every 10th page one number was selected. This approach has been chosen as it allows to draw a sample which is representative of the white population in South Africa.

NEXT-BIRTHDAY-METHOD: Well, this is not a cheap commercial survey, but one which has to meet scientific standards. Therefore it is necessary that every person in your household has the same chance to be interviewed. If we just interviewed that person who answers the phone, we are likely to get particular people in the household such as elderly people and housewives. The next-birthday question ensures that we survey a cross-section of people.

MOTIVATION ENHANCING: Well, we would very much appreciate your participation. We think it is very important that the opinions of white people are heard in the New South Africa. We are very interested in your views.

Phone No. Centre: 011 / 403 - 5650

**PART 1: FEELINGS TOWARDS THE NEW DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA  
(DSA-SCALE: Q6, Q4, Q7, Q1, Q3, Q18)**

Q6: In 1994 South Africa got a new national flag. Would you say you are very happy, moderately happy or not happy at all with the new national banner?

- |                       |                 |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| [ 1] very happy       | [ 8] don't know |
| [ 2] moderately happy | [ 9] refusal    |
| [ 3] not happy at all |                 |

Q4. You hear often people speaking about reconciliation in these days. How well has the president done in reconciling the different population groups in South Africa. Would you say president Mandela has done very well, well, fairly or poorly to bring about reconciliation?

- |                |             |                 |
|----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| [ 1] very well | [ 3] fairly | [ 8] don't know |
| [ 2] well      | [ 4] poorly | [ 9] refusal    |

Q2: If you look at your own situation since the 1994 national elections. Would you say you economic situation has improved, stayed the same or got worse?

- |                      |                 |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| [ 1] improved        | [ 8] don't know |
| [ 2] stayed the same | [ 9] refusal    |
| [ 3] got worse       |                 |

Q8A: Would you say you are very interested, moderately interested or not interested at all in politics?

- |                            |                 |
|----------------------------|-----------------|
| [ 1] very interested       | [ 8] don't know |
| [ 2] moderately interested | [ 9] refusal    |
| [ 3] not interested at all |                 |

Q3: How happy are you with the new political system in South Africa in general? Are you rather very happy, quite happy, not very happy or not happy at all?

- [ 1] very happy
- [ 2] quite happy
- [ 3] not very happy
- [ 4] not happy at all
- [ 8] don't know
- [ 9] refusal

Q7: Are you proud to be a member of the South African rainbow nation? Would you say you are very proud, quite proud, not very proud or not proud at all?

- [ 1] very proud
- [ 2] quite proud
- [ 3] not very proud
- [ 4] not proud at all
- [ 8] don't know
- [ 9] refusal

Q36: What is your home language? (Do you speak Afrikaans or English?)

- [ 1] Afrikaans
- [ 2] English
- [ 3] Other

Q8: Would you say you are very proud, quite proud, not very proud or not proud at all to be an Afrikaner?

English-speaking white South African?  
Portuguese- " " " " ?

- [ 1] very proud
- [ 2] quite proud
- [ 3] not very proud
- [ 4] not proud at all
- [ 8] don't know
- [ 9] refusal

Q1: People have different views about the changes in South Africa. Do you believe that South Africa is moving in the right or wrong direction?

- [ 1] right direction
- [ 2] wrong direction
- [ 8] don't know
- [ 9] refusal

**EQUALITY-SCALE (Q5)**

Several policies have been suggested to reduce the inequalities between the different population groups in South Africa. Could you please tell me whether you would rather support, accept, reject or strongly reject the specific policy.

	support	accept	reject	strongly reject	don't know
Q5a) Opening of white schools to black students	1	2	3	4	8
Q5b) Giving farm land to blacks against a modest compensation by the government.	1	2	3	4	8
Q5c) Preferential employment of qualified blacks in the public service to make it representative of all South Africans.	1	2	3	4	8

Q9: How do you feel about an area in which white South Africans may enjoy self-determination? Do you support the idea of a Volksstaat?

IF YES: Well, Would you consider moving there?

IF NO OR DON'T KNOW: ENTER [ 3]

IF YES: Would you move there even if the standard of living dropped?  
[ 1] yes [ 2] not move, if dropped or don't know

IF NO: ENTER [ 4] don't support it.

IF DON'T KNOW: ENTER [ 8]

**PART 2: SUBTLE RACISM-SCALE (Q10 & Q11)**

Q10: Some people are chatting about the new South Africa. Could you please listen to their statements and say to me whether you would rather strongly agree, largely agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

	strongly agree	largely agree	disagree	strongly disagree	don't know
a) "I'm not really interested to have African friends."	1	2	3	4	8
b) "I do not mind, if blacks move into my residential area." (R)	1	2	3	4	8
c) "It is certainly best for all concerned that interracial marriages should not take place."**	1	2	3	4	8
d) "I do not mind whether I am treated by a white or black medical practitioner." (R)	1	2	3	4	8
e) "I do well understand why many white South Africans don't like blacks."	1	2	3	4	8
f) "Immigration of blacks to South Africa should not be allowed."	1	2	3	4	8

Q11: Here are some statements about the future of our country. Could you please say to me again whether you would rather strongly agree, largely agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each statement?

	strongly agree	largely agree	disagree	strongly disagree	don't know
a) Given the same education and opportunities, blacks should be able to perform as well as whites in any field. (R)*	1	2	3	4	8
b) It is crucial for the stable development of the country that whites retain economic control. *	1	2	3	4	8
c) Given favourable conditions it is quite possible that black majority rule could result in a stable, prosperous, and democratic South Africa. (R)*	1	2	3	4	8
d) Too much is being done for blacks at the expense of white people nowadays.*	1	2	3	4	8

*(R)= item reverse scored, \* = adopted from the Subtle Racism Scale of Duckitt (1991) with minor changes.*

Q12: In 1992 the former government called for a referendum, to find out whether the white community supported a negotiated settlement for South Africa. Do you remember, if you voted?

IF YES: How did you vote? Did you support De Klerk in his efforts to reach a negotiated settlement?

- |                               |                           |                          |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| [ 1] yes / support transition | [ 0] didn't vote          | [ 8] don't know any more |
| [ 2] no / against transition  | [ 3] voted, but don't now | [ 9] refusal             |

Q13: If national elections were to take place today, which political party or movement would you support? DO NOT READ OUT!!!

- |                     |           |                         |
|---------------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| [ 01] NP            | [ 07] DP  | [ 00] None / won't vote |
| [ 02] CP            | [ 08] ANC |                         |
| [ 03] AVF           | [ 09] PAC | [ 88] don't know        |
| [ 04] AWB           |           | [ 99] refusal           |
| [ 05] HNP [10] ACDP |           |                         |
| [ 06] IFP           |           |                         |

### PART 3: DEMOCRATIC VALUES, ATTITUDES TOWARDS CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS

(HR-SCALE Q14 & Q15) (=MR-Skala)

Q 14: People have often different opinions how to behave in a society. Could you please tell me, whether you would rather strongly agree, largely agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements.

<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>	strongly agree	largely agree	disagree	strongly disagree	don't know
a) Every citizen has the right to hold a demonstration	1	2	3	4	8
b) In every democratic society certain conflicts must be resolved with violence. (R)	1	2	3	4	8
c) Women should actively participate in politics in the same way as men.	1	2	3	4	8
d) Every democratic party should be given the same chance to become the ruling party in an election contest.	1	2	3	4	8
e) The police should be allowed to use more frequently their guns to maintain the public order (R).	1	2	3	4	8
f) People of all races should have equal access to basic rights and freedoms.	1	2	3	4	8
g) There are times when detention of political prisoners may be necessary to maintain social order. (R)	1	2	3	4	8

(R) = item reverse scored

Q15: Are you in favour of the death penalty or are you against it?

- |                    |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| [ 1] in favour (R) | [ 8] don't know |
|--------------------|-----------------|

[ 2] against it

[ 9] refusal

**PART 4: PERCEPTION OF APARTHEID**

**(APARTHEID-SCALE: Q17, Q18, Q16 without Q16g, Q25)**

Q17) Would you say that the former political system was unjust as it excluded blacks from the voting in general elections or would you rather say that it wasn't so unjust because they were allowed to vote in their townships and homelands?

[ 1] was unjust

[ 8] don't know

[ 2] wasn't unjust

[ 9] refusal

Q18: Imagine there would be an attempt to reinstall apartheid. Would you do everything to prevent that happening, would you be unhappy but do nothing, or would you support the reinstallation of the former political system?

[ 1] would do everything

[ 8] don't know

[ 2] would be unhappy but do nothing

[ 9] refusal

[ 3] support reinstallation

Q16: The opinions about the recent history of South Africa are often quite controversial. I will read out various views and I would like you to tell me whether you would rather strongly agree, largely agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

	strongly agree	largely agree	disagree	strongly disagree	don't know
a) Apartheid has done more harm than good to South Africa.	1	2	3	4	8
b) If the National Party had agreed to majority rule before 1990, communists would have taken over and we would have lost our freedom (R)	1	2	3	4	8
c) The majority of white South Africans have always been in opposition to apartheid. (R)	1	2	3	4	8
d) Apartheid was merely a good idea but badly carried out. (R)	1	2	3	4	8
e) The long-time occupation of Namibia was an illegal act by former South African governments	1	2	3	4	8
f) Human rights violations in South Africa have always been exaggerated by foreign countries (R)	1	2	3	4	8
g) The white population is the victim of the changes since 1994. (not included in Scale)	1	2	3	4	8
h) We should admire white and black South Africans who joint the struggle against apartheid in the past.	1	2	3	4	8

**PART 5: PERCEPTION OF THE TRUTH COMMISSION AND ATTITUDES  
TOWARDS**

**DEALING WITH THE PAST**

**(TRC-SCALE: Q22 & Q27 without Q27g; DENIAL-SCALE: Q34, Q30 & Q31)**

Q19: Have you ever heard or read about a Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

[ 1] yes [ 2] no GO TO Q21 [ 9] refusal

IF YES: Q20: Did you read about it in a newspaper or did you listen to a broadcast in radio or television?

[ 1] newspaper only [ 4] in two types of media  
[ 2] radio only [ 5] in all three types of media  
[ 3] TV only

Q20A: Did you talk about the truth commission with friends or family members?

[ 1] yes  
[ 2] no

Q21: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is currently investigating human rights violations that occurred between 1960 and 1993. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the idea to investigate these political motivated crimes?

[ 1] Strongly agree [ 3] disagree [ 8] don't know  
[ 2] agree [ 4] strongly disagree [ 9] refusal

Q23: The Truth Commission may also grant amnesty to perpetrators of human rights violations. That means that these people won't be prosecuted in court or could be released from prison. Do you agree with the idea of granting amnesty for political motivated crimes committed in South Africa's past. Would you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?

[ 1] strongly agree [ 3]disagree [ 8] don't know, maybe  
[ 2] agree [ 4] strongly disagree [ 9] refusal

Q24: What about those people, who have been involved in political crimes and do not confess before the Truth Commission. Should they still be prosecuted and punished?

[ 1] prosecuted and punished [ 8] haven't thought about it, don't know  
[ 2] not prosecuted and punished [ 9] refusal

Q25: Is there a moral difference between somebody who committed an act as a freedom fighter in the struggle against apartheid and somebody who committed a crime in order to defend the former political system?

IF NO: ENTER [ 2]

IF YES: Would you say violent resistance against apartheid was morally more justified?

[1] YES

IF NO CONFIRM: Am I right that the you would say that defending the former political system was more justified?

[ 1] Fighting against apartheid more justified [ 8] don't know  
[ 2] No difference [ 9] refusal  
[ 3] Defending apartheid more justified

Q26: Human rights violations have been committed by those who defended apartheid and fought against it. According to your opinion: Should the Truth Commission only investigate crimes committed by one side, or should it look at all human rights violations committed by both sides?

IF ONLY ONE SIDE: Well, do you feel that it should only investigate those crimes committed by the ANC and other liberation movements?

IF NO CONFIRM: Did I understand you correctly. You think that the Truth Commission should only investigate crimes in support of the former political system?

- [ 1] Only crimes by ANC and other liberation movements [ 8] don't know  
[ 3] Only crimes in support of apartheid [ 9] refusal  
[ 2] crimes committed by both sides

Q22: Do you think that most of the allegations made by victims before the Truth Commission are true, or do you think that these incidents are being exaggerated?

- [ 1] most of the allegations are true [ 8] don't know  
[ 2] incidents are being exaggerated (R) [ 9] refusal

Q34: Various claims have been made before the Truth Commission, who is responsible for the repression of black communities in the past. I will read out some groups who have been named and I wish you to say me whether you would say yes, they have been responsible for the repression of black communities in the past, or rather no, they haven't , that is more a unjustified claim.

a) Some people say that the security forces have been responsible for the repression of black communities in the past. Would you rather agree or disagree with that opinion?

- [ 1] yes [ 2] no [ 8] don't know

b) Others say anti-apartheid activists and other ' troublemakers' in the black community have been responsible for the repression of black communities in the past. Would you ...

- [ 1] yes [ 2] no [ 8] don't know

c) Some people say that only a small group of senior security officers and politicians has been responsible. Would you ...

- [ 1] yes [ 2] no [ 8] don't know

d) Others say that the former National Party governments have been responsible. Would you ...

- [ 1] yes [ 2] no [ 8] don't know

e) And again others say that all those who supported the NP in the past have been responsible for the repression of black communities, at least to a certain degree. Would you ...

- [ 1] yes [ 2] no [ 8] don't know

Q27: I will read out some different opinions about the Truth Commission. Could you please again say me, whether you would rather strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

	strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree	don't know
a) The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is an ANC-inspired witch-hunt to discredit its enemies (R)	1	2	3	4	8
b) The Commission is an independent body investigating crimes irrespective of the political affiliation of victims and perpetrators.	1	2	3	4	8
c) The Commission won't be effective in bringing about reconciliation. (R)	1	2	3	4	8
d) The Truth Commission is necessary to ensure that human rights won't be violated in the same manner in the future.	1	2	3	4	8
e) The Commission is a waste of money. (R)	1	2	3	4	8
f) The Commission is needed to uncover the truth about human rights violations in the past.	1	2	3	4	8
g) The Commission won't be able to ensure that justice is done to the victims of human rights violations. (not included in TRC-Scale)	1	2	3	4	8
h) The Truth Commission will improve the image of South Africa internationally.	1	2	3	4	8

Q28: At the moment there is a discussion whether relatives of those people who have been murdered in the political conflict in the past should receive a monthly compensation of about 500 Rand from the government. Would you fully support, support, reject or strongly reject that?

- [ 1] fully support                      [ 3] reject                      [ 8] don't know  
 [ 2] support                              [ 4] strongly reject        [ 9] refusal

Q29: The Truth Commission has heard many black people speaking about torture and mysterious deaths in police cells. Is this the first time you heard about these things?

IF NO: Would you say, you knew about these things, but didn't realise their extend or have you been more or less fully aware of what was going on ?

- [ 1] didn't know                              [ 8] don't know  
 [ 2] did know, but not their extend        [ 9] refusal  
 [ 3] have been aware of what was happening

Q30: A respondent told us previously in an interview that he is ashamed that South Africans have committed so many human rights violations against their fellow citizens during the days of National Party rule. Would you share this feeling?

- [ 1] yes                              [ 2] no                              [ 8] don't know

Q31: From somebody else we heard:

"Not every white South African who supported the NP in the past must feel guilty. Nevertheless he should feel responsible and try to undo the damage inflicted to the black community so far as that is possible."

Would you rather support or reject this opinion?

[ 1] yes                      [ 2] no    [ 8] don't know

Q32: An other person we interviewed told us:

"I think it is better to forget about the past and stop prosecuting people who committed crimes against anti-apartheid activists in the past."

Would you rather agree or disagree with this statement?

[ 1] agree GO TO Q35                      [ 2] disagree    [ 8] don't know

Q33: IF AGREE / SUPPORT: Could you please listen to the reasons other people gave to us who share this opinion and say to me, whether you would rather support or reject the specific argument. The first argument is:

a) We should stop prosecuting people because members of the liberation movement committed themselves crimes and haven't been tried for that.

[ 1] support    [ 8] don't know  
[ 2] reject    [ 9] refusal

e) We should forget about the past because we should rather concentrate on the future.

[ 1] support    [ 8] don't know  
[ 2] reject    [ 9] refusal

c) We should stop prosecuting because those people were doing their duty to prevent a violent overthrow of the former government.

[ 1] support    [ 8] don't know  
[ 2] reject    [ 9] refusal

d) We should stop prosecuting because the perpetrators have been victims of apartheid too.

[ 1] support    [ 8] don't know  
[ 2] reject    [ 9] refusal

PERSONAL DETAILS

Before we finish the interview I have some few questions regarding yourself.

Q35: In which year have you been born? \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

Q37: What is the highest educational level you have completed?

- [ 1] up to Standard 8 (Form III, NTC I)
- [ 2] Standard 9 (Form IV, NTC II)
- [ 3] Standard 10 / Matric (Form V, NTC III)
- [ 4] Post-Matric (BA, Honours Degree)
- [ 5] Master's degree or doctor's degree (MA, PhD).
- [ 9] refusal

Q38: What is your current occupation? \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

- [ 4] unemployed [ 9] refusal
- [ 5] student [ 7] retired
- [ 6] housewife

Q39: Are you living in a big metropolitan area like Durban, small town, or in a rural area?

- [ 1] metropolitan area
- [ 2] small town
- [ 3] rural area

Q41: Do you read a daily newspaper regularly, that is at least four out of six issues a week?

- [ 1] yes [ 2] no [ 8] don't know [ 9] refusal

Q42: What is your (joint) income (both spouses) per month? (Gross income from all sources?)  
Is it more than 4.000 Rand?

IF YES: Do you earn (jointly) more or less than 7.000 Rand?

- [ 1] more than R 7.000
- [ 2] less than R 7.000

IF NO: Do you earn (jointly) more or less than 2.500 Rand?

- [ 3] more than 2.500 Rand
- [ 4] less than 2.500 Rand

This was the last question. In the name of our research team I want to thank you very much for your readiness to answer our questions. Have a nice day (afternoon, evening). Good bye.

Enter additional data:

SEX, CONFIRM IF NECESSARY: [ 1] man [ 2] women

Directory No. (Province): \_ \_

Data No.(see case No.): \_ \_

## Data Processing Summary:

File: trc.sav

Label: SPSS Portable File written by Data Entry II  
Created: 12 Feb 98 13:27:32 - 152 variables and 124 cases

File Type: SPSS Data File

N of Cases: 124

Total # of Defined Variable Elements: 156

Data Are Not Weighted

Data Are Compressed

File Contains Case Data

Source Variables: Variables Position 1-87

Derived Variables: Variables Position 88-156

A description of the recoding of the derived variables is given in the next chapter.

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NOTE: The description of the recoding for variable q22 on page 99 of the printed research report (Theissen 1997) entitled „Between Acknowledgement and Ignorance“ is incorrect.

The correct recoding of the source variable q22.AMNE (recoded variable: TRC22) is:

1 → 2  
8,9 → 3  
3 → 4

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-----  
Variable Information:

Name

Position

X44.CASE Case-no. (Dataset-no.)

1

Format: F3

X43.DIRE Telephone directory no.

2

Format: F2

Missing Values: 9

Value Label

10 Pretoria and surroundings  
 11 Northern Province  
 12 Johannesburg  
 13 East Rand  
 14 Cape Peninsula  
 15 Southern Cape  
 16 East London & Border  
 17 Free State  
 18 Pietermaritzburg & Natal Midlands  
 20 Durban  
 21 Northern Cape  
 22 Port Elisabeth and Eastern Cape  
 23 West Rand  
 24 Vaal Triangle  
 25 Mpumalanga  
 26 North-West Province  
 27 KZN North Coast  
 28 Natal South Coast  
 29 Karoo and Namaqualand  
 31 Boland and West Coast

Q1.DIREC Is SA moving in the wrong or right direction  
 3

Format: F1  
 Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	right direction
2	wrong direction
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q2.ECONO Personal economic situation  
 4

Format: F1  
 Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	improved
2	stayed same
3	got worse
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q3.CONTE How happy are you with the new political System in general  
 5

Format: F1  
 Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	very happy
2	quite happy
3	not really happy
4	not happy at all
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q4.RECON Would you say the president has done..to bring about reconc  
 6

Format: F1  
 Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
-------	-------

1 very well  
2 well  
3 fairly  
4 poorly  
8 don't know  
9 M refusal

Q5A.SCHO Opening of white schools to blacks  
7

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	support
2	accept
3	reject
4	strongly reject
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q5B.LAND Distribution of comercial farm Land to black farmers  
8

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	support
2	accept
3	reject
4	strongly reject
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q5C.AFFI Preferential Employment of Blacks  
9

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	support
2	accept
3	reject
4	strongly reject
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q6.FLAG How happy are you about the new national flag?  
10

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	very happy
2	moderately happy
3	not really happy
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q7.RAINB Are you proud to be a member of the SA rainbow nation?  
11

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	very proud
2	quite proud
3	not very proud
4	not proud at all
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q8.ETHNI Are you proud to be a Afrikaner or eng.-sp. South African?  
12

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	very proud
2	quite proud
3	not very proud
4	not proud at all

8 don't know  
9 M refusal

Q8A.POLI Interest in politics  
13

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	very intersted
2	moderately interested
3	not interested at all
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q9.VOLKS Do you basically support the idea of a Volksstaat?  
14

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	would move there even if living standard dropped
2	would move there
3	support the idea
4	don't support the idea
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q10A.FRI I'm not really interested to have african friends.  
15

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q10B.RES I do not mind, if blacks move in my residential area.  
16

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q10C.MAR It is certainly best for all .. interracial marriages do not  
17

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree

8 don't know  
9 M refusal

Q10D.DOC I do not mind wether I am treated by a black or white doctor  
18

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q10E.LIK I do understand why many white SAns don't like blacks.  
19

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q10F.IMM Immigration of blacks to South Africa should not be allowed.  
20

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q11A.PER Given the same education and opportunities, blacks should...  
21

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q11B.ECO It is crucial for the develop. that whites retain economic c  
22

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree

4 strongly disagree  
8 don't know  
9 M refusal

Q11C.STA Given favourable cond. it is quite possible that black maj.  
23

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q11D.EXP Too much is being done for blacks at the expense of the wh.  
24

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q12.REFE CALL-Back Vote in 1992 whites only referendum  
25

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
0	didn't vote
1	yes, supported De Klerk
2	no, against De Klerk
3	voted, but do not know anymore
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q13.PART Which political party or movement would you support?  
26

Format: F2  
Missing Values: 99

Value	Label
0	none, won't vote
1	NP
2	CP
3	AVF
4	AWB
5	HNP
6	IFP
7	DP
8	ANC/SACP
9	PAC
10	ACDP
88	don't know
99 M	refusal

Q14A.DEM Every citizen has the right to hold a demonstration  
27

Format: F1

Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q14B.VIO In every democratic s. certain conflicts must res.w.violence  
28

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q14C.WOM Women should actively participate in politics in the same...  
29

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q14D.RUL Every democratic party should be given the chance ... ruling  
30

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q14E.GUN In order to maintain the public order ... police ... guns  
31

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q14G.DET There are times when detention of political prisoners may...  
32

Format: F1

Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q14F.RAC A person's race should not block the person's access to...  
33

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q15.DEAT Are you basically in favour of the death penalty or do ...  
34

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	in favour
2	oppose it
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q16A.APA Apartheid has done more harm than good to South Africa.  
35

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q16B.COM If we would have agreed to maj. rule before 1990, communist  
36

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q16D.BAD Apartheid was merely a good idea but badly carried out.  
37

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know

9 M refusal

Q16C.OPP The majority of white SAns have allways been in opposition  
38

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q16E.NAM The long-time occupation of Namibia was a illigal act by  
39

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q16F.HRV Human rights violations in SA have always been exagerated by  
40

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q16G.CHA The white population is the victim of the changes since 1994  
41

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q16H.RES We should admire white and black SAns, who joined the strugg  
42

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree

4 strongly disagree  
8 don't know  
9 M refusal

Q17.JUST Would you say that the former political system was unjust...  
43

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	was unjust
2	wasn't unjust
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q18.REIN If there was an attempt to reinstall apartheid. Wh w y do?  
44

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	would do nothing
2	would be unhappy but do nothing
3	support reinstallation
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q19.TRCK Have you ever heard or read about a Truth and Reconciliation  
45

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	yes
2	no
9 M	refusal

Q20.TV Did you watch a television broadcast on the Truth Commission  
46

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	only newspaper
2	only radio
3	only tv
4	two types of media
5	all three types of media
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q20A.FRI Did you talk about the TRC with friends or family members?  
47

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	no
2	yes
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q21.TRCA TRC investigating political motivated crimes  
48

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully support
2	support
3	reject
4	strongly reject
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q24.TRUT Do you think that most of the allegations ... are truth?  
49

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	most alleg. are true
2	exaggerated
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q22.AMNE Do you agree with the idea of granting amnesty for political  
50

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully support
2	largely support
3	reject
4	strongly reject
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q23.PUNI Should those who do not come forward be prosecuted a. punish  
51

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	prosecuted and punished
2	not prosecuted and punished
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q25.MORA Would you say that there is a moral difference between someb.  
52

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	resistance against apartheid morally more justified
2	no difference
3	defence of apartheid more justified
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q26.BOTH Sould the TRC invetigate only crimes by one side, or should  
53

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	only crimes of ANC and other liberation movements
2	by both sides
3	only crimes in support of apartheid
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q27A.ANC The TRC is an ANC-inspired witch-hunt to discredit its enemi  
54

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q27C.REC The TRC won't be effecitive in bringing about reconciliation  
55

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q27D.FUT The TRC is necessary to ensure that human rights ... future  
56

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q27E.MON The TRC is vaste of money.  
57

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree

8 don't know  
9 M refusal

Q27F.UNC The TRC is necessary to uncover the truth about human rights  
58

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q27G.JUS The TRC won't be able to ensure that justice is done to the  
59

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q27H.INT The TRC will improve the image of South Africa international  
60

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q28.COMP Victims should receive a monthly compensation of ... R 500.  
61

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully support
2	largely support
3	reject
4	strongly reject
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q29.KNOW Did you know about atrocities committed in the past?  
62

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	didn't know
2	know, but not their extend
3	have been quite aware what was happening
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q30.ASHA I am ashamed that SAns have committed so many HRV against fel  
63

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	yes
2	no
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q31.RESP Every SAN should feel responsible and try to undo the damage  
64

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	yes
2	no
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q32.STOP I think it would be better to leave things alone.  
65

Format: F1

Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	yes
2	no
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q27B.IND The TRC is a independent body invesitgating irrespectably ..  
66

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	fully agree
2	largely agree
3	disagree
4	strongly disagree
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q33A.LIB . because the liberation f. have committed themselves crimes  
67

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	support
2	reject
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q33C.FAI because perpetrators did their duty to pervent a violent ov  
68

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	support
2	reject
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q33D.VIC because the perpetrators have been themsleves victims of ap  
69

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	support
2	reject
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q33E.FUT because we should better concentrate on the future.  
70

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	support
2	reject
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q34A.SEC the security forces  
71

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	yes
2	no
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q34B.ANT The anti apartheid activists and other troublemakers in the  
72

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	yes
2	no
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q34C.HIG Only a small group of high-ranking politicians and security  
73

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	yes
2	no
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q34D.NP The former National Party governments  
74

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	yes
2	no
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q34E.SUP All those who supported the NP in the past, at least to a ce  
75

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	yes
2	no
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q35.YEAR Year of birth  
76

Format: F4  
Missing Values: 9

Q36.LANG Home language of respondent  
77

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	Afrikans
2	English
3	Other
9 M	Refusal

Q37.EDUC Educational Qualification  
78

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
0	under Standart 8
1	Standart 8 (FORM III, NTC I)
2	Standart 9 (FORM IV, NTC II)
3	Standart 10 / Matric (Form V, NTC III)
4	Postmatric BA, Honours degree
5	Master's degree or doctor's degree
6	other
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q38.OCCU Current Occupation  
79

Format: A35

Q39.TOWN Size of town of respondent  
84

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	metropolitan
2	smal town
3	countryside
9 M	refusal

Q40.NEWS Do you read a daily newspaper regularly, that is at least...  
85

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	yes
2	no
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

Q41.INCO Monthly Income of respondent  
86

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	> 7.000 R
2	4.000 - 7.000 R
3	2.500 - 4.000 R
4	< 2.500 R
8	don't know
9 M	refusal

X42.SEX Sex of respondent  
87

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
-------	-------

1	male
2	female
8	not identifiable

AGEGROUP age-groups  
88

Format: F1  
Missing Values: 9

Value	Label
1	18 - 30 years
2	31 - 40 years
3	41 - 60 years
4	over 60 years

NSDIREC1 recoded Q1  
89

Format: F1

NSCONTE3 recoded Q3  
90

Format: F1

NSRECON4 recoded Q4  
91

Format: F1

NSFLAG6 recoded Q6  
92

Format: F1

NSRAIN7 recoded Q7  
93

Format: F1

NSREIN18 recoded Q18  
94

Format: F1

DSAINDEX DSA-Index  
95

Format: F28

DSAGR Attitude towards democratic new SA in groups  
96

Format: F1

Value	Label
1	content with NSA
2	moderately content
3	not content at all

RACE10A recoded q10a  
97

Format: F8.2

RACE10C recoded q10c  
98

Format: F8.2

RACE10E recoded q10e  
99

Format: F8.2

RACE11B recoded q11b  
100  
Format: F8.2

RACE10F recoded 10f  
101  
Format: F8.2

RACE11D recoded q11d  
102  
Format: F8.2

RACE10B recoded q10b  
103  
Format: F8.2

RACE10D recoded 10d  
104  
Format: F8.2

RACE11A recoded 11a  
105  
Format: F8.2

RACE11C recoded 11c  
106  
Format: F8.2

RACEIND RACISM-Index  
107  
Format: F2

RACISM degree of racism in groups  
108  
Format: F1

Value	Label
1	not racist
2	slightly racist
3	racist

HUMR14A recoded q14a  
109  
Format: F8.2

HUMR14C recoded q14c  
110  
Format: F8.2

HUMR14D recoded q14d  
111  
Format: F8.2

HUMR14F recoded q14f  
112  
Format: F8.2

HUMR14B recoded q14b  
113  
Format: F8.2

HUMR14E recoded q14e  
114  
Format: F8.2

HUMR14G recoded q14g  
115  
Format: F8.2

HUMR15 recoded q15  
116  
Format: F8.2

HUMRIND HR-Index  
117  
Format: F2

HUMANR human rights awareness in groups  
118  
Format: F1

Value	Label
1	very weak
2	weak
3	strong

APART16A recoded q16a  
119  
Format: F8.2

APART16E recoded q16e  
120  
Format: F8.2

APART16H recoded q16h  
121  
Format: F8.2

APART16B recoded q16b  
122  
Format: F8.2

APART16C recoded q16c  
123  
Format: F8.2

APART16D recoded q16d  
124  
Format: F8.2

APART16F recoded q16f  
125  
Format: F8.2

APART17 recoded q17  
126  
Format: F8.2

APART18 recoded q18  
127  
Format: F8.2

APART25 recoded q25  
128  
Format: F8.2

APARTIND apartheid perception index  
129  
Format: F2

APARTHEI attitude towards apartheid past in groups  
130

Format: F1

Value	Label
1	critical
2	only partly critical
3	glorifying

TRC22 recoded q22  
131

Format: F8.2

TRC27A recoded q27a  
132

Format: F8.2

TRC27C recoded q27c  
133

Format: F8.2

TRC27B recoded q27b  
134

Format: F8.2

TRC27D recoded q27d  
135

Format: F8.2

TRC27F recoded q27f  
136

Format: F8.2

TRC27H recoded q27h  
137

Format: F8.2

TRCIND TRC-Index (degree of rejection of TRC)  
138

Format: F2

TRC27E recoded q 27e  
139

Format: F8.2

TRUTHCOM attitude towards TRC in groups  
140

Format: F1

Value	Label
1	support
2	mixed
3	reject

EQUAL5A recoded q5a  
141

Format: F8.2

EQUAL5B recoded q5b  
142

Format: F8.2

EQUAL5C recoded q5c  
143

Format: F8.2

EQUALIND EQUALITY-Index (support for socio-economic equality)  
144  
Format: F2

EQUALITY in groups  
145  
Format: F1

Value	Label
1	reject
2	accept
3	support

AGEGR2 agegroup 20-34,...  
146  
Format: F1

Value	Label
1	18-19
2	20-34
3	35-49
4	50-64
5	65-

PROVINCE Residence of Respondent  
147  
Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Gauteng
2	Northern Province
3	Western Cape
4	Eastern Cape
5	Free State
6	KwaZulu-Natal
7	Northern Cape
8	Mpumalanga
9	North West

Q37.EDU2 educational qualification  
148  
Format: F1

Value	Label
1	Standard 10 and less
2	post-matric

DENY.Q30 recoded q30  
149  
Format: F8.2

DENY.Q31 recoded q31  
150  
Format: F8.2

DENY.34A recoded q34a  
151  
Format: F8.2

DENY.34C recoded q34c  
152

Format: F8.2

DENY.34E recoded q34e  
153

Format: F8.2

DENAIL denail of responsibility for repression in groups  
154

Format: F1

Value Label

1	acknowledgement
2	rejection of responsibility
3	strong rejection

DENYINDEX DENIAL-Index  
155

Format: F8.2

DENY.34D recoded q34d  
156

Format: F8.2

## Scales and Indices

### 1. DSA-Scale: Attitude towards democratic new South Africa:

Six items (Q6, Q4, Q7, Q1, Q3 and Q18)

Items were recoded in the following manner:

Q6:

8, 9 → 2

Q4, Q3, Q7:

8, 9 → 3

3 → 4

4 → 5

Q1:

8, 9 → 2

2 → 3

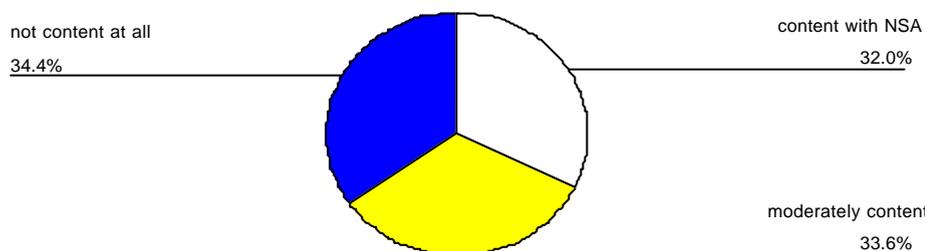
Q18:

8, 9 → 3

3 → 4

The DSA-Index was build through summing up all recoded items. Scores of 6 to 11 were classified as “content”, scores of 12-15 were classified “moderately content” and scores between 16 to 25 as “not content at all”.

Attitude towards New South Africa  
(according 6-item NSA-Scale)



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N=122

### 2. EQUALITY-Scale: Support for socio-economic policies to reduce the inequalities between the different population groups

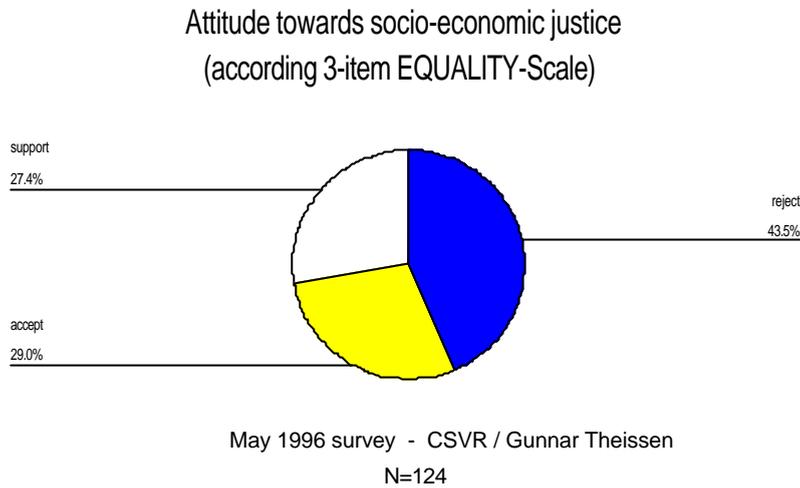
Three items (Q5a, b, c)

All items were recoded according the following manner:

1 → 5

- 2 → 4
- 8, 9 → 3
- 3 → 2
- 4 → 1

The EQUALITY-Index was built through summing up all recoded items. Scores between 3 and 10 were classified “reject”, those between 11 and 12 as “accept” and those between 13 and 15 as “support”.



### 3. RACISM-Scale: Degree of racism of respondent.

10 items (Q10a, b, c, d, e, f and Q11a, b, c, d)

Items expressing ‘racist’ sentiments (non-reverse items) were recoded in the following way:

- 8, 9 → 3
- 3 → 4
- 4 → 5

Items expressing ‘egalitarian’ sentiments (reverse items marked with R) were recoded:

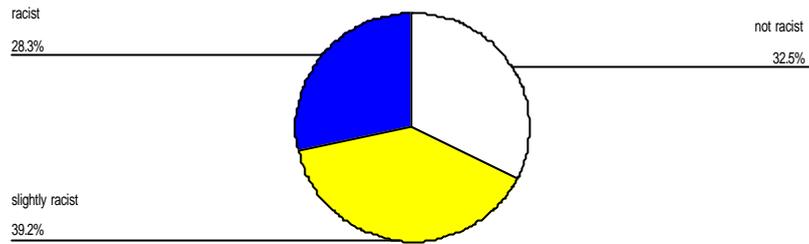
- 1 → 5
- 2 → 4
- 8, 9 → 3

3 → 2

4 → 1

The RACISM-Index was built through summing up all ten recoded items of the RACISM-Scale: Scores of 10-25 were classified as 'not racist', those of 26-31 as 'slightly racist' and scores of 32-50 as 'racist'.

Degree of racism  
(according 10-item RACISM-Scale)



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N=120

#### 4. HR-Scale: Degree of human-rights awareness and democratic values

8 items (Q14a, b, c, d, e, f, g and Q15)

Q14a, c, f (non-reverse items) expressing support for human rights were recoded:

- 1 → 5
- 2 → 4
- 8, 9 → 3
- 3 → 2
- 4 → 1

Q14b, e, g (reverse items) were recoded:

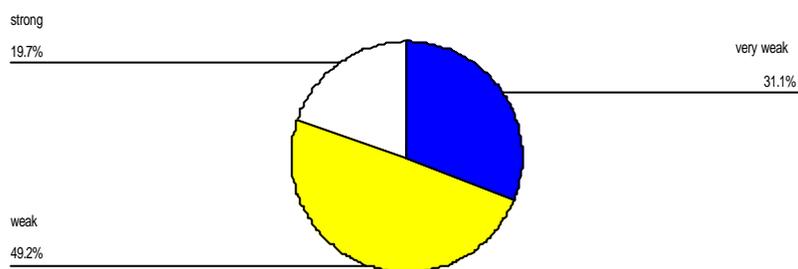
- 8, 9 → 3
- 3 → 4
- 4 → 5

Q15 was recoded:

- 1 → 4
- 2 → 1
- 8, 9 → 3

The Human-Rights-Index was calculated through summing up all recoded 8 items of the HR-Scale. Respondents who scored 8-24 were classified to have a “very weak” human rights awareness, those who scored between 25 and 31 were classified to have a “weak” human-rights awareness and those who scored between 32 and 40 to have a “strong” human rights awareness.

Attitudes towards human rights  
(according 9-item HR-Scale)



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N=122

#### 5. APARTHEID-Scale: Perception of Apartheid by respondent.

10 items (Q17, Q18, Q16 a, b, c, d, e, f, h, Q25)

Items were recoded in the following way:

Q17:

- 1 → 2
- 8, 9 → 3
- 2 → 5

Q18:

8, 9 → 3

3 → 5

Q16a, e, h: (non-reversals) were recoded:

8, 9 → 3

3 → 4

4 → 5

Q16b, c, f: (reverse items) were recoded:

1 → 5

2 → 4

8, 9 → 3

3 → 2

4 → 1

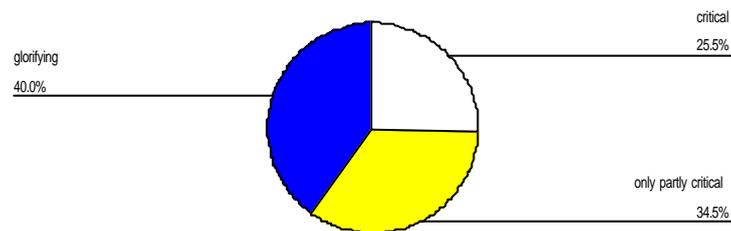
Q25 was recoded:

2, 8, 9 → 3

3 → 5

All 10 recoded items were summed up as a APARTHEID-Index. People who scored 10-25 were recoded as “critical” towards apartheid, those who scored 26-30 as “only partly critical” and those who scored 31-50 as “glorifying” apartheid.

Perception of the apartheid past  
(according 10-item APARTHEID-Scale)



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N=110

## 6. TRC-Scale: Attitudes towards the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

8 items: (Q22, Q22a, b, c, d, e, f, h)

Q22 was recoded:

1 → 2

8,9 → 3

2 → 4

Q27a, c, e (reverse items) were recoded:

1 → 5

2 → 4

8, 9 → 3

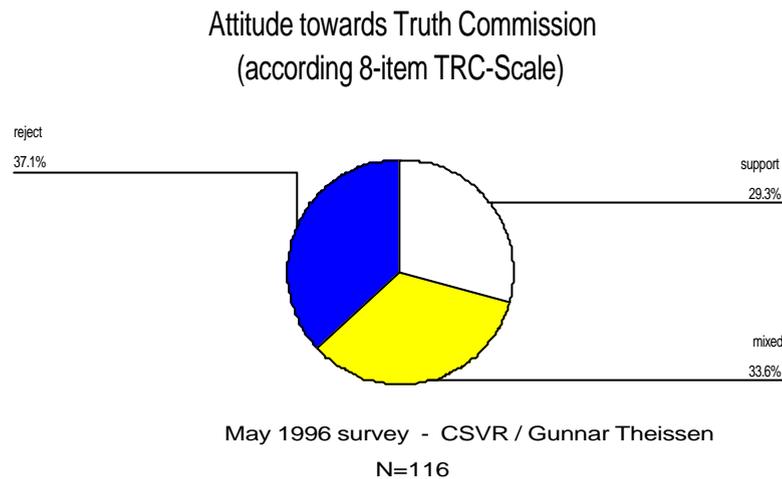
3 → 2

4 → 1

Q27b, d, f, h (non-reverse items) were recoded:

8,9 → 3  
3 → 4  
4 → 5

Respondents who scored between 8-20 on the TRC-Index were classified as to be “in favour” of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, those who showed values of between 21 and 27 as having “mixed” feelings about the Truth Commission and those who scored with 28 to 40 points on the TRC-Index to reject the Commission.



## 7. DENIAL-Scale: Rejection of responsibility for apartheid repression

6 items: Q34a, c, d, e (without Q34b) , Q30, Q31

Q34a, d, e and Q30, Q31 were recoded in the following manner:

1 → 1  
8,9 → 2  
2 → 3

Q34c (reverse scored) was recoded:

1 → 3  
8,9 → 2  
2 → 1

All items were summed up to an DENIAL-Index. Respondents with scores between 6 and 11 were classified to „acknowledge“ responsibility, those with scores between 12-14 as „partly rejecting“ responsibility and those with 15 to 18 as „rejecting“ the responsibility of the previous government, its executive or those who supported it.

### Correlations (Pearsons-r) of Attitude Scales

	Human Rights Awareness	Racism	Denial of Responsibility	Socioeconomic Justice	Attitude towards New South Africa	Attitude towards TRC
Attitude towards Apartheid Past	- 0,631***	0,606***	0,571***	- 0,548***	- 0,513***	- 0,478***
Human Rights Awareness		- 0,590***	- 0,495***	0,489***	0,472***	0,450***
Racism			0,411***	- 0,558***	- 0,636***	- 0,521***
Denial of Responsibility				- 0,454***	- 0,367***	- 0,292**
Socioeconomic Justice					0,486***	0,380***
Attitude towards New South Africa						0,416***

\*\*\* p = 0,001; \*\* p= 0,01