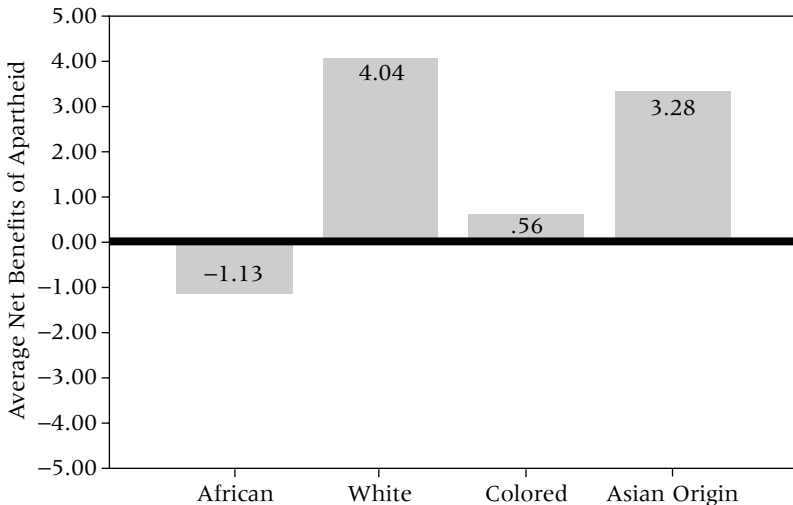


Figure 2.1 The Net Benefits and Costs of Apartheid, by Race



Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

Note: The bars in this graph represent each racial group's average score on an index representing the net benefits of apartheid. The index is simply the difference between benefits and costs, and thus negative scores indicate that costs outweigh benefits (and vice versa). Cross-race difference of means:  $p < .001$ ;  $\eta = .63$ .

*Table 2.1* Demographic Attributes of South Africa's Racial Groups

Attribute	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
<b>Gender</b>				
Percentage female	50.1%	50.7%	49.3%	50.6%
<b>Age</b>				
18 to 30 years old	39.0	24.6	33.1	29.3
30 to 55 years old	48.2	49.2	79.7	53.7
56 years old and older	12.8	26.2	17.2	16.9
<b>Level of education</b>				
None or primary	32.2	.2	23.2	22.4
Secondary	61.4	59.5	64.3	67.8
Tertiary	6.3	40.3	12.5	9.8
<b>Place of residence</b>				
Percentage urban	40.3	84.3	59.5	84.1
<b>Social class</b>				
Upper or upper-middle	3.8	23.1	8.0	11.0
Middle or nonmanual	14.7	60.0	22.0	31.8
Manual or skilled, semiskilled	39.6	14.4	35.7	43.7
Manual, unskilled or unemployed	41.9	2.4	34.3	13.5
<b>Unemployment</b>				
Percentage unemployed	34.7	3.9	20.3	15.1
<b>Opinion leadership</b>				
Percentage opinion leaders	8.4	17.4	12.3	12.2
<b>Home language</b>				
Afrikaans	.1	52.9	78.6	2.9
English	.1	47.1	21.1	96.3
Xhosa	25.8	.0	.0	.0
Zulu	25.8	.0	.0	.0
<b>Literacy</b>				
Percentage literate	42.9	97.0	75.8	79.6
<b>Religiosity</b>				
Percentage attending religious services more often than monthly	64.0	54.3	71.8	70.6
<b>Social class—ownership of goods</b>				
Refrigerator and/or freezer	66.6	97.1	91.0	98.4
Electric floor polisher	2.0	27.3	14.8	14.7
Vacuum cleaner	4.3	86.1	33.5	44.5
Microwave oven	12.5	83.4	44.1	72.2
Hi-fi music center	59.1	87.5	66.5	77.6

*Table 2.1 (Continued)*

Attribute	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Automatic washing machine	6.8	88.8	56.7	56.7
Working telephone	18.7	81.5	55.4	77.1
Television set	73.8	95.1	90.8	95.9
Bank account	39.9	94.3	55.0	62.9
Pension fund	15.4	68.2	35.5	25.7
Automobile	9.7	85.0	36.8	48.6
Percentage owning none of these	10.6	.1	2.1	.8

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Table 2.2* Racial Differences in Perceived Role Under Apartheid

	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
<b>Initial response</b>				
Activist	5.4%	1.2%	6.2%	2.0%
Hero	1.4	.2	.2	.0
Victor	.7	.8	1.5	.4
Collaborator	1.5	3.0	1.1	.0
Sellout	.2	1.0	.4	.8
Bystander	17.1	25.1	21.6	23.3
Spectator	14.9	20.8	19.1	14.3
Inactive opponent	9.0	19.3	6.4	6.1
Victim	19.8	3.5	15.2	38.8
Slave	18.1	.0	3.9	2.0
Beneficiary	.4	6.0	2.1	1.6
None	.2	.0	.2	.0
Don't know	11.4	19.2	22.1	10.6
<b>Any response</b>				
Activist	7.4	1.7	7.5	2.0
Hero	2.0	.2	.6	.4
Victor	1.8	1.6	3.0	.8
Collaborator	3.0	3.6	1.5	.0
Sellout	.3	1.3	.9	.8
Bystander	23.3	34.1	29.8	33.1
Spectator	22.4	34.9	26.1	23.3
Inactive opponent	12.4	22.4	8.4	7.8
Victim	31.4	5.7	20.6	43.3
Slave	26.5	.3	6.0	3.3
Beneficiary	.6	8.4	2.6	2.0

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* Entries are the percentage of all respondents of each race selecting the term.

*Table 2.3* Racial Differences in Harms Inflicted by Apartheid

Harms	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Required to move residence	17.2%	2.1%	16.3%	22.0%
Lost job	15.0	1.7	6.4	6.9
Assaulted by police	15.8	1.8	10.7	4.5
Imprisoned by authorities	9.9	.6	1.9	2.0
Psychologically harmed	15.6	4.1	11.1	6.9
Denied access to education	41.4	1.5	21.1	20.4
Unable to associate with other races	43.7	13.8	32.4	28.6
Had to use a pass to move about	35.3	.4	1.6	11.8
No injuries	39.4	82.3	57.7	51.0
Average—injuries index <sup>a</sup>	.24	.04	.13	.13
Standard deviation	.26	.09	.19	.18
Number of cases	2,003	986	485	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The question read: "Here is a list of things that happened to people under apartheid. Please tell me which, if any, of these experiences you have had."

<sup>a</sup>Cross-race difference of means:  $p < .001$ ;  $\eta = .39$ .

*Table 2.4* Racial Differences in Benefits from Apartheid

Benefit	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Access to education	8.2%	64.2%	23.0%	54.3%
Cheap labor	11.7	42.1	12.3	45.7
Low crime rate	7.7	49.8	19.7	59.2
Access to jobs	12.6	58.7	25.3	56.3
Experienced no benefits	75.1	22.2	56.9	28.2
Experienced all four benefits	.7	25.3	3.0	30.6
Average—benefits index <sup>a</sup>	1.64	3.16	2.26	2.93
Standard deviation	.77	1.13	.97	1.27
Number of cases	2,002	981	466	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The question read: "Some people have told us that they benefited from the old system of apartheid. What about you—would you say you definitely benefited, probably benefited, probably did not benefit, or definitely did not benefit from . . .?"

<sup>a</sup>Cross-race difference of means:  $p < .001$ ;  $\eta = .58$ .

**Table 2.5** Racial Differences in Egocentric and Sociotropic Economic Perspectives

Economic Perceptions	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
<b>Egocentric prospective<sup>a</sup></b>				
Lot worse	10.1%	11.9%	4.9%	12.7%
Little worse	7.5	31.3	6.4	16.7
No change	20.9	32.4	22.2	26.5
Little better	33.9	15.6	38.9	25.3
Lot better	15.6	4.4	11.3	6.1
Don't know	12.0	4.3	16.3	12.7
<b>Egocentric retrospective<sup>b</sup></b>				
Lot worse	15.7	16.7	14.2	14.7
Little worse	20.5	38.8	17.2	25.7
No change	36.1	33.8	38.4	40.4
Little better	22.8	8.4	23.2	13.5
Lot better	4.3	2.0	6.4	4.9
Don't know	.6	.3	.6	.8
<b>Sociotropic prospective<sup>c</sup></b>				
Lot worse	15.8	28.4	12.1	25.3
Little worse	11.3	35.3	10.7	26.9
No change	19.1	16.5	20.5	13.9
Little better	30.3	14.2	31.4	22.4
Lot better	11.9	1.5	5.5	4.5
Don't know	11.6	4.0	19.7	6.9
<b>Sociotropic retrospective<sup>d</sup></b>				
Lot worse	26.1	48.9	31.3	50.6
Little worse	24.0	33.6	24.7	28.2
No change	22.7	8.6	19.5	11.8
Little better	21.6	6.7	15.8	6.5
Lot better	2.7	.6	2.7	2.4
Don't know	2.9	1.7	6.0	.4
<b>Worry about unemployment<sup>e</sup></b>				
Not at all	1.4	13.8	6.4	4.9
Not very	4.4	14.0	10.7	2.9
Worried a little	12.4	30.3	11.9	24.1
Very worried	77.1	40.4	69.2	66.1
Don't know	.2	.7	.6	.8
Unemployed	4.5	.7	1.2	1.2

Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

<sup>a</sup>Egocentric prospective question: "And what about the next twelve months? How do you think your family's living standard will be compared to now? Would you say you and your family's living standard will be much worse, a little worse, nothing will change, a little better, or much better?"

<sup>b</sup>Egocentric retrospective question: "Compared with twelve months ago, would you say your family's living standards are much worse, a little worse, nothing has changed, a little better, or much better?"

<sup>c</sup>Sociotropic prospective question: "How do you think the economic situation in South Africa will change in the next twelve months? Will it get a lot worse, get a little worse, stay the same, get a little better, or get a lot better?"

<sup>d</sup>Sociotropic retrospective question: "How do you think the general economic situation in South Africa has changed over the last twelve months? Would you say it has got a lot worse, got a little worse, stayed the same, got a little better, or got a lot better?"

<sup>e</sup>Unemployment question: "How much does the thought worry you that, during the next twelve months, you or some member of your family might become unemployed? Are you not at all worried, not very worried, a little worried, or very worried?"

*Table 2.6* Racial Differences in Perceptions of Change in South Africa

Perceptions of Improvement in Various Areas of Life Since 1994	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Ability to earn a living	47.9%	16.4%	45.0%	29.4%
Race relations	61.9	57.2	70.4	62.0
Personal freedom	75.8	45.3	81.6	51.4
Equality	63.4	55.1	68.5	50.2
Hope for the future	64.5	28.9	62.1	38.0

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The question read: "We are interested in your thoughts about how things might have changed since the election of 1994 and the end of apartheid in South Africa. Would you say the following have improved a great deal, improved somewhat, worsened somewhat, or worsened a great deal?"



*Table 2.7* Racial Differences in the Distribution of Primary Positive Social Identities

Primary Identity	All South Africans	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
African	21.1%	28.4%	1.7%	4.5%	1.2%
South African	24.9	21.3	35.2	34.3	37.1
Black	9.4	12.5		1.6	
Zulu	6.6	8.8			
Christian	6.1	2.1	19.0	14.2	8.6
Xhosa	7.7	10.8			
Afrikaner	4.6		21.6	10.9	
Tswana	2.8	4.0			
North Sotho-Sepedi	2.4	3.2			
Colored	2.4			26.1	
South Sotho-Sesotho	3.2	4.5			
English	1.2		8.5		1.6
Muslim	.8			4.9	9.4
Tsonga-Shangaan	1.7	2.2			
White	1.0		6.3		
European	.4		2.6		
Boer	.5		3.0		
Hindu	.4				13.5
Indian	.6				18.8
Asian	.3				9.0
Brown	.2			1.4	
Other	1.6			1.0	
"South African" <sup>a</sup>	51.9	47.8	62.9	59.1	74.7
Number of cases	3,724	2,001	983	484	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* Within the racial groups, only percentages greater than or equal to 1.0 percent are shown. For "All South Africans" the "other" category includes any group identity that was selected by fewer than 1.0 percent of any of the racial groups. The modal response within each group is highlighted in the table.  $\chi^2$  for differences across race = 4,954.5;  $p < .001$ .

<sup>a</sup>Percentage of respondents claiming "South African" identity as a primary or secondary identity.

*Table 2.8* South African National Identity and Pride, by Race

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
"I am proud to be a South African."						
African	88.6%	7.4%	4.0%	1.62	.82	2,001
White	77.2	12.4	10.4	2.10	.93	983
Colored	93.0	3.7	3.3	1.62	.76	484
Asian origin	87.8	4.5	7.8	1.88	.86	245
"Being South African is an important part of how I see myself."						
African	87.1	7.5	5.4	1.68	.87	2,002
White	74.6	9.6	15.9	2.21	1.02	983
Colored	91.7	4.5	3.7	1.68	.76	484
Asian origin	89.4	2.4	8.2	1.87	.82	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The percentages are based on collapsing the five-point Likert response set (for example, "agree strongly" and "agree" responses are combined) and total to 100 percent across the three columns (except for rounding errors). The means and standard deviations are calculated on the uncollapsed distributions. Lower mean scores indicate more agreement with the statement. Cross-race difference of means: "It makes me proud to be called a South African":  $\eta = .24$ ;  $p < .001$ . "Being a South African is a very important part of how I see myself":  $\eta = .25$ ;  $p < .001$ .

**Table 2.9** The Relationship Between South African Group and National Identifications and Attitudes

Identity	Correlation Between Strength of Group Identity and National Identity		
	Proud to Be a South African	Being South African Is Important	Number of Cases
South African	.35***	.39***	1,031
African	.10**	.16***	610
Christian	.03	-.01	319
Afrikaner	.13*	.19**	263
Black	.25***	.29***	256
Xhosa	.20**	.18**	217
Zulu	.46***	.40***	177
Colored	.22*	.33***	126
English	.09	.10	90
South Sotho-Sesotho	.14	.36***	90
Tswana	.31**	.31**	80
North Sotho-Sepedi	.14	.13	63
White	.25*	.22	62
Muslim	.03	.16	50
Indian	.20	.47***	48
Tsonga-Shangaan	.29	.27	44
Hindu	.30	.28	34
Boer	.28	.24	30
European	-.08	.05	26
Asian	.29	.33	23
Ndebele	.01	.24	18
Other	-.05	-.21	15
Seswati-Swazi	-.03	.40	13

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* Correlations are shown for groups with ten or more identifiers.

\*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05

*Table 2.10* Racial Differences in the Distribution of Primary Negative Social Identities, 2001

Primary Identity	All South Africans	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
African	2.1%	1.6%	4.4%	.6%	10.2%
South African	.4	.4	.5	.0	.4
Black	13.5	8.7	34.6	16.6	14.7
Zulu	3.0	3.1	2.7	1.4	8.2
Christian	.5	.4	.4	.4	3.3
Xhosa	1.2	1.0	1.7	2.9	.4
Afrikaner	13.9	17.5	3.0	4.7	12.2
Colored	2.7	2.6	.7	6.6	2.9
English	1.8	2.1	.5	1.4	.8
Muslim	4.4	2.8	9.8	7.2	5.3
Tsonga-Shangaan	1.1	1.3	.3	.4	.4
White	8.5	10.3	.3	5.1	10.6
European	4.0	4.9	.9	2.9	2.0
Boer	17.5	21.3	6.7	8.6	7.8
Hindu	3.1	2.8	5.1	2.1	4.9
Indian	3.6	4.8	1.2	1.6	.8
Asian	1.3	1.4	1.1	.8	.0
Brown	3.0	3.6	.3	3.1	3.3
Venda	1.1	1.3	.3	1.0	.8
Jewish	2.6	2.1	3.4	4.1	3.3
Other	5.0	2.8	14.7	4.5	5.3
None	5.5	2.9	7.2	23.8	2.4
Number of cases	3,724	2,003	990	487	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* For "All South Africans," the "other" category includes any group identity that was selected by fewer than 1.0 percent of any of the racial groups. The modal response within each group is highlighted in the table.  $\chi^2$  for differences across race = 1445.4;  $p < .001$ .

Table 2.11 Attitudes Toward Groups and Social Identity, by Race

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
"My group is best." <sup>a</sup>						
All South Africans	67.0%	12.4%	20.7%	2.24	1.17	3715
Black	68.7	11.3	19.9	2.19	1.18	2002
White	57.1	16.1	26.8	2.52	1.15	981
Colored	62.7	15.3	21.9	2.36	1.13	483
Asian origin	63.3	9.8	26.9	2.47	1.10	245
"I support my group's view." <sup>b</sup>						
All South Africans	73.6	11.5	14.9	2.14	1.05	3720
Black	74.3	11.4	14.3	2.10	1.06	2003
White	64.7	10.7	24.7	2.47	1.10	985
Colored	74.1	13.8	12.1	2.19	.98	486
Asian origin	81.6	5.3	13.1	2.11	.91	245
"The group fate affects me." <sup>c</sup>						
All South Africans	81.5	9.3	9.2	1.90	.96	3720
Black	81.1	9.9	9.0	1.87	.97	2003
White	82.1	7.9	9.9	2.01	.91	985
Colored	78.8	9.9	11.3	2.03	.97	486
Asian origin	89.0	2.9	8.2	1.83	.83	245
"The group should stand together." <sup>d</sup>						
All South Africans	82.1	8.7	9.2	1.83	.97	3724
Black	81.9	9.7	8.4	1.79	.96	2004

White	78.5	7.0	14.5	2.05	1.02	986
Colored	86.0	5.7	8.2	1.82	.91	487
Asian origin	86.1	2.4	11.4	1.94	.96	245
"I can't get much without the group." <sup>e</sup>						
All South Africans	46.0	22.0	32.1	2.75	1.22	3722
Black	46.2	21.0	32.8	2.75	1.27	2004
White	38.4	24.5	37.1	2.94	1.09	984
Colored	45.4	27.3	27.3	2.72	1.11	487
Asian origin	55.1	13.5	31.4	2.68	1.14	245
"Fate has to do with politics." <sup>f</sup>						
All South Africans	48.0	18.7	33.4	2.75	1.29	3720
Black	49.0	19.7	31.3	2.69	1.30	2003
White	42.8	13.6	43.7	2.99	1.24	987
Colored	44.6	23.8	31.6	2.81	1.12	484
Asian origin	43.3	10.6	46.1	3.08	1.27	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The percentages are based on collapsing the five-point Likert response set (for example, "agree strongly" and "agree" responses are combined) and total to 100 percent across the three columns (except for rounding errors). The means and standard deviations are calculated on the uncollapsed distributions. Lower mean scores indicate more agreement with the statement.

<sup>a</sup>"Of all the groups in South Africa, [my group] is best."  $\eta = .13$ ;  $p < .001$ .

<sup>b</sup>"Even though I might sometimes disagree with the standpoint/viewpoint taken by [my group], it is extremely important to support [my group's] point of view."  $\eta = .15$ ;  $p > .001$ .

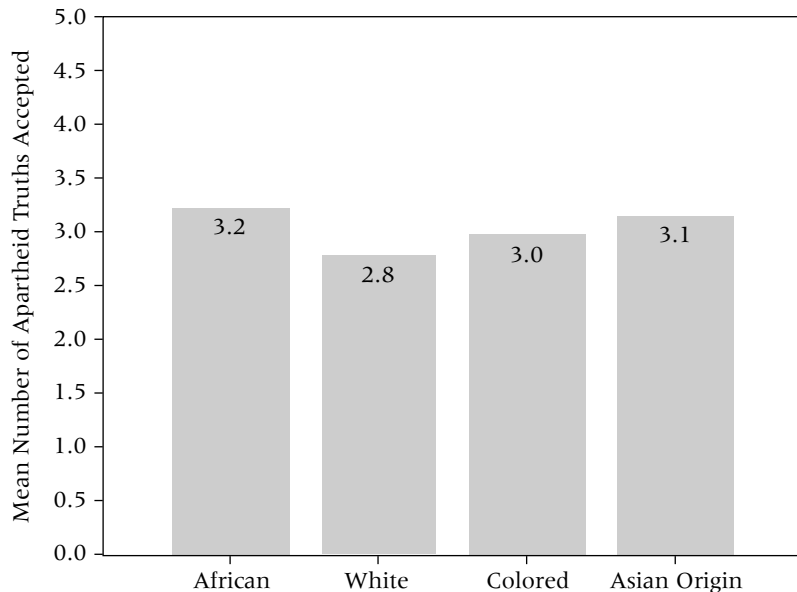
<sup>c</sup>"What happens to [my group] in South Africa will affect my life a great deal."  $\eta = .08$ ;  $p < .001$ .

<sup>d</sup>"When it comes to politics, it is important for all of [my group] to stand together."  $\eta = .12$ ;  $p > .001$ .

<sup>e</sup>"Unless you are a member of a group like [my group], it is very difficult to get much out of South African politics."  $\eta = .08$ ;  $p < .001$ .

<sup>f</sup>"The well-being of [my group] has more to do with politics than it does with our own hard work."  $\eta = .12$ ;  $p < .001$ .

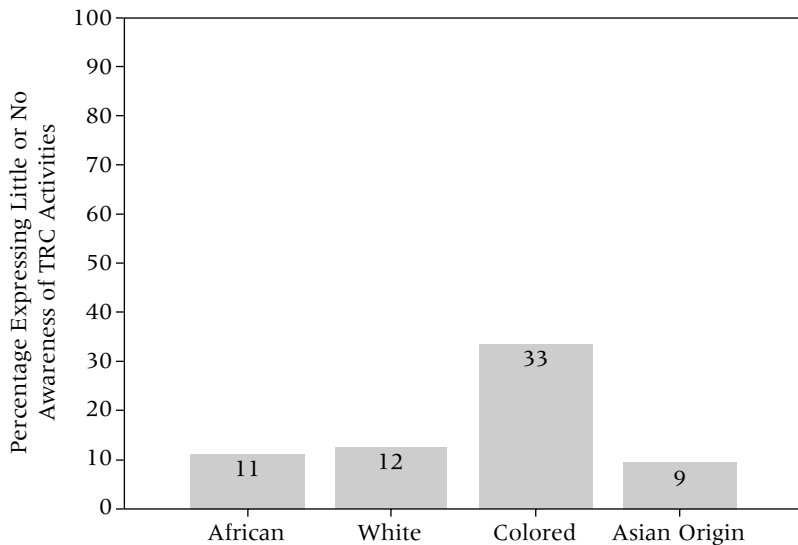
Figure 3.1 Acceptance of the TRC's Collective Memory—Average Number of Truths Accepted, by Race



Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

Note: Interracial difference of means:  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta = .15$ .

Figure 3.2 Lack of Awareness of the Activities of the TRC, by Race



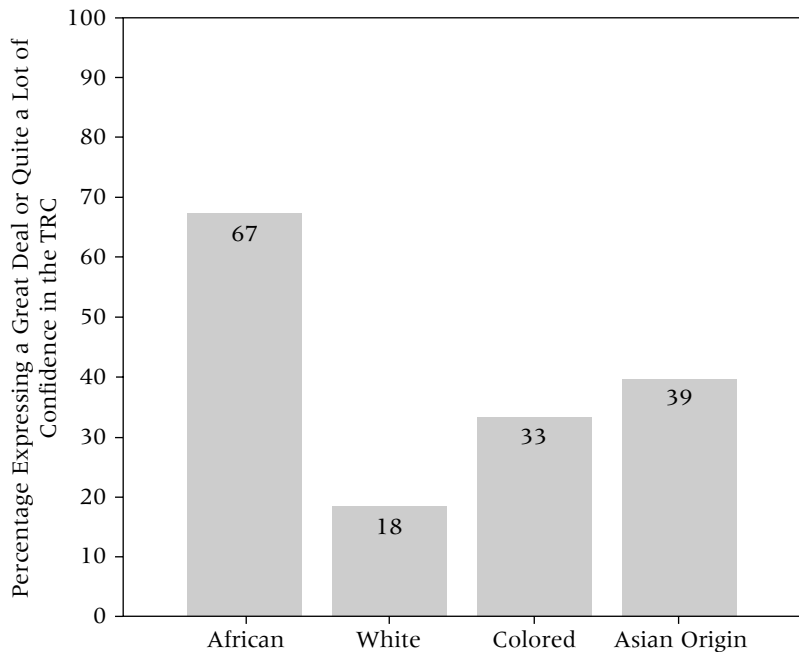
Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

Note: The interracial differences on the full awareness measure are as follows:  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta = .13$ .



Figure 3.3 Confidence in the TRC, by Race

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Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

Note: The interracial differences on the full confidence measure are as follows:  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta = .48$ .

*Table 3.1* Acceptance of the TRC's View of South Africa's Past, by Race

	True	Not True	Don't Know	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
Apartheid was a crime against humanity. (true) <sup>a</sup>						
Black	94.3%	4.5%	1.1%	4.54	.80	2002
White	72.9	23.4	3.8	3.75	1.31	984
Colored	86.4	7.6	6.0	4.30	1.05	485
Asian origin	89.0	8.6	2.4	4.27	.95	245
Despite abuses, apartheid ideas were good ones. (false) <sup>b</sup>						
African	35.5	58.7	5.8	3.44	1.52	2003
White	51.0	43.9	5.2	2.98	1.38	986
Colored	34.9	51.3	13.8	3.40	1.44	487
Asian origin	42.0	52.7	5.3	3.36	1.48	245
The struggle to preserve apartheid was just. (false) <sup>c</sup>						
African	39.4	57.3	3.3	3.33	1.59	2004
White	33.7	58.6	7.6	3.44	1.30	981
Colored	24.4	58.8	16.8	3.67	1.38	483
Asian origin	35.9	55.5	8.6	3.45	1.48	245
Those struggling for and against apartheid did unforgivable things. (true) <sup>d</sup>						
African	76.1	9.7	14.2	3.96	.98	2002
White	73.8	6.8	19.5	3.82	.81	986

Colored	66.0	6.2	27.7	3.72	.80	483
Asian origin	82.9	3.7	13.5	3.97	.68	245
The abuses of apartheid were due to evil individuals, not state institutions themselves. (false) <sup>e</sup>						
African	41.1	35.1	23.7	2.90	1.30	2003
White	43.2	28.1	28.8	2.81	1.03	987
Colored	28.2	35.3	36.5	3.06	1.03	482
Asian origin	46.5	34.3	19.2	2.83	1.15	245
Number of statements accepted <sup>f</sup>						
African	—	—	—	3.22	1.18	2003
White	—	—	—	2.76	1.40	988
Colored	—	—	—	2.96	1.46	487
Asian origin	—	—	—	3.14	1.23	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* All variables are scored such that a high score indicates greater acceptance of the view shown in parentheses at the end of each statement. Responses were collected on a five-point response set.

<sup>a</sup>Difference of means test across race:  $p = .001$ ;  $\eta = .32$ .

<sup>b</sup>Difference of means test across race:  $p = .001$ ;  $\eta = .14$ .

<sup>c</sup>Difference of means test across race:  $p = .001$ ;  $\eta = .08$ .

<sup>d</sup>Difference of means test across race:  $p = .001$ ;  $\eta = .10$ .

<sup>e</sup>Difference of means test across race:  $p = .002$ ;  $\eta = .06$ .

<sup>f</sup>Difference of means test across race:  $p = .001$ ;  $\eta = .15$ .

*Table 3.2* Knowledge of and Confidence in the TRC and Acceptance of the TRC's Truth Among Black South Africans

	Accepting TRC's Truth	Variance ( $\sigma^2$ )	Knowledge of the TRC		Confidence in the TRC	
			Bivariate Correlation	Multivariate Significance	Bivariate Correlation	Multivariate Significance
Apartheid was a crime against humanity. (true)	94.3%	.80	.03	n.s.	.06**	.008
Despite abuses, apartheid ideas were good. (false)	58.7	1.52	-.07***	.054	-.11***	.000
The struggle to preserve apartheid was just. (false)	57.3	1.59	-.10**	.004	-.16***	.000
Both sides did unforgivable things. (true)	76.1	.98	.08***	.010	.10***	.000
Abuses were due to individuals, not institutions. (false)	35.1	1.30	.01	n.s.	-.07***	.000

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* For the multivariate analysis, probabilities are shown if they are less than .10.

n.s. = not statistically significant at  $p \geq .10$ .

\*\*\* $p < .001$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \* $p < .05$

*Table 3.3* The Effect of Apartheid Experiences on Truth Acceptance, by Race

	Degree of Acceptance of the TRC's Truth
<b>Harms from apartheid</b>	
African	.14***
White	.23***
Colored	.22***
Asian origin	.03
<b>Benefits from apartheid</b>	
African	-.07***
White	.08*
Colored	-.15***
Asian origin	-.29***
<b>Harms minus benefits from apartheid</b>	
African	-.13***
White	.06
Colored	-.22***
Asian origin	-.31***

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The coefficients for harms and benefits are from a multiple regression analysis including both independent variables. The coefficients reported are standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ).

The coefficients for the "harms minus benefits" variable are also standardized regression coefficients, resulting from regressing each of the dependent variables on a single variable indicating the differences between the benefits and harms experienced under apartheid. This variable is coded such that higher scores indicate greater net benefits from apartheid.

\*\*\* $p \leq .001$ ; \*\* $p \leq .01$ ; \* $p \leq .05$

*Table 3.4* Racial Differences in the Impact of Social Identities on Truth Acceptance

Social Identity Dimension	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Existence of South African identity				
b	.01	.22	.09	-.02
Standard error	.03	.05	.06	.10
$\beta$	.00	.14***	.07	-.01
Strength of South African identity				
b	-.02	-.04	-.07	.14
Standard error	.02	.03	.04	.06
$\beta$	-.02	-.04	-.07	.16*
Strength of primary identity				
b	.03	-.05	-.01	-.06
Standard error	.03	.04	.06	.09
$\beta$	.03	-.05	-.01	-.05
Psychic benefits of identity				
b	.12	-.07	-.09	-.05
Standard error	.02	.03	.04	.07
$\beta$	.13***	-.07*	-.10*	-.06
Any anti-identity				
b	-.06	-.15	.24	.14
Standard error	.09	.09	.07	.28
$\beta$	-.02	-.05	.15***	.03
Group solidarity				
b	.03	-.12	.14	.09
Standard error	.03	.04	.05	.08
$\beta$	.04	-.14**	.17**	.10
Political relevance of groups				
b	-.26	-.18	-.28	-.24
Standard error	.03	.04	.06	.08
$\beta$	-.32***	-.18***	-.30***	-.25**
Intercept	3.40	3.74	3.93	3.22
Standard error	.15	.19	.45	.45
R-squared	.10***	.14***	.10***	.07**
Standard deviation—dependent variable				
b	.70	.73	.67	.68
Standard error of estimate	.67	.68	.65	.67
Number of cases	1,991	946	472	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The dependent variable in this analysis is the degree of acceptance of the TRC's truth.

\*\*\*p  $\leq$  .001; \*\*p  $\leq$  .01; \*p  $\leq$  .05

Table 3.5 Multivariate Determinants of Truth Acceptance by South Africans

	Africans				Whites			
	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r
Interracial contact	.01	.02	.01	.05	.09	.02	.14***	.27
Net benefits of apartheid	-.04	.01	-.14***	-.13	-.00	.01	-.00	.05
Knowledge of the TRC	-.03	.02	-.03*	-.05	.03	.03	.03	.12
Confidence in the TRC	-.07	.02	-.09***	-.10	.09	.03	.10**	.19
Strength of South African identity	-.01	.02	-.01	-.03	-.01	.03	-.02	-.16
Psychic benefits of identity	.12	.02	.13***	.13	-.04	.03	-.04	-.18
Group solidarity	.04	.03	.05	-.17	-.10	.04	-.11**	-.30
Political relevance of groups	-.26	.03	-.31***	-.29	-.08	.04	-.09*	-.28
Media consumption	.06	.02	.08**	.08	.05	.03	.06*	.07
Interest in politics	.01	.02	.01	.02	.00	.03	.00	.06
Opinion leadership	-.07	.06	-.03	.00	.02	.06	.01	.05
Level of education	.03	.02	.04	.05	.06	.02	.08**	.21
Illiteracy	.03	.02	.04	-.01	-.03	.10	-.01	-.07
Afrikaans language	—	—	—	—	-.28	.05	-.19***	-.33
Age	-.00	.00	-.02	-.01	-.00	.00	-.05	-.09
Social class	-.00	.02	-.00	-.04	-.10	.03	-.10**	-.18
Size of place of residence	-.00	.01	-.01	-.06	-.04	.02	-.07*	-.13
Gender	-.02	.03	-.01	-.03	.07	.04	.05	.04
Intercept	3.33	.17			3.33	.22		
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.71				.73			
Standard error of estimate	.66				.64			
R-squared			.14				.25	
Number of cases	1,950				924			

Table 3.5 (Continued)

	Colored South Africans				South Africans of Asian Origin			
	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r
Interracial contact	-.02	.02	-.03	.06	-.04	.04	-.06	.02
Net benefits of apartheid	-.04	.01	-.16***	-.22	-.05	.01	-.27***	-.31
Knowledge of the TRC	.00	.04	.00	.21	.06	.07	.06	.11
Confidence in the TRC	-.01	.04	-.01	.11	-.06	.05	-.07	-.05
Strength of South African identity	-.04	.04	-.04	-.08	.12	.07	.14	.13
Psychic benefits of identity	.00	.04	.00	-.13	-.00	.06	-.00	-.02
Group solidarity	.13	.05	.15**	-.07	.05	.08	.06	-.05
Political relevance of groups	-.26	.05	-.27***	-.22	-.20	.07	-.22**	-.21
Media consumption	.04	.03	.06	.23	.00	.06	.00	.03
Interest in politics	.08	.04	.12*	.28	.06	.05	.07	.14
Opinion leadership	-.17	.09	-.08	.02	.10	.13	.05	.14
Level of education	.12	.04	.18**	.31	-.04	.06	-.05	.14
Illiteracy	-.01	.05	-.02	-.20	.07	.08	.07	-.02
Afrikaans language	-.23	.09	-.14**	-.27	—	—	—	—
Age	.00	.00	.03	-.01	-.01	.00	-.19**	-.16
Social class	.06	.04	.08	-.17	-.08	.05	-.11	-.18
Size of place of residence	-.03	.02	-.08	-.21	.06	.03	.12	-.02
Gender	-.19	.06	-.14**	-.18	-.14	.09	-.10	-.11
Intercept	3.48	.32			3.80	.44		
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.68				.69			
Standard error of estimate	.60				.63			
R-squared			.26				.22	
Number of cases	447				241			

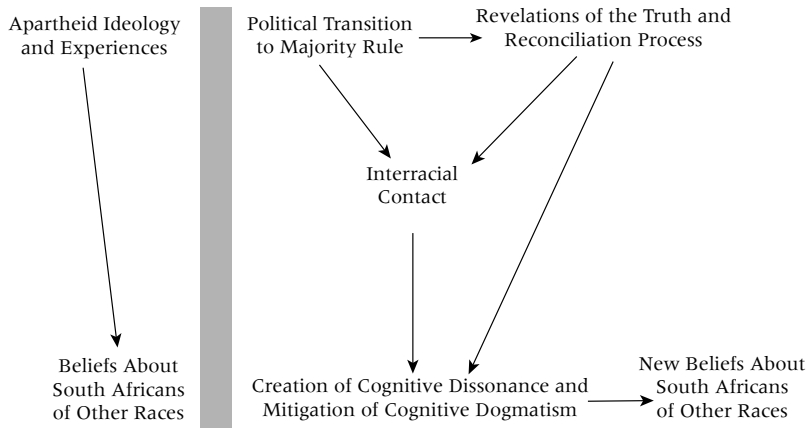
Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

Significance of standardized regression coefficient ( $\beta$ ): \*\*\* $p \leq .001$ ; \*\* $p \leq .01$ ; \* $p \leq .05$ .



Figure 4.1 Processes by Which "Truth" Leads to Attitude Change

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Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Table 4.1* Cross-Racial Understandings and Misunderstandings of the “Opposite Race”, by Race

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Number of Cases
It is difficult to understand their customs and ways.				
African	68.0%	9.5%	22.5%	2,004
White	48.6	10.5	40.9	992
Colored	50.3	8.0	41.6	485
Asian origin	54.3	4.5	41.2	245
They are untrustworthy.				
African	56.0	23.1	20.9	2,002
White	33.4	20.7	46.0	983
Colored	26.6	23.4	50.0	482
Asian origin	41.6	16.7	41.6	245
I often don't believe what they say.				
African	44.5	23.5	32.0	1,999
White	35.9	17.7	46.4	988
Colored	29.5	20.1	50.4	482
Asian origin	40.8	12.2	46.9	245
I feel uncomfortable around them.				
African	46.8	12.3	40.9	2,004
White	34.7	12.5	52.8	989
Colored	24.3	8.7	67.0	485
Asian origin	36.7	6.5	56.7	245
They are more likely to engage in crime.				
African	40.7	31.1	28.3	2,000
White	59.2	10.7	30.1	989
Colored	40.2	20.5	39.2	482
Asian origin	59.2	11.4	29.4	245
They are selfish and only look after their group interests.				
African	68.9	15.7	15.3	2,001
White	45.3	18.3	36.4	986
Colored	40.1	19.8	40.1	479
Asian origin	45.7	11.8	42.4	245
I could never imagine being in a party made up mainly of them.				
African	58.5	20.1	21.4	1,999
White	42.1	17.8	40.1	980

*(Table continues on p. 124.)*

*Table 4.1 (Continued)*

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Number of Cases
Colored	19.5	19.7	60.8	472
Asian origin	29.8	15.1	55.1	245
It is hard to imagine ever being friends with one of them.				
African	52.7	13.1	34.2	2,004
White	18.5	12.9	68.6	987
Colored	12.8	10.3	76.9	485
Asian origin	19.2	1.6	79.2	245
South Africa would be a better place without any of them.				
African	19.4	18.5	62.1	2,001
White	19.1	16.6	64.2	973
Colored	5.7	15.1	79.2	477
Asian origin	14.7	9.0	76.3	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* All cross-race differences are statistically significant at  $p < .001$ .

*Table 4.2* Racial Differences in Levels of Interracial Reconciliation

	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Reconciliation index				
Mean <sup>a</sup>	-1.78	.88	2.54	1.27
Standard deviation	4.80	5.41	4.86	4.82
Number of cases	2,004	988	485	245
Reconciliation trichotomy <sup>b</sup>				
Less reconciled	49.1%	32.4%	19.0%	22.9%
Mixed	30.5	23.1	27.8	34.7
More reconciled	20.5	44.5	53.2	42.4

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

<sup>a</sup>Difference of means, across race:  $F = 138.29$ ,  $p < .001$ .  $\eta = .32$ .

<sup>b</sup>This index is based on the following categorization of the reconciliation index:

- 9 to -3 = less reconciled
- 2 to 2 = mixed
- 3 to 9 = more reconciled

*Table 4.3* Attitudes Toward the Mishlenti Society (a Fictitious Group), by Race

	No Opinion <sup>a</sup>	Dislike	Like	Number of Cases
African	73.2%	22.2%	4.6%	1,994
White	76.0	23.6	.4	985
Colored	80.9	17.0	2.1	482
Asian origin	73.5	22.0	4.5	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

<sup>a</sup>Cross-race differences on a dichotomous measure of opinionation:  $\eta = .06$ ;  $p = .004$ .

*Table 4.4* The Effect of Truth Acceptance on Racial Reconciliation

Truth Acceptance → Racial Reconciliation	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Intercept (standard error)	-2.52 (.57)	-11.76 (.71)	-6.12 (1.19)	-3.33 (1.63)
b	.21	3.76	2.37	1.29
standard error	.15	.21	.32	.45
$\beta$	.03	.51***	.33***	.18***
Standard deviation— dependent variable	4.81	5.42	4.88	4.82
Standard error of estimate	4.81	4.67	4.62	4.75
R-squared	.00	.26***	.11***	.03***
Number of cases	1,958	958	457	241

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* Significance of standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ): \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \*\* $p < .01$ ; \* $p < .05$ .

*Table 4.5* Interracial Interactions Among South Africans

	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
<b>Contact at work</b>				
A great deal	7.0%	42.3%	35.0%	39.2%
Some	10.4	21.7	17.3	14.7
Not very much	15.0	11.5	9.7	6.9
Hardly any	11.9	9.5	8.0	3.3
No contact at all	55.6	15.0	30.0	35.9
Number of cases	1,991	989	486	245
<b>Contact outside work</b>				
A great deal	2.1	11.7	21.5	15.1
Some	8.4	31.5	20.0	28.2
Not very much	13.0	23.5	15.1	28.2
Hardly any	16.2	19.7	13.6	18.0
No contact at all	60.4	13.5	29.5	10.6
Number of cases	2,000	990	484	245
<b>Eaten a meal together</b>				
Quite often	3.3	17.3	24.7	21.2
Not very often	15.7	37.2	35.2	43.7
Never	81.0	45.5	40.1	35.1
Number of cases	2,004	991	486	245
<b>"True" friends</b>				
Quite a number	1.5	6.6	17.7	19.2
Only a small number	17.6	28.7	30.0	45.3
Hardly any	24.4	26.9	20.2	20.0
None	56.4	37.8	32.1	15.5
Number of cases	2,002	988	486	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

**Table 4.6** The Effect of Interracial Contact on Racial Reconciliation Among South Africans

	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
<b>Contact at work</b>				
b (standard error)	.15 (.10)	-.17 (.11)	.13 (.15)	.22 (.17)
$\beta$	.04	-.05	.04	.08
r	.19	.19	.28	.24
<b>Contact outside work</b>				
b (standard error)	.28 (.13)	.51 (.14)	.63 (.18)	.64 (.26)
$\beta$	.07*	.12***	.20***	.16*
r	.22	.35	.38	.36
<b>Eaten a meal together</b>				
b (standard error)	1.18 (.27)	2.53 (.24)	.81 (.39)	.29 (.45)
$\beta$	.12***	.35***	.13*	.05
r	.24	.47	.37	.31
<b>“True” friends</b>				
b (standard error)	.71 (.15)	1.21 (.19)	.54 (.27)	1.70 (.36)
$\beta$	.12***	.21***	.12*	.34***
r	.23	.42	.36	.46
<b>Intercept (standard error)</b>				
	-2.87 (.14)	-2.81 (.34)	-.33 (.37)	-3.70 (.64)
<b>Standard deviation—dependent variable</b>				
	4.79	5.42	4.85	4.82

Source: Author’s compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.  
 Significance of standardized regression coefficient: \*\*\*p < .001; \*\* p < .01; \*p < .05.



*Table 4.7* Multivariate Determinants of Truth Acceptance and Racial Reconciliation Among Four Racial Groups

	Truth Acceptance				Racial Reconciliation			
	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r
<b>Colored South Africans</b>								
Interracial contact	-.01	.02	-.02	.06	1.40	.16	.38***	.45
Net benefits of apartheid	-.04	.01	-.18***	-.23	-.20	.07	-.12**	-.23
Knowledge of the TRC	-.00	.04	-.01	.22	.18	.27	.04	.32
Confidence in the TRC	.01	.04	.01	.12	.40	.26	.08	.24
Media consumption	.05	.03	.08	.24	.24	.23	.05	.16
Interest in politics	.08	.04	.12*	.29	.67	.24	.14**	.32
Opinion leadership	-.19	.09	-.09*	.03	.74	.60	.05	.14
Level of education	.14	.04	.20***	.32	.18	.26	.04	.22
Illiteracy	.01	.05	.01	-.20	.27	.33	.04	-.13
Afrikaans language	-.24	.08	-.15**	-.26	-1.88	.56	-.16***	-.21
Age	.00	.00	.02	-.01	-.03	.01	-.09*	-.11
Social class	.06	.04	.08	-.17	.23	.26	.04	-.15
Size of place of residence	-.03	.02	-.07	-.21	-.12	.12	-.05	-.15
Gender	-.19	.06	-.14**	-.19	.93	.40	.10*	-.06
Intercept	3.19	.27			-1.22	1.78		
Standard deviation— dependent variable	.68				4.88			
Standard error of estimate	.61				4.08			
R-squared			.22***				.32***	
Number of cases	457				457			
<b>South Africans of Asian origin</b>								
Interracial contact	-.05	.04	-.07	.02	1.82	.28	.40***	.47
Net benefits of apartheid	-.05	.01	-.28***	-.31	-.08	.08	-.06	-.09
Knowledge of the TRC	.05	.07	.05	.11	.53	.46	.08	.26

Confidence in the TRC	-.05	.06	-.06	-.05	.35	.35	.06	.13
Media consumption	.00	.06	.01	.03	.30	.37	.05	.16
Interest in politics	.03	.05	.04	.14	-.13	.35	-.02	.16
Opinion leadership	.16	.13	.08	.14	-.99	.84	-.07	.02
Level of education	.02	.06	.02	.14	1.18	.39	.23**	.30
Illiteracy	.08	.08	.08	-.02	.74	.50	.10	-.12
Age	-.01	.00	-.17*	-.16	3.73	1.66	.13*	.15
Social class	-.09	.06	-.12	-.18	-.01	.02	-.02	-.13
Size of place of residence	.04	.03	.08	.02	.14	.35	.03	-.17
Gender	-.12	.09	-.09	-.11	.30	.19	.09	.01
					-.79	.56	-.08	-.17
Intercept	4.14	.39			-8.64	2.47		
Standard deviation— dependent variable	.69				4.82			
Standard error of estimate	.64				4.12			
R-squared			.17***				.31***	
Number of cases	241				241			
Irreligious Africans								
Interracial contact	.01	.04	.01	.05	1.21	.23	.23***	.30
Net benefits of apartheid	-.05	.01	-.17***	-.14	.29	.07	.16***	.17
Knowledge of the TRC	-.08	.04	-.09*	-.05	.38	.24	.07	.15
Confidence in the TRC	-.09	.03	-.12**	-.12	-.29	.20	-.06	-.05
Media consumption	.11	.04	.15**	.15	.42	.22	.09	.20
Interest in politics	.02	.03	.02	.04	-.00	.21	-.00	.09
Opinion leadership	-.02	.11	-.01	.03	.49	.66	.03	.09
Level of education	.07	.04	.10	.13	.18	.26	.04	.17
Illiteracy	-.01	.04	-.01	-.08	-.05	.26	-.01	-.17
Age	-.00	.00	-.03	-.05	.01	.02	.04	-.06
Social class	.03	.04	.03	-.04	.09	.26	.02	-.12
Size of place of residence	-.00	.01	-.00	-.06	-.09	.08	-.05	-.15
Gender	-.01	.07	-.01	-.05	-.14	.44	-.01	-.06

(Table continues on p. 146.)

Table 4.7 (Continued)

	Truth Acceptance				Racial Reconciliation			
	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r
Intercept	3.44	.29			-4.43	1.80		
Standard deviation— dependent variable	.72				4.64			
Standard error of estimate	.70				4.35			
R-squared			.08***				.14***	
Number of cases	578				578			
Religious Africans								
Interracial contact	.02	.02	.03	.05	1.34	.16	.24***	.28
Net benefits of apartheid	-.04	.01	-.13***	-.13	.21	.05	.11***	.12
Knowledge of the TRC	-.03	.03	-.03	-.04	.06	.17	.01	.10
Confidence in the TRC	-.08	.02	-.11***	-.10	-.15	.14	-.03	.01
Media consumption	.05	.02	.06*	.05	-.06	.16	-.01	.11
Interest in politics	.00	.02	.00	.01	.10	.15	.02	.09
Opinion leadership	-.06	.07	-.02	-.01	-.01	.47	-.00	.04
Level of education	.02	.03	.02	.01	-.17	.17	-.04	.16
Illiteracy	.04	.03	.06	.03	-.92	.19	-.19***	-.22
Age	-.00	.00	-.03	.01	.01	.01	.03	-.07
Social class	-.01	.03	-.02	-.03	.03	.17	.01	-.10
Size of place of residence	-.01	.01	-.05	-.06	-.07	.06	-.03	-.12
Gender	-.00	.04	-.00	-.02	.09	.27	.01	-.02
Intercept	3.69	.18			-.12	1.17		
Standard deviation— dependent variable	.70				4.87			
Standard error of estimate	.69				4.60			
R-squared			.04***				.12***	
Number of cases	1,380				1,380			

## Whites

Interracial contact	.11	.02	.16***	.27	2.32	.15	.45***	.52
Net benefits of apartheid	.00	.01	.01	.05	-.05	.05	-.03	.01
Knowledge of the TRC	.03	.03	.03	.13	.30	.21	.04	.18
Confidence in the TRC	.11	.03	.12***	.20	1.16	.20	.16***	.26
Media consumption	.06	.03	.07*	.09	.06	.18	.01	.07
Interest in politics	-.02	.03	-.03	.06	-.16	.19	-.03	.09
Opinion leadership	.03	.06	.01	.06	-.43	.39	-.03	.04
Level of education	.07	.02	.10***	.20	.32	.14	.07*	.17
Illiteracy	-.03	.10	-.01	-.06	-1.10	.69	-.04	-.11
Afrikaans language	-.36	.05	-.25***	-.33	-1.42	.31	-.13***	-.25
Age	-.00	.00	-.04	-.07	.01	.01	.03	-.03
Social class	-.12	.03	-.11***	-.18	-.17	.22	-.02	-.10
Size of place of residence	-.04	.02	-.07*	-.13	.03	.12	.01	-.03
Gender	.08	.04	.06	.03	.57	.30	.05	.02
Intercept	3.19	.19			-3.74	1.30		
Standard deviation— dependent variable	.73				5.42			
Standard error of estimate	.65				4.46			
R-squared			.22***				.33***	
Number of cases	958				958			

Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

Significance of standardized regression coefficient ( $\beta$ ): \*\*\* $p \leq .001$ ; \*\* $p \leq .01$ ; \* $p \leq .05$ .

*Table 4.8* Two-Stage Least Squares Analysis of Truth Acceptance and Racial Reconciliation Among Three Racial Groups

	Truth Acceptance			Racial Reconciliation		
	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	b	Standard Error	$\beta$
Whites						
Truth acceptance	—			6.11	1.36	.82***
Interracial contact	—			1.68	.23	.33***
Racial reconciliation	.05	.01	.36***	—		
Net benefits of apartheid	.00	.01	.02	—		
Knowledge of the TRC	.02	.03	.02	—		
Confidence in the TRC	.06	.03	.06*	—		
Media consumption	.05	.02	.06*	—		
Interest in politics	-.01	.03	-.02	—		
Illiteracy	.02	.09	.01	—		
Size of place of residence	-.04	.02	-.07**	—		
Opinion leadership	.05	.05	.02	—		
Level of education	.05	.02	.08**	-.06	.18	-.01
Afrikaans language	-.29	.05	-.20**	.97	.62	.09
Age	-.00	.00	-.05	.02	.01	.06
Social class	-.11	.03	-.10**	.49	.29	.06
Gender	.06	.04	.04	.19	.33	.02
Intercept	3.38	.17		-24.53	4.69	
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.73			5.42		
Standard error of estimate	.60			4.68		
R-squared			.25***			.30***
Number of cases	958			958		

Colored South Africans						
Truth acceptance	—			5.29	1.26	.73***
Interracial contact	—			1.59	.17	.44***
Racial reconciliation	-.01	.02	-.05	—		
Net benefits of apartheid	-.05	.01	-.19***	—		
Knowledge of the TRC	-.00	.04	.00	—		
Confidence in the TRC	.01	.04	.02	—		
Media consumption	.05	.03	.08	—		
Interest in politics	.09	.04	.13*	—		
Illiteracy	.01	.05	.01	—		
Size of place of residence	-.03	.02	-.08	—		
Opinion leadership	-.18	.09	-.09*	—		
Level of education	.14	.04	.21***	-.42	.35	-.09
Afrikaans language	-.25	.09	-.15**	-.76	.70	-.06
Age	.00	.00	.02	-.03	.02	-.09*
Social class	.06	.04	.09	-.11	.28	-.02
Gender	-.18	.06	-.13**	1.70	.52	.17***
Intercept	3.18	.27		-17.20	4.42	
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.68			4.88		
Standard error of estimate	.61			4.55		
R-squared			.22***			.26***
Number of cases	457			457		
South Africans of Asian origin						
Truth acceptance	—			2.29	1.16	.33*
Interracial contact	—			2.04	.28	.45***
Racial reconciliation	-.03	.03	-.22	—		
Net benefits of apartheid	-.05	.01	-.27***	—		
Knowledge of the TRC	.08	.08	.09	—		
Confidence in the TRC	-.05	.06	-.05	—		

(Table continues on p. 154.)

Table 4.8 (Continued)

	Truth Acceptance			Racial Reconciliation		
	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	b	Standard Error	$\beta$
Media consumption	-.01	.06	.01	—		
Interest in politics	.04	.06	.05	—		
Illiteracy	.10	.08	.10	—		
Size of place of residence	.05	.03	.11	—		
Opinion leadership	.10	.14	.05	—		
Afrikaans language	.57	.30	.14	—		
Level of education	.05	.07	.07	1.04	.35	.20**
Age	-.01	.00	-.17*	.02	.02	.05
Social class	-.10	.06	-.12	.48	.38	.09
Gender	-.14	.09	-.10	-.44	.59	-.05
Intercept	3.88	.41		-15.87	5.37	
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.69			4.82		
Standard error of estimate	.67			4.19		
R-squared			.17***			.28***
Number of cases	241			241		

Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

Significance of standardized regression coefficient ( $\beta$ ): \*\*\* $p \leq .001$ ; \*\* $p \leq .01$ ; \* $p \leq .05$ .

*Table 4A.1* Racial Differences in Admitted Support for the National Party

“Before Nelson Mandela was elected in 1994, did you ever vote in favor of or support the National Party?”	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Yes	.7%	54.4%	21.4%	15.1%
No	54.5	34.4	53.3	16.3
Did not vote	44.3	10.2	24.5	67.3
Don't know	.4	.9	.9	1.2
Number of cases	2,001	958	458	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.



*Table 4A.2* The Connection Among White South Africans Between Supporting the National Party and Apartheid

“Was your vote based on the National Party’s position on apartheid?”	“Did you ever vote for the National Party?”	
	Yes	No
Yes		
Because I supported apartheid	24.8%	
Because I opposed apartheid		31.9%
No	72.2	62.0
Don’t remember	3.1	6.1
N	521	329

*Source:* Author’s compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Table 4A.3* Racial Differences in Perceived Honesty of Replies

Interviewer Judgment	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Not as honest	21.6%	7.2%	17.0%	11.3%
As honest as most	61.5	80.8	74.7	74.8
Somewhat more honest	10.6	8.8	4.7	8.4
A great deal more honest	6.3	3.1	3.6	5.5
Number of cases	1933	953	470	238

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Table 4A.4* The Impact of Contact on Reconciliation

	Coefficient Without Control	Coefficient with Xenophobia Control
Blacks	.28	.27
Whites	.52	.49
Colored people	.43	.43
Asian origin	.47	.47

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

Table 5.1 Support for the Rule of Law, by Race

	Agree—Do Not Support	Uncertain	Disagree— Support	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
1. "Sometimes it is better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately."						
All South Africans	44.7%	14.5%	40.8%	2.93	1.31	3,726
African <sup>a</sup>	48.8	14.4	36.8	2.82	1.34	2,003
White	31.6	13.1	55.3	3.29	1.20	991
Colored	35.3	17.5	47.2	3.18	1.20	487
Asian origin	44.1	8.6	47.3	3.02	1.20	245
2. "It's okay to get around law if you don't break it."						
All South Africans	51.6	14.4	34.0	2.76	1.28	3,724
African <sup>b</sup>	57.3	15.2	27.4	2.58	1.25	2,002
White	29.0	10.4	60.6	3.45	1.15	990
Colored	44.4	15.8	39.8	2.99	1.22	487
Asian origin	64.9	6.9	28.2	2.58	1.12	245
3. "In times of emergency, the government should be able to suspend law."						
All South Africans	58.9	19.2	21.9	2.48	1.18	3,724
African <sup>c</sup>	61.2	19.5	19.3	2.39	1.18	2,003
White	49.2	17.7	33.1	2.81	1.17	990
Colored	56.3	21.0	22.7	2.61	1.08	485
Asian origin	59.0	11.1	29.9	2.70	1.12	244

4. "It is not necessary to obey the laws of a government I didn't vote for."

All South Africans	27.6	10.9	61.6	3.46	1.31	3,716
African <sup>d</sup>	33.0	11.7	55.3	3.31	1.38	2,002
White	8.3	4.3	87.4	4.06	.86	988
Colored	19.4	15.0	65.6	3.56	1.11	479
Asian origin	21.6	6.5	71.8	3.62	1.11	245
Average support for the rule of law						
All South Africans	—	—	—	2.91	.82	3,727
African <sup>c</sup>	—	—	—	2.77	.80	2,004
White	—	—	—	3.40	.74	991
Colored	—	—	—	3.08	.75	487
Asian origin	—	—	—	2.98	.68	245
Average number of items endorsed						
All South Africans	—	—	—	1.58	1.16	3,727
African <sup>f</sup>	—	—	—	1.39	1.08	2,004
White	—	—	—	2.36	1.15	991
Colored	—	—	—	1.74	1.23	487
Asian origin	—	—	—	1.77	1.13	245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The percentages are calculated on the basis of collapsing the five-point Likert response set (for example, "agree strongly" and "agree" responses are combined) and total across the three rows to 100 percent (except for rounding errors). The means and standard deviations are derived from the uncollapsed distributions. Higher mean scores indicate greater support for the rule of law.

<sup>a</sup>*p* < .000;  $\eta = .16$ .

<sup>b</sup>*p* < .000;  $\eta = .30$ .

<sup>c</sup>*p* < .000;  $\eta = .16$ .

<sup>d</sup>*p* < .000;  $\eta = .25$ .

<sup>e</sup>*p* < .000;  $\eta = .33$ .

<sup>f</sup>*p* < .000;  $\eta = .34$ .

*Table 5.2* Cross-National Comparisons of Attitudes Toward the Rule of Law, 1995 and 2001

	Agree—Do Not Support	Uncertain	Disagree— Support	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
1. "Sometimes it is better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately."						
Bulgaria	32.3%	30.7%	37.1%	3.08	1.26	1,184
France	50.8	18.8	30.4	2.73	1.31	762
Hungary	34.1	23.4	42.5	3.13	1.16	783
Poland	27.4	26.7	45.9	3.28	1.22	813
Russia	34.3	39.4	26.4	2.90	.90	759
Spain	35.3	15.8	49.0	3.18	1.10	768
United States	21.7	7.6	70.7	3.60	1.00	806
South Africa, 2001	44.7	14.5	40.8	2.93	1.31	3,726
2. "It's okay to get around law if you don't break it."						
Bulgaria	40.5	26.3	33.2	2.90	1.28	1,188
France	51.4	14.8	33.8	2.83	1.27	757
Hungary	36.9	24.7	38.4	3.05	1.18	784
Poland	49.8	18.4	31.8	2.74	1.33	815
Russia	36.2	28.8	35.0	2.98	.96	760
Spain	39.1	22.8	38.2	3.00	1.00	768
United States	29.0	10.2	60.8	3.42	1.07	807
South Africa, 2001	51.6	14.4	34.0	2.76	1.28	3,724

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The percentages are calculated on the basis of collapsing the five-point Likert response set (for example, "agree strongly" and "agree" responses are combined) and total across the three rows to 100 percent (except for rounding errors). The means and standard deviations are derived from the uncollapsed distributions. Higher mean scores indicate greater support for the rule of law.

*Table 5.3* Change in Support for the Rule of Law, 1996 and 2001

	Agree—Do Not Support	Uncertain	Disagree— Support	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
1. “Sometimes it is better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately.”						
1996	36.4%	16.9%	46.6%	3.18	1.27	2,559
2001	44.7	14.5	40.8	2.93	1.31	3,726
2. “It’s okay to get around law if you don’t break it.”						
1996	48.4	16.7	34.9	2.89	1.25	2,560
2001	51.6	14.4	34.0	2.76	1.28	3,724
3. “In times of emergency, the government should be able to suspend law.”						
1996	51.2	24.9	23.9	2.66	1.14	2,560
2001	58.9	19.2	21.9	2.48	1.18	3,724
4. “It is not necessary to obey the laws of a government I didn’t vote for.”						
1996	30.2	13.0	56.8	3.40	1.33	2,560
2001	27.6	10.9	61.6	3.46	1.31	3,716

*Source:* Author’s compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The percentages are calculated on the basis of collapsing the five-point Likert response set (for example, “agree strongly” and “agree” responses are combined) and total across the three rows to 100 percent (except for rounding errors). The means and standard deviations are derived from the uncollapsed distributions. Higher mean scores indicate greater support for the rule of law.

**Table 5.4** The Influence of the Truth and Reconciliation Process on Support for the Rule of Law

Predictor	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r
<b>Africans</b>				
Knowledge of the TRC	.05	.02	.05*	.02
Confidence in the TRC	-.09	.02	-.10***	-.11
Acceptance of the TRC's truth	.28	.03	.25***	.26
Media consumption	.04	.02	.05*	.06
Interest in politics	-.02	.02	-.02	.00
Intercept	1.78	.11		
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.80			
Standard error of estimate	.77			
R-squared			.08***	
Number of cases	1,999			
<b>Whites</b>				
Knowledge of the TRC	-.03	.03	-.03	.06
Confidence in the TRC	.09	.03	.10**	.16
Acceptance of the TRC's truth	.28	.03	.28***	.31
Extent of media consumption	.02	.03	.03	.07
Interest in politics	.08	.03	.09**	.11
Intercept	2.26	.12		
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.74			
Standard error of estimate	.69			
R-squared			.11***	
Number of cases	975			
<b>Colored people</b>				
Knowledge of the TRC	-.08	.05	-.10	.04
Confidence in the TRC	-.01	.04	-.01	.03
Acceptance of the TRC's truth	.26	.05	.23***	.26
Media consumption	.01	.04	.01	.09
Interest in politics	.14	.04	.18***	.20
Intercept	2.08	.19		
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.75			
Standard error of estimate	.72			
R-squared			.09***	
Number of cases	479			
<b>Asian origin</b>				
Knowledge of the TRC	.04	.07	.04	.02
Confidence in the TRC	-.07	.06	-.08	-.09

*(Table continues on p. 196.)*



Table 5.4 (Continued)

Predictor	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r
Acceptance of the TRC's truth	.07	.07	.07	.07
Media consumption	.02	.06	.03	.02
Interest in politics	-.03	.05	-.04	-.02
Intercept	2.77	.29		
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.68			
Standard error of estimate	.68			
R-squared			.01	
Number of cases	244			

Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

\*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05

**Table 5.5** Multivariate Determinants of Support for the Rule of Law Among Four South African Racial Groups

	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r
<b>Africans</b>				
Acceptance of the TRC's truth	.23	.03	.20***	.26
Knowledge of the TRC	.04	.02	.04	.03
Confidence in the TRC	-.05	.02	-.06**	-.10
Injuries from apartheid	.02	.07	.01	-.01
Perceived seriousness of crime	-.04	.03	-.04	-.02
Perceived increase in crime	-.02	.01	-.05*	-.03
Racial reconciliation	.02	.00	.13***	.18
Support for strong majoritarianism	-.24	.02	-.25***	-.30
Support for individualism	.11	.03	.08***	.16
Affect for the African National Congress	-.03	.01	-.09***	-.12
Affect for the Inkatha Freedom Party	.02	.01	.05*	.10
Media consumption	.03	.02	.04	.07
Interest in politics	-.00	.02	-.00	.01
Opinion leadership	-.05	.06	-.02	-.02
Level of education	-.04	.02	-.05	.04
Illiteracy	-.06	.02	-.07	-.07
Afrikaans language	.42	.52	.02	.01
Age	.00	.00	.02	-.01
Social class	.01	.02	.01	-.04
Size of place of residence	.01	.01	.03	-.03
Gender	.07	.04	.04	.01
Intercept	3.04	.23		
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.80			
Standard error of estimate	.72			
R-squared			.19***	
Number of cases	1,944			
<b>Whites</b>				
Acceptance of the TRC's truth	.15	.04	.15***	.30
Knowledge of the TRC	-.05	.03	-.05	.06
Confidence in the TRC	.04	.03	.04	.15
Injuries from apartheid	-.50	.25	-.06*	.05
Perceived seriousness of crime	.01	.06	.01	-.00
Perceived increase in crime	-.03	.02	-.06*	-.13
Racial reconciliation	.03	.01	.21***	.35
Support for strong majoritarianism	-.23	.03	-.23***	-.28
Support for individualism	.00	.04	.00	.05

(Table continues on p. 202.)

Table 5.5 (Continued)

	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r
Affect for the African National Congress	.03	.01	.08*	.30
Affect for the Inkatha Freedom Party	-.00	.01	-.01	.10
Media consumption	.01	.03	.01	.06
Interest in politics	.04	.03	.05	.10
Opinion leadership	.01	.06	.01	.04
Level of education	.03	.02	.04	.16
Illiteracy	.02	.10	.01	-.04
Afrikaans language	.13	.05	.09**	-.04
Age	.00	.00	.03	.04
Social class	-.05	.03	-.04	-.15
Size of place of residence	.01	.02	.02	.02
Gender	.04	.04	.03	.04
Intercept	3.34	.36		
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.73			
Standard error of estimate	.65			
R-squared			.23	
Number of cases	957			
Colored people				
Acceptance of the TRC's truth	.20	.06	.18***	.27
Knowledge of the TRC	-.09	.05	-.12*	.05
Confidence in the TRC	-.01	.04	-.01	.03
Injuries from apartheid	-.07	.19	-.02	.12
Perceived seriousness of crime	-.01	.09	-.01	.03
Perceived increase in crime	-.03	.02	-.08	-.06
Racial reconciliation	.02	.01	.11*	.23
Support for strong majoritarianism	-.27	.04	-.27***	-.29
Support for individualism	.09	.06	.06	.13
Affect for the African National Congress	.02	.01	.07	.07
Affect for the Inkatha Freedom Party	.00	.01	.01	.07
Media consumption	-.01	.04	-.01	.09
Interest in politics	.11	.04	.14**	.20
Opinion leadership	.11	.10	.05	.08
Level of education	.01	.04	.01	.16
Illiteracy	.00	.06	.00	-.09
Afrikaans language	-.05	.10	-.03	-.16
Age	.00	.00	.00	-.02
Social class	-.06	.04	-.08	-.14

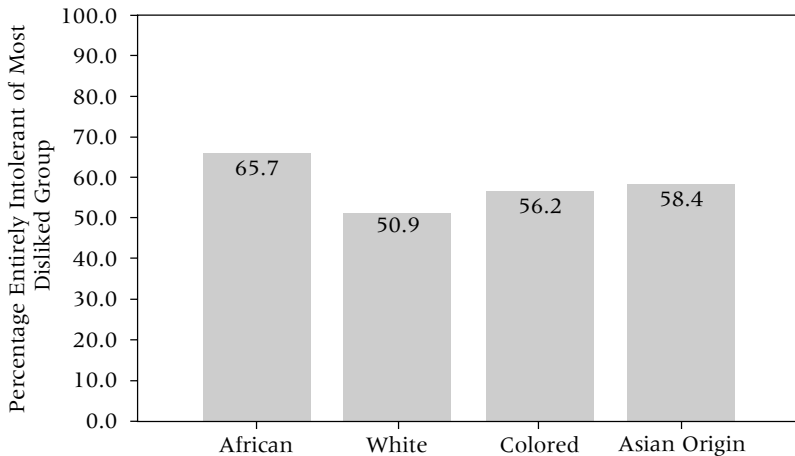
Table 5.5 (Continued)

	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r
Size of place of residence	-.00	.02	-.00	-.08
Gender	.06	.07	.04	-.03
Intercept	3.21	.53		
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.75			
Standard error of estimate	.68			
R-squared			.21	
Number of cases	467			
Asian origin				
Acceptance of the TRC's truth	.05	.06	.05	.06
Knowledge of the TRC	.03	.07	.03	.00
Confidence in the TRC	-.06	.06	-.07	-.07
Injuries from apartheid	.21	.26	.06	-.01
Perceived seriousness of crime	-.04	.11	-.02	-.04
Perceived increase in crime	.03	.03	.07	.03
Racial reconciliation	.04	.01	.25***	.23
Support for strong majoritarianism	-.27	.06	-.28***	-.32
Support for individualism	.27	.08	.22***	.23
Affect for the African National Congress	.00	.02	.02	-.01
Affect for the Inkatha Freedom Party	-.04	.02	-.13*	-.08
Media consumption	.01	.06	.01	.00
Interest in politics	-.07	.05	-.09	-.03
Opinion leadership	-.12	.13	-.06	-.06
Level of education	-.07	.06	-.09	.05
Illiteracy	.03	.08	.03	.01
Afrikaans language	-.07	.26	-.02	-.04
Age	-.00	.00	-.03	-.02
Social class	.06	.05	.07	.04
Size of place of residence	.00	.03	.00	.02
Gender	-.13	.09	-.10	-.05
Intercept	3.26	.69		
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.68			
Standard error of estimate	.62			
R-squared			.23	
Number of cases	241			

Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

\*\*\*p ≤ .001; \*\*p ≤ .01; \*p ≤ .05

*Figure 6.1* Interracial Differences in Intolerance of the Most Disliked Group



*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Figure 6.2* Theoretical Linkages Between Group Identities and Political Intolerance

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*Group Affiliation* —>

*Strength of Group Identification* —>

*Psychic Benefits from Group Identification* —>

*Beliefs About the Importance of Group Memberships* —>

*Need for Group Solidarity* —>

*Out-group Antipathy* —>

*Perception of Group Threat* —>

*Political Intolerance*

---

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Table 6.1* The Distribution of Affect Toward Political Groups in South Africa

	Dislike Very Much	Mean <sup>a</sup>	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases	Interracial Differences— $\eta^b$
Afrikaners	47.7%	3.89	3.23	3716	.77
African National Congress	11.2	8.02	3.32	3707	.70
Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB)	74.6	2.10	1.82	3712	.34
South African Communist Party	21.8	5.47	2.96	3713	.59
Pan-Africanist Congress	21.2	5.29	2.82	3708	.51
New National Party	34.8	4.25	2.75	3713	.51
Democratic Party	27.8	4.81	2.97	3713	.62
Inkatha Freedom Party	41.9	3.77	2.64	3711	.17
One-party state advocates	24.4	5.25	3.04	3708	.35
PAGAD	52.4	3.23	2.51	3714	.14
Trade unionists	9.7	6.74	2.72	3710	.45
Muslims	25.8	4.63	2.57	3710	.29

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

<sup>a</sup>High scores indicate greater positive affect.

<sup>b</sup>This statistic indicates the degree of racial polarization in affect toward these groups. All cross-race differences in means are statistically significant at  $p < .001$ .

*Table 6.2* Group Sympathy and Antipathy, by Race

Groups	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Disliked by one-half or more				
Afrikaners	90.5%			69.0%
African National Congress		71.6%		
Afrikaner Resistance Movement	95.5	77.9	92.1%	89.0
South African Communist Party		88.0	65.6	68.6
Pan-Africanist Congress		81.6	63.8	67.3
New National Party	80.4			
Democratic Party	76.3			
Inkatha Freedom Party	75.3	56.2	67.2	71.0
Supporters of a one-party state				
PAGAD	75.8	84.1	70.8	71.4
Trade unions		60.8		
Muslims	59.6	61.4		
Liked by one-half or more				
Afrikaners		77.4	54.5	
African National Congress	87.4			
Afrikaner Resistance Movement				
South African Communist Party				
Pan-Africanist Congress				
New National Party			50.7	54.7
Democratic Party		77.1	51.5	62.0
Inkatha Freedom Party				
Supporters of a one-party state				
PAGAD				
Trade unions		62.0		
Muslims				54.7

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* Only percentages greater than or equal to 50 percent are shown in this table. Thus, fewer than half of the African respondents dislike the ANC.



*Table 6.3* The Distribution of Disliked Groups

Group	Among Most Disliked	Most Disliked	Second Most Disliked	Third Most Disliked	Fourth Most Disliked
Afrikaners	36.1%	19.1%	14.3%	8.3%	4.2%
African National Congress	20.1	7.1	2.6	2.1	1.8
Afrikaner Resistance Movement	74.7	36.7	27.6	9.4	5.6
South African Communist Party	24.9	3.3	5.5	4.2	2.5
Pan-Africanist Congress	23.7	2.4	4.8	5.9	4.0
New National Party	27.0	4.3	9.8	12.3	7.3
Democratic Party	18.1	1.9	4.8	8.6	7.1
Inkatha Freedom Party	36.5	8.7	10.3	13.5	8.6
Advocates of a one- party state	14.4	2.5	2.6	3.1	2.0
PAGAD	47.5	10.4	10.8	11.7	11.1
Trade unionists	5.2	0.4	0.7	1.2	1.4
Muslims	14.1	1.7	2.7	3.9	4.4
Other	6.4	1.5	2.3	1.6	1.6
None	—	.0	1.5	14.2	38.4
Number of cases		3,660	3,660	3,660	3,660

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The percentages for the most disliked, second most disliked, third most disliked, and fourth most disliked groups total to 100 percent down the columns (except for rounding errors).

*Table 6.4* The Distribution of Disliked Groups, by Race

Named as Among Most Disliked	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Afrikaners	59.4%	.8%	13.4%	32.7%
African National Congress	4.1	46.7	27.1	28.6
Afrikaner Resistance Movement	86.8	45.6	83.4	77.6
South African Communist Party	3.9	60.5	34.8	33.1
Pan-Africanist Congress	6.9	51.3	35.4	26.5
New National Party	43.2	3.5	15.6	12.7
Democratic Party	28.9	1.2	11.3	11.8
Inkatha Freedom Party	47.5	15.4	32.8	39.6
Advocates of a one-party state	3.8	34.2	17.3	15.5
PAGAD	39.2	57.5	55.7	58.8
Trade unionists	1.4	12.9	4.1	6.9
Muslims	10.6	23.4	11.3	11.0
Other	8.0	5.7	2.3	4.9

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* Entries are the percentages of each racial group naming the political group as among their most disliked groups. All cell entries greater than 50.0 percent are shaded.

*Table 6.5* The Perceived Threat of Highly Disliked Groups, 1996 and 2001

Perception	At Most Extreme Score	Mean <sup>a</sup>	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
Most disliked group				
Dangerous to society				
1996	68.2%	6.2	1.5	2,503
2001	60.7	6.1	1.5	3,695
Unpredictable				
1996	57.1	5.8	1.8	2,502
2001	43.5	5.4	1.9	3,695
Dangerous to the normal lives of people				
1996	54.2	5.7	1.9	2,503
2001	43.7	5.5	1.8	3,696
Likely to gain a lot of power in South Africa				
1996	6.1	2.5	1.9	2,504
2001	7.5	2.9	1.9	3,696
Likely to affect how well my family and I live				
1996	32.1	4.6	2.2	2,502
2001	27.1	4.6	2.1	3,696
Angry toward the group				
1996	53.3	5.4	2.1	2,498
2001	44.2	5.3	2.0	3,692
Unwilling to follow the rules of democracy				
1996	62.6	6.1	1.5	2,499
2001	50.0	5.9	1.5	3,692
Powerful				
1996	13.0	3.2	2.2	2,499
2001	10.8	3.4	2.1	3,692
If got power, everything would change				
1996	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2001	46.4	5.3	2.1	3,691
If got power, my freedom would be reduced				
1996	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2001	44.6	5.6	1.7	3,688
If got power, my personal security would be reduced				
1996	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2001	45.0	5.6	1.7	3,692

*Table 6.5 (Continued)*

Perception	At Most Extreme Score	Mean <sup>a</sup>	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
Another highly disliked group				
Dangerous to society				
1996	43.4	5.1	2.1	2,492
2001	36.4	5.2	1.9	3,601
Unpredictable				
1996	43.4	5.3	1.9	2,491
2001	33.2	5.0	1.9	3,600
Dangerous to the normal lives of people				
1996	34.2	4.8	2.1	2,493
2001	27.4	4.8	2.0	3,601
Likely to gain a lot of power in South Africa				
1996	4.7	2.6	1.8	2,491
2001	6.1	3.0	1.9	3,601
Likely to affect how well my family and I live				
1996	21.7	4.0	2.2	2,498
2001	18.0	4.3	2.0	3,598
Angry toward the group				
1996	36.1	4.8	2.2	2,498
2001	25.6	4.5	2.1	3,599
Unwilling to follow the rules of democracy				
1996	44.1	5.3	1.9	2,493
2001	31.3	5.2	1.8	3,599
Powerful				
1996	10.5	3.0	2.1	2,492
2001	7.7	3.4	1.9	3,601

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* n.a. = not asked.

<sup>a</sup>High scores in every instance indicate greater degrees of perceived threat.

*Table 6.6* The Structure of Perceptions of Threat from Least Liked Group

Perception	Sociotropic Threat	Group Power	Egocentric Threat
Dangerous to the normal lives of people	.74		
Dangerous to society	.58		
Angry toward the group	.54		
Likely to affect how well my family and I live	.46		
Unwilling to follow the rules of democracy	.34		
Powerful		.70	
Likely to gain a lot of power in South Africa		.68	
If got power, would reduce my freedom			.83
If got power, would reduce my security			.63
If got power, everything would change			.38
Unpredictable			

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The table entries are pattern loadings. All loadings greater than or equal to .30 are shown in the table. The adjective pair "predictable" versus "unpredictable" loads significantly on none of the factors. The eigenvalues of the first four factors are: 2.85, 1.66, 1.21, and .98, respectively.

*Table 6.7* Levels of South African Political Intolerance, 1996 and 2001

	Intolerant	Uncertain	Tolerant	Mean <sup>a</sup>	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
<b>Most disliked group</b>						
Allow candidates						
1996	61.8%	10.7%	27.4%	2.4	1.4	2,512
2001	69.0	9.6	21.4	2.2	1.3	3,689
Allow demonstrations						
1996	74.3	10.5	15.2	1.9	1.2	2,512
2001	76.9	8.1	15.0	1.9	1.2	3,686
Not banned						
1996	65.3	12.1	22.6	2.2	1.3	2,510
2001	63.1	12.6	24.2	2.3	1.3	3,686
Tolerance index						
1996	—	—	—	2.2	1.0	2,515
2001	—	—	—	2.1	1.0	3,693
<b>Another highly disliked group</b>						
Allow candidates						
1996	53.7	11.7	34.6	2.6	1.4	2,509
2001	58.6	11.6	29.8	2.4	1.3	3,600
Allow demonstrations						
1996	66.8	11.2	22.0	2.3	1.2	2,508
2001	66.7	9.8	23.5	2.4	1.2	3,600
Not banned						
1996	54.0	13.7	32.3	2.6	1.4	2,507
2001	53.1	15.9	31.0	2.6	1.3	3,600
Tolerance index						
1996	—	—	—	2.5	1.1	2,508
2001	—	—	—	2.5	1.0	3,600

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The percentages total to 100 percent across these three columns, except for rounding errors.

<sup>a</sup>High scores indicate greater political tolerance.

Table 6.8 Intercorrelations of Social Identity Measures

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
African South Africans							
1. Claims South African identity	1.00						
2. Strength of primary identity	.06**	1.00					
3. Psychic benefits of identity	.03	.33***	1.00				
4. Any anti-identity	-.01	-.00	.02	1.00			
5. Group solidarity	-.01	.13***	.10***	.11***	1.00		
6. Political relevance of groups	-.05*	.06**	.01	.08***	.69***	1.00	
7. Importance of national identity	.10***	.28***	.19***	.00	.24***	.15***	1.00
White South Africans							
1. Claims South African identity	1.00						
2. Strength of primary identity	-.06	1.00					
3. Psychic benefits of identity	-.12***	.28***	1.00				
4. Any anti-identity	.12***	-.07	.00	1.00			
5. Group solidarity	.04	.34***	.31***	.04	1.00		
6. Political relevance of groups	.09**	.17***	.13***	.04	.70***	1.00	
7. Importance of national identity	.01	.22***	.23***	.03	.28***	.22***	1.00

Colored South Africans								
1. Claims South African identity	1.00							
2. Strength of primary identity	.10*	1.00						
3. Psychic benefits of identity	-.06	.25***	1.00					
4. Any anti-identity	.16***	.06	.05	1.00				
5. Group solidarity	.05	.26***	.27***	-.03	1.00			
6. Political relevance of groups	.05	.11*	.17***	-.03	.67***	1.00		
7. Importance of national identity	.09*	.14***	.17***	.06	.16***	.11**	1.00	
South Africans of Asian origin								
1. Claims South African identity	1.00							
2. Strength of primary identity	.17**	1.00						
3. Psychic benefits of identity	.03	.40***	1.00					
4. Any anti-identity	-.03	-.07	-.11	1.00				
5. Group solidarity	.03	.29***	.25***	-.02	1.00			
6. Political relevance of groups	-.03	.09	.12	-.04	.59***	1.00		
7. Importance of national identity	.03	.35***	.42***	.06	.23***	.02	1.00	

Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

Note: Entries are bivariate correlation coefficients.

\*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05



Table 6.9 Multivariate Determinants of Political Tolerance Among Four Racial Groups

	African			White		
	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	b	Standard Error	$\beta$
Sociotropic threat	-.25	.02	-.28***	-.26	.03	-.31***
Group power	.02	.01	.03	.08	.02	.14***
Egocentric threat	-.12	.02	-.17***	-.02	.02	-.03
Strength of primary identity	-.02	.04	-.01	-.03	.05	-.02
Psychic benefits of identity	-.03	.03	-.03	-.09	.04	-.07*
Importance of national identity	-.04	.03	-.03	-.03	.04	-.02
Group solidarity	-.02	.04	-.01	-.07	.05	-.06
Political relevance of groups	-.08	.04	-.07*	-.06	.06	-.04
Truth acceptance	.09	.03	.07**	.25	.04	.18***
Intercept	4.08	.24		3.05	.32	
Standard deviation—dependent variable	1.01			.99		
Standard error of estimate	.93			.91		
R-squared			.15***			.16***
Number of cases	1,976			935		

Table 6.9 (Continued)

	Colored			Asian Origin		
	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	b	Standard Error	$\beta$
Sociotropic threat	-.20	.04	-.26***	-.23	.05	-.29***
Group power	.04	.03	.08	.12	.04	.21***
Egocentric threat	-.06	.03	-.10*	-.09	.04	-.13*
Strength of primary identity	.11	.08	.06	-.04	.11	-.02
Psychic benefits of identity	-.03	.06	-.03	-.04	.09	-.03
Importance of national identity	.02	.06	.01	-.01	.08	-.00
Group solidarity	-.20	.08	-.17**	-.14	.11	-.10
Political relevance of groups	.14	.08	.11	-.01	.10	-.01
Truth acceptance	.14	.07	.10*	.06	.09	.04
Intercept	2.57	.50		3.43	.63	
Standard deviation—dependent variable	.95			.95		
Standard error of estimate	.90			.88		
R-squared			.11***			.18***
Number of cases	460			245		

Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

\*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05

*Table 6.10* Intercorrelations of Social Identity and Threat Perceptions for Four Racial Groups

	Sociotropic Threat	Group Power	Egocentric Threat
<b>Black South Africans</b>			
South African identity	.02	-.03	.09***
Strength of primary identity	-.04*	-.05**	.04*
Psychic benefits of identity	.08***	.06**	.03
Any anti-identity	.02	-.01	.04
Group solidarity	.10***	.10***	.05**
Political relevance of groups	.02	.08***	-.04
Importance of national identity	.05**	-.01	.06**
<b>White South Africans</b>			
South African identity	.04	.00	.06*
Strength of primary identity	-.05	.09**	.01
Psychic benefits of identity	.02	.07*	-.09**
Any anti-identity	.10***	.03	.05
Group solidarity	.06*	.09**	-.03
Political relevance of groups	.04	.09**	-.09**
Importance of national identity	-.10***	.02	-.06*
<b>Colored South Africans</b>			
South African identity	.01	.04	.21***
Strength of primary identity	.05	.08*	.01
Psychic benefits of identity	.11**	.05	-.13**
Any anti-identity	.24***	.06	.13**
Group solidarity	.07	.12**	-.06
Political relevance of groups	.02	.17***	-.20***
Importance of national identity	.07	-.01	.07
<b>South Africans of Asian origin</b>			
South African identity	-.01	.05	.13*
Strength of primary identity	-.05	-.13*	-.01
Psychic benefits of identity	-.06	.05	-.07
Any anti-identity	.04	-.11*	.12*
Group solidarity	.16**	.09	-.04
Political relevance of groups	.10	.20***	-.11*
Importance of national identity	-.12*	-.06	.01

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* Entries are bivariate correlation coefficients.

\*\*\*p ≤ .001; \*\*p ≤ .01; \*p ≤ .05

*Table 7.1* Perceptions of the Experimental Manipulations (Manipulation Checks)

Independent Variables	Not Perceived	Perceived	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
Manipulation: Procedural justice <sup>a</sup>					
Family got voice	26.0%	71.4%	3.70	1.42	1,883
No voice	74.4	22.4	2.06	1.38	1,835
Manipulation: Retributive justice <sup>b</sup>					
Phillip was punished	31.5	63.9	3.48	1.45	1,864
Not punished	73.8	21.1	2.03	1.34	1,855
Manipulation: Restorative justice <sup>c</sup>					
Family received apology	34.5	63.5	3.43	1.50	1,879
No apology	78.8	18.7	1.89	1.27	1,842
Manipulation: Distributive justice <sup>d</sup>					
Family got compensation	23.3	73.5	3.81	1.43	1,855
No compensation	84.2	13.2	1.66	1.19	1,862

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* These two percentages total to 100 percent, except for "don't know" responses. The dependent variable for each manipulation check is a five-point scale, with higher scores indicating greater degrees of certainty that the action happened.

The questions used to check the manipulations were:

"Do you think that the families of the victims were given a chance to tell how the bombing has affected their lives?" Certain they were, probably were, probably were not, certain they were not. (Don't know)

"Do you think that Phillip's apology was accepted by the families of the victims?" Certain it was, probably was, probably was not, certain it was not. (Don't know)

"Do you think that Phillip was punished by the actions of his own family?" Certain he was, probably was, probably was not, certain he was not. (Don't know)

"Do you think that the families of the victims received compensation for what happened to them?" Certain they did, probably did, probably did not, certain they did not. (Don't know)

<sup>a</sup>Difference of means test:  $p < .000$ ;  $\eta = .51$ .

<sup>b</sup>Difference of means test:  $p < .000$ ;  $\eta = .46$ .

<sup>c</sup>Difference of means test:  $p < .000$ ;  $\eta = .48$ .

<sup>d</sup>Difference of means test:  $p < .000$ ;  $\eta = .63$ .

*Table 7.2* The Variability in Fairness Judgments Across Versions of the Vignette

Version	Manipulations: Type of Justice				Judgments of Fairness <sup>a</sup>		
	Procedural	Retributive	Restorative	Distributive	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
1	Voice	Punishment	Apology	Compensation	5.19	3.16	245
2	Voice	Punishment	Apology	No compensation	3.14	2.67	242
3	Voice	Punishment	No apology	Compensation	4.52	3.04	220
4	Voice	Punishment	No apology	No compensation	2.97	2.45	238
5	Voice	No punishment	Apology	Compensation	5.11	3.14	231
6	Voice	No punishment	Apology	No compensation	3.29	2.82	237
7	Voice	No punishment	No apology	Compensation	4.21	3.00	235
8	Voice	No punishment	No apology	No compensation	2.65	2.42	236
9	No voice	Punishment	Apology	Compensation	4.15	2.92	235
10	No voice	Punishment	Apology	No compensation	2.60	2.24	224
11	No voice	Punishment	No apology	Compensation	4.03	2.87	230
12	No voice	Punishment	No apology	No compensation	2.45	2.16	230
13	No voice	No punishment	Apology	Compensation	4.70	3.21	231
14	No voice	No punishment	Apology	No compensation	2.58	2.28	232
15	No voice	No punishment	No apology	Compensation	3.84	2.99	227
16	No voice	No punishment	No apology	No compensation	2.24	2.00	224
Total					3.61	2.90	3,716

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* Difference of means across versions:  $\eta = .33$ ;  $F = 30.14$ ;  $p < .001$ .

<sup>a</sup>Higher mean scores indicate perceptions of greater fairness.

**Table 7.3** The Effect of Justice Manipulations on Judgments of Fairness to the Victims

	Unfair	Fair	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
<b>Manipulation: Procedural justice<sup>a</sup></b>					
Family got voice	70.1	28.4	3.88	2.99	1,883
No voice	78.2	20.2	3.30	2.77	1,833
<b>Manipulation: Retributive justice<sup>b</sup></b>					
Phillip was punished	74.2	24.1	3.64	2.86	1,863
Not punished	74.0	24.6	3.58	2.93	1,853
<b>Manipulation: Restorative justice<sup>c</sup></b>					
Family received apology	70.1	28.5	3.85	3.00	1,877
No apology	78.2	20.2	3.36	2.76	1,839
<b>Manipulation: Distributive justice<sup>d</sup></b>					
Family got compensation	63.1	34.9	4.47	3.07	1,853
No compensation	85.1	13.9	2.75	2.42	1,862

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The percentages are based on dichotomizing the continuous variable and placing "uncertain" or "don't know" responses between "unfair" and "fair." The percentages in the table do not total to 100 percent, since some small proportion of the respondents were unable to arrive at a view of whether the families of the victims were fairly treated in the vignette.

<sup>a</sup>Difference of means test:  $p < .001$ ;  $\eta = .10$ .

<sup>b</sup>Difference of means test:  $p > .05$ ;  $\eta = .01$ .

<sup>c</sup>Difference of means test:  $p < .001$ ;  $\eta = .09$ .

<sup>d</sup>Difference of means test:  $p < .001$ ;  $\eta = .30$ .

*Table 7.4* The Effect of the Experimental Manipulations and Perceptions of the Manipulations on Judgments of Fairness

Independent Variables	Model 1				Model 2			
	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r	b	Standard Error	$\beta$	r
<b>Manipulations</b>								
Procedural justice	.56	.09	.10***	.10	-.06	.10	-.01	.10
Retributive justice	.06	.09	.01	.01	-.16	.10	-.03	.01
Restorative justice	.48	.09	.08***	.09	-.07	.10	-.01	.09
Distributive justice	1.73	.09	.30***	.30	.91	.11	.16***	.30
<b>Perceptions of manipulations</b>								
Procedural justice					.30	.03	.17***	.25
Retributive justice					.12	.03	.07***	.13
Restorative justice					.31	.03	.17***	.27
Distributive justice					.32	.03	.19***	.36
Intercept	2.19	.10			.41	.13		
R-squared			.11***				.21***	
Standard deviation—dependent variable	2.90				2.90			
Standard error of estimate	2.74				2.58			

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* N = 3,710.

\*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05

*Table 7.5* Racial Differences in Reactions to the Amnesty Experiment

Independent Variables	Equation Comparing Blacks With:		
	Whites	Coloreds	Asian Origin
<b>Manipulations</b>			
Procedural justice	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Retributive justice	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Restorative justice	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Distributive justice	.000	.000	.000
<b>Perceptions of manipulations</b>			
Procedural justice	.000	.000	.000
Retributive justice	.037	.038	.034
Restorative justice	.000	.000	.000
Distributive justice	.000	.000	.000
Race dummy variable	.000	n.s.	.033
<b>Race—manipulation interactions</b>			
Procedural justice	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Retributive justice	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Restorative justice	.029	n.s.	n.s.
Distributive justice	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
<b>Race—perceptions interactions</b>			
Procedural justice	n.s.	n.s.	.068
Retributive justice	.058	n.s.	n.s.
Restorative justice	n.s.	n.s.	.039
Distributive justice	.002	n.s.	n.s.
<b>Equation statistics</b>			
Intercept (standard error)	.21 (.18)	.21 (.18)	.21 (.17)
R-squared	.20***	.23***	.24***
Standard deviation—dependent variable	2.86	2.92	2.87
Standard error of estimate	2.56	2.57	2.52
Number of cases	2,979	2,476	2,245

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

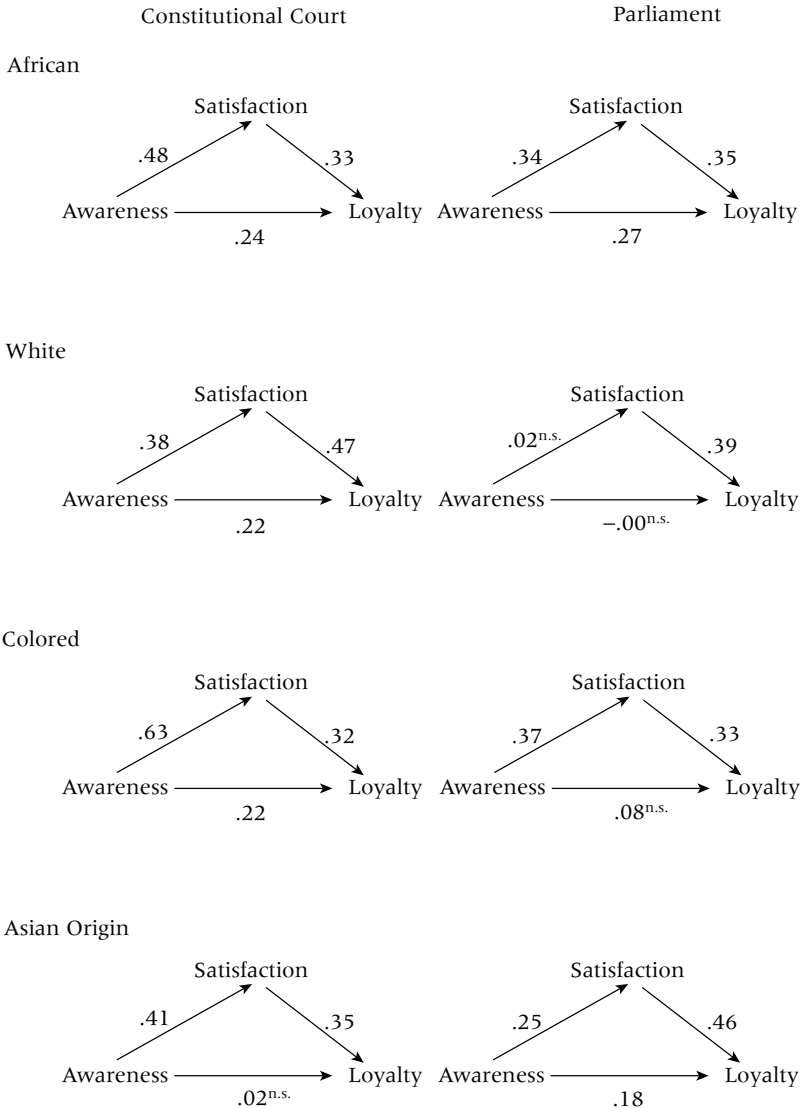
*Note:* Cell entries are the significance of the test of the null hypothesis that the regression coefficient is indistinguishable from zero.  $H_0: b = 0$ . All probabilities greater than .10 are shown. When coefficients are statistically significant, the actual coefficients are reported in the text.

n.s. = not statistically significant at  $p < .10$ .

\*\*\* $p < .001$



Figure 8.1 Bivariate Connections Between Institutional Awareness, Performance Satisfaction, and Loyalty Among the Four Racial Groups



Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

Note: n.s. = not statistically significant at  $p \geq .10$ . All other coefficients are significant at  $p < .001$ .

*Table 8.1* Indicators of Loyalty Toward the South African Constitutional Court and Parliament, Attentive Publics

	Not Supportive of the Institution	Uncertain	Supportive of the Institution	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
Do away with the Court	49.7%	23.2%	27.1%	2.65	1.19	3,094
Do away with the Parliament	42.9	19.1	37.9	2.91	1.29	3,683
Court can be trusted	12.1	27.9	60.0	3.65	.97	3,092
Parliament can be trusted	14.0	25.4	60.6	3.67	1.02	3,684
Court favors some groups	15.7	31.7	52.6	3.52	1.09	3,092
Parliament favors some groups	20.2	26.6	53.3	3.48	1.15	3,682
Reduce Court jurisdiction	36.7	36.2	27.1	2.86	1.07	3,091

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The percentages are calculated on the basis of collapsing the five-point Likert response set (for example, "agree strongly" and "agree" responses are combined). The means and standard deviations are calculated on the uncollapsed distributions.

The difference of means on the first item ("do away with") is statistically significant at  $p < .001$ . Neither of the other two cross-institutional differences of means is statistically significant ( $p > .05$ ).

The propositions are:

"If the [the institution] started making a lot of decisions that most people disagree with, it might be better to do away with [the institution] altogether."

"The [institution] can usually be trusted to make decisions that are right for the country as a whole."

"The [institution] treats all groups who come before it—black, white, Colored, and Asian—the same."

"The right of the South African Constitutional Court to decide certain types of controversial issues should be done away with."

*Table 8.2* Indicators of Loyalty Toward the South African Constitutional Court, Attentive Publics, 1997 and 2001

	Not Supportive of the Institution	Uncertain	Supportive of the Institution	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
<b>Do away with the Court</b>						
2001	49.7%	23.2%	27.1%	2.7	1.2	3,094
1997	39.5	32.6	27.9	2.9	1.1	1,083
<b>Court can be trusted</b>						
2001	12.1	27.9	60.0	3.7	1.0	3,092
1997	9.9	34.7	55.4	3.6	.9	1,083
<b>Reduce Court jurisdiction</b>						
2001	36.7	36.2	27.1	2.9	1.1	3,091
1997	29.5	42.3	28.2	3.0	1.0	1,081

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The percentages are calculated on the basis of collapsing the five-point Likert response set (for example, "agree strongly" and "agree" responses are combined). The means and standard deviations are calculated on the uncollapsed distributions.

The propositions are:

"If the South African Constitutional Court started making a lot of decisions that most people disagree with, it might be better to do away with the Court altogether."

"The South African Constitutional Court can usually be trusted to make decisions that are right for the country as a whole."

"The right of the South African Constitutional Court to decide certain types of controversial issues should be done away with."

*Table 8.3* Average Diffuse Support for National High Courts Among Attentive Publics

	Unaware of Court	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
Spain (1993)	10.3%	46.3	22.3	258
Bulgaria	13.4	48.8	18.4	860
Germany (East)	1.0	49.4	22.4	301
Belgium	9.2	52.2	22.0	211
South Africa (1997)	15.1	53.8	17.4	1,083
Spain (1995)	10.7	53.9	17.2	658
South Africa (2001)	16.9	54.2	16.9	3,095
Ireland	1.6	54.5	18.3	291
France (1995)	9.2	55.0	19.6	660
France (1993)	7.6	55.2	20.8	278
Russia	50.8	56.6	14.4	360
Canada	1.0	56.7	19.6	594
Hungary	9.0	57.1	20.5	654
Italy	9.0	57.8	23.3	271
Great Britain	1.7	58.0	20.2	295
Luxembourg	25.0	58.8	21.5	145
Portugal	17.7	61.6	22.0	235
United States	.6	62.2	19.7	804
Poland	11.7	62.5	20.5	696
Greece	6.1	65.0	23.0	281
Germany (West)	1.5	65.4	20.4	194
Denmark	1.3	66.6	20.3	295
Netherlands	6.0	69.9	22.4	282

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* The 100-point summated index is created from responses to the items reported in table 8.1. The countries are ranked according to the degree of support for the national high court (lowest to highest). Most of the data from countries other than South Africa are taken from Gibson, Caldeira, and Baird (1998) and are drawn from surveys conducted in 1993 or 1995. For some countries, survey data are available for more than one year. In these instances, the year of the survey is indicated in the table.

*Table 8.4* Racial Differences in Loyalty Toward the South African Constitutional Court and Parliament, Attentive Publics

	High Support <sup>a</sup>	Mean <sup>b</sup>	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
African				
Constitutional Court	54.2%	1.50	.99	1,646
Parliament	59.9	1.66	.98	1,981
White				
Constitutional Court	35.3	1.11	1.08	931
Parliament	30.0	1.12	1.01	983
Colored				
Constitutional Court	38.9	1.16	1.08	378
Parliament	40.9	1.24	1.11	479
Asian origin				
Constitutional Court	48.6	1.41	1.04	222
Parliament	49.6	1.46	1.03	240

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

<sup>a</sup>"High support" is defined as two or three supportive responses to the three items.

<sup>b</sup>Racial differences in attitudes toward the Court and the Parliament are statistically significant at  $p < .001$ . For the Constitutional Court,  $\eta = .18$ ; for the Parliament,  $\eta = .23$ .

*Table 8.5* Cross-Institutional Similarities in Institutional Assessments by the Four Racial Groups

Perceptions of Constitutional Court and Parliament	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Awareness	.47	.47	.57	.42
Specific support	.44	.34	.51	.47
Institutional loyalty	.59	.44	.45	.40

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Note:* Entries are Pearson correlation coefficients indicating the relationship between responses toward the Parliament and toward the Constitutional Court.

**Table 8.6** Racial Differences in Willingness to Accept a Contrary Constitutional Court Decision on Amnesty

Amnesty Attitude: Accept Court Decision	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
<b>Strong grant</b>				
Mean <sup>a</sup>	6.59	5.61	6.42	5.14
Standard deviation	3.27	3.67	3.45	3.11
Number of cases	266	73	67	14
Accept the Court decision	64.7%	48.6%	58.2%	50.0%
<b>Probably grant</b>				
Mean <sup>a</sup>	6.38	6.59	6.21	6.72
Standard deviation	2.47	2.30	2.73	2.29
Number of cases	417	186	67	34
Accept the Court decision	62.4%	67.7%	49.3%	70.6%
<b>Probably not grant</b>				
Mean <sup>a</sup>	4.27	5.42	4.30	4.65
Standard deviation	2.43	2.53	2.42	2.51
Number of cases	452	217	94	39
Accept the Court decision	21.9%	44.0%	22.3%	23.1%
<b>Strong not grant</b>				
Mean <sup>a</sup>	2.79	3.33	3.48	2.86
Standard deviation	2.42	2.70	2.75	2.64
Number of cases	734	444	208	154
Accept the Court decision	12.1%	18.9%	15.9%	17.5%
$\eta^2$ across amnesty attitudes (within race)				
	.53	.45	.40	.48

Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

<sup>a</sup>Higher scores indicate greater willingness to accept the decision.

*Table 8.7* Bivariate Correlations Between Institutional Legitimacy and Acquiescence, by Race

	Initial Position	
	Deny Amnesty (Number of Cases)	Grant Amnesty (Number of Cases)
African	.13*** (966)	.01 (586)
White	.08* (623)	.05 (248)
Colored	-.07 (228)	.06 (122)
Asian origin	.02 (175)	.21 (44)

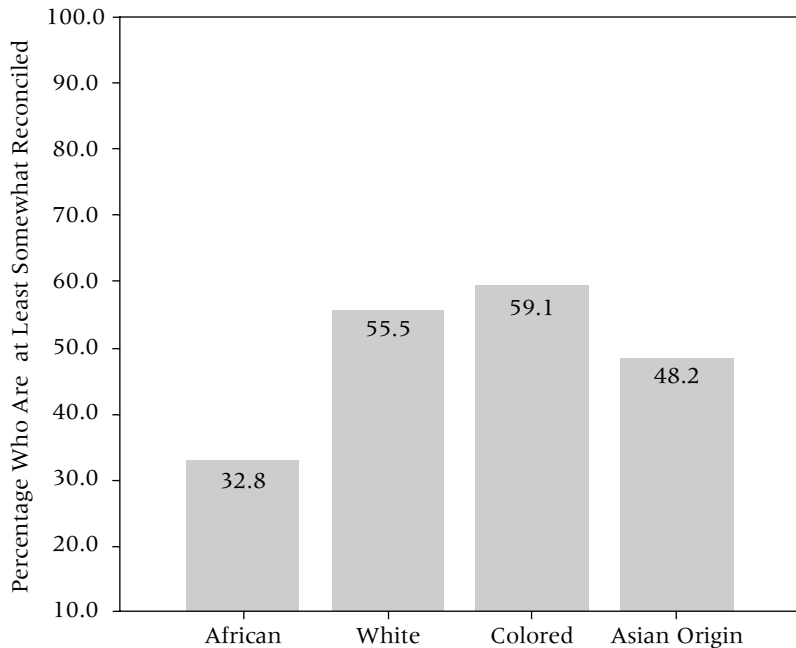
*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

\*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05



Figure 9.1 Racial Differences Among South Africans in Overall Levels of Reconciliation

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Source: Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

*Table 9.1* Summary Levels of Reconciliation Among the Four South African Racial Groups, 2001

Dimension of Reconciliation <sup>a</sup>	African	White	Colored	Asian Origin
Interracial reconciliation	Not very	Somewhat	Somewhat	Somewhat
Support for a human rights culture	Not very	Somewhat	Somewhat	Somewhat
Political tolerance	Not very	Not very	Not very	Not very
Institutional legitimacy	Somewhat	Somewhat	Somewhat	Somewhat
	Somewhat or Highly Reconciled			
Interracial reconciliation	37.2%	57.4%	71.7%	59.2%
Support for a human rights culture	44.9	77.0	62.4	54.3
Political tolerance	21.4	34.5	26.2	25.3
Institutional legitimacy	81.2	62.3	77.5	66.5

*Source:* Author's compilation from the 2001 Truth and Reconciliation Survey.

<sup>a</sup>The possible scores on each dimension of reconciliation are: highly reconciled, somewhat reconciled, not very reconciled, and hardly reconciled at all.