SA Reconciliation Barometer

Tracking socio-political trends

VOLUME 4 • ISSUE 4 • DECEMBER 2006

NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN PERSPECTIVE

How far have we come?

INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION



CONTENTS

editorial

On 16th December South Africans will celebrate the Day of Reconciliation. Although it featured quite prominently as a result of the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in the first five years after our democratic transition, the concept of 'reconciliation' has gradually faded from our public discourse. Ten years after the first public hearing of the TRC in the East London town hall, it is hardly mentioned anymore. There may be a number of reasons for this.

As Nonkosi Mngxali and Nthuthuzelo Vananda explain in their article about young black professionals, it may be because reconciliation does not feature on the priority list of many of those who have inherited the post-apartheid state. For them the pursuit of personal economic security takes precedence over any broader national quest for social cohesion. Others, like PAC president, Letlapa Mphahlele, argue that it is the absence of properly addressing this question of economic security that prevents South Africans from finding each other. Unless verbal acknowledgement of apartheid wrongs and commitment to change is matched by sufficient economic reparation to address the material roots of our division, no national healing will take place, says Mphahlele. Dave Steward, executive director of the FW de Klerk Foundation, also believes that certain opportunities for reconciliation in the wake of our political transition were missed. Steward contends that a more representative TRC could have ensured that all perspectives and narratives of South Africa's constitutive population groups were better represented in the Commission's final findings. Amanda Gouws, professor in politics at the University of Stellenbosch, suggests in her article that in taking stock of our progress towards reconciliation, we should be careful that we do not confuse it with 'tolerance', which implies something very different. In addition to the 'putting up with differences' that should be understood under the term 'tolerance', reconciliation involves the more stringent requirement of forgiveness. This raises the question of whether the fizzling out of public discourse around the question of reconciliation might not be due to a false sense of comfort that was generated by our smooth political transition. If the peaceful nature of this transition was due to high levels of tolerance, how much longer will it last?

This issue contains some of the most recent findings of the *SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey*, an annual survey of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, which measures public responses to social, political and economic change, and how this impacts on the national reconciliation process. The survey reflects on some of the questions that have been highlighted by our contributors to this issue, and finds, amongst other things, that meaningful public dialogue, which should be the foundation of any reconciliation process, is still lacking. The survey, however, reflects a strong desire amongst South Africans for national unity with an inclusive character. This opportunity needs to be seized.

The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation would like to wish the readers of this publication a happy festive season and a good start to the New Year. It is our hope that 2007 will be used by all who love this country to work tirelessly towards this inclusive national unity.

Jan Hofmeyr
Project coordinator: *SA Reconciliation Barometer*

Lack of INTER-RACIAL SOCIALISATION still an obstacle to national unity

The 2006 round of the *SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey* suggests that most South Africans aspire to an inclusive national unity. Now they have to talk about what the character of this united nation should be, writes JAN HOFMEYR, senior researcher at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

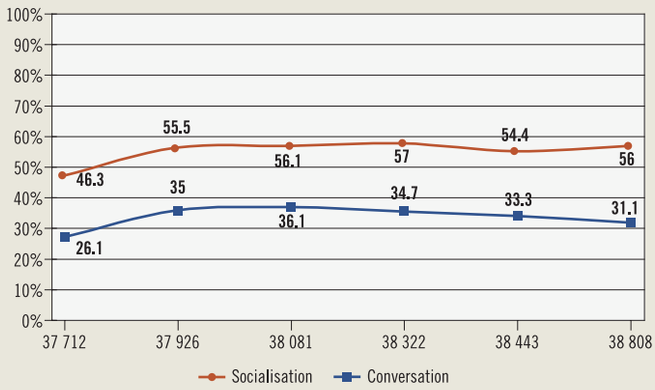
The *SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey (SARBS)* is an annual public survey that is conducted nationally by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation to measure citizen responses to socio-political change and, in particular, how it affects the broader imperative for national reconciliation. The results of the sixth recent round of the survey that was conducted during the first half of 2006 were released earlier this month and can be accessed on the Institute's website (www.ijr.org.za).

The findings of this most recent round of the survey once again underline the fact that there is still considerable work to be done in the removal of the obstacles to reconciliation between people from divergent backgrounds and with very different understandings of this country's history. Probably the most fundamental of these is the lack of informal social contact between individuals from different racial groups twelve years after the demise of the apartheid state. While it would be incorrect to equate racial integration with reconciliation, the former is surely the foundation without which the discourse about the latter is impossible.

'Not only does growth have a strong economic imperative, it is also vital for providing a stable platform to unite the South African nation.'

During the months of April and May of this year when the survey was conducted, 56 per cent of respondents indicated that they never interact informally with people from other population groups, either at their home or the homes of friends. A further 16 per cent indicated that they rarely do so, while 31 per cent said that they make no inter-racial contact, be it formal or informal, at all. Asked whether they see the need for more communication with groups other than their own, just a third of the sample responded in the affirmative. A further 42 per cent felt that current levels of interaction are sufficient. These findings thus seem to suggest that within an existing context of infrequent social interaction, there is little desire amongst a large section of the South African population to move beyond their existing same-race social circles. While this statistic does not suggest a principled rejection of informal contact or the broader social integration of our society, it does point to a low degree of receptiveness to these social interactions. Within this context the fostering of a sense of national cohesion becomes more challenging.

Figure 1: Inter-racial contact in South Africa *(Source:* SA Reconciliation Barometer*)*
South Africans who never socialise with people from other groups on an average day and South Africans who never talk to people from other groups on an average day.



In a democratic state such as ours, social contact cannot be enforced artificially upon citizens. However, such a state can – and arguably should in transitional societies – create the necessary environment that is conducive to such interaction. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was, for example, an officially crafted institution, aimed at providing a public platform that could serve as a catalyst for the normalisation of social relations after centuries of division. Legislation aimed at increased representativenes in the workplace, such as affirmative action and employment equity, also increase opportunities for interaction in a formal day-to-day context. Public holidays, such as Reconciliation Day, which is upon us, represent another state-led attempt to rally South Africans around the cause of national reconciliation. Each of these initiatives plays a ▸▸

... continued on page 4

RECONCILIATION

More than just putting up with our differences

AMANDA GOUWS, professor in political science at the University of Stellenbosch, argues that the distinction between reconciliation and tolerance is critical for an understanding of how South Africans relate to each other.

What do we mean when we speak about the need for reconciliation in a post-apartheid South Africa? Since 1994 many people have employed this term in several contexts, yet they often fail to grasp the full extent of what it entails. One of the most common errors in this regard is the conceptual confusion between the concepts of 'tolerance' and 'reconciliation', which is manifested most strongly among analysts who contend that tolerance can be equated with reconciliation. This rather simplistic argument implies that nothing more than tolerance is needed for reconciliation.

This, unfortunately, is not only a conceptual confusion but also a misunderstanding of the nature of reconciliation. Political tolerance should be understood as the ability to 'put up with' ideas or groups that you do not agree with. This means that tolerance cannot amount to indifference, neither can it relate to something that you approve of – it is an acceptance of things you disagree with or dislike. Reconciliation, on the other hand, means that people on different sides of a political divide have walked a difficult road together, uncovered unpleasant facts of abuse against each other, and the victims of atrocities are prepared to forgive in order to create a better society. Reconciliation therefore is not an easy process – it often calls for sacrifice in material terms, as well as the relinquishment of pride. Two dimensions are important – that of uncovering the truth (in this case it does not have to be the truth, as established through a legal process, but specifically narrative truth or the telling of personal stories, that will enable us to build a collective memory of atrocities of the past), and secondly, that of forgiveness.

If we, therefore, compare tolerance and reconciliation, we see that tolerance does not require the truth or forgiveness to 'put up with' things you disagree with – in a sense it does not require any

... continued from page 3

critical role in the promotion of national reconciliation, yet there are limits to the efficacy of formal, politically driven action.

It is within the protected confines of homes or other private spaces where trust is most likely to grow and prejudice is easiest to dismantle. In the absence of competition and threat that often pervade work and other public environments, conversation about daily life is more likely to elicit uninhibited discussion about how our experiences relate to our past, present and future. In this regard the great South African tradition of the braai has the potential to become the passageway to the discovery of our commonalities. Yet, when 72 per cent of South Africans indicate that they rarely or never socialise with somebody from a different population group, it seems as if the braai may for some time still remain a forum for the reinforcement of anger, frustration and prejudice.

What then stands in the way of more social interaction between South Africans? One of the answers may lie in the survey's finding that 40 per cent of respondents do not trust people of other racial groups. This sentiment was strongest amongst black African respondents, of whom 45 per cent agreed, followed by whites with 22 per cent, coloured South Africans with 17 per cent and Indian respondents with 13 per cent. But this distrust is arguably only a symptom of the bigger problem. In this round of the survey, respondents were also prompted to indicate what they regard as the most divisive aspect of life that separates South Africans from different backgrounds. According to 30 per cent, the single largest group, income inequality posed the greatest challenge to the creation of a more unified society. Race only features 10 percentage points lower down on this list, at 20 per cent.

action and therefore is a concept of passivity. Jim Gibson and I found in our research for our book, *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa*, that South Africans who are intolerant are far more active than those who are tolerant, because tolerance requires one to do nothing. Another of our findings suggests that tolerant people can be persuaded far more easily to become intolerant (because people start to think about the consequences of doing nothing), while it is far more difficult to persuade the intolerant to become tolerant.

'What this tells us is that, as a sub-dimension of reconciliation, tolerance appears to be the most difficult aspect to achieve and it also seems to be the most difficult value to learn as part of a democratic culture.'

In his book, *Overcoming Apartheid: Can truth reconcile a divided nation?* (2004), Jim Gibson researched the relationship between tolerance and reconciliation and he operationalised (made measurable) tolerance as one sub-dimension of reconciliation. The different sub-dimensions of reconciliation were operationalised as interracial reconciliation (to trust people of different race groups and to reject stereotypes), political tolerance (to put up with beliefs you disagree with), support (for the principle of human rights) and legitimacy (support for the major institutions in South Africa). He argues that a reconciled South African is somebody who:

- eschews racial stereotyping, treating people respectfully as individuals, not as members of racial groups;
- is tolerant of those with whom she disagrees;
- subscribes to a set of beliefs about the universal application of human-rights protection to all South Africa citizens;
- recognises the legitimacy of South Africa's political institutions and is therefore predisposed to accept and acquiesce to their policy rulings.

The findings of his research, reflected in summary scores of a reconciliation index, show that only 33 per cent Africans, 56 per cent whites, 59 per cent coloureds and 48 per cent Asians were reconciled at the time of research. Those who were more accepting of the TRC's version of the truth were also more likely to be reconciled. Accepting the truth, he found, is a reliable predictor of reconciliation.

In research for our publication, *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa,* Gibson and I (2003) also found high levels of intolerance for the 1996 sample of our survey of over 3 000 respondents. For example, 62 per cent of the respondents did not want their least-liked group to put up candidates for election, 74 per cent did not want them to demonstrate in their communities and 65 per cent would have liked their least-liked group to be banned. Other surveys done since then show that tolerance has increased marginally but intolerance remains high. What this tells us is that, as a sub-dimension of reconciliation, tolerance appears to be the most difficult aspect to achieve and it also seems to be the most difficult value to learn as part of a democratic culture.

But there is also a relationship between reconciliation, the acceptance of blame (by perpetrators) and blame attribution. Our surveys have highlighted the complexity of reconciliation when blame, and not forgiveness, plays a role. The results showed that 'truth' is important to people. In the 1996 survey, 68 per cent of respondents said that there could be no reconciliation unless people confess their apartheid crimes. In a 1997 repeat survey, it was 69 per cent. More blame was ascribed to someone who gave orders and when innocent bystanders were victims. Once blame is established, only a small minority of South Africans was willing to support amnesty. This finding occurred across race groups. Respondents wanted perpetrators to be punished. Blame was linked to punishment.

Reconciliation is therefore seen as a precondition for successful democratisation as well as for the consolidation of democracy, while tolerance carries no such burden. One of the questions that researchers ask is whether tolerance actually matters as a value of democracy since many mature democracies also have high levels of intolerance. Maybe democracies can continue to exist amidst high levels of intolerance. The same cannot be said about a lack of reconciliation.

The significance of income inequality appears to be corroborated when responses for social interaction are broken down into living standards measurement (LSM) categories. On the LSM scale of 1 to 10, with 1 representing the most destitute South Africans and 10 representing the most affluent, there is a clear indication that inter-racial socialisation correlates strongly with affluence. Eighty per cent of respondents in LSM1 indicated that they never socialise with people of other races. This percentage declines stepwise with each increase in LSM category, until the most affluent LSM category 10, where only 22 per cent indicated no informal contact with groups other than their own. Given the fact that most racial interaction at this stage occurs within the predominantly middle income 'first economy', this finding strengthens the case for the expansion of the South African middle class. The robust growth that the country has experienced in recent years, therefore also has the potential to be a catalyst for the normalisation of our society, provided that new wealth is distributed equitably. Not only does growth have a strong economic imperative, it is also vital for providing a stable platform to unite the South African nation.

The will to do so exists. Probably one of the most positive findings of this survey is that 76 per cent of South Africans believe that it is important to pursue the cause of a united nation, which is an increase of 3 per cent on the 73 per cent that was recorded during the first round of the *SARBS* in April 2003. This positive sentiment should be capitalised upon, but we can only do so if meaningful conversation occurs. Given our country's diversity, the content and character of this unity has to be forged through meaningful formal and informal dialogue about where we come from and where we are heading.

A COMMON MAP OF THE PAST IS NEEDED **BEFORE** WE CAN CHART THE FUTURE

True reconciliation will only materialise when all perspectives and narratives inform a common understanding of our history, writes DAVE STEWARD, executive director of the FW de Klerk Foundation.

It is an interesting fact that people in divided societies often find it easier to agree about the future than about the past. Between 1990 and 1993, parties and organisations with such diametrically divergent policies and philosophies as the ANC, the former National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party managed to reach substantial consensus on our new Constitution. Perhaps this is because most people want the same things: justice; freedom; equality; security; good governance; democratic institutions; and the protection of their fundamental individual and communal rights.

However, reaching agreement about the past is much more difficult – not only in South Africa, but in divided societies throughout the world. Very often, the fuel that keeps the potential for conflicts smouldering is the memory of past grievances, which are carefully nurtured and remembered, as well as left unforgiven, and therefore unresolved.

It was for these reasons that the drafters of our 1993 Constitution wisely recognised that 'the pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society'. In due course, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established to promote this objective with the goal of promoting 'national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the divisions of the past…'

In terms of the TRC Act, the Commissioners were all supposed to be 'persons who are impartial and who do not have a high political profile'. Of course, no South African could really be expected to be impartial about our traumatic past – but it would have helped if commissioners representing all sides of the past conflict could have been appointed to ensure a degree of balance.

This did not happen. The TRC did not include a single member who could represent the views of the former government or of the IFP, two of the main parties in the conflict. Inevitably, the TRC's report reflected only the 'struggle' perspective. It articulated the grievances and pain of generations of black South Africans who had been dispossessed and repressed for centuries. Not unsurprisingly, white South Africans and the political parties that they had supported emerged as the villains of the piece. In the perception of many whites, they were welcome in the new South Africa only as supplicants for forgiveness and as payers of reparations.

'In the perception of many whites, they were welcome in the new South Africa only as supplicants for forgiveness and as payers of reparations.'

Given our traumatic history, this was perhaps understandable. However, it did not constitute real reconciliation. Reconciliation requires that the narratives and perspectives of all sides should be reflected in a commonly accepted version of history. As it is, black and white South Africans emerged from the process with different maps of our past. And without a common map it remains difficult for us to find one another in the present and move forward together into the future.

The TRC also stamped whites with an almost indelible mark of guilt – and created the perception of moral inferiority. So deep is this perception that even loyal white ANC supporters like Carl Niehaus have said they accept that even their grandchildren will have to go to the end of the queue in the new South Africa to help make amends.

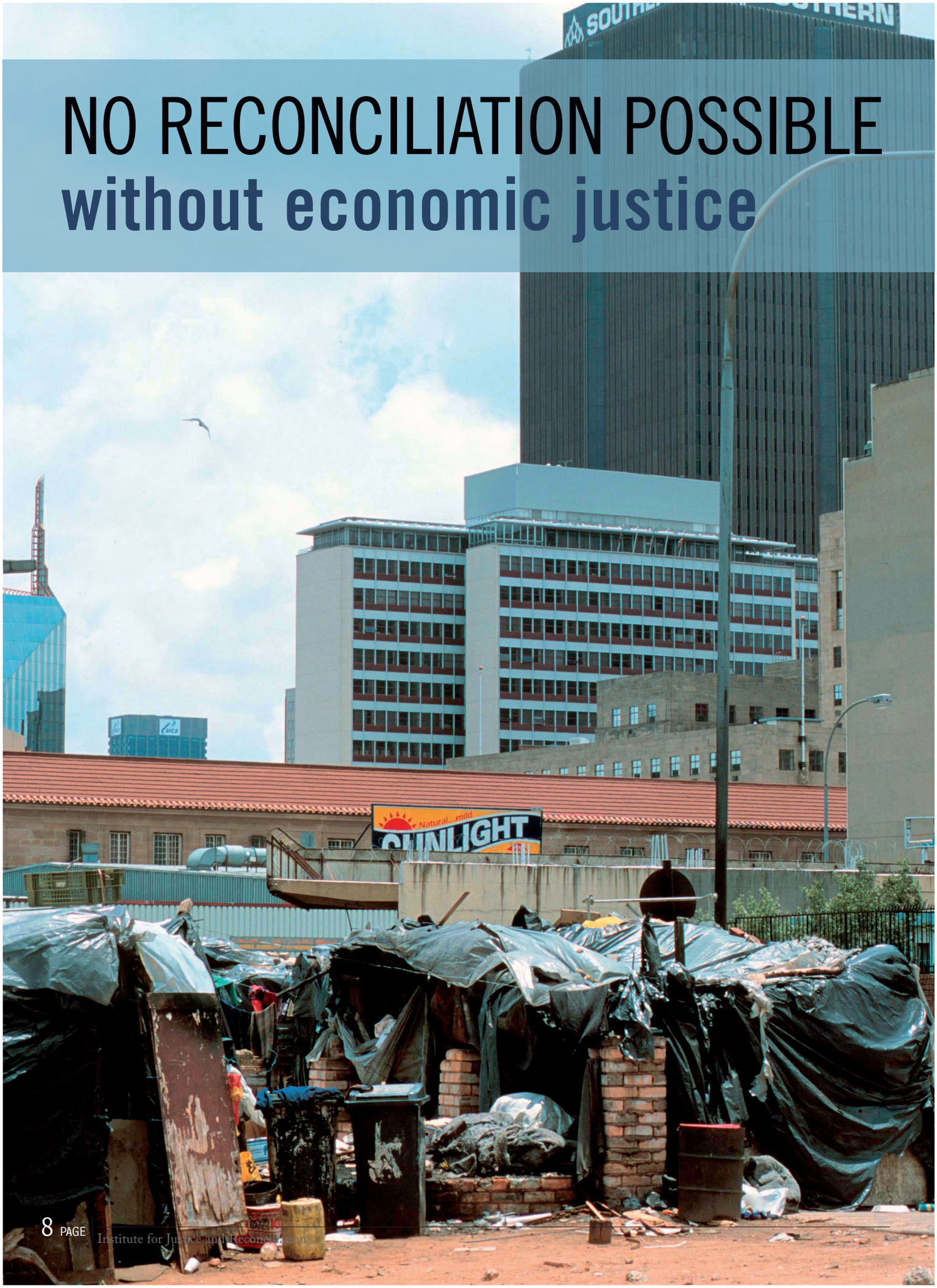
The assumption of blanket white historical guilt, and the unwillingness of most whites to acknowledge it, is the wedge that continues to create the chasm between us. It provides the subtext to many current developments. It explains why Archbishop Tutu still feels so strongly that whites have not given proper recognition to the generosity of blacks for 'not wanting to knock their blocks off'.

Characterising racial groups with negative moral labels is, of course, a very dangerous business. When married to self-interest or the search for scapegoats, it can constitute a recipe for dehumanisation and catastrophe. In a *Sunday Times* article earlier this year Nkosinathi Biko of the Steve Biko Foundation wrote that if white South Africans do not accept history for what it is, and if they tried to palm this responsibility off on their children, they would be reminded by the next generation, not 'through the power of the pen, but by any means necessary'.

In fact, the moral worth of people cannot be judged according to their race, but only according to their actions and their motives as individuals. To suggest otherwise, opens the way to alienation and conflict – and to the potential negation of Archbishop Tutu's words at the end of the TRC process: 'Never again'.

One of the weaknesses of the TRC was that its mandate dealt primarily with the conflict after 1960 – and not with the real problems of colonial domination and apartheid. We still desperately need an effective reconciliation process in which genuine representatives of all our communities must hammer out a version of our history with which we can all agree.

NO RECONCILIATION POSSIBLE
without economic justice



Reconciliation between those who call this country home will be delayed until the indigenous majority are allowed to take their rightful place in the South African economy, argues Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) president and former Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) commander, LETLAPA MPHAHLELE.

Reconciliation can – and should – happen at different levels. It may take place on an interpersonal plane when individuals take a conscious decision to mend their estranged relations, but it can also occur when the source of estrangement can be traced back to the anguished history of the nation.

When Ginn Fourie, mother of Lyndi, a young woman who died at my command, forgave me, together we took steps on the path of reconciliation. It was this magic gift of forgiveness that made reconciliation between Ginn and I possible, if not inevitable. This was the act of interpersonal reconciliation. However, it is reconciliation at the extra-personal level that I want to focus on here – a reconciliation beyond individuals, because individuals, like Ginn and I, come from communities that have been shaped by their histories.

Whenever the word 'reconciliation' is mentioned, it evokes images of conflict and sharp contradiction because this is in essence what is presupposed by those who call for it. In the absence of historic conflict between communities there is no need for it. At the outset of this article, I would therefore like to contend that no one can meaningfully embrace reconciliation without taking into account the conflicts of the past, their causes and effects.

In our South African context, colonial dispossession was the root cause of economic deprivation, political domination and social degradation of the indigenous African majority. Frankly speaking, the land theft that indigenous peoples experienced pitted the colonial master against the colonised African. Western 'civilisation' collided with African 'backwardness'.

It is within this context that we ask whether reconciliation is ever possible between a thief and his victim without the return of the stolen property? Some South Africans think it is possible, but I do not. Indigenous Africans own less than 2 per cent of all listed property at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. The mining, technological, commercial, industrial, manufacturing and banking sectors are by and large still the preserve of those who invented and hugely benefited from apartheid. Land and agriculture remain distant dreams for the indigenous African majority.

I believe that reconciliation must reach far beyond human goodwill and good intentions. The ownership of land and property must mirror the country's demographics. If the indigenous Africans constitute 80 per cent of the population, they are entitled to own 80 cents out of every rand in circulation. Today they own less than two cents.

Given these circumstances, the term reconciliation in the South Africa that we know today means everything and nothing. It means turning a blind eye to the greed and subtle racism poisoning our country. Indeed, if you raise your voice of disapproval against sporting codes, like rugby, for not transforming fast enough, people start questioning your commitment to reconciliation. It means selling your wares to the global market and attaching a tag – 'Made in South Africa, the land of reconciliation'. It means composing a self-adulating song, poem or piece of prose celebrating the miracle of reconciliation in South Africa. This false sense of reconciliation has become a national intoxicant. It moves strictly on a spiritual track and fatally ignores the material side of reconciliation.

The economic struggles championed by the working class and the cultural struggles in search of an authentic African identity are integral parts of reconciliation. Far from endangering reconciliation, they strengthen it. For what is reconciliation if not sister- and brotherhood among humans? Yet reconciliation has been abused by some in South Africa in order to maintain the exploitative economic status quo.

Reconciliation requires fair play. We cannot reconcile on one hand, and pursue an economic system that produces a few millionaires and millions of destitute on the other. It is a staggering contradiction that while flying high the banner of reconciliation among the nations of the world, South Africa also boasts the unenviable record of the widest gap between the rich and the poor. When there are structural injustices like these in society, the starting point is to change them. Only then can we talk about reconciliation. Reconciliation should not become a substitute for the struggle for justice. Unless we address the material reconciliation, the wounds of the past will keep recurring, and the widening gap between the rich and the poor will in the end undo whatever we have achieved in our efforts to achieve reconciliation. Should we overlook this, we may very well end up in class conflict. We will fail future generations if we do not work towards strategies to prevent this form of estrangement from happening.

> 'Reconciliation requires fair play. We cannot reconcile on one hand, and pursue an economic system that produces a few millionaires and millions of destitute on the other.'

To me it remains one of the greatest tragedies of this country, for reasons that I have mentioned above, that political power did not translate into economic power. But most painfully, the present dispensation has also deferred the full cultural emancipation of the indigenous people of South Africa. African languages, that all important national heritage, have been regulated into ornaments. What is wrong with studying medicine in the Venda language and exploring the secrets of the universe in the Ndebele tongue? After all, reconciliation should embrace the heritage of all people, especially those who are in the majority. In the light of this, I find the fuss caused by the renaming of towns or streets after African icons not only incomprehensible, but also very unfortunate – the insensitivity does great harm to the cause of reconciliation. It amounts to nothing less than the denial of the great theft that has taken place, which in turn conveniently exonerates its beneficiaries from contributing to reparations.

Denying reparations as an essential component of reconciliation threatens the very existence of reconciliation. One cannot reconcile with somebody that you have never wronged. The past wrongs must be redressed before reconciliation can endure.

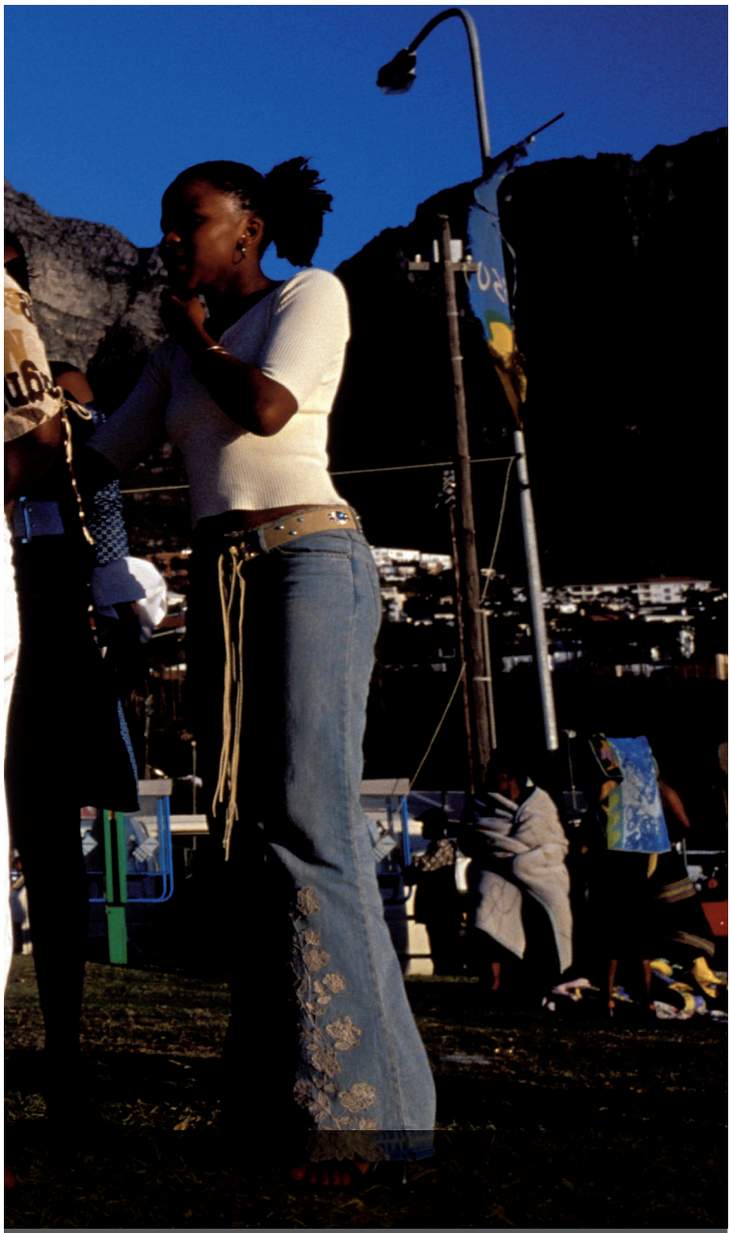
RECONCILIATION

only ONE OF MANY COMPETING PRIORITIES for young black professionals

While some young South Africans feel that the issue of inter-racial reconciliation should be ranked higher on the list of national priorities, many are less enthusiastic about its virtues and the need to take active steps to promote it. Based on conversations with our peers – young, recently employed black Africans – we have distilled three broad schools of thought around this issue.

The first school is convinced that it is in our common interest to move beyond a situation where racial criteria define all forms of formal and social interaction. Most in this category believe that this not only has a social imperative, but that it also, in the light of the inefficiency caused by racial friction in the workplace, has considerable economic merits. While they believe that there is no other alternative to creating social cohesion, even those who support the notion of national reconciliation believe that at present we are not very good at it. Most reported that many in their immediate circle of family and friends are still 'still stuck in their ways', only socialising with others from the same racial group. They also note that their peers from different racial groups tend to socialise with those in the same group.

A second group consciously rejects the notion of racial reconciliation. To them it is an unachievable objective and any pursuit of it is bound to fail. Within a social context that is still characterised by injustice and inequality rooted in the past, it simply does not make sense to try and reconcile people when there are still so many unresolved issues. Most of those who hold this view believe that South Africans have done pretty well at tolerating each other, despite their differences, simply because they had no choice to do otherwise. This, they believe, is worth nurturing as a virtue, not any artificial form reconciliation based on



NONKOSI MNGXALI and NTUTHUZELO VANANDA, two interns at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, spoke to several young black professionals about their sentiments regarding national reconciliation.

forced interaction and integration that may have the opposite effect of polarising people.

The third group's approach is more fatalistic and holds the view that they, regardless of their sentiments towards the idea of reconciliation, have and can play no role in the process. This one senses may have something to do with a very pervasive perception amongst young people that their participation in official but toothless bodies, such as the National Youth Commission, only legitimises decisions and processes that do not take cognisance of their opinions as young South Africans.

The latter two groups arguably constitute a significant – if not majority – portion of young South Africans, which makes it therefore critical for them to be understood. It may very well be that South African expectations of young people's engagement with the question of national reconciliation are premised on a lack of appreciation for the

'Whether we like it or not, most young students and graduates appear to be more occupied with their own lives and attempts to ascend corporate and social ladders than they are with the active pursuit of national reconciliation. To them the fact whether national reconciliation occurs or not is inconsequential.'

context within which they find themselves. Perhaps it is time that those in influential positions should seriously ask – and listen to – what it is really like to be young today and what the things are that really matter to this group of people.

In recent years we have seen a rapid expansion of the black middle class, with young professionals actively pursuing rewarding careers. At an age when we are expected to ground and set the trajectory for our careers, there is a mad rush to obtain status, admiration and the material rewards that inform what being a young and hip person in the new South Africa is all about. Whether we like it or not, most young students and graduates appear to be more occupied with their own lives and their attempts to ascend corporate and social ladders than they are with the active pursuit of national reconciliation. To them, whether national reconciliation occurs or not is inconsequential.

Within the workplace most young people are for the first time put in situations where they have to interact and cooperate with young people from other racial groups. It is in this professional, and often cut-throat, environment that many young South Africans seem to experience the most intense forms of racial tension and where friendships among same-race employees are often seen as threatening to individuals' career-development opportunities. Some of our peers have noted that they have experienced very subtle forms of discrimination in the workplace, which often manifest in indirect ways. One such example is when employers are perceived to take a keener interest in mentoring and accommodating same-race colleagues. This perception not only applies to white managers, but also to employer-employee relationships between African, Indian and coloured colleagues. Ironically, it seems as if it is in the very environment where most inter-racial contact takes place that new walls are being erected between young people of different groups. This, therefore, places the onus on employers to be sensitive to this dynamic and play their part in fostering an environment that is conducive to dialogue. While more frequent interaction should not be equated with reconciliation, it does provide an environment conducive to meaningful engagement that could lead to reconciliation in an idiom that is more easily understood by a younger generation.

One is thus left with the impression that many young graduates and professionals do not see any utility in the active promotion of national reconciliation unless it can offer them some form of material gain. Because such initiatives often require the contrary, sacrifice, it becomes a responsibility deferred to government or future generations. Although this attitude may make sense from their particular perspective, the longer-term effect may well be the entrenchment of a culture of silence and frustration regarding relationships in the work place with groups other than their own.

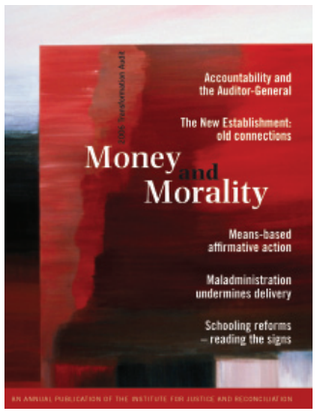
NEW PUBLICATIONS FROM THE INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

2006 TRANSFORMATION AUDIT – MONEY AND MORALITY

Edited by Susan Brown

South Africans are struggling to characterise the times we are living through. Is this a time of deepening social grievance, of political patronage and plunder? Or is it a season of hope and previously unimaginable opportunity for the majority?

The *2006 Transformation Audit – Money and Morality* is the third in a new series published by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. The series reviews the ways in which South Africa's changing economic system affects our political and social landscape.



This edition focuses on social capital and accountability as well as corruption and its costs. Corruption is defined broadly to encompass legal corruption, including mis-management, collusion, inertia and neglect, plus the more usual abuses of public office for private gain. The *2006 Transformation Audit – Money and Morality* asks whether the South African social contract of reconciliation and the rule of law is under threat.

I think it's very important in society that we have organisations like this who can be independent, who can be objective and who can raise the really tough questions and help us find solutions going forward.

Maria Ramos

STORIES OP DIE WIND

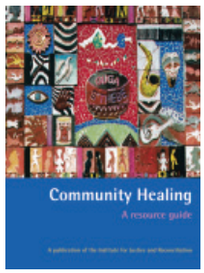
'N HANDLEIDING VIR OPVOEDERS OOR NOORD-KAAPSE VOLKSVERHALE

This publication serves as a guide for educators who use folk tales in various educational contexts. It encourages the use of such tales within this environment and at the same time articulates and gives recognition to the indigenous knowledge and wisdom of the San and Nama people of the Northern Cape. As a result of exposure to these tales, a platform is created for the voices of these communities that have been silenced by colonialism and apartheid.

For an up to date resource on debates and media coverage of nation-building in South Africa, log on to the *SA Monitor* at:
www.ijr.org.za/politicalanalysis/samonitor

COMMUNITY HEALING

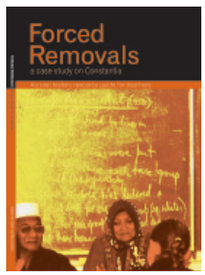
A RESOURCE GUIDE



The Truth and Reconciliation Commission brought home the extent to which apartheid left many South African communities traumatised and dysfunctional. *Community Healing: A resource guide* is the result of a series of initiatives by the Institute of Justice and Reconciliation to begin to address issues of collective trauma and healing. This guide offers: an overview and model for community healing; guidelines for implementing your own community healing initiatives; suggestions and step-by-step instructions for facilitators; case study information to show the process in action; web links and ideas for further investigation.

FORCED REMOVALS: A CASE STUDY ON CONSTANTIA

AN ORAL HISTORY RESOURCE GUIDE FOR TEACHERS



History should be a process of enquiry and debate based on evidence from the past, both written and oral. Learners must be given opportunities for 'doing history' as historians do it: constructing historical knowledge from evidence derived from historical sources. This publication, the result of one such process of 'doing history', tells the story of forced removals from Constantia. In addition, it illustrates how an interactive oral history project can be conducted within the parameters of the National Curriculum Statement. It is aimed at Grade 11 History teachers, but the activities can be adapted for any high-school grade.

SA RECONCILIATION BAROMETER SURVEY 2006

The *SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey* is an annual survey, conducted by the IJR, which tracks public responses to social transformation and its impact on national reconciliation. The survey report of the most recent round of the survey can now be accessed on our website at:

www.ijr.org.za

This publication has been made possible with the financial support of the Royal Danish Embassy (Danida) and the Church of Sweden. The views expressed herein do not necessarily represent those of our donors.

THE INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

CONTACT DETAILS:

House Vincent, Ground Floor
Wynberg Mews
Cnr Brodie and Ebenezer Rd
Wynberg, 7800
Cape Town
South Africa

Tel: +27 21 763 7128
Fax: +27 21 763 7138
E-mail: info@ijr.org.za

EDITOR: Jan Hofmeyr

DESIGN & CONCEPT: Compress

PRINTING: Compress

IMAGES: ©Eric Miller/iAfrika Photos, p8;

©Per-Anders Pettersson/iAfrika Photos, p10

INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION