

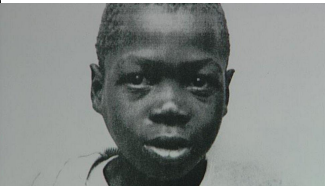
Nation-Building through Transitional Justice

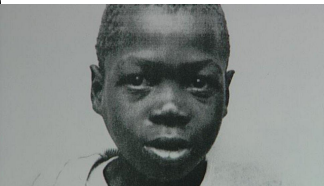
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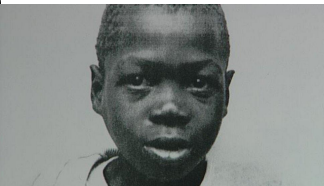
June 16, 2026









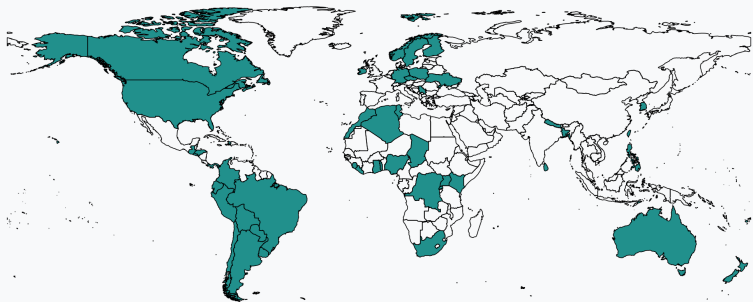


“TRC was the creation of a nation”

(Fullard, 2008)

- ▶ TRCs temporary and independent pseudo-judiciary bodies
 - ▶ Investigate and gather evidence for specific mandate
 - ▶ Eg violations of human rights or intergroup violence
 - ▶ Hearings collected testimonies from victims and perpetrators

- ▶ Promoters of TRCs suggest that recovering a shared narrative
(Fullard 2008, Boraine 2004)
 - ▶ Empowers victims and survivors
 - ▶ Holds perpetrators publicly accountable
 - ▶ Promoting nation-building through reconciliation



- ▶ >50 countries since 1980s, about 41M USD spent on average year
- ▶ Despite wide adoption, scant empirical evidence

This Paper: the TRC in Post-Apartheid South Africa



- ▶ Violent democratization in 1994; TRC hearings from 1996 to 2000 (Mamdani 2020)
- ▶ “One of the most mediated event ever taking place in Africa” (Verdoolaege 2005)
- ▶ Exploit exposure to the TRC through live broadcasting on radio to:
 - Estimate impact on nation building
 - ▶ Ethnic salience: violence and national identity
 - ▶ Intergroup Contact: intermarriage and segregation
 - Downstream impact on efficacy of affirmative action policy

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 - ▶ Reduced compliance with policy promoting Blacks in labor market

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- 3) Consequences for transitional public policy
 - ▶ Reduced compliance with policy promoting Blacks in labor market
- ▶ Why did TRC spur Black nation-building?
 - ▶ Leverage hearings' content and race of testimonies
 - ▶ Main channel: emotional bonding across different ethnic groups

Related Literature

- ▶ **State- and nation- building** (Bazzi et al 2019; Depretis et al, 2020; Esposito et al 2023; Desmond 2023; Carlitz et al 2024)
 - study trade-offs of using truth-telling institutions for nation-building
 - emphasize importance of nation-building for efficacy of policy
- ▶ **Truth Commissions** (Cilliers et al, 2016)
 - first paper studying state-wide TRC on nation-building
- ▶ **Social contract and state performance** (Montenbruck, 2024; Caprettini and Voth 2022; Luttmmer and Singhal, 2014)
 - quality of social contract on affirmative action policy
- ▶ **Media** (Adena et al 2015; Della Vigna et al 2014; Yanagizawa-Drott 2014; Blouin and Mukand, 2019; Armand et al 2020)
 - link media to wide range of outcomes on nation-building & public policy

Historical and Institutional Background

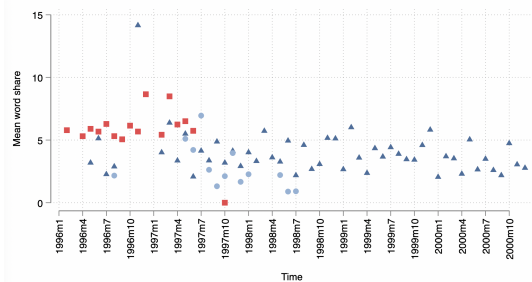
South Africa during Democratization

- ▶ Very diverse: 40.5 M people, 4 races and 12 ethnic groups
(1996 Census)
 - ▶ Black (77%), White (11%), Coloured (9%), Indians and others (3%)
- ▶ Deep rooted socio-economic division
(Mbewe and Woolard 2016; Chatterjee et al 2022)
 - ▶ Unparalleled wealth concentration: top 10% holds 86% of wealth
in the US top 10% holds about 70%
 - ▶ Including assets: top 10% holds 60% business assets
 - ▶ Blacks own <5% of Whites wealth
- ▶ Between 1984 and 1994, 20,500 political fatalities occurred
(Mamdani 2020)
 - ▶ State repression
 - ▶ Inter-racial violence: mostly liberation forces or apartheid supporters
 - ▶ Black-on-black: clashes between Black political organizations

The South African TRC

- ▶ Part of peace-deal, instituted in 1995, hearings from 1996 to 2000 (TRC Final Report, 2003)
- ▶ Mandated to investigate *political violence* 1960-1994
 - ▶ eg freedom fighters or far-right Afrikaner nationalists
- ▶ Gathered extensive evidence from both victims and perpetrators
 - ▶ Collected testimonies from more than 22K victims
 - ▶ Received 7,112 amnesty applications
 - ▶ About 2,500 public hearings
- ▶ Media key role in dissemination of the TRC to wider population
 - ▶ Effort to achieve a “national ritual on media”
 - ▶ *Radio 2000* broadcasted hearings live
 - ▶ Radio considered most effective for widespread access

TRC Hearings



- ▶ Human right violation (HRV) hearings
 - ▶ Victims disclosing violations suffered
 - ▶ Predominantly Black victims from different ethnic groups
 - ▶ Narrative around violations of HR from apartheid state
- ▶ Amnesty Hearings
 - ▶ Perpetrators disclosing their misdeed in exchange for amnesty
 - ▶ 56% perpetrators were Blacks
 - ▶ Violence discussed: Across race and Black on black

Hearings' Content Examples

Black perpetrators members of liberation forces acts of terrorism

Date	Matter	Applicant	Applicant's Race	Summary
2000-08-01	ANC Politico- Military Events	Ronald Kasrils	Non-white	Kasrils confesses to politically motivated acts, including an explosion at a communications tower and a bomb attack on a military bus sanctioned by Umkhonto weSizwe. The cross-examination delves into targets, civilian casualties, and the chain of command within Umkhonto weSizwe. Kasrils stresses the political rationale behind the operations and efforts made to prevent harm to civilians. Topics discussed include cadre autonomy in target selection, material usage during the anti-apartheid struggle, and precautions against civilian casualties. Legal representatives present arguments on the amnesty application's validity.

killing members of other factions

2000-07-12	Murder of 14-Year-Old Stompie Sepei	Jerry Musivuzi Richardson	Black	poses. The text delves into three primary narratives: Ms. Falati's denial of involvement in child abduction, Mr. Richardson's amnesty application, and Mrs. Madikizela-Mandela's lack of cooperation with the TRC. It scrutinizes evidence of criminal activities associated with the Mandela Football Club, particularly focusing on Mr. Richardson's disclosures, credibility, mental state, and inconsistencies in his statements. Questions arise regarding his personality disorder, intelligence, and testimony veracity. Emphasized is the necessity of full disclosure and amnesty in legal proceedings, evaluating Mr. Richardson's motives and actions in events such as the deaths of Sono and Stompie Sepei.
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White perpetrators generally members of SA police or defense force

2000-07-07	Operation Delta: Targeting ANC and PAC Members	Eugene Alexander De Kock	White	Mr. E A de Kock's testimony admitting to his role in an operation targeting ANC and PAC members in neighboring countries. He appointed Mr. Kentane, provided support, weapons, and explosives, and received reports of killings. De Kock sought amnesty for his involvement in murders, discussing handler functions for Mr. Kentane and the reasoning behind targeting ANC members. The text delves into using secret photo albums for identification, operational methods, ethical dilemmas, and risks. De Kock justifies actions as necessary for national security, questioning Mr. Kentane's credibility.
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Debate Around TRC

- ▶ Some argue that TRC worked as national shared experience

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"Foregrounding race in its discussions of violence and victim-hood, the TRC could have inadvertently entrenched divisions rather than fostering integration"

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- ▶ Not everyone might have equally agreed the narrative of the TRC

“White South Africans viewed the TRC as biased, perceiving it as an attack on their community. This response often stemmed from discomfort or disbelief regarding the extent of apartheid-era abuses revealed by the commission.”

(Daniel 1997)

Empirical Setup

Source of Variation in TRC Media Exposure

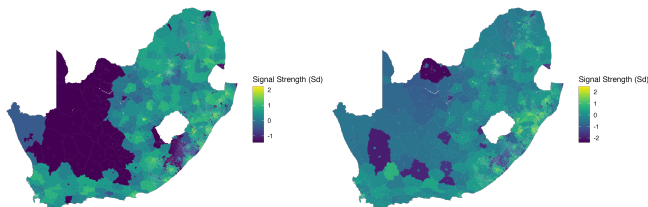
- ▶ Build exposure to the TRC through live broadcasting on *Radio 2000*
- ▶ Collect and digitize data on active antennas during trials
Source: Independent Broadcasting Authority
- ▶ Use ITM model to reconstruct signal strength
(Hufford 2002)
- ▶ Geographic variation at suburb ($\sim 12K$) or municipal level (~ 800)
- ▶ Link TRC media variation to outcomes from different sources:
 - ▶ Violence: SCAD (1990-2017) & ACLED (1998-2020)
 - ▶ Identity: Afrobarometer, 6 waves (2000-2016)
 - ▶ Inter-marriage and segregation: SA Census (1996, 2001, 2011)
 - ▶ Corporate tax data: SA National Treasury (2008-2018)

Identification Challenge #1

- ▶ Naive variation in TRC media exposure likely endogenous
- ▶ Isolate variation driven by mix of topography on path to receiver
- ▶ Reconstruct two types of signals
 - ▶ TRC_s : **actual signal strength**
(based on distance, frequency and power of antennas, topography)
 - ▶ TRC_s^{free} : **hypothetical signal strength** free of topographic obstructions
 - ▶ Conditional on TRC_s^{free} , variation in TRC_s driven by topography

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Identification Challenge #2

- ▶ Is it about TRC or other content on Radio 2000?
 - ▶ Reconstruct coverage of other outlets talking about TRC
 - ▶ Radio stations with non-live and smaller TRC coverage
 - ▶ TV public channels
 - ▶ Run falsification and horse-race analysis
(Armand et al 2020)
- Our results go through only with R2000

Empirical Specifications

▶ DiD Specification

$$Y_{s,m,t} = \beta TRC_{s,m} \cdot Post_t + \beta TRC_{s,m}^{free} \cdot Post_t + \gamma_s + \gamma_t + \gamma_{m,t} + \epsilon_{s,m,t}$$

$Y_{s,m,t}$ longitudinal outcome: eg violence incidence

$TRC_{s,m}$ Radio 2000 exposure

γ unit and period fixed effects

Standard errors clustered at unit level

▶ Cross-sectional Analysis

$$Y_{i,s,m} = \beta TRC_{s,m} + \gamma TRC_{s,m}^{free} + \Gamma X_{i,s,m} + \gamma_m + \epsilon_{i,s,m}$$

$Y_{i,s,m}$ cross-sectional outcome: eg National Identity

$TRC_{s,m}$ Radio 2000 exposure

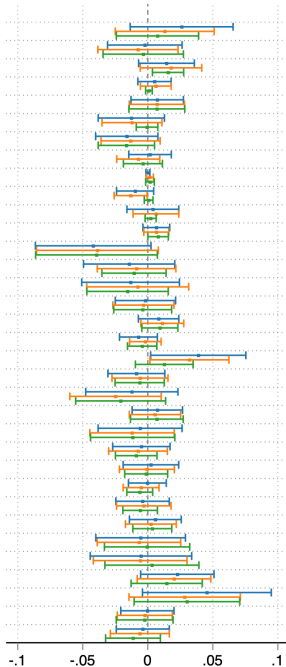
γ unit fixed effects

X individual or suburb-level controls

Standard errors clustered at higher admin-level

**Pre-TRC
Observables**

- IHS Pop
- Sh. Male
- Sh. White
- Sh. Black
- Sh. Urban
- Sh. Age 50+
- Sh. Age 60+
- Sh. South Africans
- Sh. Int. Migr.
- Sh. Speak Afrik
- Sh. Speak English
- Sh. Speak Zulu
- Sh. Christian
- Sh. In School
- Sh. Illiterate
- Years School
- Sh. HS Grad
- Sh. Out of WorkForce
- Sh. Employed
- Unemployment Rate
- Sh. in Manufacturing
- Sh. Own House
- Sh. Electricity
- Sh. Own Toilet
- Sh. Prop. Water
- Sh. Telephone
- Sh. Prop. Waste
- Sh. Married
- No. Children
- No. Surv. Children
- Avg Income
- IHS Night Lights 1995
- Prob Violence (1990-95)
- PC Violence (1990-95)



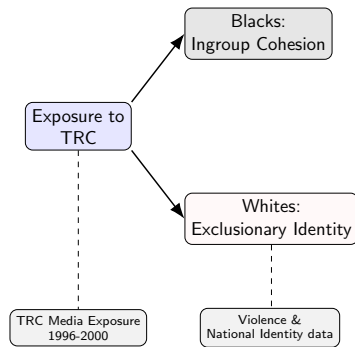
Results

Main Results: Ingroup Unity vs Outgroup Division

- ▶ TRC promoted Black ingroup cohesion while increasing racial divide
- ▶ Dynamics consistent with impact through identity (Shayo, 2020):
 - ▶ immediate impact on identity
 - ▶ slower change on intergroup contact

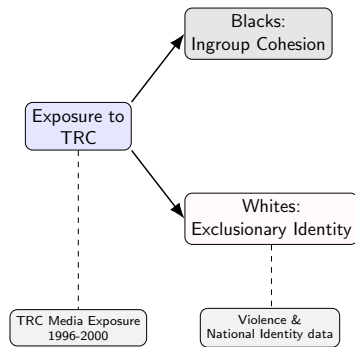
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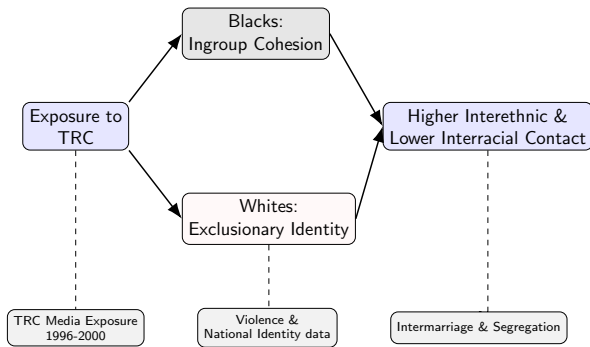
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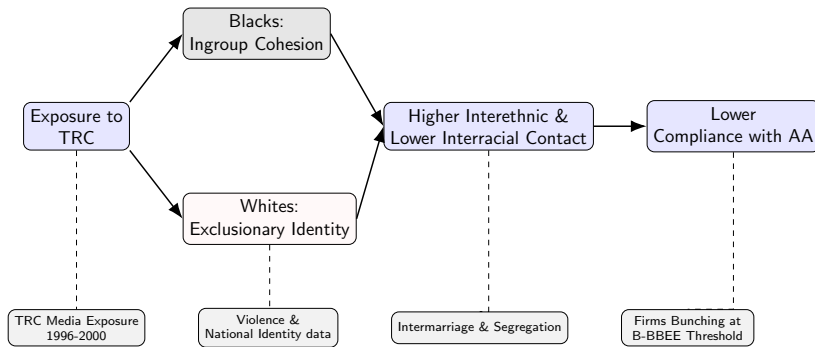
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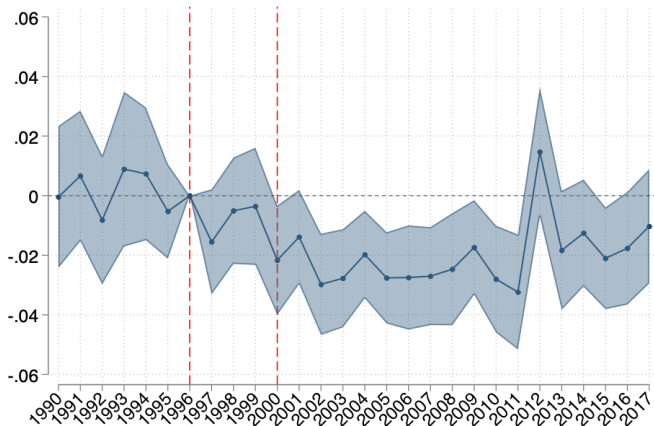


Violence and National Identity

Goal of the TRC: “[...] *promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past*”

(Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995)

TRC Lowered Interethnic Violence



- ▶ Outcome: Log number of violent events
- ▶ Extensive margin weighted as 100% increase (Chen and Roth, 2024)
- ▶ About 85 events pre-TRC: TRC → 1.7 less events per year
- ▶ Reduction concentrated in intra-black violence By Type
- ▶ Extensive Margin ACLED DiD Robust

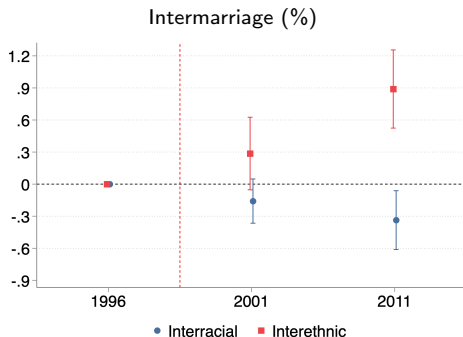
TRC Promoted National Identity for Black SAs

	National Identity					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
TRC Media	0.021** (0.008)	0.023*** (0.008)	0.023*** (0.007)	0.023*** (0.008)	0.024*** (0.008)	
TRC Media × Black						0.017** (0.009)
TRC Media × White						-0.014 (0.022)
Geographic	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnic		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socio-Econ			✓	✓	✓	✓
Ind Demo				✓	✓	✓
Ind Ethnic					✓	✓
Race × Wave FE						✓
Race × Muni FE						✓
Muni × Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70
Adj R ²	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.12	0.12	0.09
Observations	11059	11059	11059	10983	10983	10907

- ▶ Data Source: Afrobarometer
- ▶ National Identity: Index of Feel SA and United SA (Sd ~ .32)
- ▶ Dynamics: Effect kicks in immediately, evaporates in 2010s [Table](#)
- ▶ *Exclusionary* identity for White SAs [Identity Figure](#)

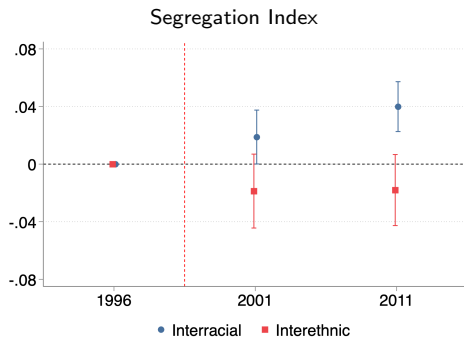
Ethnic and Racial Contact

TRC Boosted Interethnic but Reduced Interracial Marriage



- ▶ Data Source: SA Census 2011-2001-1996 waves
- ▶ Sample: Couples below the age of 30
- ▶ Intermarriage Table [TABLE](#)
- ▶ Higher intermarriage within both races [TABLE](#)

TRC Increased Racial Segregation



- ▶ Outcome: Muni-level dissimilarity index but similar results with Gini Index
- ▶ Data Source: SA Census 2011-2001-1996 waves
- ▶ Segregation Table [TABLE](#)
- ▶ Likely not driven by outmigration: no effect on pop shares [SHARE WHITE](#)

Robustness

- ▶ Falsifications Radio 2000 vs other TRC media
 - ▶ Impact of Radio 2000 unaffected by inclusion of other media outlets
 - IDENTITY
 - VIOLENCE
 - INTERMARRIAGE
 - SEGREGATION
- ▶ Results robust to distances agglomeration centers
 - DISTANCES
- ▶ Results robust to dropping unit with antennas
 - SAMPLE ROBUSTNESS
- ▶ Alternative Inference
 - INFERENCE

Public Policy

Implications for public policy

- ▶ TRC part of a broader effort to undo wrongs of the past
- ▶ How does TRC influence the ability of SA to implement AA policies?

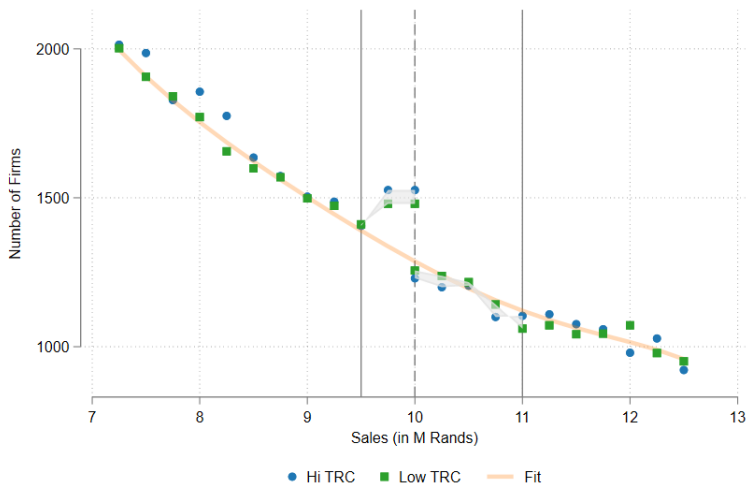
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Implications for public policy

- ▶ TRC part of a broader effort to undo wrongs of the past
- ▶ How does TRC influence the ability of SA to implement AA policies?
 - ▶ Our H: Racial divide → lower compliance with AA with racial focus
- ▶ Exploit key threshold from B-BBEE policy
 - ▶ Data source: matched employer-employee tax data (2008-2018)
 - ▶ Above 10M ZAR firms AA legislation applies
 - ▶ Bunching typically exists
- ▶ Do TRC firms perform more bunching at 10M?

TRC Firms Bunch More and Avoid Comply with AA



- ▶ Difference in bunching statistically significant, extra 247 firms, bootstrapped se (Chetty et al. 2011; Kleven 2016)
- ▶ Consistent with TRC increasing the implicit tax associated to AA

Bunching Below the 10M Threshold, Panel Evidence

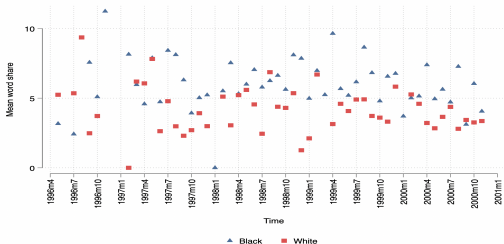
<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	Likelihood Growth to the Next Million				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TRC × 6M	-0.00452 (0.0181)	-0.00491 (0.0181)	-0.00726 (0.0179)	-0.00452 (0.0181)	-0.00783 (0.0179)
TRC × 7M	0.0107 (0.0201)	0.00910 (0.0201)	0.0150 (0.0200)	0.00986 (0.0201)	0.0125 (0.0200)
TRC × 8M	0.000848 (0.0206)	-0.00107 (0.0207)	0.00496 (0.0205)	0.0010 (0.0206)	0.00229 (0.0207)
TRC × 9M	-0.0463** (0.0216)	-0.0468** (0.0217)	-0.0493** (0.0214)	-0.0468** (0.0215)	-0.0503** (0.0215)
TRC × 10M	-0.00504 (0.0208)	-0.00249 (0.0207)	-0.00457 (0.0210)	-0.00510 (0.0208)	-0.00213 (0.0208)
TRC × 11M	-0.0130 (0.0227)	-0.0129 (0.0228)	-0.00916 (0.0227)	-0.0136 (0.0228)	-0.00890 (0.0230)
TRC × 12M	0.0123 (0.0224)	0.0119 (0.0224)	0.00983 (0.0224)	0.0124 (0.0224)	0.0100 (0.0225)
Firm FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year by Muni FE		✓			✓
Year by Sales FE			✓		✓
Year by Industry FE				✓	✓
R ²	0.190	0.194	0.236	0.192	0.242
Observations	1,203,644	1,203,171	1,198,116	1,203,192	1,197,189

Taking Stock

- ▶ In sum, the TRC
 - ▶ fostered the creation of a Black nation, but
 - ▶ furthered separation between races, with
 - ▶ negative implications for compliance with AA policy
- ▶ What drove Black nation building?
- ▶ Two channels: emotional bounding vs access to information

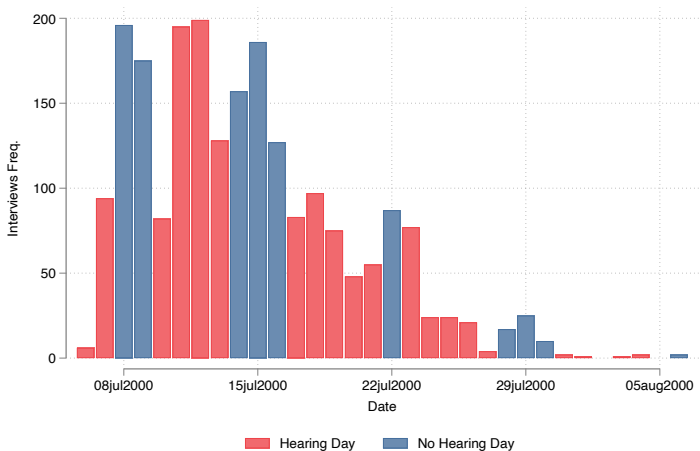
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- ▶ Look at content of TRC amnesty hearings
 - ▶ 56% perpetrators were Blacks
 - ▶ Violence discussed: Across race and Black on black



Focus on TRC Hearings Overlapping with Afrobarometer Survey

- ▶ Afrob survey administered between July and August 2000
- ▶ At the same time, Radio 2000 broadcasted TRC hearings live
- ▶ Questions related directly to the TRC



Empirical Specification

- ▶ Restrict attention to months when AB survey administered
- ▶ Estimate impact of Radio 2000 exposure the day with a hearing
- ▶ Exploit salience: immediate reaction to TRC

$$Y_{i,s,t} = \beta \underbrace{\text{Radio_2K}_{s,m} \times \text{Hearing}_t}_{\text{TRC Exposure}} \times \text{Race}_i + \lambda X_i + \gamma_t + \gamma_s + \epsilon_{i,s,t}$$

$Y_{i,s,t}$ is an outcome for individual i on day t in suburb s

$\text{Radio_2K}_{s,m} \times \text{Hearing}_t$ radio signal interacted with an indicator for post-hearing

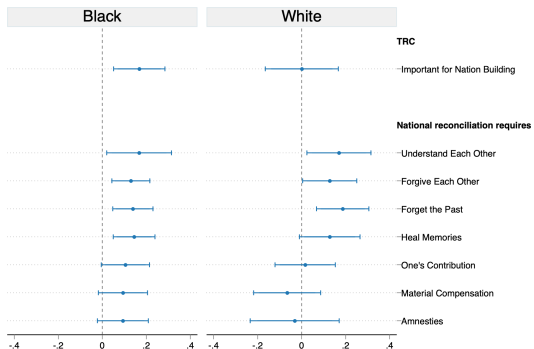
X_i are individual-level controls

day (γ_t) and suburb by hearing-period fixed effects (γ_s)

Standard errors clustered at the suburb level (N=280)

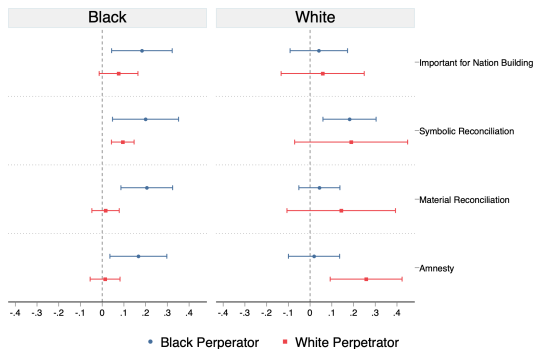
- ▶ Balance test on individual pre-determined characteristics Balance Tests

Attitudes towards the TRC



► Blacks form good opinions towards TRC and reconciliation

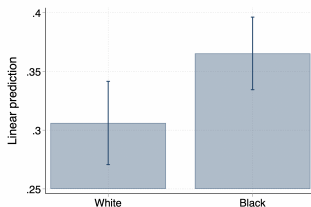
Results on Blacks driven by Black testimonies



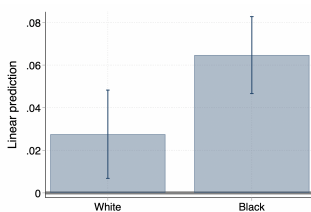
- ▶ Effects driven by Black testimonies from different ethnic groups

Content of Black Testimonies More Emotional

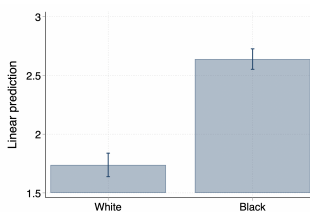
(a) Reconciliation



(b) Remorse

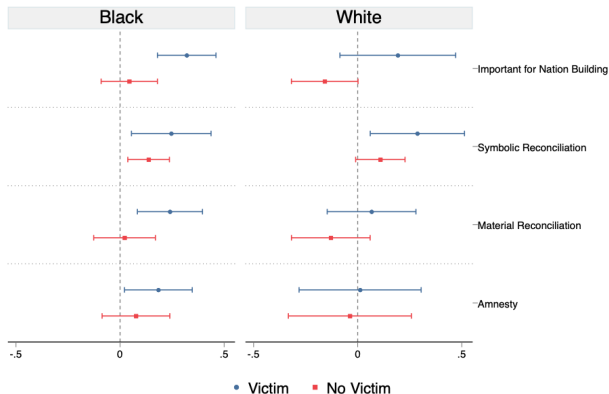


(c) Violence



Measured as the share of per thousand words related to concept word

Heterogeneity based on Victims Suggests Emotional Channel



- ▶ Victims: proxy of information about violence of apartheid
- ▶ Access to information seems to increase salience, rather than reduce it

Conclusion

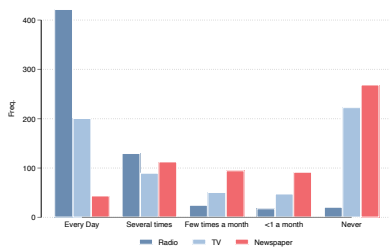
This paper

- ▶ Impact of transitional justice on nation-building
- ▶ Study iconic South African TRC through media exposure
- ▶ Find that TRCs involve important trade-offs
 - ▶ High ingroup cohesion Blacks, but
 - ▶ negative consequences for outgroup division
- ▶ Downstream effects for broader reconciliation effort
 - ▶ lower compliance to AA policy promoting racial integration in workplace
- ▶ Reconciliation through emotional bonding played key role to shape impact of TRC

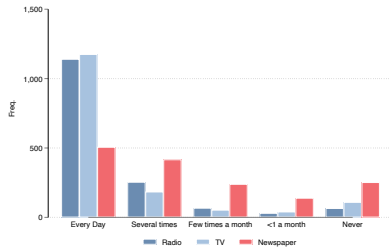
Appendix

Descriptives: Media Consumption

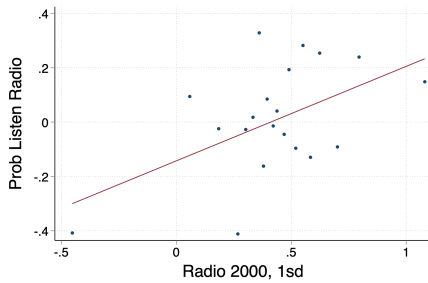
Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	N Obs
Black					
Listen Radio Often	0.90	0.31	0.00	1.00	1552
Watch TV Often	0.69	0.46	0.00	1.00	1552
White					
Listen Radio Often	0.90	0.30	0.00	1.00	320
Watch TV Often	0.93	0.25	0.00	1.00	320



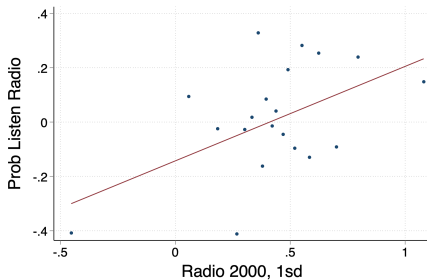
(a) Rural



(b) Urban



Back

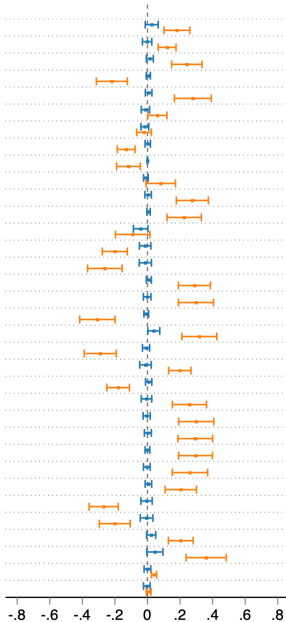


Back

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	N Obs
Black					
Listen Radio Often	0.90	0.31	0.00	1.00	1552
Watch TV Often	0.69	0.46	0.00	1.00	1552
White					
Listen Radio Often	0.90	0.30	0.00	1.00	320
Watch TV Often	0.93	0.25	0.00	1.00	320

**Pre-TRC
Observables**

- IHS Pop
- Sh. Male
- Sh. White
- Sh. Black
- Sh. Urban
- Sh. Age 50+
- Sh. Age 60+
- Sh. South Africans
- Sh. Int. Migr.
- Sh. Speak Afrik
- Sh. Speak English
- Sh. Speak Zulu
- Sh. Christian
- Sh. In School
- Sh. Illiterate
- Sh. HS Grad
- Years School
- Sh. Out of WorkForce
- Sh. Employed
- Unemployment Rate
- Sh. in Manufacturing
- Sh. Own House
- Sh. Electricity
- Sh. Own Toilet
- Sh. Prop. Water
- Sh. Telephone
- Sh. Prop. Waste
- Sh. Married
- No. Children
- No. Surv. Children
- Avg Income
- Night Lights 1995
- Prob Violence (1990-95)
- PC Violence (1990-95)



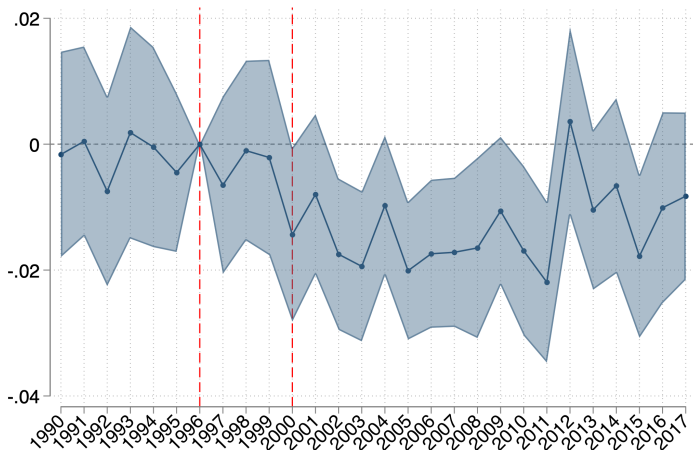
■ Conditional ■ Unconditional

Violence Reduction by Type

	Log Violence				Log N Deaths
	Any	Intergroup	Other	Black	
(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TRC Media × Post -0.058***	-0.020*** (0.005)	-0.017*** (0.005)	-0.010*** (0.003)	-0.015*** (0.004)	-0.004** (0.002)
Muni FE ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var. -0.95	-0.96	-0.99	-0.97	-0.99	-1.00
Adj R ² 0.18	0.51	0.16	0.54	0.12	0.12
Observations 21700	21700	21700	21700	21700	21700

► Data Source: SCAD

TRC Reduces Violence, Extensive Margin



- ▶ Data Source: SCAD
- ▶ Outcome: indicator of violence

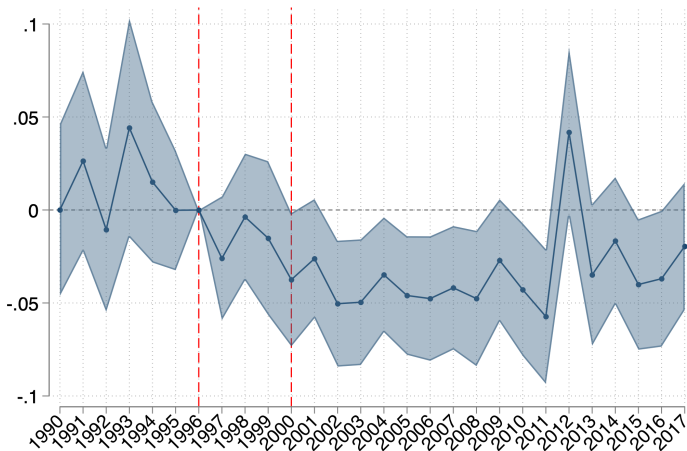
TRC Reduces Violence - ACLED

	Violence			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
TRC Media	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.001** (0.000)
Basic	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnic	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socio-Econ	✓	✓	✓	✓
Muni × Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	-0.98	-1.00	-0.99	-1.00
Adj R ²	0.09	0.04	0.07	0.05
Observations	289016	289016	289016	289016

► Data Source: ACLED

TRC Reduces Violence, Robust to Heterogeneous Effects

(Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille 2024)



- ▶ Data Source: SCAD
- ▶ Outcome: Log Violent Events

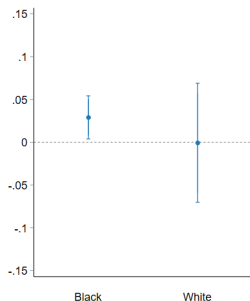
[Back](#)

Dynamics of TRC Effects on National Identity

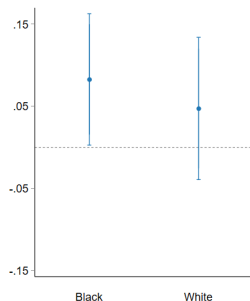
<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	National identity		Feel SA		United SA	
	<i>Time Period</i>	2000s	2010s	2000s	2010s	2000s
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
TRC Media × Black	0.050*** (0.017)	0.006 (0.010)	0.055* (0.029)	0.008 (0.016)	0.035** (0.017)	0.005 (0.014)
TRC Media × White	0.010 (0.059)	-0.030 (0.032)	-0.009 (0.069)	-0.047 (0.093)	0.062 (0.065)	-0.013 (0.074)
Geographic	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnic	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socio-Econ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ind Demo	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ind Ethnic	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Muni × Wave × Race FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.73	0.68	0.63	0.54	0.83	0.83
Adj R ²	0.09	0.07	0.11	0.10	0.07	0.05
Observations	4340	6520	4340	6520	6408	6520

Impact of TRC on Identity Markers by Race (1)

(a) Proud of Being SA



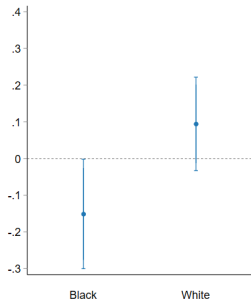
(b) Proud of Identity



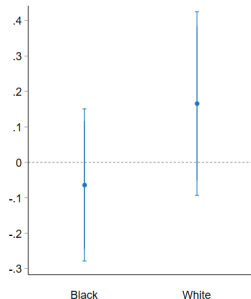
BACK

Impact of TRC on Identity Markers by Race (2)

(a) *Best Identity*



(b) *Identity Very Different*



BACK

TRC Boosted Interethnic but Reduced Interracial Marriage

	Intermarriage (%)							
	Interracial				Interethnic			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
TRC Media × Post	-0.270** (0.130)	-0.260** (0.103)	-0.247** (0.099)	-0.243** (0.106)	0.546** (0.237)	0.821*** (0.206)	0.720*** (0.197)	0.574*** (0.153)
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity × Muni FE		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity × Year FE		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Sh. Ethnic × Year FE			✓	✓			✓	✓
Province × Year FE				✓				✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	1.56	1.55	1.55	1.55	7.71	7.62	7.62	7.62
Adj R ²	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.11	0.11	0.11
Observations	158242	157779	157779	157779	158242	157779	157779	157779

BACK

TRC Increased Racial Segregation

	Segregation					
	Interracial			Interethnic		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
TRC Media \times Post	0.029*** (0.007)	0.029*** (0.008)	0.030*** (0.008)	-0.032*** (0.011)	-0.021* (0.011)	-0.018 (0.012)
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sh. Ethnic \times Year FE		✓	✓		✓	✓
Province \times Year FE			✓			✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.68	0.68	0.68	0.45	0.45	0.45
Adj R ²	0.77	0.77	0.78	0.54	0.56	0.56
Observations	2110	2110	2110	2084	2084	2084

BACK

Interethnic Marriage by Race

Dependent Variable: Inter-marriage ·100

	Black				White			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
TRC Media × Post	0.798*** (0.236)	1.060*** (0.288)	0.851*** (0.294)	0.506** (0.202)	0.362 (0.294)	0.356 (0.316)	0.103 (0.321)	0.738** (0.320)
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity × Muni FE		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity × Year FE		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Sh. Ethnic × Year FE			✓	✓			✓	✓
Province × Year FE				✓				✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	9.53	9.40	9.40	9.40	4.97	4.82	4.82	4.82
Adj R ²	0.04	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.05
Observations	107339	106933	106933	106933	29450	29288	29288	29288

- ▶ Data Source: SA Census 2011-1996 waves
- ▶ Couples below age of 30

BACK

TRC No Effect on Share White or Black

	Share White				Share Black			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
TRC Media \times Post	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.005)	0.005 (0.004)	0.006 (0.004)	0.008 (0.005)	0.011* (0.006)	0.001 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.005)
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Population 1996 \times Year FE		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Sh. White 1996 \times Year FE			✓	✓			✓	✓
Province \times Year FE				✓				✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.61	0.61	0.61	0.61
Adj R ²	0.81	0.81	0.85	0.85	0.95	0.95	0.96	0.96
Observations	1514	1514	1514	1514	1514	1514	1514	1514

► Data Source: SA Census 2011-1996 waves

BACK

Robustness to Distances to Urbanization, Identity

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	National Identity				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TRC Media	0.024*** (0.008)	0.024*** (0.008)	0.024*** (0.008)	0.026*** (0.008)	0.026*** (0.008)
Dist to Johannesburg		✓			✓
Dist to Cape Town			✓		✓
Dist to Prov Capital				✓	✓
Geographic	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnic	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socio-Econ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Individual	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Muni × Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70
Adj R ²	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.12
Observations	10983	10983	10983	10983	10983

BACK TO SLIDE

Robustness to Distances to Urbanization, Violence

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	Log Violence				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TRC Media \times Post	-0.020*** (0.005)	-0.016*** (0.004)	-0.016*** (0.004)	-0.016*** (0.005)	-0.015*** (0.005)
Dist to Johannesburg		✓			✓
Dist to Cape Town			✓		✓
Dist to Prov Capital				✓	✓
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	-0.96	-0.96	-0.96	-0.96	-0.96
Adj R ²	0.51	0.52	0.51	0.53	0.53
Observations	21700	21700	21700	20384	20384

BACK TO SLIDE

Robustness to Distances to Urbanization, Intermarriage

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	Interracial Marriage				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TRC Media \times Post	-0.243** (0.106)	-0.243** (0.105)	-0.238** (0.100)	-0.299*** (0.110)	-0.274** (0.109)
Dist to Johannesburg		✓			✓
Dist to Cape Town			✓		✓
Dist to Prov Capital				✓	✓
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity \times Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity \times Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sh. Ethnic \times Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Province \times Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	1.55	1.55	1.55	1.55	1.55
Adj R ²	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06
Observations	157779	157779	157779	157779	157779

BACK TO SLIDE

Robustness to Distances to Urbanization, Segregation

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	Racial Segregation				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TRC Media \times Post	0.030*** (0.008)	0.030*** (0.008)	0.030*** (0.008)	0.032*** (0.009)	0.033*** (0.009)
Dist to Johannesburg		✓			✓
Dist to Cape Town			✓		✓
Dist to Prov Capital				✓	✓
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sh. Ethnic \times Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Province \times Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.68	0.68	0.68	0.67	0.67
Adj R ²	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.77	0.78
Observations	2110	2110	2110	1969	1969

BACK TO SLIDE

Robustness to Excluding Suburbs with Antennas, Identity

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	National Identity				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TRC Media	0.024*** (0.008)	0.022*** (0.008)	0.021** (0.008)	0.022*** (0.008)	0.021** (0.008)
Exclude Suburb with Tx					
Radio 2000		✓			
Any Radio			✓		
Any Tv				✓	
Any					✓
Geographic	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnic	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socio-Econ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Individual	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Muni × Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70
Adj R ²	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.12
Observations	10983	10461	9904	9772	9670

BACK TO SLIDE

Robustness to Excluding Suburbs with Antennas, Violence

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	Log Violence				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TRC Media \times Post	-0.020*** (0.005)	-0.016*** (0.005)	-0.016*** (0.005)	-0.014*** (0.005)	-0.013*** (0.005)
Exclude Muni with Tx					
Radio 2000		✓			
Any Radio			✓		
Any TV				✓	
Any					✓
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	-0.96	-0.98	-0.97	-0.98	-0.98
Adj R ²	0.51	0.49	0.51	0.34	0.35
Observations	21700	20160	18284	18116	17780

BACK TO SLIDE

Robustness to Excluding Suburbs with Antennas, Intermarriage

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	Interracial Marriage				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TRC Media × Post	-0.243** (0.106)	-0.282** (0.133)	-0.277* (0.163)	-0.390** (0.160)	-0.389** (0.186)
Exclude Muni with Tx					
Radio 2000		✓			
Any Radio			✓		
Any Tv				✓	
Any					✓
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity × Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity × Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sh. Ethnic × Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Province × Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	1.55	1.60	1.40	1.32	1.30
Adj R ²	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.08
Observations	157779	72614	59855	56416	54995

Robustness to Excluding Suburbs with Antennas, Inter-marriage

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	Interethnic Marriage				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TRC Media \times Post	0.574*** (0.153)	0.821*** (0.196)	0.880*** (0.285)	0.817*** (0.259)	0.840*** (0.315)
Exclude Muni with Tx					
Radio 2000		✓			
Any Radio			✓		
Any Tv				✓	
Any					✓
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity \times Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity \times Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sh. Ethnic \times Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Province \times Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	7.62	7.07	7.84	8.13	8.19
Adj R ²	0.11	0.11	0.10	0.10	0.10
Observations	157779	72614	59855	56416	54995

Robustness to Excluding Suburbs with Antennas, Segregation

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	Racial Segregation				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
TRC Media \times Post	0.030*** (0.008)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.025*** (0.009)	0.026*** (0.009)	0.026*** (0.009)
Exclude Muni with Tx					
Radio 2000		✓			
Any Radio			✓		
Any TV				✓	
Any					✓
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sh. Ethnic \times Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Province \times Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.68	0.68	0.70	0.70	0.70
Adj R ²	0.78	0.78	0.77	0.77	0.77
Observations	2110	1946	1746	1728	1692

BACK TO SLIDE

Falsification with Alternative Media, Identity

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	National Identity			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
TRC Media	0.024*** (0.008)	0.021*** (0.008)	0.025*** (0.007)	0.022*** (0.008)
Radio Coverage		0.008 (0.005)		0.008 (0.005)
TV Coverage			-0.003 (0.011)	-0.002 (0.011)
Geographic	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnic	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socio-Econ	✓	✓	✓	✓
Individual	✓	✓	✓	✓
Muni × Wave FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70
Adj R ²	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.12
Observations	10983	10983	10983	10983

BACK TO SLIDE

Falsifications with Alternative Media, Violence

<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	Log Violence			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
TRC Media × Post	-0.020*** (0.005)	-0.020*** (0.005)	-0.019*** (0.005)	-0.019*** (0.005)
Radio Coverage × Post		-0.000 (0.002)		0.000 (0.003)
TV Coverage × Post			-0.001 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	-0.96	-0.96	-0.96	-0.96
Adj R ²	0.51	0.51	0.51	0.51
Observations	21700	21700	21700	21700

BACK TO SLIDE

Falsifications with Alternative Media, Racial Inter-marriage

	<i>Dependent Variable: Inter-marriage ·100</i>							
	Interracial				Interethnic			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
TRC Media × Post	-0.243** (0.106)	-0.239** (0.106)	-0.253** (0.112)	-0.250** (0.111)	0.574*** (0.153)	0.558*** (0.157)	0.542*** (0.158)	0.531*** (0.161)
Radio Coverage × Post		-0.064 (0.069)		-0.068 (0.069)		0.235 (0.184)		0.224 (0.185)
TV Coverage × Post			0.050 (0.106)	0.057 (0.106)			0.166 (0.151)	0.143 (0.152)
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity × Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ethnicity × Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sh. Ethnic × Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Province × Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	1.55	1.55	1.55	1.55	7.62	7.62	7.62	7.62
Adj R ²	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.11
Observations	157779	157779	157779	157779	157779	157779	157779	157779

BACK TO SLIDE

Falsifications with Alternative Media, Segregation

Dependent Variable: Segregation

	Racial				Ethnic			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
TRC Media × Post	0.030*** (0.008)	0.025*** (0.009)	0.029*** (0.008)	0.025*** (0.009)	-0.018 (0.012)	-0.025** (0.013)	-0.016 (0.012)	-0.023* (0.013)
Radio Coverage × Post		0.016** (0.008)		0.016* (0.008)		0.022* (0.011)		0.025** (0.011)
TV Coverage × Post			0.004 (0.007)	0.001 (0.008)			-0.011 (0.012)	-0.017 (0.012)
Muni FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sh. Ethnic × Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Province × Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.68	0.68	0.68	0.68	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.45
Adj R ²	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.56
Observations	2110	2110	2110	2110	2084	2084	2084	2084

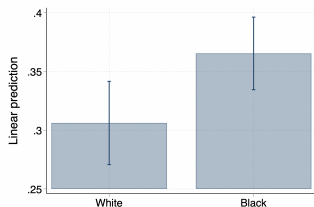
BACK TO SLIDE

Alternative Inference

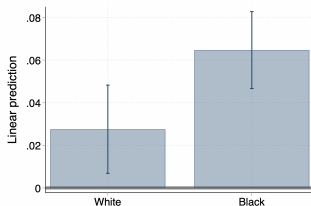
Dep. var.	Estimate (1)	Baseline (2)	HAK 75 (3)	HAK 150 (4)
<u>Afrobarometer outcomes</u>				
1. national identity (ATE)	.099	.0327***	.029***	.0257***
2. national identity (blacks)	.0684	.0334**	.0382*	.0285**
3. national identity (whites)	.0312	.0994	.0708	.0619
4. own group best (blacks)	-.0686	.1422	.	.0451
5. own group best (whites)	.2258	.1568	.2076	.2233
6. own group different (blacks)	-.2154	.0768***	.0869**	.0931**
7. own group different (whites)	.1985	.0852**	.0778**	.085**
<u>Sorting outcomes</u>				
8. racial sorting	.0377	.0072***	.0077***	.0058***
9. ethnic sorting	-.0191	.0153	.0132	.0091**
<u>Violence</u>				
10. total	-.0107	.0056*	.0052**	.0046**
11. total ethnic	-.0117	.0051**	.0058**	.0047**
12. total non-ethnic	-.0044	.0043	.0037	.0039
13. total ethnic black	-.0093	.0038**	.0048*	.0032***
14. total deaths	-.0317	.0136**	.016**	.0086***

Black Perpetrators Significantly More Emotional

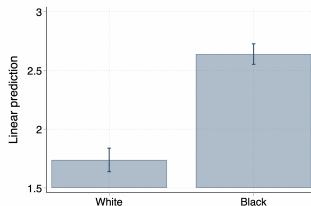
(a) Reconciliation



(b) Remorse



(c) Violence



Measured as the share of per thousand words related to concept word

Balance Test on Individual Characteristics

