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AN EXPLORATION OF THE VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITY YOUTH:

A STUDY OF A SELECT GROUP OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

by

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ABSTRACT

It is generally accepted that the youth are overall apathetic towards political activities and that such apathy is evidenced in low voter turnout during elections. Such conventional wisdom seems to be based mainly on findings in Western democracies and generates concern as to the future nature and resilience of democracy. When a significantly large proportion of the voting population shows apathetic attitudes towards the processes that enable participation of the public in democracy, it questions the extent to which a democracy can be consolidated. In the past the South African youth played an important role in the process of transformation to democracy and thereby possibly left a legacy of youth involvement. However, in the developing world, which includes South Africa, the youth seems to show the same sort of abstaining behaviour as their Western counterparts towards elections. This is problematic as the South African youth comprises a significantly large proportion of the voting population. This dissertation focuses on South African university youth and their political and voting behaviour. They have been chosen for the focus of this study as they are widely considered to be the future elite and leadership of South Africa. The aim of this study is to determine the extent to which Western scholarly explanations of youth voting behaviour can be applied to South African university youth. Western literature on voting behaviour identifies various models of voting behaviour (which comprise the Sociological Model, Michigan Model, Party Identification Model, Media/Dominant Ideology Model and Rational Choice Model) and age effects on voting behaviour (Cohort Effect, Individual Ageing Effect and Life Cycle Effect). Each of these seeks to explain voting behaviour and in order to determine how applicable they are to South African university youth, an analytical framework was developed in order to analyse and interpret the data gathered by means of questionnaires and focus group discussions. Ultimately it was found that most Western models and age effects are to some extent applicable in explaining the voting behaviour of South African university youth (albeit to a greater or lesser extent).

KEY TERMS: South African University Youth, Voting Behaviour, Political Behaviour, Models of Voting Behaviour, Age Effects on Voting Behaviour, Political Values, Democracy, Elections, Political Attitudes, Political Participation.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
ANC	African National Congress
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
COPE	Congress of the People
DA	Democratic Alliance
FF+	Freedom Front Plus
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ID	Independent Democrats
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SASCO	South African Students Congress
UCDP	United Christian Democratic Party
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UCLA	University of California, Los Angeles

CHAPTER 1

AN EXPLORATION OF THE VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITY YOUTH: A STUDY OF A SELECT GROUP OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

1.1. INTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted that young people - the youth - are overall apathetic towards political activities and that such apathy is evidenced in low voter turnout during elections. The youth is normally categorised as between the ages of 18 to 35 years (IEC 2009:2; Sachs 2006), but can also be narrowed down to 16 to 29 years (HSRC 2009); 18 to 24 years of age (HSRC 2006:7) or 18 to 29 years (IDEA 1999:24). When this group, however, is being labelled as apathetic, it is necessary for one to understand what exactly is meant by the concept of youth apathy in the first place. Apathy refers to a general sense of carelessness and disinterest (Wehmeier et al (eds) 2010:56). In other words, the youth shows a general lack of interest in and, for that matter, also a lack of care for the voting process, which is such a vital part of democracy (Vanhanen 2000:251). Various scholars have written on the subject, and whether or not they specifically stated that the youth is in fact apathetic, all do agree that younger people tend to vote less than other voter cohorts (see Jowell & Park 1998; Milan 2005; Henn et al 2002:170; Elections Canada Online 2003 and 2008 for examples).

Such conventional wisdom seems to be based mainly on findings in Western democracies and generates concern in these countries as to the future nature and resilience of democracy. The logic behind these concerns is understandable as democracy is ultimately dependent on the participation of the people. When a significantly large proportion of the voting population shows apathetic attitudes towards the processes that enable participation of the public in democracy, it questions the extent to which a democracy can be consolidated. A whole generation who is not willing to participate ultimately also becomes a whole generation that is not represented in political institutions; undermining the very notion of democracy. In the developing world the youth seems to show the same sort of behaviour when it comes to elections, and within a

country such as South Africa where one third of the voting population is between the ages of 18 and 29 years (Lemon 2009:670), this sort of behaviour should raise some concern.

1.2. RESEARCH THEME

Conventional writings on the topic of voting behaviour are in agreement that the youth's electoral behaviour and attitudes can be labelled as apathetic or disengaged. Furthermore, Western scholars have developed different models of voting behaviour with which they seek to explore and understand voting behaviour better. Regarding age, they have come to the conclusion that there are a number of age effects that determine and influence levels of participation during elections. Within this framework, there is agreement on the general lack of participation on the part of youth in democratic societies.

On the other hand, what makes the case of the southern African region unique is the nature of state formation within the developing world and the fact that the nature of politics in southern Africa differs markedly from that of Western liberal democracies. Even though the southern African youth may show similar trends of non-participation in electoral processes, this is not to say that they are in actual fact apathetic and disengaged in the literal sense of the word, but rather that their views on democracy and politics in general may just be very different from those of previous generations.

When comparing the histories of state formation of Western liberal democracies to that of South Africa and other southern African countries, one significant difference between the two is revealed: Other than in the case of Western liberal democracies, the youth in South Africa (and other African countries) played an exceptional and important role in state formation (Sader & Muller 2004:7). State formation, in this case, refers to the transformation from largely autocratic regimes to new democracies, or post-colonial states. In the case of South Africa, the youth's role in the process of transformation has always been held in high regard and celebrated, as evidenced in the example of the Soweto uprisings of 16 June 1976 and the annual celebration of Youth Day to

commemorate these events (South African Government Information 2010)). Of course, the youth of 1976 no longer comprise the youth of today. However, the question comes to mind as to whether or not this exceptional group of the past could have left a legacy of political consciousness on the part of young people in South Africa.

This particular study forms part of a larger research project exploring the political attitudes and behaviour of university students in a number of SADC countries considered to be representative of the region, and is significant as it will contribute knowledge and understanding on the voting behaviour of the youth in southern African countries.

The study will focus on the voting behaviour of a group of South African university students (from the University of Pretoria – UP), based on the assumption that they will ultimately form the future leaders and possibly also the future political elite (see e.g. Schoeman & Puttergil 2007:159). By studying the findings of two surveys conducted at the University of Pretoria amongst university students, a general conception of the voting behaviour and political attitudes of South African university youth can be developed, though the researcher is well aware that findings based on such a small and proscribed sample cannot necessarily be generalised on a national level. However, given the general and overall demographic representivity of UP students, it is posited that this study will provide a reasonably adequate overview of the voting attitudes and behaviour of students country-wide. It should also be kept in mind that this study forms part of a larger longitudinal study on university youth political and voting attitudes and behaviour within South Africa and the southern African region.

Taking Western literature and models, and scholarship on what is known as ‘age effects’ on voting behaviour into consideration, while recognising South Africa’s unique history as a relatively new democracy and considering the findings of the survey studies, the question comes to mind as to how relevant Western models and age effects are in the case of the South African university youth, with specific reference to university youth.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTION

In essence the research question, with which the larger project is concerned, is whether youth apathy is a defining quality of one segment of southern African youth, viz. university students. Hence, it is important to develop a knowledge and understanding of the political attitudes and voting behaviour of youth in various southern African countries in order to determine whether, as seems to be the case with Western youth, they are also characterised by apathy and disengagement from political life. The study is exploratory in nature and therefore a single case is examined. The core question dealt with in this study is the extent to which Western voting models and theories explain South African youth voting behaviour[1].

Within the theme of voting behaviour there is, on the one hand, Western literature, which includes models and age effects on voting behaviour, and, on the other hand, South Africa with its unique history and political context. The aim of this particular study is thus to determine the extent to which Western literature on voting behaviour is relevant to the case of South African university youth. Although, as pointed out, there is a general assumption in scholarly literature that the youth are apathetic towards political activities, one would nevertheless expect this assumption to be falsified in the case of youth in newly democratising societies such as South Africa, mainly because the youth tended to play a significant role in the democratisation process (Ntsabane & Natu 2006:19; Sachs 2006; Mokwena 2002:68). The key assumptions of each of the models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour will be used to draw up a framework for analysis, and based on this framework, an attempt will be made to answer the research question.

It is thus the purpose of the study to determine to what extent existing, Western-dominated literature dealing with explanations of voter behaviour also account for the voting behaviour of South African university youth. The focus of this study and of the

[1] Within the larger research project the case study will be replicated for a range of universities in the Southern African region, including Fort Hare in South Africa. This study could therefore be considered a pilot study.

larger project is on university youth as representative of what is generally considered to be the future political elite of their respective countries (see Carlos et al. 2004:5).

1.4. LITERATURE OVERVIEW

The various models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour, which have been developed by Western scholars, will first be summarised. Thereafter this literature overview will cover general Western literature on voting behaviour, followed by some literature focusing on Africa and lastly literature on the case of South Africa.

Literature on general voting behaviour, which does not necessarily differentiate between age groups, were utilised for the purpose of exploring the voting behaviour of people in general. Broadly five models, which are not mutually exclusive (Ball & Peters 2005:172), were identified within the current available literature on the topic. Furthermore, in *Voting Behaviour: A Radical Critique*, Catt (1996:1) explores the possibility of the existence of a voting behaviour orthodoxy, i.e. a generally accepted view or belief with regards to voting behaviour. By first exploring the different approaches to the studying of voting behaviour, followed by the identification of similarities between these approaches, Catt (1006:1) comes to the conclusion that the "common elements in both the way in which the problem is perceived and the methods used to answer it", can be called a voting behaviour orthodoxy. Put in simpler terms, Oversloot et al (2002:32) refers to the voting behaviour orthodoxy as entailing that voting behaviour is a sign of political preference of one party over others. Catt (1996:18) goes on to state that the voting behaviour orthodoxy does not merely consist of one model but refers to a general approach which is an outline of the relevant questions that need to be answered in order to explain a certain form of behaviour. It refers to a general approach, a way of proceeding, and an outline of the questions that need to be asked and what can be ignored or taken for granted (Catt 1996:18).

The different models of voting behaviour identified in this research study comprise the Sociological Model, the Michigan Model, the Party Identification Model, the Media/Dominant Ideology Model as well as the Rational Choice Model. Chapter 2 will

cover these models in detail as they will form the basis of the framework for analysis in this study.

The Sociological Model is based on social determinants rather than attitudes, and holds that social characteristics ultimately determine one's voting behaviour (Catt 1996:8). These social characteristics include gender, race, language, religion and social class, amongst others (Ball & Peters 2005:175; Goldberg 1966:922; Brooks et al 2006:89; Erdmann 2007:19). Thus, group membership of voters are emphasised within this model (Schoeman & Puttergill 2007:155). The Sociological Model can also be linked to other models of voting behaviour, as can be seen in the work of Goldberg (1966:916), Miller (1991:560), and Abramowitz & Saunders (2006:182). In spite of challenges to this model of voting behaviour, it is still considered very relevant (Brooks et al 2006:89; 90; 113).

The Michigan Model, developed at the University of Michigan, focuses on long-term patterns of partisanship and, according to this model, social location is regarded as a determining factor for the outcome of who voters interact with and which political party they will support (Catt 1996:5). Elcock (1976:220) adds that a partisan self-image is often inherited, causing for one to vote for the party or candidate one's family or friends vote for. This model places emphasis on early socialisation (Goldberg 1966:914) as these ultimately shape subsequent information processing and political behaviour, which cause citizens to develop partisan orientations and stable political participation (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:260). Early socialisation happens from childhood (Bisin & Verdier 2000:10), with parents being the most influential (Achen 2002:152), and the subsequently developed partisanships are very powerful influences on political perceptions (Wolak 2009:573). The work of Bartels (2000:35) indicates that some decline of partisanship can on occasion be observed, yet in other cases an increase in partisanship can be observed. Similar to the Sociological Model, the Michigan Model can also be linked to other models of voting behaviour (Chandler 1988:30; 32; Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:260; Franklin & Jackson 1983:968).

The Party Identification Model holds that voters vote out of long-term loyalty and with a sense of identification with a particular political party (Kovenock & Robertson 2008:277; Ball & Peters 2005:172; Heywood 2002:242; Bartle 2003:223; Weinschenk 2010). Party identification is considered a very stable political predisposition and determinant of voting behaviour (Friedman 2004:2; Abramowitz & Saunders 2006:175; Goldberg 1966:915) as are values such as tolerance (Goren 2005:894). According to Franklin and Jackson (1983:957) the sense of party identification can not easily be modified. Again, this model may be linked to other models of voting behaviour, as can be observed in the works of Abramowitz and Saunders (2006:182) and Weinshenk (2010).

The Media, and the role it plays in informing citizens and forming opinions, can also be considered a determining factor regarding voting behaviour. Ball & Peters (2005:180) state that the role of the mass media, particularly that of television, is a factor of increasing importance in the influence of election results. Images and texts in the mass media are often used to influence the view of the public on political parties and their leaders (Grabe 2009) and to inform voters during elections (Strömberg 2004:265; Jankowski & Strate 1995:91). Voters who are more exposed to the media are also more likely to change their political views during campaigns (Ladd 2010), while uninformed voters will be less likely to vote (Palfrey 1987:512). Nevertheless, the effect of the media on electoral outcomes is very real (DellaVigna & Kaplan 2007:1188), even though the extent of this influence on electoral behaviour is debatable (Ball & Peters 2005:180).

Heywood (2002:244) links the influence of the mass media with what he calls the Dominant-ideology Model, where radical theories of voting and ideologies – visions of an ideal society (Jacoby 2009:591) – highlight the extent to which individual choices are shaped by a process of ideological manipulation and control. In this model, emphasis is placed on how groups and individuals interpret their position, which depends on how it has been presented to them through the mass media, education, and by the government (Heywood 2002:244). Abramowitz and Saunders (2006:175) state that voters vote on the basis of their ideological preferences. The disregard for the individual and his or her personal autonomy is considered to be a weakness of this model (Heywood 2002:244).

The Rational Choice Model regards voters as individuals who base their decisions of whether or not to vote, and who to vote for, on the findings acquired after careful assessment of various issues of importance (Catt 1996:7). In other words, supporters of this model argue that the electorate base their decisions on who to vote for on rational consideration, which are based on personal self-interest (Ball & Peters 2005:173; Elcock 1976:217; Karp & Banducci 2007:220; Heywood 2002:241). Electoral participation thus becomes "utilities for outcomes" when the extent to which one outcome is preferred over another matters to citizens, and voters choose outcomes with higher utility over those with lower utility (Aldrich 1993:247; 248). Furthermore, through retrospective evaluations (Weinshenk 2010) political elites can be held accountable if voters decide to alter their voting behaviour (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:255). Moreover, according to this model, voters consider the costs of voting as well as the benefits (Goldfarb & Sigelman 2010:276; 277) and may ultimately also decide to completely abstain (Feddersen 2004), which may not necessarily be to the benefit of opposition parties (Sanders 2003:261). This model also has its weaknesses (Heywood 2002:243; Lister 2007:21) in that it does not consider the social and cultural environment of voters and that it is often difficult to explain voting decisions based on this model. Compared to other models of voting behaviour, the Rational Choice Model may also be linked to some of these (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:260; Goldfarb & Sigelman 2010:285; Sanders 2003:242).

As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, these models of voting behaviour are not mutually exclusive and they may overlap. Furthermore, more than one of them may apply to a certain case at the same time, even though the extent to which they are relevant may vary. Within one voter's lifetime various events, occurrences or circumstances may cause for all of these models to come into play at least once, and have an influence on the person's voting behaviour. The funnel of causality as referred to by Wolf (2010) illustrates this clearly. As for the literature on voting behaviour, some authors developed models of voting behaviour that are almost "overarching" in the sense that they encapsulate numerous of the above models of behaviour (Greene 2002:172; 174;

Andersen & Heath 2000:1). Considering that the models of voting behaviour may overlap and be interrelated, it is best to consider them to be complementary towards each other as they all carry merit (Andersen & Heath 2000:1).

Aside from the Western developed models of voting behaviour there are also three age effects on voting behaviour. These effects comprise the Cohort Effect, the Individual Ageing Effect and the Life Cycle Effect. This research study will also attempt to determine the extent to which these age effects are relevant to South African university youth and the second part of the framework of analysis will deal with these effects. Thus, even though a short literature overview on each of these age effects will be given, they will be elaborated on in more detail in Chapter 2 of the dissertation.

According to the Life Cycle Effect, participation in elections is low in youth, increases during early adulthood, peaks during middle age, and then subsides in old age (Verba & Nie 1972; Nie et al 1974). The rise and fall of levels of electoral participation can be explained by the problem of "start-up" and "slow-down" (Nie et al 1974:333; Jankowski & Strate 1995; Goerres 2007:93), wherein various societal factors contribute to the increase and decline in electoral participation.

The Cohort Effect holds that shared experiences by a particular political generation determine their voting behaviour (Goerres 2007:92). Within a particular generation's lifetime certain national events lead to lasting influences of shared socialisation and people are more susceptible to these influences when they reach the ages between 15 and 30 years of age (Goerres 2007:92). Young people are thus more easily politically influenced during this time (Strömberg 2004:282; Lyon & Alexander 2000:1031; Wolak 2009:574) and for this reason the youth is considered a stage of pivotal interest from a political perspective (Schatz 2002:202).

According to the Individual Ageing Effect there are two universal human features that, as individuals age, enhance the likelihood of voting (Goerres 2007:93). These two features comprise the likelihood of voting again after participating in previous elections, and the

increasing conformance with social norms, which regard voting as a behaviour that is socially desirable and acceptable (Goerres 2007:94).

1.4.1. OVERVIEW OF WESTERN LITERATURE

Western literature and studies on voting behaviour in general and of the youth more specifically, can be linked to the various models of voting behaviour and also often to effects on voting behaviour. Recently, studies of youth behaviour, especially in Western democracies, have confirmed an increasing disengagement and alienation from politics on the part of young people. Declining party membership and voter turnout are the two indices mostly cited as evidence for this phenomenon amongst youth (Jowell & Park 1998; University of Oslo 2003; UCLA 2004; Milan 2005). Using the Cohort Effect as explanation for this trend in democratic societies, some authors agree that generations of people are socialised mainly through historical experiences in their early, formative years and that these values mostly remain over such a generation's life span (Inglehart 1971; 1977; Dalton 1988). Therefore, political disengagement may be the result of a political generation's historical experiences and exposures to certain national events, which could have caused general mistrust of politicians or political systems. One can link this explanation of political and voting behaviour to what Henn et al (2002:188 ftn.8) call "period effects", wherein changes in society have impacts on all members of society.

Seeking to explore the differences between the political participation of various generations and age groups, Henn et all (2002:168) stated that many studies on political behaviour too narrowly focus on elections and parliamentary activity. They concluded that less electoral participation and less political involvement may be the result of these "period effects" and that young people may have a different conception of what politics is and may be more interested in a different style of politics (Henn et al 2002:187). These findings argue against the mere dismissal of youth disengagement in traditional forms of political participation as the result of apathy and pure disinterest.

While Henn et al (2002:170) stated that young people are less likely to participate in traditional politics, Goerres (2007:90), on the other hand, attempted to explain why older

people are more likely to vote, by studying the impact of ageing on electoral turnout in Europe. Goerres (2007:109) concludes that the higher turnout amongst older voters can best be explained by non-political factors within the social context of their life-cycle as well as the human nature of habit formation as well as seeking to conform to socially acceptable behaviour. Thus, according to Goerres (2007:109) the Individual Ageing Effect is most significant in this regard.

Whereas the authors above explored the differences in participation amongst different age groups, Karp and Banducci (2007:217) explored party mobilisation and political participation in new and old democracies as well as how political participation is an important indicator of the "health" of a democracy. In this sense, political parties can facilitate participation by contacting citizens and encouraging them to engage in the political process (Karp & Banducci 2007:217). They concluded that when citizens are contacted by political parties, they are more likely to vote and participate in the electoral process (Karp & Banducci 2007:229). Party mobilisation may thus be particularly important in increasing political engagement and participation in new democracies (Karp & Banducci 2007:229).

Lister (2007:20) acknowledged that political participation, particularly electoral participation, varies over time, and while focussing on welfare states, he sought to explain this phenomenon. Whilst his analysis is centred on welfare states, Lister (2007:20) admitted that electoral participation seems to be related to declines in membership of political parties, membership of trade unions, electoral participation and increased cynicism towards public institutions in many Western countries – a statement that can easily be applied to other forms of state.

Morgenstern and Swindle (2005:144) attempted to analyse voting patterns in 23 democracies and asked the question as to whether or not "politics are local", i.e. if there are particular factors that influence the levels of local voting. This question fostered studies of "personal vote" and "nationalisation" of political parties (Morgenstern & Swindle 2005:144). They concluded that regime type plays the most dominant role and

parliamentarianism restricts the local vote, whereas presidentialism accommodates all levels of local voting (Morgenstern & Swindle 2005:164).

Whereas Morgenstern and Swindle (2005:144) agreed that regime type plays an important role in electoral turnout, Fisher et al (2008:89) went on to examine reasons why the electoral system might influence the relationship between political knowledge and turnout. The main reasons identified were district competitiveness, mobilisation efforts, efficacy, and the size and polarisation of the party system (Fisher et al 2008:89). Fisher et al (2008:89) focussed on plurality systems, and found that turnout tends to be higher under systems of proportional representation. They argued that high levels of knowledge are not significantly affected by the character of the electoral system, but it is amongst those with low levels of knowledge that turnout is particularly low under plurality rule (Fisher et al 2008:100).

The authors above sought to explore voting patterns and one can, to a greater or lesser extent, attempt to link these to the various models of voting behaviour and effects on voting behaviour. An overview of some literature on Western country-specific studies will follow to elaborate on studies on voting behaviour of the youth in Western states.

1.4.2. LITERATURE ON WESTERN COUNTRY-SPECIFIC STUDIES

Studies on the voting behaviour of the youth were conducted in Canada, Britain, Europe in general as well as in the United States. In general, these studies agree that the youth is increasingly becoming disengaged from formal politics, including the electoral process. Some researchers sought to explain why the youth seems so uninterested in participating in elections and, on occasion, some of these explanations can be linked to the various age effects on voting behaviour. It is notable that most of these studies and findings can be linked to the recognised age effects on voting behaviour as they mostly revolve around age and its relation to voting- and political behaviour.

Studies on Canada include those of Elections Canada Online (2003 and 2008) and Milan (2005). Elections Canada Online released the results of survey studies in 2003 and 2008.

The study of 2003 indicated that the Life Cycle Effect no longer holds as young people are participating less than their elders, and additionally their willingness to participate appears to be declining all together over time (Elections Canada Online 2003). This study concluded that the decline in youth turnout is multi-faceted: Firstly, young people do show an increased tendency toward political apathy; secondly declining youth turnout does not seem to be based on a perceived lack of competitiveness among political parties; thirdly some related declining turnout to the lack of political knowledge among young people; fourthly, young people have a weaker sense of civic duty, and finally, young people may be voting less because election contestants are not contacting them in sufficient numbers (Elections Canada Online 2003).

The study of 2008 revealed an increase in voter turnout concentrated in the three youngest age groups, however encouraging this may seem, turnout in the youngest group appeared to remain 19 percent below the national average (Elections Canada Online 2008:1). As in most developed democracies, Canada's electoral participation has declined progressively and continually over the past two decades and youth disengagement contributed towards the overall decline in turnout (Elections Canada Online 2008:3).

Milan's (2005:2) study drew from the 2003 General Social Survey (GSS), which interviewed nearly 25 000 individuals aged 15 and older. Milan (2005:3) identified several reasons as to why young people in Canada are less likely to vote, which included that young adults are "tuned" out of the political process and lack the ability and/or motivation to get involved. Furthermore, young adults do not consider the decisions of politicians as having a direct impact on them and they do not feel that their interests are "catered for" (Milan 2005:3). Milan (2005:6) concludes that young adults' involvement in politics is different from that of older Canadians.

Inglehart (1971) researched political participation in European countries including the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, France, Germany and Britain. He suggested that a transformation could have taken place in the political cultures of advanced industrial societies and that this transformation seemed to be altering the basic value priorities of

given political generations, as a result of changing conditions influencing their basic socialisation (Inglehart 1971:991). These changes seem to affect political opinions regarding political issues of the day and may also change existing patterns of political partisanship (Inglehart 1971:991). The change in value priorities, according to Inglehart (1971:992), implied a change in the social basis of political partisanship in most of the researched European countries.

More writings on the political behaviour of the youth in Britain include those of Bristow (2004) and Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004). Bristow (2004:45) states that the issue of young people and politics is one of political passion and it is a problem that, according to the British Youth Council, young people "appear to have neither an interest in, nor an understanding of, important political and constitutional issues". Bristow goes on to state that attempting to challenge youth apathy means recognising that it is a problem, why it is a problem and that quick-fix solutions are not the most appropriate ways in addressing this problem (Bristow 2004:46).

Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004:208) continued by stating that the evidence in political disengagement indicates that the causes of young people's increasing political disaffection are both multiple and complex, and includes distrust, disenchantment, cynicism, perceived lack of political efficacy, no party identification, political disinterest and a lack of civic duty. Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004:314) highlighted the importance of building a relationship of trust between young people and politics.

Hinds (2004) and Levine and Lopez (2002) wrote on political behaviour of the American youth. Levine and Lopez (2002:1) noted a significant decline in electoral participation amongst young Americans from 1972. In trying to explain the reason for this decline, Hinds (2004:49) stated that large numbers of young Americans poured their energy into community service, which they consider to be more effective than government at solving public problems and that an increasing number of young people consider themselves as political "independents". Hinds (2004:50-51) considered this a result of young people feeling out of the "political loop" and that, despite the possibilities of overlaps in interests

and concerns of adults and younger people, they differ in their various concerns about the same issues.

1.4.3. AFRICAN LITERATURE

The (Western) studies consulted above are in agreement that the political attitudes and behaviour of youth are of crucial importance to sustainable democracy but that their participation in elections is increasingly declining. Yet, in the case of Africa, there is a dearth of literature and knowledge about the political attitudes and behaviour of youth. During the 1960s and 1970s Western scholars conducted many studies on youth political attitudes and behaviour in Africa's new states (Barkan 1975:xviii; and Hanna & Hanna 1975). This does not, however, mean that no research has been conducted since the 1970s. Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) and Chigunta (2001) conducted studies on the political and voting behaviour of the youth in Botswana and Senegal respectively. However, these works do not enjoy prominence or attract much attention in the international academic environment.

Ntsabane and Natu (2006:100) also wrote about the political behaviour of the youth in Botswana, and highlighted an important reason as to why the voting behaviour of the youth – globally – is of such significance. They stated that, according to the United Nations in the year 2000, 40 percent of the adult population in more than 100 countries (of which many are in Africa) was 15 to 29 years old (Ntsabane & Natu 2006:100). The fact that the youth comprises such a prominent proportion of the electorate makes this field of study all the more relevant in modern society.

Although the youth in Botswana have not been as involved in political transformation as the youth of South Africa, they have indeed contributed politically in the forms of demonstrations and marches in order to voice their positions on political issues, such as state relations, disarmaments, the Apartheid regime in South Africa, etc. (Ntsabane & Natu 2006:102).

The low electoral participation amongst the Botswana youth has thus been recognised as a problem for the state's political system by, amongst others, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), political parties, the Botswana National Youth Council, the Media and various policies commentators (Ntsabane & Natu 2006:105).

Ntsabane and Natu (2006:109) sought to explain voter apathy and limited political involvement amongst young people as possibly stemming from the traditional political culture in Africa that limits political involvement to elderly males, to the exclusion of women and young people (Ntsabane & Natu 2006:109). Even though the African youth are relatively better educated than their parents, they still lack a democratic culture (Ntsabane & Natu 2006:111).

Thus, as is the case in Western states, African youth are also more withdrawn from electoral processes. An overview of literature on South Africa specifically, will now follow.

1.4.4. SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE

While Western literature on the topic of youth voting behaviour view the youth as apathetic, some of the literature (which is rather scarce) pertaining to the youth of South Africa, do seek to explore the issue further. The accusation of mere apathy is being denied by some authors who state that it is more a case of political institutions failing to involve the youth and prioritising their interests, which leads to the youth's unwillingness to participate (Sachs 2006:1; Hofmeyr 2004:12).

According to Sader and Muller (2004:5) it appears as though the youth becomes less inclined to participate in elections as the democracy "grows older". Based on informal interviews that were conducted with 20 young South Africans in Cape Town and Gauteng, Sader and Muller (2004:5-7) concluded that the South African youth may be divided into three groups, whereas the first group regard voting as meaningless, the second find it to be the only way to express political opinions and the third appreciated voting for it is a form of freedom and a means by which a difference can be made.

Nevertheless, the increasing disengagement from the electoral process by the South African youth seems to be somewhat puzzling to many scholars as, the South African youth have never been known for apathy, and played a significant role in the struggle for democracy (Sader & Muller 2004:7).

According to Hofmeyr (2004:11), however, the youth appears to increasingly disassociate themselves from formal party politics, which includes the electoral process in particular. He went on to state that the South African youth's aspirations are different, and therefore they have resorted to extra-parliamentary avenues in order to achieve their issue-specific objectives (Hofmeyr 2004:13). Hofmeyr (2004:14) furthermore proposes that low registration levels may be a manifestation of a lack of confidence among young people in the political system's ability to address their specific needs, and young political voters are encouraged to seek alternative forms of expression outside of formal party politics.

Adding to what Hofmeyr (2004) and Sader and Muller (2004:7) said, Sader and Weideman (2004:5) also state that South Africa's young people are not apathetic and that their role in the struggle for a democratic South Africa speaks of their past commitment to their country and to themselves. A large percentage of South African youth are involved in their communities and in civic organisations, and this may be an indication of their commitment to their communities as well as to the issues that they regard as of importance (Sader & Weideman 2004:5). The phenomenon of youth engaging more in "informal politics" is remarkably similar to what Hinds (2004:49) wrote about young Americans being involved in community service for the purpose of attempting to solve public problems and identifying themselves as "independents". This further links with what Henn et al (2002:187) previously stated as young people having a different conception of what politics is and being more interested in a different form of politics. However, this level of involvement often goes unnoticed and the picture that is painted of youth participation is often bleak (Sader & Weideman 2004:5).

Thus, according to the authors above, the South African youth is not apathetic, but merely disengaged from formal politics. Olaleye (2004:20) states that this may be

because the South African youth have lost faith in the formal democratic process, and thus increasingly disengage from this process. However, this is somewhat problematic as the vast majority of South Africa's population consists of young people under the age of 35, and with them not being involved in the electoral process, their interests are less likely to be represented in parliament, and democracy in itself may become endangered (Olaleye 2004:21; 25).

Young people thus need to be incorporated into the political process to enable their sustainable and effective participation in elections (Olaleye 2004:25). Their importance cannot be underestimated as the youth comprise "tomorrow's leaders", as well as the largest age group in the country (Schoeman & Puttergil 2007:159).

Somewhat contrary to the concerns raised by Olaleye (2004) and Schoeman and Puttergill (2007), Emmet (2004:32) argues that there is no need for apprehension as the South African youth are not unique in their withdrawal from politics and that the disappointment of young people in political institutions has become a global phenomenon. Emmet (2004:33-34), however, also identified some important differences between South African youth and others namely: a) problems faced by the South African youth appear to be more challenging than in many other countries and South Africa has one of the highest rates of youth unemployment in the world; b) South African youth also face the threat of HIV/AIDS, poverty and social and economic inequality as well as very high rates of crime and violence; c) Racial complexities and social fragmentation in South Africa; d) Subsequent to political change, economically advantaged white youth and some Indian and coloured youth increasingly feel politically marginalised, while the majority of African youth continue to experience poverty and inequalities of the past (Emmet 2004:33). Emmet (2004:37) therefore questions what can be done to increase participation and responds by stating that they need to be informed, educated, and assisted in getting involved in the electoral process.

While some may be concerned about the increasing disengagement from the electoral process on the part of the youth, and others may consider reasons therefore, some

scholars have started to consider the possibility that this is, in actuality, a new and different generation of youth than that which older cohorts are used to and understand.

According to Peters (2004:9), we are dealing with a new generation of young people, who have no concrete connection to the past struggles that the youth were at the forefront of. This generation has also been exposed to the media more than any other generation in South Africa's history and they constantly see a "better life for all" on television (Peters 2004:9). Furthermore, politicians have neglected the fact that the youth culture and sub-cultures have radically changed since the early 1990s (Peters 2004:9). Finally, democracy education does not seem to be targeted at young people (Peters 2004:10) and their interests.

Illustrating the notion of youth involvement, Ngcobo (2004:17) states that even though active participation in politics has historically characterised the South African youth, a shift occurred after 1994 when young people were no longer at the forefront of the struggle. Ngcobo (2004:18) agrees with Sader and Weideman (2004:5), Hofmeyr (2004:13) and Sader and Muller (2004:7) by stating that youth participation occurs in different places and at different levels of civil society and that to focus only on one issue, such as participation in elections, would be limiting (Ngcobo 2004:18).

Mtaka (2004:52) concurs with Ngcobo and goes on to state that it is due to the failure of political institutions to prioritise the interests of the youth, that the youth is more occupied with other issues related to youth development, which include socio-economic factors such as HIV/AIDS and unemployment. Due to these development problems, the fact that political institutions fail in prioritising the interests of the youth only contributes to their withdrawal from political processes in an attempt to support themselves. According to Mtaka (2004:52), a number of municipalities and government departments did previously express a willingness to engage with youth organisations and structures as well as to establish youth committees; these intentions were, however, never really set in motion. It therefore also seems as though political institutions and structures fail to understand the meaning of youth participation, as there is a difference between mere

involvement and actual participation. As Ngcobo (2004:11) rightly stated, in order for young people to participate in political processes, they should not only be involved, but also be able to influence decision-making processes. According to Ngcobo (2004:12) meaningful youth participation involves the recognition and encouragement of the strengths, interests and abilities of young people by providing them with opportunities to become involved in decisions that affect them. It can thus safely be stated that democracy cannot be consolidated without the people's participation in various processes like the legislative process, and once the youth is given the opportunity to actually influence these processes, they will also be more willing to participate.

The literature overview above indicates that various scholars have written on models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour, which can somehow be applied to most Western literature on general voting behaviour. Furthermore, there are some, although limited, literature on the voting- and political behaviour of South African youth. Western literature provides numerous and well-developed models of voting behaviour and Western scholars have also managed to recognise and explore three generally accepted age effects on voting behaviour. These models on voting behaviour, although based on and developed from Western theory and practice, are also more broadly accepted as constituting the basis for explaining non-Western voting behaviour. Very little testing of such assumed relevance has been undertaken and this study aims to fill the identified gap. The gap in literature in this regard thus points to a need to determine the extent to which Western-developed models of, and age effects on, voting behaviour can be applied to the case of South Africa, and more particularly, South African youth. As the university youth is widely considered to be the future political elite of South Africa (Schoeman & Puttergil 2007:159 and Carlos et al 2004:5), they will form the focus of this study.

1.5. METHODOLOGY

In 2006 and 2008 pilot studies were conducted amongst University of Pretoria students, as well as amongst students from the University of Fort Hare, and at the University of Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), followed by a study

conducted at the National University of Lesotho and the University of Malawi in 2009. These studies comprised questionnaires and focus group discussions and this study is based on the research conducted at the University of Pretoria as the candidate was involved in this study as a research assistant. Ethical clearance for conducting the overall research project, i.e. administering the questionnaires and conducting focus group discussions was obtained by Prof Schoeman (UP project leader). This study utilises a section of the data gathered from the questionnaires and discussions pertaining to the University of Pretoria cohort.

The methodology for this study comprises, as mentioned above, data gathered from questionnaires and focus group discussions, as well as a thorough desktop study undertaken by the candidate. This section briefly explains the methodology utilised – a full discussion will be presented in Chapter three of the dissertation.

1.5.1. DESKTOP RESEARCH

The desktop study involved an extensive search for journal articles, books, news articles as well as of studies conducted by other research institutions. It was from this desktop study that it became clear that Western literature mostly focus on various models of voting behaviour as well as the age effects on voting behaviour. The models of voting behaviour included the Sociological Model, the Michigan Model, the Party Identification Model, the Media/Dominant Ideology Model as well as the Rational Choice Model. Various scholars have also in some cases attempted to combine some of these models or in other cases managed to develop models that encapsulate some or all of these models of voting behaviour (examples include the work of Greene 2002; Andersen & Heath 2000; and Weinschenk 2010, amongst others). The occurrence of occasional overlaps between models sometimes increases the possibility of confusion and it became clear that these models can be linked, and should rather be considered as complementary towards each other than in competition with each other (Andersen & heath 2000:1). However, for the purposes of this study, and in order to make the study more manageable, the models were kept separate in the analytical framework.

1.5.2. SURVEY STUDIES

There are different types of surveys and, according to Guy et al (1987:221), surveys may be either cross-sectional or longitudinal. With cross-sectional surveys data are collected at one point in time and with longitudinal surveys, data are collected at several points in time (Guy et al 1987:221). The two surveys and focus group discussions, conducted during this study, were each cross-sectional as they collected data at single points in time. Even though some students at the University of Pretoria might have participated in both of the survey studies, the surveys were not aimed at covering exactly the same participants at two different points in time. The first targeted students from only two departments within the Faculty of Humanities, while the second survey targeted students across most of the university campus.

As regards the form of data collection, surveys are characterised by a structured or systematic set of data which can be called a "variable by case data grid", which means that information is collected about the same variables or characteristics from at least two cases and that ultimately a data matrix is created (De Vaus 2002:3). Ultimately, we thus end up with a structured or "rectangular" set of data (De Vaus 2002:5).

For the purposes of this study, some data matrixes were also developed. For example, with the survey conducted in 2006, data matrices were created that provided valuable information to the researcher. Question 1 asked the students whether they were *male* or *female* while Question 12 asked them if they were registered to vote (*yes* or *no*). A data matrix was drawn up with *male* and *female* each having a column (for question 1), and with *Yes* and *No* (for question 12) each having a row. Subsequently the total frequency, total percentage, row percentages for each column and column percentages for each row were determined.

These surveys are strong methods of research as they are useful in describing the characteristics of a large population and they make large samples more feasible (Babbie 2005:284-285). Furthermore, surveys are flexible and allow researchers to ask numerous questions on a given topic (Babbie 2005:284-285). However, these forms of research

studies also have weaknesses, which include the following: surveys can seldom deal with the context of social life and are sometimes subject to artificiality (Babbie 2005:285). In order to strengthen the study and to gain insight into the answers provided during the survey studies, further insight on attitudes, circumstances and experiences of university youth were acquired by means of the focus group discussions (see next section). Thus, the focus group discussions and other reports by institutions such as the Human Science Research Council and the Independent Electoral Commission compensated for these weaknesses.

In the case of this study, data was gathered by means of questionnaires in 2006 and 2008 at the University of Pretoria. In April 2006 a research group conducted a pilot study on the voting behaviour of youth shortly after the South African local government elections of March 2006. The pilot study involved approximately 500 students from the Faculty of Humanities (University of Pretoria). Subsequently, in 2007 permission was granted to conduct a University-wide survey, as well as a number of focus group discussions on the University of Pretoria campus. The first survey's questionnaire was refined for the second survey, which was conducted and finished in 2008. Completion of these questionnaires containing closed and open-ended questions was voluntary. The second questionnaire, together with the focus group discussions, was completed by the end of 2008. The sample group of the second survey covered the following faculties of the University of Pretoria: Humanities, Education, Law, Theology, Natural Sciences, Engineering, Medical and Health Sciences and Economic and Management Sciences. The average of the sample group per faculty was 120-150 undergraduate students.

1.5.3. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

For the purposes of supplementing the quantitative research and to assist with or facilitate the interpretation of the surveys, qualitative focus group discussions were conducted with students from the University of Pretoria. In other words, the information gathered from the focus group discussions were not analysed in themselves but rather played a complementary role in the interpretation and comprehension of answers provided by students on political and voting behaviour.

Three focus group discussions were conducted: one with a group of student leaders on campus, one with a group of male students and one with a group of female students. These groups consisted of eight to ten students per group and the discussion was guided and overseen by the chief researchers and recorded by me. There were eight student leaders who participated in the first discussion. The second discussion had nine male students and the third had seven female students.

There are different types of focus group discussions. According to Greenbaum (1998:1) a Full Group consists of eight to ten persons while a Mini Group consists of four to six persons. Researchers tend to prefer the Mini Group because more in-depth information can be acquired during the time of the discussion (Greenbaum 1998:3). However, even though the focus groups for the purpose of this research consisted of seven to eight participants, and thus fall more under the category of Full Group than Mini Group, sufficient time was given for discussion, and participants had the opportunity to thoroughly voice their opinions and concerns.

The discussions took place at Tuks Village residence of the University of Pretoria. Not only is this one of the newer residences of the University, but it is also mixed in the sense that both male and female students reside there. It is also racially representative, which made it the perfect base for focus group discussions.

1.5.4. ANALYSIS

The last step in the methodology for this study comprises the analysis. Whereas the desktop study on Western literature gave information on different models of voting behaviour and different age effects on voting behaviour, the survey studies supplemented by the focus group discussions gave information on the voting and political behaviour of South African university youth. These two groups of information and research were brought together for analysis by means of the analytical framework developed in Chapter 2.

Thus, for the purposes of analysis, i.e. in order to determine the extent to which the models of voting behaviour and effects on voting behaviour developed within Western literature are applicable to the university youth of South Africa, the findings of survey studies in conjunction with the answers acquired from the focus group discussions and other sources such as the Independent Electoral Commission and Human Science Research Council were used to answer the questions posed by the Framework for Analysis in Chapter 2.

The Framework for Analysis was developed to provide proper and constructive guidance for analysis. This framework was inspired by – yet not the same as – the *Harvard Analytical Framework Tool* availed by the World Bank (see World Bank 2010). Even though the exact Harvard Analytical Tool was not used in this study, it provided the idea of a well-structured table containing the necessary information needed for analysis. The table consisted of two columns with the different models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour on the left side and key questions on the right. These key questions were formulated from the main assumptions and arguments of each model or age effect. During the analysis, the findings of the surveys were used to answer these questions in order to determine the extent to which the different models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour were applicable to the South African university youth.

Analysis was not conducted without difficulty, as the different models of voting behaviour often overlapped and shared certain characteristics, which somehow increased the possibility of confusion. For this reason they were kept separate, while acknowledging the fact that more than one model or effect can apply to a certain case simultaneously. Thus, each of the models of and effects on voting behaviour and their questions (see analytical framework) were taken individually and answered as complete and thoroughly as possible. For each of the models and effects, individual conclusions were drawn, which were subsequently used to conclude the overall analysis.

1.6. STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

This first chapter has presented the basic research theme and research question in order to clarify the purpose of the whole research study. Furthermore, it provided an overview on literature on voting behaviour, which includes models of voting behaviour, age effects on voting behaviour, Western general literature, as well as available literature on voting behaviour in Africa and South Africa.

An analytical framework for the purpose of analysing the data in order to evaluate the applicability of Western models is developed in Chapter 2. This chapter covers all the models of voting behaviour as well as the age effects on voting behaviour in detail. These models and effects are compared and contrasted and overlaps are identified. Despite such overlaps, the models are kept separate for the purposes of analysis.

Chapter 3 contains the methodology used during this research process. The research methods used in this study are both quantitative and qualitative. Extensive desktop research was done for the purposes of gathering Western literature and background information on the topic of voting behaviour.

In Chapter 4 all the relevant findings of the survey studies are presented. These are presented in two parts namely demographic information or information on social affiliation of the participants and that of political behaviour, opinions and involvement. The second part is presented in different categories namely: voting; interest in politics; political discussions; political leaders; political parties; the media; the current situation in South Africa; and issues of importance.

Chapter 5 contains the analysis to determine the extent to which the Western developed models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour as contained in Chapter 2 are applicable to the case of the South African university youth. The findings presented in Chapter 4 are compared to the key aspects of the models of, and age effects on, voting behaviour as contained in Chapter 2 by means of the developed framework for analysis.

By means of this analysis, it is determined to what extent Western literature on voting behaviour is applicable to the case study of a very specific group.

Chapter 6 concludes the study by providing an overall summary of the dissertation and by making recommendations for possible further research in this field.

CHAPTER 2

VOTING BEHAVIOUR: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In order to understand political behaviour, and particularly voting behaviour, various models have been developed, including the Party Identification Model, the Michigan Model, the Rational Choice Model, the Sociological Model, and the Media/Dominant Ideology Model. Furthermore, (as referred to in Chapter 1), there are various age effects on voting behaviour, namely the Life Cycle Effect, Cohort Effect, as well as the Individual Ageing Effect. Each of these seeks to provide more insight on voting behaviour.

Catt (1996:1), however, argues that one can take the similarities in the various models of voting behaviour, and combine it to form a Voting Behaviour Orthodoxy. Thus, it is also of importance to note that these models and effects should not be considered in isolation but that in many respects they can be interrelated. Furthermore, one can also identify a certain way in which the voting behaviour of voters "chronologically progresses" over time. First comes childhood and early socialisation during which individuals are socialised and taught by their parents. Thereafter they start to identify with certain political parties. In the mean time, individuals are exposed to the media, dominant ideologies and society in general and certain stances on issues are taken and images of different political candidates are formed. Votes are cast based on these long-term and short-term influences to which individuals have been exposed in their lifetime (Wolf 2010).

Wolf (2010) draws a distinction between "heart" and "mind" influences and identifies two different groups of voters, namely Sophisticated Independents and Sophisticated Partisans to illustrate this point. According to Wolf (2010), Sophisticated Independents are mobilised by their minds in information processing during elections. In other words, they process information during elections and accordingly are mobilised by what they constructed in their minds. Their "voting attitudes" are thus as follow: they vote

strategically, decide later, change their votes between elections, change their votes during elections, are attentive to the media, and deliberate with others (Wolf 2010). In this case there are predominantly short-term influences, which mean that they are also easily influenced during election campaigns. Wolf (2010) refers to this influence as "short-term minds".

Sophisticated Partisans, on the other hand, are mobilised by both their hearts and minds (Wolf 2010). While they make up their minds regarding issues and decisions, their emotions (hearts) and values also play a role in mobilising them. The latter is what Wolf (2010) refers to as "long-term hearts" influences. Their voting attitudes are as follow: they make up their minds prior to elections, are attentive to the media and talk only with fellow partisans (Wolf 2010). Their voting behaviour entails that they will support their own party regardless of factors such as underperformance, changing national circumstances etc. (Wolf 2010).

The various models and age effects of voting behaviour will now be discussed in the following sections. This is done for the purpose of developing a framework for analysis by means of which one can determine the extent to which Western models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour can be applied to or are relevant to the South African university youth.

2.2.MODELS OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR

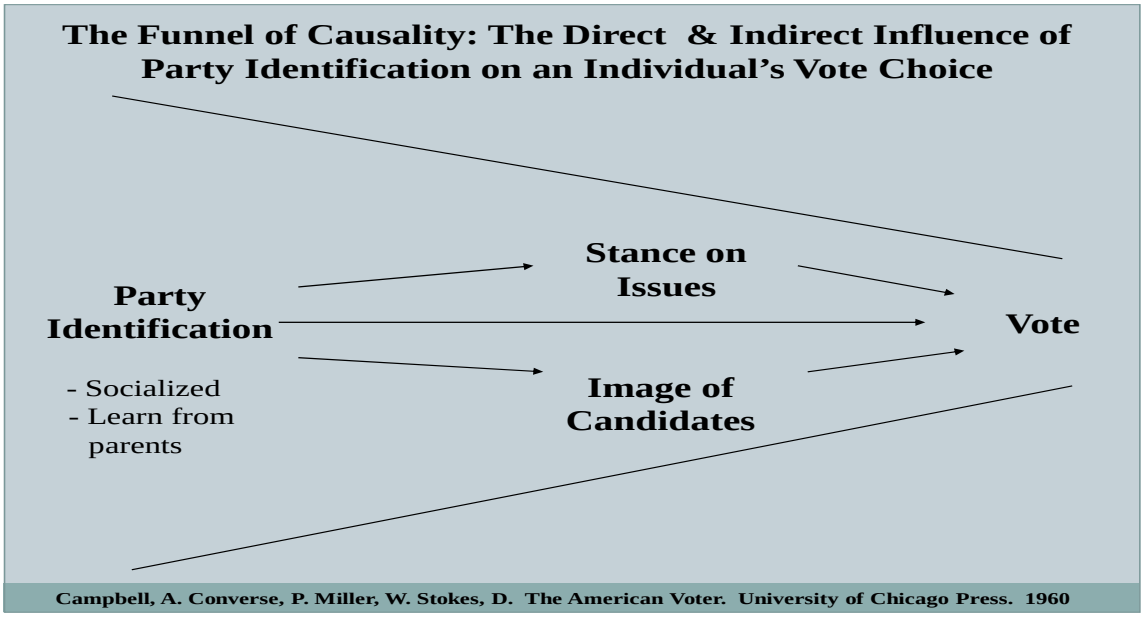
Models are, in general, sets of principles that describe fundamental entities as well as the functional relationships between them (Chandler 1988:26-27). Such models may provide frameworks (Chandler 1988:27) that can also be used for analysis. This is because models are more or less accurate representations of real life occurrences (Chandler 1988:27). Theories can be either true or false (Chander 1988:27), and also seek to explain why certain things happen (Wehmeier et al (eds) 2010:1533); however, as the study of voting behaviour also entails the study of social beings and their (changeable) behaviour within the political context, the concept of theory is somewhat difficult to

apply. For this reason, I will refer to models of voting behaviour, in stead of theories, even though some authors sometimes refer to these as theories.

There are various models of voting behaviour that were designed for the purposes of illustrating or representing different kinds of voting behaviour, and even though they will be discussed in separate sections, it is important to note that they are not isolated from one another, and in many cases interrelated, linked or overlapped.

The literature contains numerous examples where models of voting behaviour can overlap or be interrelated. Some of the work include that of Greene (2002:172; 174) and Andersen and Heath (2000:1) as well as others, which will also be indicated during the course of this chapter. However, it should be noted that whenever models of voting behaviour are integrated such as in these cases, all of them still have merit as well as certain limitations, and they should rather be regarded as complementary towards each other than in opposition to each other (Andersen & Heath 2000:1)

To illustrate the possible links between the different models of voting behaviour, one can refer to a diagram called *the Funnel of Causality* used by Wolf (2010) that came from *The American Voter* (Campbell et al 1960). This diagram illustrated the voting process as starting from party identification (which stems from early socialisation and parental upbringing), progressing to certain stances on issues and portrayed images of candidates.



Voters are socialised and learn certain things from their parents, however, when studying the surveys, students were asked to indicate with whom they discuss politics and elections, and thus other (later) socialising agents include friends, other family members, and fellow-students. This is where models such as the Sociological Model and Michigan Model fit in. Thereafter, party identification forms (linking up with the Party Identification Model). From there, according to the diagram used by Wolf (2010), certain stances on issues are taken and images of candidates are formed in the minds of voters. These images can also come from the media as well as from further socialisation. The Media/Dominant Ideology Model fits here where images are portrayed and formed in the minds of voters. Then further stances on issues are formulated. Thus, throughout their lives there are various long-term and short-term influences on political behaviour. When it comes to the act of voting, these long-term as well as short-term factors contribute towards the voting decision. Furthermore, to a certain extent, rational decision-making also plays a part, which is where the Rational Choice Model fits in. Over all, throughout the process, the various age effects on voting behaviour discussed in section 2.3 are also relevant.

These different models of voting behaviour will be discussed in the following sub-sections. Their main characteristics or arguments will be presented, criticised and, where possible, compared to other models of voting behaviour.

2.2.1. SOCIOLOGICAL MODEL

The Sociological Model is based on social determinants rather than attitudes as the main influence on voting (Catt 1996:8). Accordingly, the type of education, housing, transport and healthcare a person consumes will affect their views on the role of the government (Catt 1996:8). Furthermore, this approach also stresses the group membership of the voter and gives prominence to a voter's social characteristics which include social class, religion, size of community, regional or ethnic loyalties and the age, language and gender of the voter (Ball & Peters 2005:175; Goldberg 1966:922; Brooks et al 2006:89); Erdmann 2007:19). According to Brooks et al (2006:89) once established, these social "cleavages" provide the basis for "political conflict expressed through the ballot box". In other words, this model holds that one's social position and circumstances will ultimately determine one's voting behaviour.

Heywood (2002:243) agrees with the authors above by adding that the Sociological Model links voting behaviour to group membership, and suggesting that voters tend to assume a voting pattern that reflects the social and economic position or circumstances of the group to which they belong. This model, thus, emphasises the group membership of a voter and views social characteristics such as those mentioned earlier as determining voter behaviour (Schoeman & Puttergill 2007:155).

Regarding the social characteristics, upon first view, social class can be considered a powerful indicator of voting intentions where, for example, the working class is generally more likely to support a left-of-centre party and the middle classes more likely to vote for a right-of-centre party (Ball & Peters 2005:176). In other words, one's priorities will depend on one's social circumstances or group membership, and hence one's vote will be in favour of the party focussing on the same priorities. However, this indicator has also been subject to criticism, which states that the relevance of class divisions in voting

behaviour is declining (Brooks et al 2006:92). The weakening of this relationship between class and voting has produced an argument amongst political scientists as to whether this weakening correlation is a result of voters who simply ceased to vote along class lines (Ball & Peters 2005:177), or whether the class structure itself in advanced capitalist democracies, is in a process of change (Brooks et al 2006:92).

As for religion as an indicator, these cleavages have been regarded as providing a very important "social-structural source of voter alignments" (Brooks et al 2006:92). However, even though viewed as a significant indicator, a decline in its impact has been noted (Ball & Peters 2005:178; Brooks et al 2006:92). This reduction on the impact of religious identity on voting behaviour is brought on by general secularisation linked with economic growth as well as increasing social differentiation in societies (Brooks et al 2006:92).

As for language, Ball and Peters (2005:179) also stated that in some cases majority parties are distinguished along ethnic and linguistic lines. In this case voters are more inclined to vote for those political parties who share ethnic and linguistic characteristics, most possibly because they will be able to understand each other's cultures and needs better.

With reference to age, Ball and Peters (2005:178) state it as too complex a variable in explaining voting behaviour. They illustrate this by stating that older people have a tendency to vote for conservative parties, but one has to take care that this tendency is not partly a result of predominance of women, among older voters as a consequence of demographic trends (Ball & Peters 2005:179). In this regard merely stating that older people have a tendency to vote along more conservative lines, is too simplistic and there are other factors that may influence their votes, such as the fact that women tend to live longer than men (Møller et al 2009:357). Thus, it might not be true that older people vote more conservatively but rather that older women do, etc.

As for gender, there are some gaps between the political party support of male and female voters. For example, a growing gender gap has been observed where female voters in the United States and the Scandinavian social democratic welfare states, tend to be more supportive of Left parties than their male counterparts (Brooks et al 2006:93). This changing political alignments may come from employment, and Brooks et al (2006:93) attempted to explain this with two broad interpretations namely that: Firstly, women are more likely to be employed within the public sector and thus also more supportive of political parties that favour government employment or growth; and Secondly, employed women are possibly more dependent on welfare state programmes that support work and childcare.

The above social cleavages can change over a period of time and, according to Brooks et al (2006:91) these changes take one of two forms: Either it can change in the partisan alignments of specific groups, or it can change in the relative size of groups.

However, according to Heywood (2002:243) some empirical evidence suggests that the link between party support and sociological factors has weakened in modern societies. As researchers increasingly after the 1960s began looking to more proximate cognitive, economic and cultural, ideological or partisanship factors in developing models of political behaviour, the sociological model began to wane (Brooks et al 2006:89), and received heavy criticism and dismissal. Furthermore, according to Brooks et al (2006:90) voters increasingly make their political choices independently from social group identities or memberships. Thus, attention has been paid to the phenomenon of class dealignment, which is the weakening of the relationship between social class and party support, however social class may still remain an important factor influencing electoral choice (Heywood 2002:243). Claims about the significance of social cleavages declining in voting behaviour thus became challenged (See Evans 1999 cited in Brooks et al 2006:90). According to Brooks et al (2006:89; 90; 113) no evidence was found for a universal decline in the relevance of the Sociological Model.

When compared to other models of voting behaviour, some analysts used social groups and sociological characteristics as indicators and variables in their studies (Goldberg 1966:916; Miller 1991:560; Abramowitz & Saunders 2006:182). In examining voting behaviour and determining early socialisation (linked with the Michigan Model discussed in sub-section 2.2.2), Goldberg (1966:915; 916) used sociological characteristics in his study on voting behaviour, and furthermore he states that adult sociological characteristics also play a role in Party Identification (see sub-section 2.2.3).

Linking further with the Party Identification Model, Miller (1991:560) used social groups such as gender, region and race in order to determine levels of party identification. Abramowitz and Saunders (2006:182) did the same by stating that party identification is largely based on membership in social groups, and by also dividing these groups according to race, gender, religion etc.

Thus, the Sociological Model is not only still relevant as a model of voting behaviour, but it can also be linked with other models of voting behaviour, as will also be seen in the following sub-sections.

2.2.2. MICHIGAN MODEL

As was mentioned in Chapter 1, the Michigan Model was developed at the University of Michigan and focuses on long-term patterns of partisanship (Catt 1996:5). According to this model, social location is regarded as the determining factor of who voters interact with and which political party they will support (Catt 1996:5). This model is based on findings that suggested a lack of election-specific influences, and instead an attachment to parties wherein voters tended to vote as they always had and as their families also had (Catt 1996:5). Elcock (1976:220) explains this attachment to political parties as being caused by the inheritance of a partisan self-image.

In order for partisanship to develop, early socialisation is of significance (Goldberg 1966:914). This is because, as stated by Darmofal and Nardulli (2010:260), early socialisation experiences shape subsequent information processing and political

behaviour. Consequently citizens develop stable participation and partisan orientations that provide them with standing decisions both for turnout and for choice (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:260).

Early socialisation happens as children first match with their family and thereafter with the population at large, including teachers and role models (Bisin & Verdier 2000:10), and even though parents are mostly altruistic they still perceive the welfare of their children through their own "filters", and thus parents transmit their own preferences (Bisin & Verdier 2000:6). Long-term patterns of partisanship are subsequently developed.

According to Wolak (2009:573) partisanship is a very powerful influence on individuals' perceptions of politics and one's identification with a political party then strongly informs choices during campaigns. Furthermore, when citizens' levels of information are low, they use their partisanship as a "decision heuristic" to "fill in the blanks" (Wolak 2009:573). When, however, new information is received, partisanship causes a bias in the interpretation thereof (Wolak 2009:573).

There are also factors outside the family that shape partisanship in adolescence, however parents are usually regarded as the most influential on adolescent partisanship as they are often more respected and trusted as sources of political information (Wolak 2009:674). By the time they reach adolescence, most children have a partisan identification which is connected to political preferences in the same manner as adults, even though it is not always as strong, and among the children who have a partisan preference, nearly all share it with their parents (Achen 2002:152). Peers and teachers are less influential as adolescents rarely know the political preferences of their peers, and teachers do not direct the development of partisanship (Wolak 2009:574).

According to Chandler (1988:28-29) the Michigan Model is based on five general principles namely: (1) The fundamental entities are political attitudes, individual psychological states, beliefs, expectations and values which determine individual vote

choice; (2) Political attitudes can be distinguished from other causes of an individual's vote choice which are outside of the model; (3) Information regarding political attitudes are mostly obtained by survey research and public opinion polls; (4) Statistical techniques allow researchers to determine causal relationship holding between variables; (5) the Michigan Model is fully universal, i.e. when exogenous variables are excluded, the model reveals the patterns in the attitudes of electorates which determine the results of competitive elections at all times and in all societies.

The Michigan Model also places an emphasis on habituation to both participation and vote choice (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:260). Moreover, it recognises that exogenous events, such as political or economic crises, can produce sharp and broad changes from prior behaviour that endure through the creation of new partisan loyalties (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:260). This habitual component of voting, however, can constraint electoral change (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:264).

Within the Michigan Model, similar to partisanship, non-participation is also viewed as carrying a habitual component, because a citizen may "incorporate either voting or non-voting as part of his normal behaviour" (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:260). Just as the habitual preference for a particular political party may, during periods of political or economic crisis, be rejected, so may the previous habit of non-participation. Thus, past non-participation does not prevent citizens from recognising consequences of national crises and becoming active voters in response (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:260). Demobilisation also fits into this model, wherein an effective attachment to a political party was developed, as well as an aversion to the opposing party leads to rather complete abstinence from voting than choosing to vote for the opposition (Darmofal & Nardullie 2010:260).

According to Bartels (2000:35) there has, however, been signs of partisan decline where in the United States, there has been an increase of "Independents" and "split-ticket voting". However, in presidential elections, partisan votes have gradually increased

(Bartels 2000:36; 44). It cannot, thus be assumed that partisanship stays constant and never changes.

As was already noted, the main origins of partisanship come from parents, however, not all children grow up with parents who shared the same party identification and furthermore, not all children mirror their parents' party identification later on (Wolak 2009:573). Furthermore, some adolescents are more inclined to challenging their parents and would also challenge their political views and party identification – these individuals are more likely to change their partisan preferences during a campaign (Wolak 2009:576).

As children age, they increasingly encounter political messages from other sources (such as political campaigns, peers and the news media), and as they navigate this new information environment, the potential for partisan change emerges (Wolak 2009:581). It is thus important to note that partisanship is not merely inherited but also developed with feedback and input from the child during adolescence (Wolak 2009:581).

This model can in many ways be linked to the Sociological Model in that socialisation plays a significant role in the formation of long-term patterns of partisanship. However, whereas the Sociological Model focuses on social determinants instead of attitudes, the Michigan Model goes further in regarding social location and partisanship as determining factors of who voters interact with and how they will eventually vote – i.e. the nature of their developed long-term partisanship.

Furthermore, the Michigan Model can also be linked to the Party Identification Model (see sub-section 2.2.3) as well as the Rational Choice Model (see sub-section 2.2.4). In fact, Chandler (1988:30; 32) included both the Party Identification Model (which he calls the Partisan Model) as well as the Rational Choice Model (which Chandler calls the Retrospective Voting Model) as sub-models of the Michigan Model. However, in doing so, Chandler (1988:32; 33) also acknowledged that these two sub-models can possibly challenge some of each other's principles as well as some of the principles of the

Michigan Model itself. But, despite these difficulties, Chandler (1988:34) still considers the Michigan Model to be able to encompass both the Party Identification Model as well as the Rational Choice Model, which is yet another example of how the various models of voting behaviour can overlap.

Darmofal and Nardulli (2010:260) link the Michigan Model with the Rational Choice Model and presents expectations for how conversion, mobilisation and demobilisation can occur to produce critical realignments. Even though socialisation gives affective partisan loyalties within the Michigan Model's perspective, these are not entirely resistant to political and economic crises (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:260). Voters are able to make judgments in the face of these crises and subsequently adjust their partisan affiliations and voting behaviour accordingly, and these evaluative capacities of voters are thus not hindered by deeply rooted partisan affiliations (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:260). Through this, electoral accountability is enhanced (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:260).

Linking the Michigan Model with the Party Identification Model, individual evaluations and aggregate partisanship may shift for a variety of reasons, including new issues (such as economic and political crises) and old issues that may cause new divisions and preferences (Franklin & Jackson 1983:968). These preferences and divisions are amongst the factors that, according to the Party Identification Model, influence voting behaviour.

The following sub-section will describe the Party Identification Model and for that reason it is very important to note that the concepts of partisanship and party identification are overlapping and may cause confusion when it comes to considering the Michigan Model and the Party Identification Model. An easy way to remember the difference between the two is by focussing on the difference between the two concepts of partisanship and party identification. Partisanship is much broader than party identification (Miller 1991:557; 559). Partisanship is acquired through the process of early socialisation while party identification is based on preferences of one political party over others – with the focus on *party* identification.

2.2.3. PARTY IDENTIFICATION MODEL

According to the Party Identification Model, voters vote primarily out of long-term loyalty to a particular political party (Ball & Peters 2005:172). Heywood (2002:242) further adds that, according to the Party Identification Model, voters are regarded as people who identify with *political parties* and are long-term supporters who consider a party to be "their party" and thus voting becomes, as stated by Catt (1996:5), a manifestation of partisanship. Political parties are thus the focus and voters are distinguished by the party with which they identify, if any, and the intensity of their attachment or "loyalty" to that party (Kovenock & Robertson 2008:277). Stress is also placed on early political socialisation, where mainly the family "forges" political loyalties, which are again in most cases reinforced by group memberships as well as social experiences (Heywood 2002:242). Party Identification is also one of the most enduring concepts used by electoral analysts (Sanders 2003:260) and a significant body of research using other models of voting behaviour incorporates party identification.

According to Franklin and Jackson (1983:957) party identification allows individuals to "know" more about persons and policies associated with political parties and the stability of party identification suggests that the sense of party identification is not easily modified. However, once they are provided with new information, voters will re-evaluate their party preferences (Franklin & Jackson 1983:958). But in the case of stronger identification, the individual is more likely to assume positions on matters that are in line with those of the party and to see the party as promoting policies that he or she favours; this in turn will result in a very "consistent-appearing voter" (Franklin & Jackson 1983:969). Political parties also seek to find ways to strengthen loyalties and party identification (Wolf 2010b:93). However, it may also occur that, with change in party structures etc., there will be shifts in identifications which will lead to new issue positions, and altered perceptions of the parties' relative positions that more clearly reflect the emerging set of preferences, evaluations and identifications (Franklin & Jackson 1983:969).

Four claims are made about the Party Identification Model (see Green et al 2002 as cited in Abramowitz & Saunders 2006:175) namely: (1) Party Identification is more stable at both aggregate and individual level than suggested by recent scholarship; (2) Voters' party loyalties are largely insulated from the effects of current issues such as the state of the economy and performance of the president; (3) Party loyalties exercise a powerful influence on citizens' issue positions, evaluations of political leaders, and voting decisions; (4) Party Identification is based mainly on identification with social groups rather than evaluation of the parties' ideological orientations or policies. These claims are in conflict with the Rational Choice Model (see sub-section 2.2.4) as the Rational Choice Model claims that individual voters evaluate the performance of political parties and base their decisions on rational consideration.

According to Bartle (2003:223) and Weinschenk (2010), party identification can be determined by asking certain questions such as "to which political party do you consider yourself closest to?" For example, both the survey studies (used for this study) conducted in 2006 and 2008 asked participants to identify which political parties they support and which ones they generally felt closest to. They were also, in both the 2006 and 2008 surveys, asked to indicate if they were members of any political party.

As one considers the Party Identification Model, another question presents itself, namely where core political values fit in. In other words, whether or not this model allows for the influences of core political values, or if core political values are largely influenced by party identification. This question becomes relevant when one further asks the question as to why someone identifies with a certain political party. Certainly there must be an extent to which the political party also appeals to the voter's current political values.

Goren (2005:881) explored the relationship between party identification and core political values, where, according to him, party identification represents some kind of loyalty to a certain political party, while core political values represent "abstract, prescriptive beliefs" regarding society. According to Goren (2005:217) citizens rely on

both partisanship and core principles to inform their votes and to guide their evaluations of public officials in order to construct policy preferences.

Core principles include equal opportunities, traditional family values and limited government, which, according to Goren (2005:217), have a relationship with party identification. Naturally, voters will identify more with someone from a similar social grouping, which is why they are more inclined to vote accordingly, and it is generally assumed that those from similar social backgrounds are more inclined to share core principles than those from different social backgrounds.

Goren (2005:882) concurs with Friedman (1999:214; and 2004:2) by stating that party identification is an exceptionally consistent predisposition as it forms a wide range of political perceptions, by which it is for the most part unaffected. He goes on to state that political values share five conceptual attributes namely: "abstract beliefs; about desirable end states or behaviours that; transcend specific situations; guide evaluation and behaviour; and can be rank-ordered in terms of relative importance" (Goren 2005:882).

Furthermore, since core political principles are mostly developed during the initial stages of the adult life cycle, and again strengthened by the wider political culture, they should prevail over time and not be easily influenced by short-term political forces (Goren 2005:882). Party identification and political values can thus be considered as central and semi-permanent predispositions in the whole political belief systems of voters, though it is not clear as to how these two constructs are related (Goren 2005:883). The development of core political principles can be linked to the Michigan Model and the various age effects (see section 2.3). However, what makes it significant in this particular model of voting behaviour, is the fact that it provides a reason for party identification in that it guides voting behaviour, as also stated by Goren (2005:882).

Lister (2007:24) further adds that norms can influence individual behaviour, particularly when they are affiliated with the collective or "joint sphere", and that norms are partly created and sustained by institutions. Lister further states that social norms suggest what

is considered to be appropriate action or behaviour, and in so doing, they lead individuals to behave in certain ways (Lister 2007:25). This is where voting behaviour fits in: Individuals will identify with and prefer political parties who appeal to their political values, and thus their voting behaviour will be accordingly.

Goren (2005:894) adds to the above by stating that partisanship influences essential long-term political tendencies or predispositions as well; as not only does party identification determine or influence the way individuals perceive everyday politics, but it also shapes some of their most abstract and lasting beliefs on society and public affairs. Goren's (2005:894) study further suggests that political elites trigger "concealed" partisan biases in the minds of citizens, which in turn subtly influence their core political values. However, party identification appears to not determine value positions, but it does seem to mould them (Goren 2005:894). Thus, the parties with which citizens identify can subtly alter citizen's core political values, even though identification with parties does not appear to determine value positions.

Votes based on loyalty are not necessarily cast rationally and this can be regarded as a weakness of this model. Furthermore, Heywood (2002:242) identifies partisan dealignment in a number of countries such as the United States from 1920 to the 1980s as well as the United Kingdom from 1966 to 1997 where habitual voting patterns appeared to have decreased and party identification has generally declined, as another weakness of this model. A possible reason for this may be that the Party Identification Model is an older model of which the relevance may decline due to the mass amount of information that have become increasingly accessible to voters over the years. Voters can thus 'widen' their political and general knowledge and this can have a further influence on their voting behaviour.

However, party identification is still a very prominent determinant of votes in some cases. According to Friedman (1999:214; and 2004:2) identification may be the strongest determinant of votes in South Africa where individuals vote primarily for political parties they best identify with regardless of failures in government policies or service delivery.

Party identification is also important as it is well-established and has substantial correlation with voting behaviour (Goldberg 1966:915). However, considering that party identification is well-established does not mean that it is fixed. According to Franklin and Jackson (1983) party identification is subject to change, as individual preference change, assuming fixed party positions, or as a consequence of shifts in the party positions, if individual preferences are stable, or both. Party Identification is more than the result of early socialisation, as it also encompasses a person's accumulated evaluations from previous elections, and depends on the events and actions of political leaders during these elections and during subsequent terms in office (Franklin & Jackson 1983:968). Each campaign leaves an "imprint" on the individual identification and the drive for change comes from shifts in people's perceived party proximities relative to their own preferences (Franklin & Jackson 1983:968). Individual evaluations and aggregate partisanship may shift for a variety of reasons; new issues and old issues may cause new divisions, and preferences may (sometimes) shift. Party positions may shift, and partisanship may also shift if the incumbent party's performance is seen as unsatisfactory (Linking Party Identification to the Michigan Model) (Franklin & Jackson 1983:968).

As can also be seen above, one can notice a link between this model and the Sociological Model and Michigan Model in that early socialisation and partisanship play a significant role in voting behaviour. Compared to the Michigan Model, political partisanship is the accumulation of one's experiences with and evaluations of politics and party identification can be considered a cause and consequence of such political evaluations (Weinshenk 2010). Moreover, linked with the Sociological Model, Abramowitz and Saunders (2006:182) claims that party identification can be based on membership of social groups where citizens choose a party identification based on their perception of the fit between their own social characteristics and the social characteristics of supporters.

The four claims mentioned earlier, that were cited in Abramowitz and Saunders (2006:175), challenge rational choice in that it is not a deliberate choice based on a preference for one set of policy positions over another. Whereas the Rational Choice

Model considers voters as rational beings who base their voting decisions on rational considerations, the Party Identification Model claims that voting decisions are based on party loyalties and the influence of identification.

It also challenges models based on ideology which claim that, as a result of the growing ideological polarisation of major parties, voters choose a party identification on basis of their ideological preferences, leading to gradual realignment of party loyalties along ideological lines (Abramowitz & Saunders 2006:175).

2.2.4. MEDIA/DOMINANT IDEOLOGY MODEL

Another determining factor of voting behaviour is the media and the role it plays in informing citizens and forming opinions. Ball & Peters (2005:180) rightly states that the role of the mass media, particularly that of television, is a factor of increasing importance in the determination of election results. Citizens rely on the media for information about politicians and their conduct (Ladd 2010). Furthermore, news media play a central role in democratic governance by, amongst others, shaping political opinions and electoral preferences (Ladd 2010).

Images and texts in the mass media are often used to form the public's views on political leaders, parties etc. (Grabe 2009). By exposing their audiences to certain texts conveying messages about political leaders, government performances political conduct etc., and doing this on a regular basis, certain images are mentally constructed in the minds of the recipients, which can lead to political opinions being formed and political support decided and expressed accordingly.

When it comes to voting and elections, the media provide most of the information used by the electorate (Strömberg 2004:265). The media transmits information to mass audiences. In 1996 American voters indicated their main source of information during their 1996 election to be television and newspapers (Strömberg 2004:265). Media are not neutral devices that distribute information uniformly, but still it provides a channel through which campaign messages (and promises) are conveyed (Strömberg 2004:266).

Furthermore, media messages affect voting preferences through providing political information and direct persuasion, although creative research designs or unusual historical circumstances are necessary to attain that evidence (Ladd 2010). When greater attention is given to politics in the mass media, particularly the print media, political knowledge increases (Jankowski & Strate 1995:91).

Those who follow the news during a presidential campaign have different perceptions of national economic performance and consequently different voting preferences. Moreover, those who consume more news are more likely to change their views of the candidates during a presidential campaign (Ladd 2010). One route for partisan change in adolescence is through the information encountered in their social and political contexts (Wolak 2009:575). Yet, apart from the quantity of political messages one is exposed to, individuals also vary in their desire and willingness to engage with this information (Wolak 2009:575).

It is also important to note that there is a difference between "newspaper competition" and "political competition" in that newspapers target certain groups while in a political competition there is "no bias towards large groups" (Strömberg 2004:271). Newspapers want to "attract the largest group". Furthermore, the media may have a significant effect on policy without changing either public opinion or voting behaviour. The reason for this is that politicians respond at the same time and in a similar way to changes in media coverage, keeping voting contentions constant (Strömberg 2004:271).

Some authors, however, state that the popularity of the press has increasingly decreased (Ladd 2010), and there is little agreement on how important the effects of the mass media really are in individual electoral behaviour (Ball & Peters 2005:180). In 1944 already it was found that the media had only minimal effects in persuading voters to change their votes (Strömberg 2004:266). However, according to Strömberg (2004:266), the simultaneous responses of political parties to media coverage may keep voting intentions and public opinions relatively constant, while policies change considerably.

Contrary to the above findings on the popularity of the press, Fox News (for example) had a significant impact on the 2000 elections in the United States (DellaVigna & Kaplan 2007:1188). The entry of Fox News increased the Republican Vote share in Presidential elections by 200 000 nationwide (DellaVigna & Kaplan 2007:1188). According to this finding, exposure to Fox News persuaded a substantial percentage of the non-Republican viewers to vote for the Republican Party. These results are consistent with other studies and suggest that the media can have a sizeable political and, more specifically, electoral impact (DellaVigna & Kaplan 2007:1228).

What happens when the media is not trusted as a source of information? According to Ladd (2010) partisan voting is greater amongst those who distrust the media. Because in modern democracies voters are required to make important decisions without all possible information, they must use their existing base of knowledge to make these decisions (Ladd 2010). However, when a voter distrusts the news media messages, the political world becomes considerably more "ambiguous" and voters are forced to rely on "existing stones of knowledge" (Ladd 2010). When a voter distrusts the media or press, voting based on party identification becomes the most instrumental choice (Ladd 2010).

A broader range of phenomena could fall under media effects (Ladd 2010). Media effects research has originally focussed on media messages' power to persuade the general public. However, it has been increasingly noted that political behaviour does not only depend on the volume and content of media messages, but also on attitudes towards the press itself (Ladd 2010). Changes in the news media's reputation as institution can have important effects on political beliefs and opinions as well as on voting preferences – even while media messages are held constant (Ladd 2010).

Heywood (2002:244) links the influence of the mass media with what he calls the Dominant-ideology Model where fundamental theories of voting indicate the extent to which individual preferences are determined or influenced by "ideological manipulation and control". This model emphasises the manner in which groups and individuals interpret their own position, and that this interpretation depends on how their position has

been presented to them via mass media and education, as well as by the government (Heywood 2002:244). According to Heywood (2002:244) the media are also capable of distorting the flow of political communications, by setting the agenda for debate and also by structuring or manipulating preferences as well as sympathies. Thus, the Dominant-ideology Model and the Media go hand-in-hand as dominant ideologies are portrayed in the mass media, which leads to political opinions and support being constructed in the minds of the electorate accordingly. With the media being a major source of communication, it serves to be the main source of information as well because it includes print media, electronic media, and broadcasting media. Thus, it is not surprising that it can be a major component of the Dominant-ideology Model, for the media is the most logical manner in which dominant or desired ideologies can be constructed in the minds of the electorate.

Compared to other models of voting behaviour, this model focuses on ideological manipulation and control of individual preferences, where the electorate are not socially influenced in a manner that 'forge' or determine their political behaviour but rather purposefully conditioned or 'indoctrinated' into having certain political opinions, or supporting certain political candidates or parties.

Ideologies have programmatic and consistency characteristics and play a role as coordinating mechanisms of people's beliefs on what should be the future political outcomes and social values (Bisin & Verdier 2000:7). Bisin and Verdier (2000:14) identify two characteristics that are common to all definitions of ideology namely: the programmatic function thereof, as well as the information processing and communication role thereof. An ideology is a vision of the ideal society along with the means of achieving it (Jacoby 2009:591; 593). These visions are then somehow consistently communicated to an audience and become programmed into their value systems. An ideology also provides standards for assessing the leadership potential of public figures, weighing the relative merits of alternative policy positions, and evaluating current social, political and economic problems (Jacoby 2009:593).

Uninformed voters will be less likely to vote, and if they do vote, they will be less responsive to candidate issue taking, since they do not accurately perceive the candidate's position (Palfrey 1987:512). Palfrey (1987:512) continues by stating that there are three sets of relationships; between an individual voter's information or level of political knowledge and (1) voter preference over candidates; (2) preference on issues and left-right positions; (3) vote choice (including non-voting).

Here, Palfrey (1987:530) continues by stating that voter information is positively correlated with ideological "extremism" and negatively correlated with indifference between candidates. He explains this by stating that highly informed voters consist of a significantly more polarised subset of the electorate than uninformed voters and that the information level of a voter has a strong positive effect on the likelihood of voting (Palfrey 1987:530). Informed voters are significantly more predictable in their voting behaviour than uninformed voters (Palfrey 1987:530).

Furthermore, Abramowitz and Saunders (2006:175) state that ideology, and more specifically "ideological realignment", entails that as a result of the "growing ideological polarisation" of major parties, voters choose a party based of their own ideological preferences, which leads to gradual realignment of party loyalties along ideological lines. There are also individual differences within the electorate in terms of the propensity to view the world through a "liberal-conservative" lens and some people organise their attitudes and behaviour along ideological lines (Jacoby 2009:584). Jacoby (2009:591) used the example of the 2004 United States presidential elections where individuals evaluated their decisions based on their own liberal-conservative orientations.

A weakness of this model, however, is that the overemphasising of the process of social conditioning completely disregards individual determination and personal autonomy (Heywood 2002:244). Furthermore, it should always be taken into account that individuals have a tendency to read and listen to texts in the media in a selective manner. Audiences normally select information and remember it, depending on how compatible the information is with their current or existing values and beliefs.

2.2.5. RATIONAL CHOICE MODEL

Other than the previous models, which focus more on social environments and determinants, the Rational Choice Model regards voters as individuals who base their voting decisions on the findings acquired after careful assessment of various issues at hand (Catt 1996:7). According to this model the "rationality of electors is also a central assumption of the traditional justification of representative institutions" (Elcock 1976:217). This model advocates that the electorate rationally decide which way to vote based on the performance and promises of the candidates or parties (Ball & Peters 2005:173). This model thus focuses more on the individual instead of socialisation and the collective social group's behaviours (Heywood 2002:243). Drawing a comparison to a marketplace, this model holds that in the political marketplace the voter will cast his or her vote for the party that is most likely to serve the ends of the voter and the model emphasises the importance of issues, interests and concerns in elections (Ball & Peters 2005:174). Voting is thus considered a rational act, where individual electors are believed to – based on personal self-interest – decide for themselves which party they prefer (Heywood 2002:243). Voting is also seen as a retrospective comment on the party in power and how its performance has influenced citizen's choice (Heywood 2002:243).

According to Aldrich (1993:247) electoral turnout assumes a special place in the Rational Choice Model[1] where citizens' preferences are transformed into "utilities for outcomes" when the extent to which one citizen prefers one outcome over another one matters. In the Rational Choice Model it is important that voters, or individuals, choose or prefer outcomes with higher utility to those with lower utility and choose actions to receive more highly valued outcomes (Aldrich 1993:248).

By altering their voting behaviour, citizens are sometimes considered to hold political elites accountable (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:255). Darmofal and Nardulli (2010:256) call this critical realignment, which can happen in three ways namely conversion,

[1] Aldrich (1993) refers to the Rational Choice Theory. Various authors vary in their usage of the words Theory and Model, however, for the purpose of this study as well as consistency, the word Model is used throughout.

mobilisation and demobilisation. Conversion happens when committed partisans are moved from one party to the opposing party; Mobilisation takes place when previous non-voters are mobilised to vote; and Demobilisation happens when active voters are alienated and abstain from voting (Darmofal & Nardulli 2010:256). Furthermore, citizens base their votes on retrospective evaluations (Weinschenk 2010) where variables such as job performance, the national economy and international reputation come to play.

Within the process of voting, there are certain costs, namely: obtaining information, processing the information, deciding what to do, registering, and going to the polls (Aldrich 1933:248). Furthermore, abstaining from participating in the elections can also be a rational choice and the decision to turn out at the polls or not can be understood as an exercise of rational decision making (Aldrich 1993:275). Feddersen (2004) refers to a paradox of not voting and how this links up with the Rational Choice Model[2]. He explains that non-voting can have two sides with opposite implications or meaning: either it can refer to mere apathy, or it can refer to a calculated decision after rational consideration to not participate in elections (Feddersen 2004).

Thus, voters calculate the costs primarily by considering the time and effort they would have to devote to preparing to vote and actually voting (Goldfarb & Sigelman 2010:276). To determine the benefits of voting, potential voters must first decide whether and how much they prefer one candidate over any others (Goldfarb & Sigelman 2010:277), but what is important to note is that even though the governing party may lose support among those voters who believe that conditions have worsened, opposition parties do not necessarily benefit from this (Sanders 2003:261) as abstaining from voting does not give the opposition party more support.

Heywood (2002:243) identified the abstraction of individual voters from their social and cultural environment as a weakness of this model. In other words, broader party attachments and group loyalties still structure one's ability to evaluate issues and

[2] Feddersen (2004) referred to it as the Rational Choice Theory, however, for the purpose of this study as well as consistency, the word Model is used throughout.

determine one's self-interest (which, according to Heywood (2002:243), is the "essence of instrumental voting"). Furthermore, according to Lister (2007:21) it is often difficult to explain political participation – and, more specifically, why people do participate in the first place – by means of the rational choice theory. This is because it is often difficult to predict the 'rational choices' of voters as their reasons and cognitive processing of information is often unknown to analysts. Furthermore, there is no universal rational 'right' or 'wrong' choice, as individuals differ in their perceptions of what is acceptable and satisfactory. Comparing it again to the marketplace, one voter's "end" might not be the same as that of another, and thus the 'rationality' of these electors may differ.

Furthermore, Ball & Peters (2005:175) posit that in a wider sense this approach may allow aspects of the previous models to be included within this explanation and that this approach allows for the voter to vote on the record of the government, making a retrospective judgement, and thus to ignore the promises of candidates and parties. As indicated previously, individuals change over time and eventually, considering all their experiences and gained values, they reach a stage in their lives where they can make decisions based on considerations that are more rational. Retrospection comes in and, based on their prior knowledge and experiences, voters are sometimes able to decide rationally who to vote for, without being distracted by promises made by parties during election campaigns.

Such as the cases of the previous models of voting behaviour, the Rational Choice Model can also be linked, or sometimes challenged, by other models of voting behaviour. Linked to the Michigan Model, Darmofal and Nardulli (2010:260) hold that midst the socialisation and habitual formations, there are still decision making processes at work when it comes to making a choice as voter, and behaviour can change through realignments.

Goldfarb and Sigelman (2010:285) links the Party Identification Model (the part focussing on values) with the Rational Choice Model by incorporating civic duty into the

Rational Choice Model. However, they state that rationality and norm should be finely considered as norms or values can often impede on rationality, while others such as "honesty" or fairness can advance it. The Party Identification Model can also challenge the Rational Choice Model, where the former states that voting is not a deliberate choice based on a preference for one set of policy positions over another (Abramowitz & Saunders 2006:175). Weinschenk (2010) also indicated that retrospective evaluations (which may be somewhat rational) also play a role in party identification, and depending on the context, these can sometimes also cause a change in party identification.

Achen (2002:151) noted the need for a rational choice model of the "inter-generational transmission of party-identification", and highlighted the issue that new voters do not have any experience of their own, and that they need prior beliefs. Here the other models can also link up in the sense that through early socialisation and developments of partisanship, first-time voters make decisions at the ballot box.

Sanders (2003:242) discusses party identification, and identifies three forms of economic perceptions that influence voters' electoral preferences. Through these leading parties can be held accountable (linking further with the Rational Choice Model). The first form concerns retrospective assessments of personal and natural economic conditions (reward-punishment) in which voters reward incumbent parties with their support if their personal and or national economic conditions improved; or punish incumbent parties if these conditions have not improved or have worsened by not supporting them. The second form concerns voters' prospective assessment of their economic future (optimism-pessimism) by voting for the incumbent party if they are optimistic about the economic future or by voting for the opposition if they are pessimistic about the economic future. The last form posits voters' perceptions of the relative economic management capabilities of the main contending parties will determine which way they vote.

2.2.6. VOTING BEHAVIOUR ORTHODOXY

In *Voting Behaviour: A Radical Critique* Catt (1996:1) explores the possibility of the existence of a voting behaviour orthodoxy, i.e. a generally accepted view or belief with

regards to voting behaviour. This generally accepted view or belief involves the integration of some characteristics of all the models of voting behaviour discussed previously. The voting behaviour orthodoxy is better explained by Catt's (1996:1) conclusion that by first exploring different models to studying voting behaviour, followed by the identification of similarities between these models, the "common elements in both the way in which the problem is perceived and the methods used to answer it", can be called a voting behaviour orthodoxy. In simpler terms, Oversloot et al (2002:32) state that the voting behaviour orthodoxy holds that a vote is taken as a mere sign of political support or preference for a party or candidate, which is also where definitions of elections flow from.

The different approaches discussed in the sub-sections above can all be linked to a certain extent. Even though there are differences, all of the models agree that interaction with fellow citizens and other sources of information have an impact on political views and behaviour. The media presents the public with certain information, and depending on how wide the citizens read, cause the public to form opinions. These opinions are communicated and shared with those who are in the same social environment and either accepted or rejected, depending on the extent to which these are compatible with current values. Regardless of whether or not the information is considered in a rational manner, it still has an influence.

Based on the models presented above, the following questions can be asked as regards the voting behaviour of the youth:

- Do gender, race, language and social location influence the youth's political decisions?
- Do the youth regularly discuss politics and show interest?
- Do the youth identify with political parties and leaders, and do they support these parties and leaders?
- Are the youth regularly exposed to the media?
- Do the youth rely on the media for information?
- Do the media affect the voting behaviour and political attitudes of the youth?

- Are the youth aware of serious matters and government performances in addressing same?
- Is their political behaviour and participation based on rational consideration?

These questions were explored during the data-gathering process (survey studies) and the results will be presented in Chapter 4.

2.3.AGE EFFECTS ON VOTING

Aside from the models of voting behaviour that seek to illustrate different voting behaviours, there are various age effects or influences on voting behaviour (Life Cycle Effect, Cohort Effect, and Individual Ageing Effect), which will be discussed in the following sub-sections. These age effects are strong and established and the lack of criticism in the (Western) literature of these indicates that they have become widely accepted and observed. However, in this study their applicability to South African university youth will also be assessed.

The Life Cycle Effect indicates that during certain stages in a voter's "life cycle" there are times of little or no electoral participation and times where the levels of participation in elections are at a high. The Cohort Effect focuses on different cohorts that were born during different eras. The voting behaviour of a cohort depends on the specific national events and occurrences that were experienced during their years as adolescents. The Cohort Effect can also be called a "generational effect" as it considers the differences in voting behaviour of various generations. The Individual Ageing Effect consists of two sub-types namely: firstly, the increasing probability of individuals to go back to the polls after previous voting experiences, and secondly, as individuals grow older, their knowledge and experiences expand, and they feel more comfortable and familiar with the process of voting and other forms of political participation.

These age effects can be included and observed in all the models of voting behaviour and, as Jankowski and Strates (1995:92) rightly states, it is likely that the influence of various age-related "processes and statuses would carry across modes of political participation".

2.3.1. LIFE CYCLE

As was previously stated, and considering the focus of this study, youth apathy in political activities and processes is a widely accepted piece of conventional wisdom, supported by the Life Cycle Effect developed by Verba and Nie (1972) and Nie et al. (1974). Accordingly, political participation is low in youth, increases during early adulthood, peaks in middle age and subsides in old age. Nie et al (1974:326) found that participation raised in the early years, peaked in middle age, and falls in the later years. In other words, according to their studies, the youngest and oldest ages "under participate".

In attempting to understand the rise and fall of activity with ageing, the explanation of "start-up" and "slow down" can be considered (Nie et al 1974:333; Jankowski & Strate 1995:91; Goerres 2007:93). The aspect of "start-up" (the recent arrival in the community) can be regarded as a problem for the young and may explain their lower activity rates (Nie et al 1974:333). Young people also do not have a stable basis for concern with politics. Such a basis only comes with long-term residence, full involvement in the work force, marriage and a family. In later years, the pattern is one of "slowdown" (Nie et al 1974:333).

Young adults are distracted by a host of concerns such as getting an education, finding a mate, raising young children and establishing a career (Jankowski & Strate 1995:91). Furthermore, they are very mobile, do not own their own homes, and lack strong roots in a community, while they also lack political experience and have not acquired habits of monitoring public affairs information in the mass media (Jankowski & Strate 1995:91).

Eventually political participation, including in elections, start to increase and will ultimately peak in middle age. The increase in participation is caused by a variety of processes associated with aging. Increased church attendance, growing family income, strengthening party attachments, and greater attention to politics in the mass media, particularly print media, lead to increased knowledge about politics (Jankowski & Strate 1995:91). Together with greater political experience, the middle-aged are better equipped

to understand politics and their stake in it, and this encourages greater participation in politics (Jankowski & Strate 1995:91).

Old age brings sociological or societal withdrawal as individuals retire from active employment, while it also brings physical infirmities and fatigue that lower the rate of political activity (Nie et al 1974:333). Declining health and increasing disability among some of the elderly make it even more difficult to monitor politics in the mass media (Jankowski & Strate 1995:91). Furthermore, the elderly lack mobility and do not have dependents to support, and hence they are less involved in political processes, which means that their changing social circumstances can be reflected in their changing political behaviour (Goerres 2007:93)

In summary, Nie et al (1974:339) concluded that their data indicated that there is a great deal of regularity in the relationship between age and political participation.

2.3.2. COHORT

The Cohort Effect considers the experience that was shared by a particular group that was born during a certain period (Goerres 2007:92). The two sub-types of Cohort Effects include, firstly the enduring effect of shared socialisation as a "political generation", and secondly the general likelihood of having certain social characteristics in common as a group (Goerres 2007:92). The lasting effect or influence of shared socialisation as a political generation is a consequence of the notion that people are more open to political influences between the ages of 15 and 30 than between 50 and 65, and the experience of the youth is primarily shaped by national circumstances (Goerres 2007:92). This is the result of the nature of elections and the issues, candidates and electoral institutional structures that are experienced at a young age (Goerres 2007:92). The second type of cohort entails, for example, that the elderly have a lower average level of education as a group due to mass educational extension that, in most cases, only commenced during the 1970s and this cohort effect affects their ability to vote – based on the assumption that formal education assists one in understanding politics and recognising the importance and necessity to vote (Goerres 2007:92). Here the Cohort age effect sees the level of formal

education of one cohort as an example of a determining factor of their participation in elections. Consequently, it is assumed that a higher level of education results in a higher probability in electoral participation.

What is remarkable about literature on the Cohort Effect is that there is much focus on the youth, probably because, as Strömberg (2004:282) states, young people are considered more easily influenced than older members of the population, since they do not have established brand loyalties etc, and thus the greatest political impact is made during the first half of the "age cycle" (Lyon & Alexander 2000:1031; 1032). With the young being more easily influenced, a society with a younger electorate will subsequently show less political stability than older polity who experience comparable political circumstances and events (Franklin & Jackson 1983:969). Instability in preference will create less stable identification and less continuity in all aspects and electoral behaviour within the younger electorate (Franklin & Jackson 1983:969). For example, generational effects account for a significant component of the decrease in turnout among American citizens (Lyons & Alexander 2000:1014). The impact of generations is most pronounced in the first half of the voting life cycle (Lyons & Alexander 2000:1014).

As an example, according to Schatz (2002:199) the young were the first among members and officials to exit the Soviet Communist Party and after the introduction of political and economic reforms – referring to the demise of Soviet and East European Communism – the Soviet Communist Youth Organisation's membership loss began as early as 1985 as sources of revenue and income shifted outside the party, whereas general Communist Party membership decline did not seriously begin until 1990. Twelve million members were lost in only five years (Schatz 2002:199).

It is thus not surprising that the youth is considered a stage of particular interest from a political perspective, since the late adolescence appears to be an important time for the formation of political attitudes (Schatz 2002:202). Age is considered a critical factor as several development characteristics of youth – greater political awareness, heightened

cognitive critical ability, the striving for independence, and the search for identity and infidelity – are likely to make the youth critical of their elders, society and politics (Schatz 2002:202). Youth can thus have a predisposition to generational conflict (Schatz 2002:202).

Furthermore, the views of adolescents are affected by the events of the day and the era in which they grow up; in other words: "growing up in politically contentious times shapes one's later political trajectory" (Wolak 2009:574). Furthermore, political events such as campaigns also have the ability to direct development of partisan identities, and young people then increase their levels of partisan affect and knowledge and their levels of partisan strength increase (Wolak 2009:574).

Thus, one's generation is inextricably linked or tied to a changing political system that has come to involve a much more educated electorate responding to political stimuli in fundamentally different ways (Lyon & Alexander 2000:1018). Political generations react in their own unique way to issues that become highly salient in their particular era (Lyon & Alexander 2000:1018). Attitudes and values each cohort brings into the stage of between their mid-20s and mid-30s will most likely define its outlooks for some time thereafter. There are thus differences in the levels of turnout between cohorts and the stimuli that affect them (Lyons & Alexander 2000:1018).

Compared to the Life Cycle effect, the Cohort effect focuses on the voting behaviour of a generation and these can be compared to other generations who were born in different eras and who were exposed to particular events during their late adolescence years, whereas the Life Cycle effect focuses on the whole life cycle of individual voters, regardless of which era they were born in.

2.3.3. INDIVIDUAL AGEING

The third effect is summarised by individual ageing, which holds that there are two common human characteristics that enhance the probability of voting as individuals age (Goerres 2007:93). First, there are previous experiences in voting that may influence the

future likelihood of voting (Goerres 2007:93). If some action proves to bring a certain kind of gratification that outweighs the costs, it is more likely to be repeated; thus some cognitive process or reasoning is required in deciding whether or not to vote (Goerres 2007:93). Citizens decide whether to vote or not to vote as a matter of costs and benefits. They calculate costs primarily by considering the time and effort they would have to devote to preparing to vote and actually voting (Goldfarb & Sigelman 2010:276). However, secondly, voting becomes easier as individuals grow older, their "repertoire of situations" that they know expands and the older they become, the more likely they are to "know the show" and participate (Goerres 2007:93). Compared to the previous two age effects, the Individual Ageing effect is based more on the individual within society than on groups or cohorts.

Goerres (2007:94) continues by asking the question as to why people decide to vote again and states that the older they are, the more likely they are to be congruent to the "social norm of voting", as voting is considered to be a "socially desirable behaviour" in liberal democracies. Goerres (2007:94) further states that the older voters become, the stronger their subjective norm to vote is and the less costly the voting decision is due to their previous voting experience. This effect is thus founded on general human characteristics, such as the tendency to comply with social norms and to use previous experience as a "cognitive short cut" (Goerres 2007:94).

Further questions can be asked as regards the youth, namely:

- Do the studied groups share socialisation and certain social characteristics?
- Do they share exposure to significant national circumstances?
- Do different "political generations" differ in their voting behaviour and political values?
- Do previous voting experiences increase the likelihood of future participation?
- Do the youth consider voting as a socially desirable norm and are they affected by these norms?
- Will electoral participation increase as the youth get older?

- How does the select group of student's voting and political behaviour compare to that of older groups?

2.4. CONCLUSION: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

Additional to the above, there are various changes that occurred in the long-term that influenced voting behaviour (Wolf 2010). According to Wolf (2010) there were three normative concerns with the classic models of voting behaviour namely: Firstly, there used to be very little rational thinking regarding voting behaviour with little ideological constraints and some elite-mass differences in understanding politics. Secondly, party system scholars are often on a different page from campaign researchers in that there is realignment of literature etc. While thirdly, the values of younger generations perhaps changed into non-economic issues (Wolf 2010). This does not necessarily mean that the models of voting behaviour change over time as voters change, but rather that voters themselves change and hence also possibly the applicability of a particular model of voting behaviour. One can thus say that as voters change their behaviour, certain models of voting behaviour become more relevant while others less.

As an example, given by Wolf (2010) voter sophistication have increased over time in that education and the media meant voters did not need party cues, as they can only be motivated by psychological attachment and or issues. Sophisticated independent voters grew and campaigns started to matter to many voters (Wolf 2010). In this case one can, for example, say that whereas the Party Identification Model was more relevant in the past, the Rational Choice Model and Media became more relevant in present times. However, this is debatable, as many researchers and analysts still believe the Party Identification Model holds a lot of merit even today. And furthermore, voter sophistication should not be confused with rationality (Wolf 2010) as having more access to information and experiences, does not necessarily imply lack of ignorance.

The framework for analysis in this study will consist of the key explanations or arguments presented by the various models of voting behaviour as well as the age effects discussed in the previous sections. Analysis and comprehension of the voting behaviour

of the select groups of university students will thus be conducted by measuring the extent to which they correlate/coincide with Western explanations of voting behaviour and by comparing the findings of the survey studies with the explanations of these.

The key assumptions of each of the models and effects will be compared to the data presented in Chapter 4 in order to assess the extent to which these, which are mainly Western-oriented, apply to a South African case study.

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS	
VOTING BEHAVIOUR MODEL/EFFECT	**KEY QUESTIONS**
Sociological Model	• Does gender have an effect on voting behaviour and political values of the youth? • Do voting behaviour and political values differ according to the race of students? • Is there a difference between the voting behaviour and political values of different language groups?
Michigan Model	• Is there a difference between the voting behaviour of students who come from rural areas and students who come from urban areas? • Do students discuss politics? • With whom do students discuss politics and elections?
Party Identification Model	• Do students identify with political parties? • Do students identify with political leaders? • Do students politically support parties they identify with? • Do students politically support leaders they identify with? • Do students have political values? And what are they?
Media/Dominant Ideology Model	• Are students regularly exposed to the media? • Do students find the media reliable? • Do the media have an effect of the voting behaviour and political values of students?
Rational Choice Model	• Are students aware of serious issues in their community? • Are students aware of party performances? • Are their reasons for voting behaviour etc. based on rational considerations?
Cohort Effect	• Does each one of the two groups of students share socialisation? • Do the two groups of students each share certain social characteristics? • What national circumstances were the surveyed groups exposed to? • Is there a difference in the voting behaviour or political values of the “political generations” studied?

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS (CONTINUED)	
Individual Ageing Effect	• Do previous voting experiences influence future likelihood of students to vote during future elections? • Do the students consider voting and political participation as socially desirable? • Do perceived social norms affect students' voting behaviour?
Life Cycle Effect	• Will electoral participation of students increase over time? • How does the select group of students' voting and political behaviour compare to that of older groups and aged groups?
Voting Behaviour Orthodoxy	• Are there some common elements in the way models and effects perceive the problem of voting behaviour and the methods used to answer them?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

From desktop research on the topic of voting behaviour it was noted that most literature that seek to explain voting behaviour are Western-centric. Literature revolving around voting behaviour includes a number of models of voting behaviour, as well as three widely accepted age effects on voting behaviour. Taking into account the unique political history of South Africa, and particularly the role played by the South African youth, the question presented itself as to how relevant the Western literature on the topic of voting is to a developing country such as South Africa. Focus was placed on the university youth of South Africa, as they are widely accepted as the future political elite of South Africa (Schoeman & Puttergil 2007:159).

The aim of this particular research study is thus to determine the extent to which Western literature dealing with explanations of voter behaviour accounts for the voting behaviour of South African university youth. For the purpose of meeting this aim, a framework for analysis was developed in Chapter 2 from the main arguments of each of the models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour. Key questions were developed for each model and age effect and the research findings of two surveys were used in answering these questions. This was done in order to determine the extent to which these models and age effects apply to the South African university youth. In some cases reports from the Independent Electoral Commission and the Human Sciences Research Council were also used for the purpose of comparison to other age groups in South Africa.

In 2006 and 2008 pilot studies were conducted amongst University of Pretoria students (2006) and in two SADC countries – South Africa and The Democratic Republic of Congo – (2008) for the purposes of establishing the general nature of the political interest and participation of young people. For the purpose of gaining further insight into the responses to the survey questions, three focus group discussions were performed with university students. Permission to conduct these survey studies and focus group

discussions was gained from the University of Pretoria's Research Committee. I formed part of the research teams and assisted in general research, processing of data gathered during these survey studies, as well as capturing information gained from the focus group discussions.

3.2. DESKTOP RESEARCH

The desktop study involved an extensive search for journal articles, books, news articles as well as of studies conducted by other research institutions. It was from this desktop study that it became clear that Western literature mostly focus on various models of voting behaviour as well as the age effects on voting behaviour. The models of voting behaviour included the Sociological Model, the Michigan Model, the Party Identification Model, the Media/Dominant Ideology Model as well as the Rational Choice Model. Various scholars have also in some cases attempted to combine some of these models, or in other cases managed to develop models that encapsulate some or all of these models of voting behaviour (examples include the work of Greene 2002; Andersen & Heath 2000; and Weinschenk 2010). The occurrence of occasional overlaps between models sometimes increases the possibility of confusion and it became clear that these models can be linked, and should rather be considered as complementary towards each other than in competition with each other (Andersen & Heath 2000:1). However, for the purposes of this study, and in order to make the study more manageable, the models were kept separate in the analytical framework.

Furthermore, the desktop study also revealed that scholars in voting behaviour agree on three main age effects or influences on voting behaviour namely the Cohort Effect (sometimes referred to as the Generational Effect), the Individual Ageing Effect as well as the Life Cycle Effect. Again, these effects were not mutually exclusive and in many cases all three effects can be relevant. For the purposes of this study, however, they were kept separately in order to determine the extent of their applicability on the voting behaviour of the South African university youth.

The desktop study thus brought about a wide range of literature on models of, and age effects on, voting behaviour, amongst others. And for the purposes of this study, the applicability of these to South African university youth had to be explored. In order to do this, the findings of two survey studies conducted at the University of Pretoria were used.

3.3. SURVEY STUDIES

There are different types of surveys and, according to Guy et al (1987:221), surveys may be either cross-sectional or longitudinal. With cross-sectional surveys data are collected at one point in time, and with longitudinal surveys data are collected at several points in time (Guy et al 1987:221). The two surveys and focus group discussions, conducted during this study, were each cross-sectional as they collected data at single points in time. Even though some students at the University of Pretoria might have participated in both of the survey studies, the surveys were not aimed at covering exactly the same participants at two different points in time. The first targeted students from only two departments within the Faculty of Humanities, while the second survey targeted students across most of the university campus.

As regards the form of data collection, surveys are characterised by a structured or systematic set of data which can be called a "variable by case data grid", which means that information is collected about the same variables or characteristics from at least two cases and that ultimately a data matrix is created (De Vaus 2002:3). Ultimately, we thus end up with a structured or "rectangular" set of data (De Vaus 2002:5).

For the purposes of this study, some data matrices were also developed. For example, with the survey conducted in 2006, data matrices were created that provided valuable information to the researcher. Question 1 asked the students whether they were *male* or *female* while Question 12 asked them if they were registered to vote (*yes* or *no*). A data matrix was drawn up with *male* and *female* each having a column (for question 1), and with *Yes* and *No* (for question 12) each having a row. Subsequently the total frequency, total percentage, row percentages for each column and column percentages for each row were determined.

One function of survey analysis is to describe the characteristics of a set of cases. Thus if we want to, for instance, describe the voting behaviour of the two different genders in terms of voter registration, a data matrix provides some valuable information. Continuing with the previous example, the information provided by the case matrix is as follows: 50.86% of *male* participants answered *yes* to the question of whether or not they were registered to vote, while 49.14% answered *no*. Of the students who answered *no* to the question of whether or not they were registered to vote, 29.55% were *male* and 70.45% were *female* etc. These matrices were valuable in contributing to this study.

According to Babbie (2005:252), survey research is probably the most suitable method available to the social researcher who wants to collect original data for the purposes of describing a population too large to observe directly. In this case surveys were useful in trying to determine the political behaviour and more specifically the voting behaviour of South African university youth, who will also be the future elite of the country. By means of the surveys conducted with the diverse group of students from the University of Pretoria, one could determine the opinions and views of most, if not all, university educated youth in South Africa.

The two surveys used in this study included the use of questionnaires, which is also the norm for survey research. A questionnaire serves as an instrument specifically designed to elicit information that will be useful for analysis (Babbie 2005:253). Questionnaires can contain open-ended questions, closed-ended questions, or both. In open-ended questions, the respondent is asked to provide his or her own answer and in closed-ended questions the respondent is asked to select an answer from among a list provided by the researcher (Babbie 2005:254). Both surveys of which the data was used for the purpose of this study contained open-ended questions as well as closed-ended questions.

These surveys are strong methods of research as they are useful in describing the characteristics of a large population and they make large samples more feasible (Babbie

2005:284-285). Furthermore, surveys are flexible and allow researchers to ask numerous questions on a given topic (Babbie 2005:284-285).

However, these forms of research studies also have weaknesses, which include the following: surveys can seldom deal with the context of social life and are sometimes subject to artificiality (Babbie 2005:285). In order to strengthen the study and to gain insight into the answers provided during the survey studies, further insight on attitudes, circumstances and experiences of university youth were acquired by means of the focus group discussions (see section 3.4). Thus, the focus group discussions and other reports by institutions such as the Human Science Research Council and the Independent Electoral Commission compensated for these weaknesses of survey studies.

Furthermore, regarding the second survey study, the majority of participants were white, which is not representative of the demographical profile of South Africa. However, I used this to my advantage during analysis when the differences in party support presented itself in the two surveys. For example, whereas the majority of participants in the first survey indicated that they supported the ANC, the majority of participants in the second survey supported the DA. Whereas the majority of participants in the first survey were black and the majority of participants in the second survey were white, the correlation between political party support and race presented itself clearly. Thus, the fact that not only one, but two survey studies were used in this research study, together with reports from other institutions as well as the focus group discussions, strengthened the study significantly. Moreover, the fact that the majority of participants in the second survey were white was balanced in the event that participants in the focus group discussions were predominantly black.

In the case of this study, data was gathered by means of questionnaires in 2006 and 2008 at the University of Pretoria. In April 2006 a research group conducted a pilot study on the voting behaviour of youth shortly after the South African local government elections of March 2006. The pilot study involved approximately 500 students from the Faculty of Humanities (University of Pretoria). Subsequently, in 2007 permission was granted to

conduct a University-wide survey, as well as a number of focus group discussions on the University of Pretoria campus. The first survey's questionnaire was refined for the second survey, which was conducted and finished in 2008. Completion of these questionnaires containing closed and open-ended questions was voluntary. The second questionnaire, together with the focus group discussions, was completed by the end of 2008. The sample group of the second survey covered the following faculties of the University of Pretoria: Humanities, Education, Law, Theology, Natural Sciences, Engineering, Medical and Health Sciences and Economic and Management Sciences. The average of the sample group per faculty was 120-150 undergraduate students.

The first survey of 2006 was conducted by the Departments of Political Sciences and Sociology of the University of Pretoria among undergraduate Political Science and Sociology students in the Faculty of Humanities. This questionnaire was developed and tested by the researchers. The aim of the survey was to determine the political opinions, attitudes and behaviour of the youth, soon after the 2006 local government elections.

The questionnaire of the first survey had two parts of which the first consisted of questions pertaining to demographic information, and the second contained questions on political and voting behaviour and opinions. In order to determine the demographic information and social affiliation of participants in this survey, questions were asked to determine their gender, age, race and language. Questions were also asked to determine where they stayed while attending university (for example residences, communes etc.) and where their parents lived (rural or urban areas). Students were presented with possible answers and were required to indicate which of these were applicable to them. To determine gender, students were asked to select whether they were male or female. In order to determine race, students were requested to select one from the following possibilities: black, white, coloured, Indian/Asian or "other". And to determine their language, students were presented with the eleven official languages in South Africa and asked which one of these they spoke at home. Students were also given the option of "other language" if their home language did not comprise one of the eleven official languages in South Africa. To answer the question as to where they came from, students

were provided with two options: rural or urban areas. In order to determine where they stayed while attending university, they were provided with options such as university residences, staying with family, staying in communes etc.

These questions were asked in order to determine their demographic information and social affiliation; however, there was also a need to determine their political attitudes and behaviour for the purpose of establishing insight into their voting behaviour and attitudes. Students were requested to answer questions around their interest in politics and participation in political activities in order to determine their levels of involvement and interest. Questions specifically relating to voting were asked, and students were requested to indicate whether or not they were registered to vote and why, and whether or not they had previous voting experience. To gain further insight into their opinions around voting, they were asked if they believed that voting makes a difference. In addition, students were asked if they were interested in politics and how often they participated in political activities; which leaders they admired most; which political parties they supported; what their levels of satisfaction with government were; and what they regarded as priority areas, amongst others.

The second survey of 2008 was conducted by the Departments of Political Sciences (University of Pretoria) and Politics (University of Johannesburg) on the political attitudes and behaviour of university students across the member states of the SADC region. For the purposes of this study, however, the data gathered from the surveys completed by students at the University of Pretoria was used. Similar to the survey of 2006, which could be divided into two main parts, questions regarding demographic information and political behaviour were asked. In order to determine gender, race and language (amongst others), participants were also presented with various options to select from. For example, participants were requested to indicate whether they were male or female; black, white, coloured or Indian/Asian; and whether they spoke any of the eleven official languages of South Africa or an “other” language at home.

In order to gain more information on the political behaviour and opinions of these participants, they were asked about their levels of satisfaction with democracy in South Africa; the extent to which they believed political parties involved the youth; the impact that voting has; how reliable they consider the media to be; what they consider to be priority areas to be attended to by government; which political leader and political party they prefer, amongst others. Furthermore, some questions revolving around SADC were also posed to the participants, and even though these answers were not entirely relevant to this specific study, it was interesting to note that a significant number of participants were not informed about SADC and did not know what it was.

For the purposes of analysis, the findings of the above two survey studies are presented in Chapter 4 in two parts, namely that of basic social affiliation of participants and that of political opinions and involvement. The findings on political opinions and involvement are presented based on certain categories namely: voting; interest in politics; political discussions; identification with and admiration for political leaders; support and identification with political parties; exposure and reliability of the media; the current situation in South Africa; and issues of importance. By presenting the findings in this manner, later analysis based on the analytical framework was made easier.

Agreeing with De Vaus (2002:5) and Guy et al (1978:220), who stated that survey research seeks an understanding of what causes a certain phenomenon, the two survey studies above were developed and conducted for the purposes of seeking to understand the youth disengagement from the electoral process as well as general political and electoral attitudes and behaviours amongst the youth. In this particular study the findings acquired from these two surveys were ultimately used to determine the extent to which Western literature, which includes models of and age effects on voting behaviour, applies to South African university youth based on the framework for analysis developed in Chapter 2.

As will be seen in Chapter 2, the framework of analysis consists of key questions for each model of voting behaviour and age effect on voting behaviour. The demographic

information and social affiliation of students, which include their gender, race and language, were used in conjunction with other answers regarding political behaviour and values in order to determine if there is a difference in political behaviour based on race, gender and language. Together with answers regarding voting behaviour and political values, the differences of political behaviour and values between students of different social affiliation were determined. In so doing, the applicability of the Sociological Model were explored. The focus group discussions also provided valuable information on how students relate to others from different genders, races or language.

The questions regarding political behaviour and values, together with the complementary focus group discussions were used to answer the questions regarding the rest of the models of voting behaviour. The questions relating to social location were used to determine (through data matrices) whether there is a difference between the political values and behaviour of those students who come from rural areas and those who come from urban areas. Furthermore, the surveys asked questions regarding political discussions and with whom students engage in these discussions. The answers provided to these questions were used to determine the applicability of the Michigan Model.

As for the Party Identification Model, quite a number of questions posed in these surveys could be used to answer the key questions in the analytical framework. Their preferences for certain leaders and their support for certain political parties assisted in determining the extent to which they identify with political leaders and political parties. Furthermore, their indications of previous voting behaviour could also be used to determine to what extent their identification with political parties and leaders were reflected in their voting behaviour. The focus group discussions also provided insight on the political values of the studied group.

The applicability of the Rational Choice Model was determined by examining the participants' levels of awareness of serious issues and matters considered to be priority areas to government. Furthermore, their levels of satisfaction with government performances also provided insight on whether or not students are aware of party

performances. Lastly, their reasons for abstinence from the voting station and also their neglect to register as voters were examined in order to determine whether or not these are based on rational considerations. The focus group discussions also revealed how informed the participants are as regards current affairs.

The second survey included questions regarding the media. Students were asked to indicate how regularly they engage with certain forms of media and their answers assisted in determining whether or not they are regularly exposed to the media. Furthermore, the students were asked to indicate how reliable they found certain forms of media such as state-owned-, independent-, and international newspapers and television news. A possible correlation could also be drawn to the voting behaviour and political values of the students with the media, to determine whether or not the media have an effect on these.

Regarding the three age effects on voting behaviour, the answers provided in the survey studies also provided some insight on the relevance of the Individual Ageing Effect. The answers provided on their opinions of voting and whether or not it makes a difference and if it is their duty as citizens to vote, provided insight on whether or not students regard it as socially desirable to vote and if their social norms influence their voting behaviour.

As for the Life Cycle Effect and the Cohort Effect, some general analysis and comparisons were needed to answer the various key questions in the analytical framework. Statistics from the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) provided information on how the studied group of students compare to other age groups. Furthermore, some additional historical research gave an indication of what national circumstances the studied group were exposed to and what shared social characteristics and socialisations there may be.

Thus, a link was established between the relevant questions asked in the surveys and the key questions identified in the framework for analysis, which will be used to determine

how applicable the Western models of, and age effects on, voting behaviour is to the case of South African university youth.

3.4. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

For the purposes of supplementing the quantitative research above and to assist with, or facilitate the interpretation of the surveys, qualitative focus group discussions were conducted with students from the University of Pretoria. In other words, the information gathered from the focus group discussions were not analysed in themselves, but rather played a complementary role in the interpretation and comprehension of answers provided by students on political and voting behaviour.

There are different types of focus group discussions. According to Greenbaum (1998:1) a Full Group consists of eight to ten persons while a Mini Group consists of four to six persons. Researchers tend to prefer the Mini Group because more in-depth information can be acquired during the time of the discussion (Greenbaum 1998:3). However, even though the focus groups for the purpose of this research consisted of seven to eight participants, and thus fall more under the category of Full Group than Mini Group, sufficient time was given for discussion, and participants had the opportunity to thoroughly voice their opinions and concerns.

Three focus group discussions were conducted: one with a group of student leaders on campus, one with a group of male students and one with a group of female students. These groups consisted of eight to ten students per group and the discussion was guided and overseen by the chief researchers and recorded by me. There were eight student leaders who participated in the first discussion. The second discussion had nine male students and the third had seven female students.

The discussions took place at Tuks Village residence of the University of Pretoria. Not only is this one of the newer residences of the University, but it is also mixed in the sense that both male and female students reside there. It is also racially representative, which made it the perfect base for focus group discussions.

Tuks Village was established in 2008 subsequent to extensive research by the University amongst students regarding their accommodation needs, and is unique in its physical layout while it caters for more serious students (University of Pretoria 2008). Again, since this study is an attempt to determine the voting behaviour of the future elite of South Africa, the setting proved to be very appropriate.

A relaxed and comfortable atmosphere was created and participants were introduced to the researchers. Furthermore, they were also briefed on the purpose of the focus group discussions as well as that of the bigger research project. While enjoying refreshments and ample time for discussion, student participants freely and eagerly expressed their thoughts and concerns. Each of the focus groups was asked similar questions in order to determine their different political values and opinions. The discussions were also anonymous and voluntarily.

Student leaders were asked what they believed the most important characteristic of a democracy should be and what democracy in South Africa's state, biggest problems and achievements are. The roles of race were discussed as well as that of the youth of today. Crime was discussed together with its political connotations. This was done in order to provide further insight into the answers gathered from the surveys.

The other two focus group discussions were conducted separately with male and female participants as the two genders have a tendency to speak more freely when they are separated. Male and female students got the opportunity to discuss their views on issues such as women's rights, abortion, the death penalty and gay/lesbianism. This was done in order to determine the differences in political views of different genders.

Aside from providing further insight into the political attitudes and opinions of the university youth, the focus group discussions also revealed some interesting political characteristics of the youth. In many ways the participants appeared to be more conservative when it came to controversial issues such as the legalisation of prostitution

and abortion as well as "same sex marriages". Participants strongly expressed their disapproval of these while they also did not believe in the death penalty as a solution to crime. These findings were not entirely relevant to this particular study on voting behaviour, but may present opportunities for future research on the youth and their political values and opinions.

3.5. ANALYSIS

The last step in the methodology for this study comprised the analysis. Whereas the desktop study on Western literature gave information on different models of voting behaviour and different age effects on voting behaviour, the survey studies supplemented by the focus group discussions gave information on the voting and political behaviour of the South African university youth. These two groups of information and research were brought together for analysis by means of the analytical framework developed in Chapter 2.

Thus, for the purposes of analysis, i.e. in order to determine the extent to which the models of voting behaviour and effects on voting behaviour developed within Western literature are applicable to the university youth of South Africa, the findings of survey studies in conjunction with the answers acquired from the focus group discussions and other sources, such as the Independent Electoral Commission and Human Science Research Council, were used to answer the questions posed by the Framework for Analysis in Chapter 2.

The Framework for Analysis was developed to provide proper and constructive guidance for analysis. This framework was inspired by – yet not the same as – the *Harvard Analytical Framework Tool* availed by the World Bank (see World Bank 2010). Even though the exact Harvard Analytical Tool was not used in this study, it provided the idea of a well-structured table containing the necessary information needed for analysis. The table consisted of two columns with the different models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour on the left side and key questions on the right. These key questions were formulated from the main assumptions and arguments of each model or

age effect. During the analysis, the findings of the surveys were used to answer these questions in order to determine the extent to which the different models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour were applicable to the South African university youth.

Analysis was not conducted without difficulty, as the different models of voting behaviour often overlapped and shared certain characteristics, which somehow increased the possibility of confusion. For this reason they were kept separate, while acknowledging the fact that more than one model or age effect can apply to a certain case simultaneously. Thus, each of the models of, and age effects on, voting behaviour and their key questions (see analytical framework) were taken individually and answered as complete and thoroughly as possible. For each of the models and effects, individual conclusions were drawn, which were subsequently used to conclude the overall analysis.

3.6. CONCLUSION

Western literature on voting behaviour is filled with various attempts to explain voting behaviour. These comprise a number of models of voting behaviour namely the Sociological Model, the Michigan Model, the Party Identification Model, the Media/Dominant Ideology Model, as well as the Rational Choice Model. And furthermore three age effects on voting behaviour were identified by Western literature namely the Cohort Effect, the Individual Ageing Effect as well as the Life Cycle Effect.

In order to determine the extent to which these Western models of voting behaviour and effects on voting behaviour applies to the South African university youth, the findings of two survey studies conducted at the University of Pretoria were used to answer questions developed in the analytical framework in Chapter 2. Furthermore, reports of the Human Science Research Council and Independent Electoral Commission as well as the information gathered during three focus group discussions with student leaders, male students and female students were used to assist the analysis.

The findings of the two survey studies will be presented separately in Chapter 4. These answers were divided into two main parts namely that of basic social affiliation and that of political opinions and involvement. The findings on political opinions and involvement were further divided into categories which made analysis in Chapter 5 more manageable. These categories comprised questions and answers around voting, political interest, political discussions, political leaders, political parties, the media, the current situation in South Africa, as well as questions and answers revolving around issues of concern.

Chapter 5 will contain an analysis wherein each of the models of voting behaviour and effects on voting behaviour will be considered and the extent to which they apply to South African university youth will be determined. Thereafter, a general conclusion will be drawn around the applicability of Western models of voting behaviour and effects of voting behaviour on the university youth of a developing country such as South Africa.

Chapter 6 will conclude this research study and make recommendations around further possible studies.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS OF SURVEY STUDIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The research for this study included two surveys in 2006 and 2008; whereafter three focus group discussions were conducted to get further insight into the answers provided by the participants in the surveys.

The findings of the two survey studies are presented separately in this chapter. Both survey studies are divided into two parts, namely that of basic social affiliation and that of political opinions and involvement. Furthermore, findings on political opinions and involvement will be presented based on the following categories:

- Voting
- Interest in politics
- Political discussions
- Political leaders
- Political parties
- Media
- The current situation in South Africa
- Important issues

These will be used in attempting to determine the applicability of Western literature on the South African youth. The analysis will be based on the framework developed in Chapter 2.

4.2 FINDINGS OF 2006 SURVEY STUDY

4.2.1. INTRODUCTION

A total of 518 students from the departments Sociology and Political Sciences participated in this survey study. For easier analysis later on, the findings will be presented as follows: First the findings of questions dealing with social affiliation and related matters will be presented. These will include questions on gender, age, race, language and social location. Thereafter the findings of questions dealing with political opinions and involvement will be discussed. These include matters concerning political leaders, political parties, involvement in political processes, elections and voting. The second group of findings will also be presented to indicate how these answers relate to the first group of findings on social affiliation.

4.2.2. SOCIAL AFFILIATION OF PARTICIPANTS

Participants in this survey were asked to indicate their gender, age, race, religion, language and social location in order to determine their social affiliation.

Of the students who participated in this survey, 34.11% were male and 65.89% were female, and most of them were between the ages of 17 and 24 years old. More than 60% of the respondents identified themselves as black. The second most participants were white, followed by 17 coloured students, seven Indian/Asian students and six students who considered themselves as part of "another" racial grouping.

Furthermore, almost 90% of respondents indicated that they followed the Christian religion. There were also a small number of Moslems, one Hindu and one Jew as well as 28 who indicated that they did not follow any religion.

Slightly more than 20% of participants indicated that they were Afrikaans speaking, while almost 20% were Sepedi speakers. As regards the other nine official languages, most were English speaking followed by Setswana speakers, Zulu speakers, and Xitsonga speakers. There were also a few Ndebele speakers, Swati speakers, Xhosa speakers and Venda speakers. Nine of the respondents indicated that they spoke a language other than one of the eleven official languages in South Africa.

When asked about social location, two questions were formulated. The first asked the students where their parents lived, in order to get an indication of whether they came from an urban or rural background, and the second asked them where they lived while attending university. The vast majority (almost 70%) of respondents indicated that their parents lived in urban areas. And the highest percentages of respondents indicated that they stay with family, in university residences or communes.

4.2.3. POLITICAL OPINIONS AND INVOLVEMENT OF PARTICIPANTS

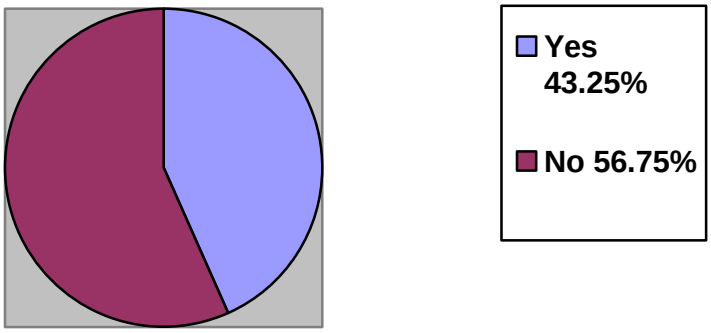
Participants were also asked to answer certain questions regarding their political opinions and levels of involvement in politics.

VOTING

Students were asked to indicate whether or not they were registered as voters and, if not, what their reasons were. Furthermore, they were asked to provide information on previous voting experience.

As can be seen in Figure 1 less than half the respondents of this survey were registered to vote.

Figure 1: Are you registered to vote?



	Gender	
Registered to vote	**Male (%)**	**Female (%)**
Yes	50.86	38.99
No	49.14	61.01
Total	100	100

Table 1: Registered to vote and gender

Of the registered voters almost 60% were female and less than half were male. However, as can be seen in Table 1, more than half of male participants were registered to vote compared to the less than 40% registered female voters.

	Registered to vote	
Gender	**Yes (%)**	**No (%)**
Male	40.45	29.55
Female	59.55	70.45
Total	100	100

Race	Yes (%)	No (%)
Black	59.73	65.86
Coloured	2.71	3.79
Indian/Asian	1.36	1.38
White	34.84	27.93
"Other"	1.36	1.04
Total	100	100

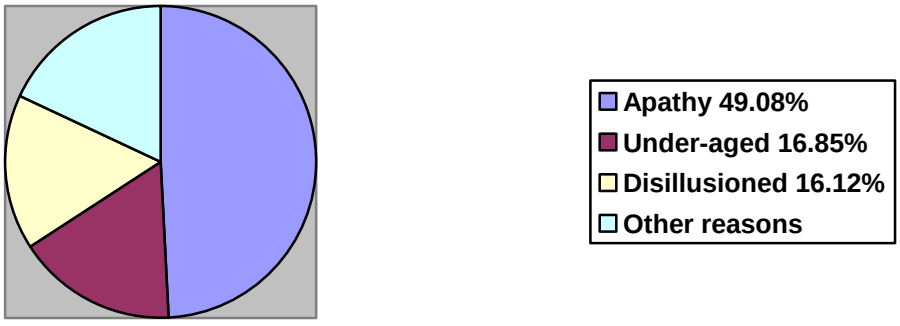
Table 2: Gender & Race and Registered to vote

As for correlating voter registration with race, more than half of registered respondents were black, and the second most were white (see Table 2). Furthermore, of each of the different racial groupings, more than half of the respondents were not registered to vote.

As regards language, Afrikaans and Siswati participants, together with those who indicated that they speak "other" languages, were the only language groups within which the majority indicated that they were registered to vote.

Amongst the possible reasons for not being registered as voters, almost half of non-registered voters appeared to be apathetic (see Figure 2). In fact, apathy was the main reason across all social groupings. Furthermore, slightly more than 16% of respondents stated that they were under-aged, and approximately the same percentage stated that they were disillusioned by South African politics.

Figure 2: Reasons for not being registered to vote



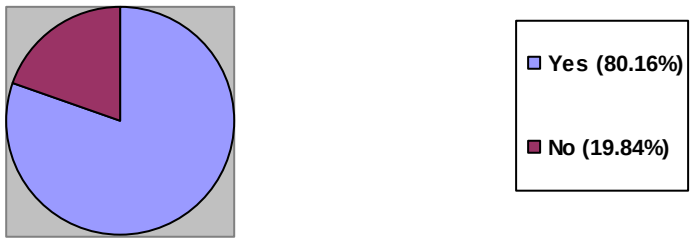
As for race, more than half of coloured and white students were not registered to vote due to apathy, while 42.94% of black students and 33.33% of Indian/Asian students gave the same reason.

Most students, regardless of where they came from (rural or urban areas), were not registered to vote due to apathy. The second most students were under-aged. Moreover, of those students who lived with family, 41.38% were apathetic to being registered, and 18.97% were under-aged. The same reason of apathy was shown by more than half of those who lived in private accommodation, while 14.86% of those living in private accommodation were under-aged.

Regardless of race, location and place of residence, the majority of student respondents were apathetic to being registered as voters.

In order to gain further insight on the voting behaviour of the respondents, they were asked whether or not they believed that voting makes a difference. As demonstrated by Figure 3, the vast majority of respondents indicated that they were of the opinion that voting during elections makes a difference.

Figure 3: Does voting make a difference?



Moreover, the vast majority of both male (84.48%) and female (77.81%) participants indicated that voting does make a difference.

Furthermore, of those who indicated that voting does make a difference, more than 60% were black, 30% were white, 2.68% were coloured, and 1.46% were Indian/Asian, whereas 1.22% were from "other" racial groupings.

Additionally, of those participants who indicated that voting does make a difference, 66.91% came from urban areas and 34.09% from rural areas. Of those students who came from urban areas, almost 80% indicated that voting does indeed make a difference. Of students coming from rural areas, slightly more than 80% indicated that voting does make a difference.

Students were asked if they ever voted in local government elections, to which the vast majority of respondents answered "no" (see Figure 4). The most prominent reasons included not being registered to vote and apathy. The majority of participants also indicated that their choices during election time were influenced by factors such as party performances and promises to address issues such as corruption and crime.

Figure 4: Did you vote during the Local Government Elections?

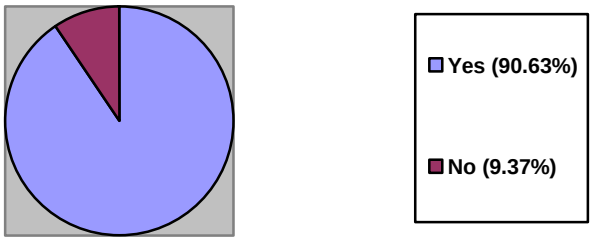
Most prominent reasons for not having voted during the local government elections were:
Not registered to vote: 31.40%
Apathy : 19.83%

Of the male student respondents, 70.35% did not vote in the local government elections, and 68.65% of the female respondents did not vote in the local government elections. Furthermore, of those who indicated that they did indeed vote in the local government elections, 42.50% were male and 57.50% were female. Moreover, of those participants who did not vote in the local government elections, 31.35% were male and 68.65% were female.

Regarding demography, more than 60% of those who voted in local government elections' parents lived in urban areas and 35.29%'s parents lived in rural areas. Of those who did not vote in the local government elections, 68.32% were from urban areas and 31.68% from rural areas. Of both those who came from rural and urban areas, more than 70% did not vote in the local government elections. Thus, social location did not seem to be a determining factor for voting behaviour in this regard. The percentages were similar in both instances.

As for future voting behaviour, a very high percentage of respondents intended to vote in the next election (see Figure 5). Even though such a high percentage of participants indicated that they planned on voting during the next elections, this cannot be accepted as a matter of certainty. One cannot, by means of one or two single survey studies, accurately establish whether or not this intention to vote in future elections will be put into practice.

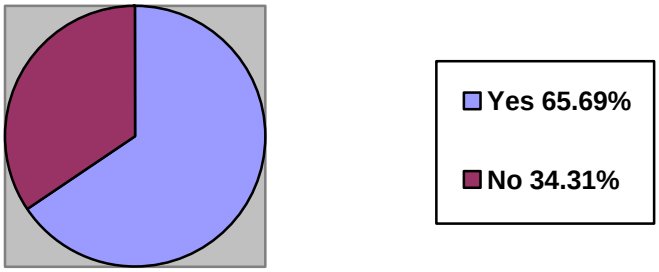
Figure 5: Do you plan on voting during the next elections?



INTEREST IN POLITICS

Adding on to their involvement in politics, students were also asked to indicate if they were interested in politics, of which the majority indicated that they were indeed interested in politics (see Figure 6). The fact that most student participants indicated an interest in politics, can be deemed as somewhat contrary to some of their other answers, such as the apathetic attitude towards registration and voting in local government elections. This may lead one to consider the possibility that their interest in politics (and their ways of expressing same) is somewhat different from conventional wisdom.

Figure 6: Are you interested in politics?



	Interested in politics	
Gender	**Yes (%)**	**No (%)**
Male	38.10	26.29
Female	61.90	73.71
Total	100	100
Race	**Yes (%)**	**No (%)**
Black	68.75	52
Coloured	3.57	2.86
Indian/Asian	1.79	0.57
White	24.40	44
"Other"	1.49	0.57
Total	100	100

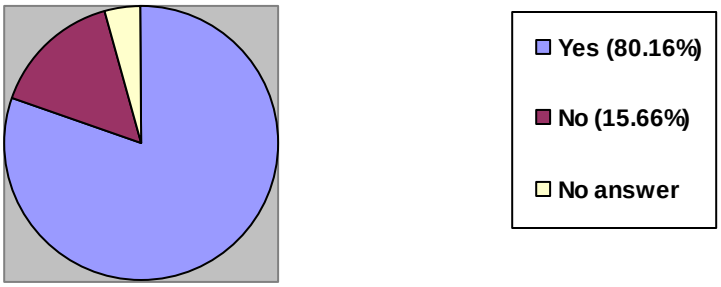
Table 3: Registered to vote and gender (continue from previous page)

Of those respondents who were interested in politics, 38.10% were male and slightly more than 60% were female (see Table 3). Of male students, more than 70% indicated that they were interested in politics, and of female students, slightly more than 60% indicated same. It appears as though male students were slightly more interested in politics than their female counterparts.

Furthermore, correlating with race, almost 70% of those respondents who were interested in politics, were black and more than 20% were white. Of those who were not interested in politics, more than half were black, and 44% were white (see Table 3).

Furthermore, in addition to their apparent high levels of interest in politics, an overwhelming majority of respondents regarded it as important to get involved in the political process (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Is it important to get involved in politics?



POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS

More than 70% of respondents discussed the local government elections with someone beforehand. Students were also asked to indicate by means of "yes" or "no" with whom they have discussed the local government elections: Party canvassers/officials; family; friends; or fellow students. More than 60% of respondents did not discuss the local government elections with party canvassers. However, almost all of the respondents (91.46%) discussed the local government elections with their family. Furthermore, 92.46% of respondents discussed the local government elections with their friends while 86.4% discussed it with their fellow students. Participants thus mostly appeared to have discussed the local government elections with family or friends instead of party canvassers.

POLITICAL LEADERS

Former president Nelson Mandela proved to by far be the most admired political leader amongst the participants in this survey, as almost 38% of all participants indicated that they admired him the most. What is remarkable is that the most admired political leader is a historical one. Regarding more present leaders such as President Jacob Zuma, the admiration or support did not reach the same levels. (Almost 3% of participants indicated that they admired Jacob Zuma most.) In 2006 and even 2008 Zuma was still under suspicion for

corruption, and it is possible that his position improved from 2009, however, there is reason to believe that even after 2009 his popularity would not come close to that of former president Nelson Mandela. The support for Nelson Mandela proved to be on a level of its own. As for the rest of the leaders, Thabo Mbeki also received a mentionable percentage (almost 18%) of support. Other leaders who received notable support included Tony Leon (almost 5%) and Patricia De Lille (4.81%).

POLITICAL PARTIES

As for political parties, a large percentage (66.4%) of respondents indicated that they supported a political party. However, the majority of participants were not members of political parties and 88.95% indicated that they have never done any voluntary work for a political party.

More than half of respondents indicated that they felt closest to the ANC as political party, while slightly more than 30% indicated that they felt closest to the DA. As for the rest of political parties, small (yet mentionable) amounts of participants indicated that they felt closest to the ACDP, AZAPO, FF+, the ID, the IFP, the PAC, UCDP and the UDM.

Slightly more than 30% of respondents have participated in events arranged by a political party before. However, the majority (68.63%) have never participated in these types of events. Moreover, 64.66% have never attended any political party meetings or rallies. Furthermore, students were asked to indicate if they have attended any meetings or rallies in the run-up to the local government elections of 2006, to which more than 80% responded that they have not.

Participants were also asked to indicate if political parties contacted them before the election, and they were requested to list the parties that contacted them in the constituency they lived in: Most respondents (382) were contacted by the ANC, followed by 318 who were contacted by the DA and 115 who were contacted by the FF+.

CURRENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

In order to determine the participants' opinions as regards the political situation in South Africa, they were asked whether or not South Africa improved over the last five years. More than 60% of participants were of the opinion that South Africa has improved over the last five years. Of those students who were positive about improvement in South Africa, 39.14% were male and 60.86% were female. More than 70% of male and more than 60% of female participants indicated that things have improved. Overall, regardless of gender, more than half of both genders agreed that South Africa has improved over the last five years. Furthermore, the survey data indicated that men were slightly more likely to state that things have improved and they were more likely to say that they were interested in politics.

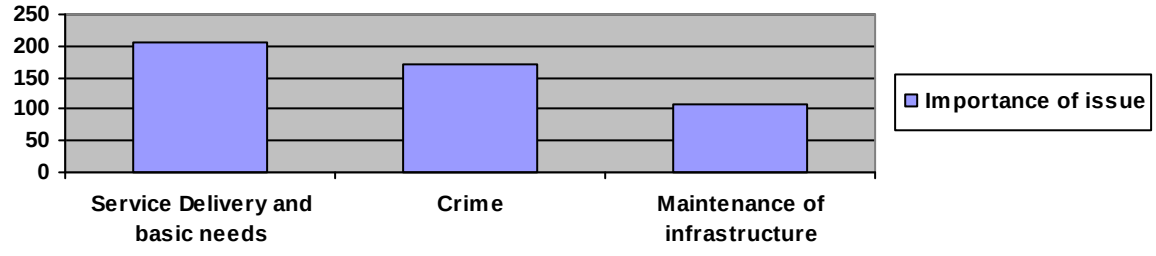
IMPORTANT ISSUES

As can be seen in Table 4 and Figure 8 the three most important issues raised by participants were service delivery and basic needs, crime and maintenance of infrastructure. Most students indicated service delivery and basic needs to be the most important issues in their community. The majority of both male and female participants indicated basic needs and service delivery as the most important issue to be addressed.

Most important issue	n
Service delivery and basic needs	206
Crime	170
Maintenance of infrastructure	109

Table 4: Most important issues

Figure 8: Most important issues



Of those students whose parents lived in urban areas, 36.70% indicated that crime was the most important issue in their community and 26.85% indicated that basic needs and services was the most important issue. For those students whose parents lived in rural areas, 46.84% identified basic needs and services to be the most important issue, and 22.44% indicated that poor infrastructure and maintenance was the most important issue. Thus there appeared to be a difference between what was considered to be the most important issues in rural and urban communities; whereas basic needs and services were more important in rural areas, while addressing the issue of crime seemed to be slightly more important in urban areas.

Most black student respondents (39.80%) indicated basic needs and services to be the most important issue in their communities, while 22.14% of them indicated poor maintenance of infrastructure to be the most important issue. Most coloured students (30% of respondents) and 54.55% of Indian or Asian respondents indicated that crime was the most important issue. Crime was also indicated as a major issue by 49.13% of white participants. In this regard there was a slight difference between the answers of black students and those of the other racial groups.

The majority (68.30%) of respondents indicated that the relevant local governments or municipalities were not responding to the needs identified above. An even higher percentage (72.65%) of participants indicated that they were not satisfied with local government services. From this one would expect participants to value local government elections more; however, when they were asked to indicate which elections were most important, the majority indicated that national government elections were more important than local government elections.

FURTHER FINDINGS

Amongst the participants who were registered to vote, the majority indicated that voting makes a difference. Of those who were not registered as voters, more than half were interested in politics. Furthermore, of the students who indicated that they were registered as voters, slightly more than half voted in the local government elections.

Amongst the students who were interested in politics, more than 70% did not vote. Furthermore, of those who were not interested in politics, 82.66% did not vote.

Of those respondents who voted in the local government elections, almost everyone (98.33%) indicated that they intended to vote during the upcoming elections, while amongst those who indicated that they did not vote, more than 88% intended to vote in the next elections.

Furthermore, of the students who were interested in politics, more than 90% confirmed that it is important to get involved. Interestingly, of those students who were not interested in politics, 62.79% stated that it is important to get involved in politics. According to the survey data, those who were interested in politics were more likely to regard political involvement as important than those who were not interested in politics.

Of those students who were registered to vote, more than 80% were of the opinion that voting does indeed make a difference. Of those who were not registered to vote, more than 70% were also of the opinion that voting does make a difference. According to the survey data, those who were registered to vote, were more likely to regard voting as having an impact, than those who were not registered to vote.

Of those registered voters who have voted in the local government elections, more than half were female and 42.11% were male. Of the registered voters who did not vote in the local government elections, 37.62% were male and 62.38% were female. Of both registered male and female voters, more than half indicated that they have voted in the local government elections.

Of those who were registered as voters and interested in politics, 44.81% were male and 55.19% were female. Moreover, more than 70% of registered male voters and more than 60% of registered female voters indicated that they were interested in politics.

Furthermore, of those registered voters who were of the opinion that voting does make a difference, 41.97% were male and 58.03% were female. Of registered male voters 91.01%

indicated that voting in elections makes a difference and of registered female voters, 85.50% agreed that voting in elections makes a difference.

Of black participants, 40.97% indicated that they were registered as voters and of white students 48.73% indicated that they were registered as voters. According to the survey data analysis there was no statistically significant difference between these two races as regards voter registration. Of black students, 71.74% were interested in politics, while 51.57% of white students indicated same. Of black students, 81.79% stated that voting does make a difference, while 77.36% of white students agreed. Again, according to the survey data analysis, there was no statistically significant difference between black and white students as regards whether or not they were of the opinion that voting in elections makes a difference.

When asked if things improved during the past five years, almost 80% of black students indicated that things have improved and 45.57% of white students agreed. Accordingly, black students appeared to be more likely to regard things as having improved over the past five years than their white counterparts.

For those registered students who did not vote, the following reasons dominated: Inaccessibility of the voting station (41.84%), apathy (26.53%) and disillusionment (18.37%). Other reasons included that they were not legible to vote (9.18%) or they merely chose not to vote (1.02%). A further 3.06% indicated that they were not registered to vote, which can by first glance appear to be inaccurate (considering that the data matrix was done with registered voters), unless the students registered during the period after the elections, but before this survey was conducted.

Of male registered students the most prominent reason for not having voted was the matter of inaccessible voting stations (36.84%), followed by disillusionment (23.68%), which was followed by apathy (21.05%). Of female registered students the most prominent reason for not having voted was the matter of inaccessibility of voting stations (44.07%), followed by apathy (30.51%), which was then followed by disillusionment (15.25%).

As for students who were registered to vote, and regarded getting involved in politics as important, but did not vote, the most prominent reasons provided were the inaccessibility of voting stations (47.50%), apathy (23.75%) and disillusionment (15%). Of those registered students who did not regard it as important to get involved, the most prominent reasons given for not voting were apathy (41.18%) and disillusionment (35.29%).

As regards registered voters' satisfaction with service delivery by local government, 71.59% of male students and 65% of female students were not satisfied with service delivery by local government. According to the analysis of this survey data, there was no significant difference between male and female participants in this regard.

For registered black or white voters' satisfaction with local government's service delivery, the black-white racial divide was as follows: 75.75% of black students and 66.89% of white students were not satisfied with service delivery. According to the survey data, there was a statistically significant difference between white and black students in this regard.

4.2.4. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

As regards social affiliation, of the 518 students who voluntarily participated in this survey study, 176 were male and 340 were female (two students did not complete this question). Furthermore, most students were between the ages of 17 to 24 years old and most participants classified themselves as black. Moreover, most participants followed the Christian religion and mostly came from urban areas.

A fairly large number of participants were registered to vote, however most participants were not. Apathy, being under-aged and disillusionment appeared to be the three most prominent reasons provided for not being registered to vote.

Former president Nelson Mandela was the most admired political leader amongst participants, and most participants indicated that they supported a political party even though there were not many members of political parties, nor individuals who did voluntary work for

political parties amongst these participants. Furthermore, the ANC and DA appeared to be the two parties most participants felt closest to.

Most participants did not participate in events arranged by political parties, nor did they attend political party meetings or rallies. However, most students indicated that they were interested in politics, they did consider it important to get involved in the political process, and that they were indeed of the opinion that voting does make a difference. Furthermore, participants responded positively to the question as to whether or not South Africa has improved over the last couple of years.

The most important issues in their communities identified by participants included basic needs and basic service delivery, crime, as well as poor maintenance of infrastructure. In this regard, participants indicated that they were of the opinion that local government did not respond properly to these issues, and that they were not satisfied with local government services.

Even though most participants indicated that they did discuss the local government elections with mostly family, friends and fellow students, and even though they were contacted by mostly the ANC and the DA, most participants did not vote during the local government elections. The most prominent reasons for this were the fact that they were not registered, and general apathy. Most participants indicated that their choices during the elections were mainly influenced by the performances of parties in the past, the promise to root out corruption as well as the promise to address the matter of crime. The vast majority of participants indicated that they did intend to vote during the next elections.

4.3. FINDINGS OF 2008 SURVEY STUDY

4.3.1. INTRODUCTION

A total of 921 students participated in this survey study, which was conducted across numerous faculties at the University of Pretoria. These faculties included: the Faculty of Economics and Management; the Faculty of Humanities; the Faculty of Health; the Faculty of Engineering; the Faculty of Built Environment and Information Technology; the Faculty

of Natural and Agricultural Science; the Faculty of Education; the Faculty of Law; and the Faculty of Technology. Similar to the presentation of the findings of the 2006 survey study, the findings of questions regarding the social affiliation of the students will be presented first, followed by findings regarding political attitudes and involvement.

Cross-sectional findings will also be presented to indicate how the two genders responded to certain questions in order to determine whether or not there is a significant difference between how these two responded to the questions. Cross-sectional findings were not conducted as regards racial groupings. As will be seen below, the proportions of racial groups who responded to questions and participated in this survey study were not necessarily representative of the demographics in South Africa.

4.3.2. SOCIAL AFFILIATION OF PARTICIPANTS

In order to determine the social affiliation of participants in this survey, questions were asked to determine their gender, race, language, level of study and faculty. Of the 921 University of Pretoria students who participated in this study, 326 were male students and 595 were female students. Furthermore, the majority of respondents in this survey (66.5%) were white, while the second most (26.1%) were black. There were also a small number of coloured and Indian/Asian participants as well as a couple of students who identified themselves to be part of “other” racial groupings.

More than half of the respondents indicated that they were Afrikaans speakers, while 22.4% spoke English. Almost 7% spoke Xhosa while 4.6% spoke Zulu. There were a few Tswana, Xhosa, Sotho, siSwati, Venda, Tsonga, and Ndebele speakers as well. A small percentage indicated that they spoke languages other than the eleven official languages in South Africa.

More than half the respondents considered themselves to be senior students while 41.7% were junior students. Furthermore, most (20.3%) of the respondents were from the Faculty of Health, while 19% were from the Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Science, 15.1% from the Faculty of Humanities, 15.2% from the Faculty of Education, 11.9% from the Law Faculty, 10.1% from the Faculty of Engineering and 2% from the Faculty of Technology.

4.3.3. POLITICAL OPINIONS AND INVOLVEMENT OF PARTICIPANTS

Similar to the 2006 survey study, participants were asked a range of questions to determine their political attitudes.

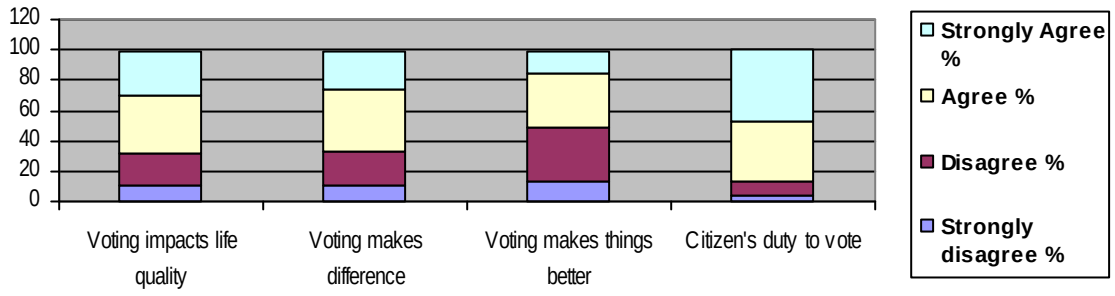
VOTING

In order to further determine their opinions on voting, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with certain statements. Most respondents indicated that they agreed and strongly agreed that voting impacts on the quality of life. Furthermore, most student participants also agreed that by voting they could make a difference, even though a noticeable amount disagreed. More or less the same percentages of respondents agreed and disagreed that by voting, things could be improved (see Table 5 and Figure 9).

Statements presented to participants	Strongly disagree (%)*	Disagree (%)*	Agree (%)*	Strongly agree (%)*
'Voting impacts on the quality of life'	10	21.9	38.1	29.2
'By voting, I can make a difference'	10.4	23.1	40.2	25.8
'By voting, I can make things better'	12.9	35.6	35.5	15.3
'It is my duty as a citizen to vote'	4.2	9	39.7	46.7

Table 5: Extent to which agree or disagree with presented statements
**Not all students responded to all the statements, which means that all totals will not amount to 100*

Figure 9: Extent to which agree or disagree



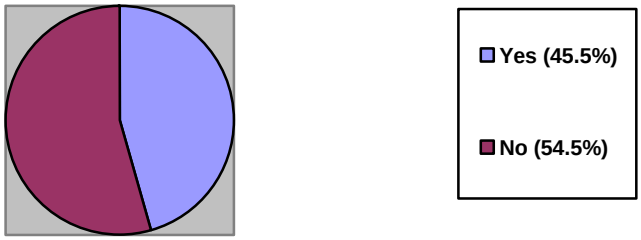
Regarding the statements above, there was no significant difference between the answers provided by male and female respondents. More than 30% of both male and female participants agreed that voting impacts the quality of life while almost 30% of both strongly

agreed. Almost 40% of male and 40.8% of female participants agreed that voting can make a difference, while 23% of male and 27.4% of female participants strongly agreed. Furthermore, more than 30% of both male and female respondents disagreed that through voting things can be improved while, on the other hand, more than 30% of male and female participants agreed that voting can improve things.

As for voting being regarded as a civil duty, a significant proportion of respondents agreed. Furthermore, 38.3% of male and 40.5% of female participants agreed that it is their duty as citizens to vote, while 46.9% of male and 46.6% of female participants indicated that they strongly agreed with this statement. Hence, there was not a significant difference between the answers given by male and female student participants in this regard.

Students were also asked to indicate if they were registered to vote as well as to provide reasons if they were not registered. Figure 10 demonstrates that more than half the respondents were not registered as voters.

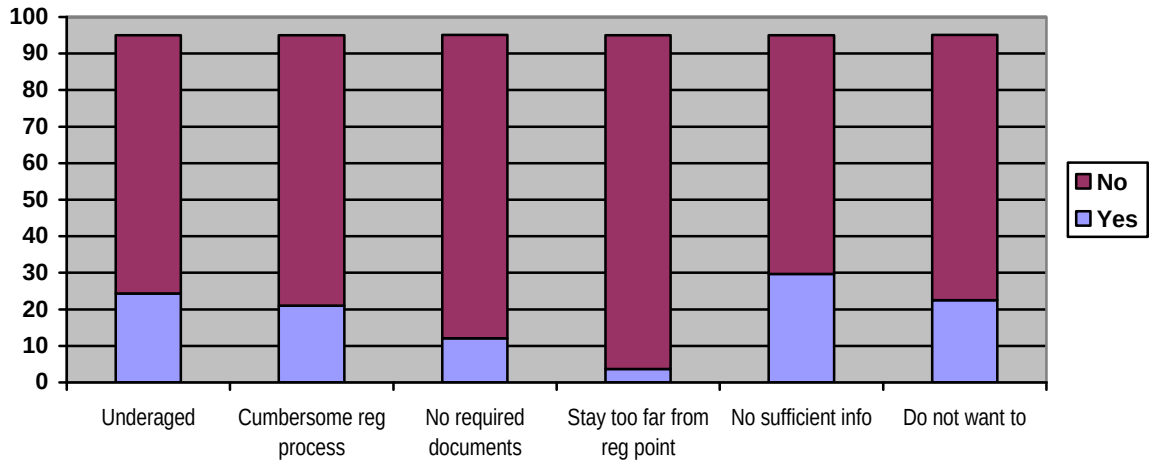
Figure 10: Are you registered to vote?



Reason	Yes (%)*	No (%)*
Underaged	24.3	70.7
Cumbersome registration process	21	74
Not in possession of required documents	12.1	83
Reside too far from registration point	3.7	91.3
Not in possession of sufficient information	29.7	65.3
Do not want to	22.5	72.6

Table 6: Reasons for not being registered to vote
**Not all students responded to all the statements, which means that all totals will not amount to 100*

Figure 11: Reasons for not being registered to vote



Students were presented with various possible reasons for not being registered to vote and they were asked to indicate which of these applied to them. As regards the answers provided by students, almost 30% of participants did not have sufficient information and 24.3% were too young to register. Moreover, almost 23% did not want to vote (see Table 6 and Figure 11). It is notable that, for all the reasons provided in the questionnaire, the majority of respondents did not feel that these were applicable to them. When correlated with gender, 50.6% of male and 42.8% of female participants were registered as voters. Again, a difference between the male and female respondents can be detected.

Further questions were asked to determine the levels of electoral participation amongst the respondents.

Figure 12.1: Have you ever voted in an election before?

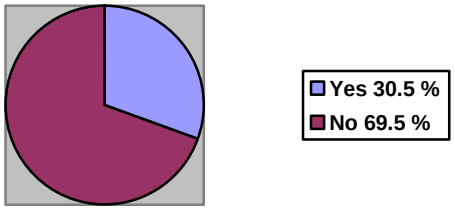
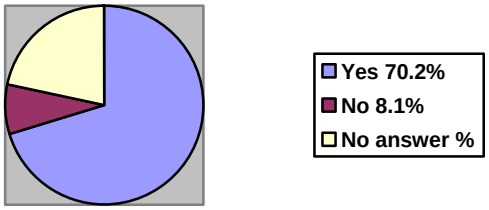


Figure 12.2: Do you plan on voting during the next election?



As for previous voting experience, almost 70% of respondents indicated that they have not previously voted in an election. Furthermore, the majority of respondents indicated that they planned on voting during the next election (see Figure 12.1 and Figure 12.2).

Male and female answers were as follow: 33.2% of male and 29% of female participants indicated that they have voted in an election before, while 66.8% of male and 71% of female participants indicated that they have not. Regarding future electoral participation, 67% of male participants and 72% of female participants planned on voting during the next election.

INTEREST IN POLITICS

A number of questions were asked to determine the interests of respondents in politics. Participants were asked to indicate how often they asked for political advice, attempted to influence political views of others, wrote letters to newspapers on political matters and were active in a political party or in political rallies. Most participants seldom – if ever – asked for advice on political matters. Of male participants 45.4% and 47.6% of female participants never asked for advice on political matters, and 31.9% of male and 33.3% of female participants seldom asked for advice on political matters. Furthermore, participants also indicated that they rarely attempted to influence the political views of others. In this regard, 32.8% of male participants and 38% of female participants indicated that they seldom attempted this, while 31.9% of male and 36.1% of female participants never attempted to influence political views. Female participants appeared to be slightly more "withdrawn" when it came to influencing the political views of others.

Moreover, most participants never wrote letters to the newspapers on political matters nor presented their views to politicians. In these regards, 73.9% of male participants and 83.7% of female participants never wrote letters to newspapers; and 59.8% of male and 61.7% of female participants never presented their views of political matters.

POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS

Participants were also asked to indicate how often they discussed politics and with whom (see Table 7).

	Never (%)*	Rarely (%)*	Sometimes (%)*	Often (%)*	Very often (%)*	N/A (%)*
How often do you discuss politics with your father?	9.1	11.4	27.9	23.6	16.4	9.2
How often do you discuss politics with your mother?	11.4	20.5	29.3	21.3	11.6	3.5
How often do you discuss politics with family members other than your parents?	10.7	20.6	28.4	21.5	14.8	1.8
How often do you discuss politics with friends and classmates with different views?	4.9	14	31.6	25.7	20.7	0.9
How often do you discuss politics with friends and classmates with similar views?	3.8	11.9	31.6	26.7	22.7	1
How often do you discuss politics with party officials?	71.1	14.9	4.3	1.4	0.9	5.1
How often do you discuss politics with members of political organisations on or off campus?	68.5	13.9	5.5	3.5	1.7	4.5

Table 7: Political behaviour
**Not all students responded to all the statements, which means that all totals will not amount to 100*

Almost 28% of participants sometimes discussed politics with their fathers and approximately 29% sometimes discussed politics with their mothers. As for discussing politics with family members other than their parents, 28.4% sometimes did, while 21.5% often discussed politics with other family members and 20.6% rarely did.

When correlated with gender, 22.4% of male and 30.9% of female participants sometimes discussed politics with their fathers, and 26.7% of male and 21.8% of female participants often discussed politics with their fathers. Regarding discussing politics with their mothers, 27.9% of male participants indicated that they sometimes did this. Furthermore, 30.1% of female participants sometimes discussed politics with their mothers, while 21.8% of female

often discussed politics with their mothers. Female participants appeared to lean more towards political discussions with their mothers, while male participants leaned slightly more towards discussing politics with their fathers. As for political discussions with family members other than parents, 27% of male participants and 29.2% of female participants sometimes discussed politics with other family members.

In discussing politics with friends and classmates who held different political views, 31.6% of participants sometimes did, 25.7% often did, and 20.7% very often participated in these discussions. Furthermore, 31.6% of respondents sometimes discussed politics with friends and classmates with similar views, and 26.7% often participated in these discussions.

Regarding gender, 27.6% of male and 33.4% of female participants sometimes discussed politics with friends and classmates with different views from theirs, while 28.2% of male and 33.4% of female participants sometimes discussed politics with friends and classmates with similar political views.

When asked about discussing politics with party officials and political organisations, 71.1% of respondents never discussed politics with party officials, while 68.5% never discussed politics with members of political organisations on or off campus. As for gender, 63.5% of male participants and 75.3% of female participants indicated that they never conducted these political discussions. Furthermore, 61.7% of male and 72.3% of female participants never discussed politics with members of political organisations.

POLITICAL LEADERS

The vast majority of respondents, regardless of gender, indicated that they admired former president Nelson Mandela the most. English male participants also included Thabo Mbeki and FW De Klerk amongst popular leaders, while male Afrikaans speaking participants included Paul Kruger, Hendrik Verwoerd, Trevor Manuel and Helen Zille. Female, English-speaking, participants included Thabo Mbeki and FW De Klerk, while Afrikaans-speaking female participants included Helen Zille, Patricia De Lille, PW Botha and Paul Kruger.

POLITICAL PARTIES

As for the attitudes of respondents towards political parties, the findings were as follows:

The vast majority of respondents were not card-carrying members of political parties. As for political party support, the vast majority of male Afrikaans speaking students supported the DA. The second most popular political party was the FF, which was followed by the ID and the ANC. Of English speaking male participants the majority supported the ANC. Short on the heels of the ANC was the DA.

The vast majority of Afrikaans speaking female participants supported the DA. The FF was second most popular, yet not as popular as the DA. Of the English speaking female students who answered this question, the vast majority indicated support for the DA. The ANC enjoyed second most support, yet not as much as the DA.

Students were also asked to indicate to what extent they felt political parties involved the youth by means of: party structures; party brochures; youth as party candidates; by considering the opinion of the youth; as well as through a youth movement. Almost 30% of participants indicated that the extent to which political parties involve the youth through party structures was low and 25.8% did not know. Similarly, 29.1% indicated that party brochures addressed youth issues to a moderate extent, while 21% did not know. As for using members of the youth as party candidates, 33.8% of participants agreed that the extent to which political parties did this was low, while 22.1% stated that this did not happen at all. Political parties could also involve the youth by seriously considering the opinions of the youth; however 33.6% of students answered that the extent to which this happened was low, while 25% of students agreed that this was done to a moderate extent. By means of a youth movement, political parties could also involve the youth more; however, 29.1% of participants agreed that this was done to a moderate extent, while 26.9% stated that the extent to which this was done was low.

Activity	Regularly (%)*	Fairly regularly (%)*	Seldom (%)*	Never (%)*
Being active in a political party	2.1	4.2	12.6	77.6
Being active in political protest marches or demonstrations	2.1	4.3	14.9	75.1
Attending political rallies	2.4	3.5	11.7	78.9
Being active in the youth movement of a political party	3	4.2	12.3	77.1

Table 8: Political participation
**Not all students responded to all the statements, which means that all totals will not amount to 100*

Furthermore, (see Table 8) most participants were never active in a political party and never participated in political protest marches/demonstrations. As for political activity and gender, 70.6% of male participants and 81.5% of female participants were never active in political parties; and 69.9% of male and 78% of female participants were never active in political protests/marches/demonstrations.

Furthermore, the vast majority of participants have never attended political rallies and were never active in the youth movement of a political party. As for the answers provided by the two genders in this regard, 72.4% of male and 82.5% of female participants never attended political rallies, and 72.1% of male and 79.8% of female participants were never active in the youth movement of a political party. It appeared as though female respondents were slightly less active in politics than their male counterparts.

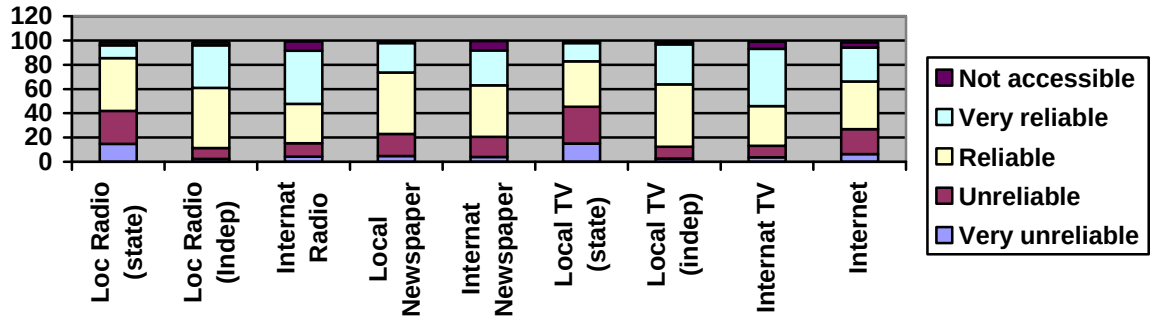
MEDIA

In order to determine the influence of the media on the youth, participants were asked to rate the reliability of a number of news and information sources, such as local radio (state owned and independent), international radio, local and international newspapers, local (state owned and independent) television stations, international television stations, and the internet (see Table 9 and Figure 13).

Source	Very unreliable (%)*	Unreliable (%)*	Reliable (%)*	Very reliable (%)*	Not accessible (%)*
Local Radio (State owned)	14.8	27.1	43.6	10.6	2.3
Local Radio (Independent)	2.3	9.1	49.6	34.9	2.6
International radio	4.1	11.1	32.6	43.6	7.8
Newspaper (local)	4.7	18.2	50.8	24.1	1.1
Newspaper (international)	3.9	16.6	42.5	28.8	7.5
Local TV stations (state owned)	15	30.3	37.4	15.2	0.9
Local TV stations (independent)	2.7	9.7	51.4	32.9	2.1
International TV stations	3.7	9.6	32.7	47	6
Internet	6.4	20.5	39.4	27.9	4.3

Table 9: Reliability of sources
**Not all students responded to all the statements, which means that all totals will not amount to 100*

Figure 13: How reliable are sources of information?



Most participants indicated that they were of the opinion that local (state-owned) radio was a reliable source, while a mentionable amount indicated that this source was unreliable. As regards local (independent) radio, on the other hand, most participants were of the opinion that this was a reliable source, while an even further amount of students regarded it as a very reliable source of information. International radio as source of information was regarded as reliable and very reliable by the vast majority of participants.

The majority of participants agreed that local newspapers were either reliable or very reliable. International newspapers' reliability was also rated as high by most of the participants.

Regarding television stations; local (state-owned) television stations were regarded by many participants as reliable; however, a lot of participants also indicated that it is an unreliable source. As for local (independent) television stations, most participants regarded it as either a reliable or a very reliable source of information. Again, international television stations were also highly favoured as reliable by most participants.

The internet, as source of information, was rated as either reliable or very reliable by most participants, regardless of gender. Of male participants 35% and 41.8% of female participants rated the internet as reliable; and 29.8% of male participants and 26.9% of female participants rated this source as very reliable.

When correlated with gender, regarding local state owned radio, both male and female participants more or less agreed on the extent of reliability and unreliability of this source. This was evident in that 26.1% of male and 27.7% of female participants regarded it as unreliable, while 42.6% male and 44.2% female considered it reliable. Regarding local independent radio stations, 46% of male and 51.6% of female participants regarded it as a reliable source of information while, 35.6% of male and 34.5% of female participants found this source to be very reliable. Again there was not much of a difference between the responses of the two genders in this regard. For international radio stations, 29.4% of male participants and 34.3% of female participants were of the opinion that it was reliable. Furthermore, 44.2% of male participants and 43.4% of female participants were of the opinion that international radio was a very reliable source of information.

Local newspapers were rated by 47.5% of male and 52.6% of female as reliable, and by 24.8% male and 23.7% female as very reliable. International newspapers were considered to be reliable by 39.9% of male participants and 43.9% of female participants, and considered as very reliable by 30.1% male participants and 28.1% female participants.

Local state-owned television stations were rated as follows: 28.2% of male participants said it was unreliable, while 20.9% of male participants rated it as very unreliable. Furthermore, 31.4% of female participants rated this source as unreliable. On the other hand, 36.5% of male and 37.8% of female participants rated local state-owned television stations as reliable. As regards local independent television stations, 47.9% of male and 53.3% of female participants were of the opinion that it was a reliable source, while 34.7% of male participants and 31.9% of female participants rated it as a very reliable source of information. As for international television stations, 28.5% of male participants and 35% of female participants rated it as a reliable source, while 46.9% of male and 47.1% of female participants answered that it was a very reliable source of information.

In general, when studying the answers of both male and female participants, it seemed that there was more confidence in independently owned and international sources of information than in state-owned sources of information.

	Never (%)*	**Rarely (%)***	**Sometimes (%)***	**Often (%)***	**Very often (%)***	**N/A (%)***
How often do you listen to radio news?	2.9	8.3	26.4	29	31.6	
How often do you watch TV news?	4.9	13.6	29.3	27.6	22.8	
How often do you read a newspaper?	5.3	20.6	35.1	20.6	16.4	
How often do you read books about politics?	46.8	29.3	13.9	4.8	3.1	

Table 10: Use of sources of Information

Regarding the use of sources of information (see Table 10), most participants indicated that they often listened to radio news, and a large number of participants regularly watched television news. Moreover, the newspaper appeared to be a relatively popular source of information. However, as for reading books on politics, most participants indicated that they rarely, if ever, did so.

The answers provided by the two genders were as follows: As for listening to radio news, 30.7% of male and 28.1% of female participants often did this, while 27% of male and 34.1% of female participants listened to radio news very often. Furthermore, 28.2% of male and 27.2% of female participants often watched television news; 31.9% of female and 24.5% of male participants sometimes watched television news; and 25.7% of male and 21.2% of female participants watched television news very often. As for reading the newspaper, 33.4% of male and 36% of female participants only sometimes read the newspaper. Regarding books about politics, 39.3% of male and 50.9% of female participants never read books about politics, while 30.4% of male and 28.7% of female participants rarely read books about politics.

CURRENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Students were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction with how democracy works in South Africa. While 30.5% and 2.5% of respondents respectively indicated that they were satisfied and very satisfied with democracy in South Africa, the vast majority indicated dissatisfaction. Of all the respondents, 45.1% were dissatisfied while 21.9% were very dissatisfied. As for the answers provided by male and female respondents, there were no significant differences between the ways in which they answered this question. Most of them were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with how democracy works in South Africa.

Participants suggested possible solutions that may address their concerns on the effectiveness of democracy in South Africa. Amongst these were: the establishment of a more equal society; that job placements be based on merit; that Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment be discontinued; that education (and political education in particular) be made a priority; and that effective action be taken against corruption.

IMPORTANT ISSUES

Participants were also requested to indicate how successful they regarded government to be in addressing certain issues (see Table 11). As regards creating job opportunities, the highest percentage of participants regarded government to be unsuccessful, while 30.5% indicated that government was neither successful nor unsuccessful. As for service delivery, most

participants indicated that government was not successful in addressing this matter. Furthermore, in regards to crime prevention, the majority of participants indicated that government was unsuccessful in addressing this matter.

	Very unsuccess-ful (%)*	**Unsuccess-ful (%)***	**Neither (%)***	**Very success-ful (%)***	**Success-ful (%)***
Creating jobs	18.2	36.7	30.5	2.6	9.1
Service delivery	30.3	34.1	20.2	3.7	9.6
Preventing crime	60.2	26.1	9	1.1	2
Preventing HIV/AIDS	42.1	30.8	19.4	2.8	2.8
Addressing gender discrimination	15.6	21.1	38.2	11.6	11.5
Provide scholarships for studying	16.4	23.6	33.3	11.1	13.4
Eradicating poverty	35.1	38	19.4	2.8	2.5
Promoting peace and security	38.9	29.4	19.5	5.2	4.9
Respecting human rights	15.6	20.4	30.3	15.5	15.6
Dealing with illegal immigrants	48.2	24.4	19.9	2.1	3.5
Protecting people's different languages	21.6	20.4	30.6	10.7	14.3
Treating people fairly in court	19.4	20	35	10.9	12.4

Table 11 (continues from previous page): How successful is government?
**Not all students responded to all the statements, which means that all totals amounted to 100*

When presented with different functions of government, most participants of both genders rated government as unsuccessful, very unsuccessful, or neither successful nor unsuccessful. At creating jobs, 35.6% of male participants and 37.3% of female participants stated that government was unsuccessful in this regard, while 28.8% of male and 31.4% of female participants stated that government was neither successful nor unsuccessful in creating job opportunities. As for service delivery, 33.4% of male and 34.5% of female participants stated that government was unsuccessful, while 30.7% of male and 30.1% of female participants stated that they were very unsuccessful. In preventing crime, 53.7% of male and 63.7% of female participants stated that government was very unsuccessful.

Government was also rated as unsuccessful in addressing the prevention of HIV/AIDS and, as for gender discrimination most participants were of the opinion that government was neither successful nor unsuccessful in this regard. A notable amount of participants rated government as unsuccessful in addressing gender discrimination. When correlated with gender, 32.5% of male and 29.9% of female participants stated that government was unsuccessful in preventing HIV/AIDS, while 38.7% of male and 44% of female participants stated that government was very unsuccessful in this regard. In addressing gender discrimination, 36.5% of male participants and 39.2% of female participants stated that government was neither successful nor unsuccessful. Furthermore, 22.1% of male participants and 20.5% of female participants stated that government was unsuccessful in addressing gender discrimination.

In addressing the matter of providing scholarships for studying, the highest percentage of participants indicated that government was neither successful nor unsuccessful, and some participants rated government as unsuccessful in providing scholarships. Moreover, 32.5% of male participants and 33.8% of female participants stated that government was neither successful nor unsuccessful in this regard. Furthermore, 23% of male participants and 23.9% of female participants deemed government to be unsuccessful in providing scholarships for studying.

As for eradicating poverty, government was mostly rated as unsuccessful in addressing this matter, which is also how they rated government's performance in promoting peace and security. As for answers provided by the different genders, 39% of male and 37.5% of female participants rated government as unsuccessful, while 29.8% of male and 38% of female participants rated government to be very unsuccessful. As for promoting peace and security, 30.1% of male and 29.1% of female participants rated government as unsuccessful in this regard, while 28.8% of male and 44.4% of female participants rated government as very unsuccessful.

In addressing the matter of human rights, the highest percentage of participants indicated that government was neither successful nor unsuccessful, and 20.4% rated government as

unsuccessful in addressing this matter. As for respecting human rights, the highest percentages of male (27.9%) and female (31.6%) participants rated government as neither successful nor unsuccessful.

In dealing with illegal immigrants, participants considered government to be unsuccessful in this regard. When correlated with gender, 23% of male and 25.2% of female participants rated government as unsuccessful, while 50.3% of male and 47.1% of female participants rated government as very unsuccessful in dealing with illegal immigrants.

In protecting different languages, the highest percentage of participants rated government to be neither successful nor unsuccessful in addressing this matter, and some participants stated that government is unsuccessful in this regard. As for gender, 28.5% of male and 31.8% of female participants rated government as neither successful nor unsuccessful. Furthermore, 20.2% of male and 20.5% of female participants rated government as unsuccessful and 23.9% male and 20.3% female rated government as very unsuccessful.

As regards the fair treatment of persons in court, the highest percentage of participants answered that government was neither successful nor unsuccessful, while a mentionable amount indicated that government was unsuccessful in addressing this matter. As regards treating persons fairly in court, government was rated as neither successful nor unsuccessful by 34% of male participants and 35.5% of female participants.

Various areas of concern were presented to the participants, whereafter they were asked to rate which of those was the three most important areas of concern. These areas of concern were HIV/AIDS, Malaria, lack of employment, inadequate service delivery, lack of housing, low education standards, land redistribution, poverty, violation of human rights, gender equality, the high crime rate, lack of peace, weak economy, undemocratic government, corruption of government officials, free and fair elections, differences between rich and poor etc.

The highest rated issues of concern (ranked as the most important) were the high crime rate, HIV/AIDS, and corruption of government officials. The high crime rate was ranked the most important area of concern by 35.5%. Furthermore, 17.8% of participants rated HIV/AIDS as the most important, and 10.5% of participants rated corruption of government officials as the most important area of concern.

Most male and female participants indicated that they were of the opinion that the high crime rate, HIV/AIDS and corruption of government officials were the most important issues. In this respect, 34.7% of male and 39% of female participants identified the high crime rate as the most important issue. Thereafter, 18.4% of male and 17.5% of female participants identified HIV/AIDS as the most important issue, and 11.3% of male and 10.1% of female participants identified corruption of government officials as the most important.

4.3.4. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Of the 921 students who participated in this study, there were 326 male students and 595 female students. The highest percentage of participants in this study was white. Furthermore, this study was conducted across the several faculties of the University of Pretoria.

Generally most participants appeared to be dissatisfied with how democracy works in South Africa and suggested a more equal society as the solution to the problem. Further suggested solutions included that jobs and positions be based on merit, the discontinuation of affirmative action and black economic empowerment, improvement of (political) education as well as addressing cases of corruption.

Once again, former president Nelson Mandela was indicated as the most admired political leader. Furthermore, the general impression was given that the extent to which political parties involve the youth is low.

As regards voting, most participants agreed that voting impacts on the quality of life and can make a difference; however they were not as positive about whether or not voting has the

potential to improve things. Furthermore, participants generally agreed that it is their duty as citizens to vote, yet the data points to much lower actual voting participation amongst them.

Regarding sources of news and information, there appeared to be more confidence in privately owned or international news sources than in state owned sources. Most participants indicated that they often listened to radio news and watched television news, while they did not read the newspaper very often. Furthermore, most participants indicated that they never read books on politics.

The most prominent areas of concern indicated by most participants included the high crime rate, HIV/AIDS and corruption of government officials.

Regarding political discussions and participation, a relatively high percentage of participants indicated that they discussed politics with friends and fellow students. Furthermore, participants also occasionally discussed politics with family members. However, most participants indicated that they never discussed politics with party officials and political organisations. Moreover, most participants indicated that they do not tend to influence the political views of others, ask for political advice, nor publish political opinions. Relating to this, most participants also indicated that they were not active in political parties and that they are not involved in the youth movement of a political party.

Most participants of this survey indicated that they supported the DA as political party, while the ANC also enjoyed some support. However, most participants indicated that they were not card-carrying members of political parties. As for being registered to vote, some participants indicated that they were registered; however, more participants were not registered to vote. Reasons mostly provided by participants were that they were not sufficiently informed, under-aged or that they merely did not want to vote. Furthermore, most participants indicated that they have never before participated in an election or referendum; however, most participants indicated that they intended to vote in the next election.

4.4. CONCLUSION

The findings of both survey studies were presented in two parts, namely the social affiliation of participants, followed by more general political opinions and information on participation. In certain cases findings were also presented in terms of political opinions correlated with social affiliation.

These findings were presented and organised for the purposes of comparison to Western literature and models on voting behaviour (refer to Framework for Analysis in Chapter 2). By using the information provided by Western literature, and the data obtained by the two survey studies, an in depth comparison and analysis will be conducted in Chapter 5. This comparison and analysis will be conducted for the purposes of determining the extent to which Western literature on voting behaviour can be applied to the South African youth, and more specifically, to university students, as they are generally viewed as the future political elite.

In addition to the above analysis, possible recommendations will be formulated for future research on the topic, as well as on how the youth – and thus also the future generation of leaders – , can be involved more in political processes.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In order to determine the extent to which Western models of, and effects on, voting behaviour apply to South African university youth, an analytical framework was developed in Chapter 2. The findings presented in Chapter 4 were used and, based on the framework for analysis, certain key questions were posed for each model of voting behaviour and age effect on voting behaviour.

As for the models of voting behaviour, the key arguments of each were converted into questions to be answered for analytical purposes. In the case of the Sociological Model questions regarding the effect of gender, race and language on voting behaviour were asked. As for the Michigan Model questions revolving around the social location and socialisation of the South African university youth were asked as well as their possible determining influences on voting behaviour. Furthermore, regarding the Party Identification Model, questions around party and leader identification as well as political values were asked. Questions were also posed around the Media/Dominant Ideology Model in order to determine the relevancy of this model on the voting behaviour of South African university youth. Lastly, students were asked certain questions to determine to which extent the Rational Choice Model is applicable to them.

When it came to the different effects on voting behaviour, while keeping in mind that these cannot really be considered in isolation from each other and from the models of voting behaviour, certain questions were also posed for the purposes of determining their applicability to the South African university youth. As for the Cohort Effect, questions revolving around the political generation and exposure to certain national events were asked. Furthermore, regarding the Individual Ageing Effect, questions around previous and future voting behaviour as well as social norms were asked. Regarding the Life Cycle Effect, questions were asked on the possible increase in the electoral participation of students as well as how their voting and political behaviour compare to that of older groups and aged groups

(in this case, reports from the Independent Electorate Commission of South Africa as well as the Human Science Research Council were also used).

As will be seen from the following analysis most of the models of, and age effects on, voting behaviour can be regarded as relevant to South African university youth to some extent.

5.2. SOCIOLOGICAL MODEL

The Sociological Model covers a wide array of possible determinants of voting behaviour. As for the purposes of this study gender, race and language as social characteristics can be analysed. Housing is also one of the social characteristics that fall under this model, however, as the Michigan Model also holds that social location determines socialisation, this characteristic will be included and analysed in the section on the Michigan Model. Again, none of the models are in isolation.

For the purposes of analysis certain key questions pertaining to the Sociological Model will be answered by means of the research findings presented in Chapter 4. According to the Sociological Model, gender, race and language may determine the voting behaviour of voters. Given the data presented in Chapter 4, this sub-section will provide an analysis of the extent to which the findings correlate with the core assumptions of the Sociological Model.

5.2.1. Does gender determine the voting behaviour and political values of the youth?

A reasonable amount of both male and female students participated in both surveys. In the 2006 survey, 176 male students and 340 female students participated (two did not answer the question on whether they were male or female); and 326 male students and 595 female students participated in the 2008 survey. The various questions regarding voting behaviour and political values were correlated with gender and, while there were some differences between the two genders, both also felt strongly about certain issues. For example, the focus group discussions revealed that both male and female students value equality and equal representation, and that, as long as there is proper education, training and competence, both genders can be equally represented in government. In essence, this means that as regards political values, male and female university students agree on most matters. However, by

considering the answers provided during the survey studies, one can detect a slight difference between the two genders and their political and voting behaviour.

Both the 2006 and 2008 surveys revealed slight differences between male and female participants as regards voter registration, whereas slightly more than half of male participants were registered to vote. On the other hand, more than 60% of female participants in the 2006 survey and almost 60% of female participants in the 2008 survey were not registered to vote.

As for voting in previous elections, more or less the same percentages in both the 2006 and 2008 survey for male and female participants indicated that they have not previously voted. These were the majority of participants. There were some differences between the reasons provided by male and female participants. Whereas male participants noted the inaccessible voting stations, disillusionment and apathy (in that order) as their main reasons for not previously voted. Female participants noted the inaccessibility of voting stations, apathy and disillusionment (in that order) as their reasons. The majority of both male and female participants in both surveys indicated that they planned on voting in the next elections.

Regarding the answers provided by male and female participants who were registered to vote, the 2006 survey revealed that, of both genders, more than half indicated that they have voted in the local government elections. Furthermore, more than 70% of registered male voters and more than 60% of registered female voters were interested in politics. Of registered male voters, just over 90% thought that voting makes a difference, and just over 85% of registered female voters agreed.

In 2006, the majority of both male and female participants were of the opinion that voting makes a difference, however slightly more (6% more) of male participants were of this opinion. Even though female participants were also very positive in this regard, male participants appeared to be somewhat more positive. The 2008 survey painted a slightly different picture, whereas the majority of both male and female respondents agreed that voting impacts the quality of life, and that voting can make a difference. However, more than 30% of both male and female participants indicated that they disagreed that through voting

things can be improved and more than 30% of both male and female participants agreed that voting can improve things. Thus, in 2006 male students appeared to be slightly more positive towards voting, while in 2008 the answers of the two genders were more similar. Furthermore, the 2008 survey revealed that both male and female respondents thought voting to be a civil duty.

Regarding interest in politics, male students in the 2006 survey appeared to be more interested than their female counterparts. Male participants were also more likely to state that the situation in South Africa has improved over the years. In the 2008 survey, male and female participants were more or less equally interested in politics. Both male and female participants seldom if ever asked for advice on political matters, and rarely attempted to influence the political views of others. However, it should still be noted that female participants appeared to be slightly more withdrawn when it came to influencing the political views of others.

Where issues of importance were concerned, the majority of both female and male participants in the 2006 survey indicated that basic needs and service delivery were the most important issues to be addressed. The majority of male and female students in this survey were not satisfied with service delivery, and there was no significant difference between male and female answers in this regard. Regarding the 2008 survey, both male and female participants rated the high crime rate, HIV/AIDS and corruption of government officials as the most important issues. Furthermore, again, most participants in the 2008 survey regarded government as unsuccessful, very unsuccessful or neither successful nor unsuccessful in performing their functions. These functions included creating jobs and preventing crime, addressing the issue of HIV/AIDS, providing scholarships, eradicating poverty, promoting peace and security, addressing the matter of human rights, dealing with illegal immigrants, protecting different languages, and providing for the fair treatment of persons in court. However, there were some issues with regard to which female participants appeared to be more negative in their views of how successful government is. These included the issue of crime prevention, HIV/AIDS, eradicating poverty, and promoting peace and security. It can be assumed that female participants felt slightly less safe than their male counterparts.

As for political activity, the 2008 survey revealed that the majority of both male and female participants never wrote letters to newspapers regarding political matters (with female participants approximately 10% less inclined than their male counterparts) and never presented their views on political matters.

As for discussing politics with others, the 2008 survey indicated that female participants appeared to lean more towards discussions on politics with their mothers, while male participants leaned slightly more towards discussing politics with their fathers. Approximately the same amounts of male and female respondents discussed politics with friends and classmates who held different views from their own, as well as with those who share their political views. The majority of both male and female participants never discussed politics with members of political organisations on or off campus; however, female participants did seem to be even slightly more withdrawn in this case.

The 2008 survey revealed that both male and female participants had more confidence in independently owned and international sources of information than in state-owned sources of information. There was no real difference between the answers provided by male and female participants. As for engaging with sources of information, the answers of both male and female participants appeared to be more or less the same.

Regarding gender and admiration for political leaders, the 2008 survey revealed that the majority of both male and female participants admired former president Nelson Mandela most. Moreover, as for being active in a political party, participating in political protest marches and demonstrations, and attending political rallies, the majority of both male and female participants in the 2008 survey were not active in this regard. It is notable that, in the case of political activity, female participants appeared to be slightly more withdrawn than their male counterparts.

As for the question of whether or not gender determines the voting behaviour and political values of the university youth, this study reveals that there is indeed a difference between

male and female university youth as regards their voting behaviour and political values. Young male students are generally more positive as regards voter registration, voting and general interest in politics. Their female counterparts appear to be slightly more withdrawn in these cases and generally when it came to matters such as presenting their political views and participating in political activities. Female youth also appeared to be slightly more negative regarding the success of government in fulfilling their functions such as crime prevention, HIV/AIDS prevention, eradicating poverty and promoting peace and security. As for discussing politics, male university youth were more inclined to discussing politics with their fathers while their female counterparts appeared to rather prefer discussing politics with their mothers.

5.2.2. Do voting behaviour and political values differ according to the race of students?

Students were asked to indicate their race by selecting one of the following: black, white, coloured, Indian/Asian or "other". The majority of participants in the 2006 survey were black, and the majority of participants in the 2008 survey were white, followed by black students.

Regarding voting behaviour, there did not appear to be a significant difference between racial groups of students. Of each of the different racial groupings that participated in the 2006 survey, more than half were not registered to vote. In the case of voter registration itself, there were no significant difference between black and white participants; however more of black students were interested in politics than their white counterparts.

Further insight on students' opinions regarding electoral participation was gained by asking them whether or not they thought that voting makes a difference. In this case, there was no significant difference between black and white students regarding whether or not they thought voting makes a difference. The majority of both black and white participants agreed that voting does make a difference.

As for other political opinions, such as the most important issues in their communities, the 2006 survey revealed that most of black respondents indicated basic needs and services to be

the most important issues, followed by maintenance of infrastructure. The majority of coloured and Indian or Asian (more than half of each) students indicated that crime was the most important issue. Regarding white respondents, almost half of them regarded crime to be the most important issue. Black students were not as concerned with crime as their other racial counterparts. The 2006 survey also revealed that black students were more likely to regard things as having improved over the past years than their white counterparts.

Even though there appeared to be slight differences between the perceptions of black university students and those of other racial groups, and that black students appeared more positive, it is interesting to note that focus group discussions revealed an aspiration and desire for a non-racial society. During the focus group discussions student leaders were asked if – to their minds – race is still relevant in South Africa, and they stated that they do not hold the past against other racial groups, however they often do not feel accommodated by their other racial counterparts in the same way. Students revealed that they consider it unfortunate that apartheid linked class and race, as otherwise the "race card" could not have been "played". Race still appears to be relevant, even though students would prefer this not to be the case.

Regarding voting behaviour, there were no significant differences between the races. As for being registered to vote, more than half of all races were not registered, and there were no differences between the opinions of the different racial groups as regards their thoughts on whether or not voting makes a difference. However, as regards political opinions, black university youth tend to be more positive regarding certain issues and they appear to be more interested in politics than their other racial counterparts. Black students also appeared to be slightly less concerned with crime than their other racial counterparts and black students were more likely to regard things as having improved. Thus, when it came to voting behaviour, there were no significant differences between the different races, however, regarding other political opinions, black university youth appeared slightly more positive (confirming a study by the HSRC in 2009 that found that black youth expressed more positive attitudes, or "democratic enthusiasm", than the other population groups towards voting (HSRC 2009)).

5.2.3. Is there a difference between the voting behaviour and political values of different language groups?

Students from all eleven official language groups participated in both surveys. Amongst the different groups, slightly more than 20% of participants in the 2006 survey were Afrikaans speaking, and almost 20% were Sepedi speaking participants. More than half the respondents of the 2008 survey were Afrikaans speaking followed by English speakers.

As for voting behaviour, the results of the 2006 survey indicated that Afrikaans and siSwati speakers, as well as speakers of "other" languages, were the only three groups of which the majority were registered to vote.

Regarding general political behaviour, the 2008 survey revealed former president Nelson Mandela to be the most popular political leader across all linguistic groups. Other leaders mentioned included Thabo Mbeki and FW De Klerk. However, amongst Afrikaans speaking participants, leaders such as Paul Kruger, Hendrik Verwoerd and PW Botha were also mentioned. Furthermore, as for political party support, the 2008 showed that the vast majority of Afrikaans speaking students supported the DA, and the ANC received more support amongst speakers of the other ten official languages.

Determining a difference between the language groups and their voting behaviour is more complicated in a society with eleven official languages. Nonetheless, there were some differences in voting behaviour – albeit not many. Afrikaans and siSwati speakers in the 2008 survey were the only two official languages of which the majority were registered to vote, and some Afrikaans speakers also indicated admiration for previous Afrikaner political leaders.

5.2.4. The applicability of the Sociological Model

Some differences between the two genders as regards their voting and political behaviours were detected. Male university youth appears to be slightly more positive regarding the electoral process, whereas their female counterparts are more withdrawn. Furthermore, in

some instances there is also a difference between the political behaviour of black students compared to other races. Black university youth is more positive in general. However, when it comes to voting there is no real difference between the different racial groupings. Afrikaans and siSwati speakers also appeared to be more positive regarding the voter registration process.

Thus, in light of the above, one can – particularly in the case of gender – observe a difference between the voting behaviour of members who share certain social characteristics and that of other members. The Sociological Model of voting behaviour can, to a certain extent and in certain instances, be applied to South African university youth. The levels of applicability do not, however, extent similarly to all social groupings such as race. The data showed that, even though there is a slight difference in political opinion of black students compared to other racial counterparts, when it came to their voting behaviour there were no real difference between them and other racial groupings. Taking the differences in voting behaviours of different genders and linguistic groups (as discussed in section 5.2.3) into account, one cannot thus dismiss the viability of the Sociological Model, and for this reason the Sociological Model can, as previously stated, be applied to a certain extent to South African university youth.

5.3. MICHIGAN MODEL

As was already noted, the Michigan Model uses social location as a determinant for socialisation and patterns of partisanship. Thus the question will first be asked and answered as to whether or not there is a difference between the voting behaviour of students who come from rural areas, and those who come from urban areas as regards their voting behaviour. Furthermore, the question will be asked as to with whom students discuss elections and politics in order to determine their socialisation and whether or not this is a determining factor in their voting behaviour.

5.3.1. Is there a difference between the voting behaviour of students who come from rural areas and students who come from urban areas?

The majority (almost 70%) of respondents in the 2006 survey's parents lived in urban areas, and most respondents stayed with family, in university residences or communes while attending classes at university.

As for voting behaviour, most students, regardless of where they came from were not registered to vote due to apathy; however, the 2006 survey revealed that more or less the same percentages of students coming from rural and urban areas indicated that they do believe voting makes a difference. Furthermore, social location did not seem to be a determining factor for voting behaviour as regards electoral participation. In the 2006 survey, more than 70% of both those coming from rural and urban areas did not vote in the local government elections.

The only difference between those coming from rural and urban areas relate to what participants considered to be the most important issues in their communities. The 2006 survey showed that basic needs and services were regarded as more important in rural areas, while addressing the issue of crime seemed to be slightly more important in urban areas. This is an indication of the possible differences in political opinion between groups from rural areas and those from urban areas, in that their needs differ according to areas, and thus what they regard as what need to be considered as government priorities.

Thus, regarding voting behaviour specifically, there were no significant differences between students from rural or urban areas. The only area where they differed was in political opinion, which revolved around issues of importance in their communities. These opinions on issues of importance are contextual, as the needs of those who live in urban areas differ significantly from those who stay in rural areas.

5.3.2. With whom do students discuss politics and elections?

In order to determine socialisation and its possible influence on voting behaviour, answers provided as regards participation in political discussions and conversations were considered.

Both survey studies indicated that students engaged more in discussions about politics with family and friends than with other institutions. As for the 2006 survey, more than 70% of students discussed the local government elections beforehand, of which more than 90% discussed it with their family and friends. More than 80% discussed the local government elections with fellow students. On the other hand, more than 60% of participants in the 2006 survey did not discuss the local government elections with party canvassers or officials.

Almost 28% of participants in the 2008 survey indicated that they sometimes discussed politics with their fathers and approximately 29% sometimes discussed politics with their mothers. As for discussing politics with family members other than their parents, 28.4% sometimes did, while 21.5% often did and 20.6% rarely did. Participants very often discussed politics with friends and classmates with similar or different political views. Similar to the 2006 survey, most participants never discussed politics with party officials or political organisations.

These findings were in line with what the Michigan Model holds on partisanship and socialisation. Indeed, these university youth mostly discussed elections and politics with their family and friends. In fact, focus group discussions revealed that students want to engage in political dialogues more often, but that they felt they were not provided with a platform for political discussions or concerns by their university, and that this was perceived as a way to "suppress" student dialogue. They considered the small number of associations such as SASCO to not be sufficient to voice their opinions, and that the university management has a "paternalistic attitude" in that they do not consider the possibility that students and student leaders also care about politics. Nevertheless, even though the university youth tend to engage in political discussions it is not clear to what extent this influences their voting behaviour.

5.3.3. The applicability of the Michigan Model

As for voting behaviour there were no real differences between students from rural or urban areas, and the only area where they differed in political opinion was on the most important issues in their respective communities. These findings were in line with what the Michigan

Model holds on partisanship and socialisation. Indeed, these university youth mostly discussed elections and politics with their family and friends (who most probably also share their social location). However, what should be taken into account is that regarding, the voting behaviour and general participation in elections and voter registration, students from different social backgrounds showed similar behaviour to the extent that there were no real differences between their voting behaviour and thus the Michigan Model is not in its entirety applicable in this context.

5.4. PARTY IDENTIFICATION MODEL

The Party Identification Model holds that voters' behaviour can be determined by their identification with certain political parties and leaders. This means that they are more inclined to vote for parties or candidates they most identify with. To determine the extent to which this model is applicable to South African university youth, certain questions were again asked and answered. First, it should be determined whether or not they do identify with any political parties or leaders. Thereafter, the levels of support for these political parties and leaders should be determined. Lastly, it should be determined if the university youth have political values and how these influence their voting behaviour.

5.4.1. Do students identify with political parties?

Even though a significantly large proportion of respondents in both the 2006 and 2008 surveys indicated that they do support a political party, the majority of them were not members of a political party. While more than half the respondents in 2006 felt closest to the ANC as political party, slightly more than 30% felt closest to the DA. Small, yet mentionable, amounts of participants indicated that they felt closest to the ACDP, AZAPO, FF, the ID, IFP, the PAC, UCDP and the UDM. In the case of the 2008 survey most participants supported the DA and the second most participants supported the ANC.

The differences between the two survey studies present some insight on party identification of the university youth. Most of the participants in the 2006 survey were black, and they mostly identified with the ANC. Most of the participants in the 2008 survey were white and they mostly identified with the DA. These are some clear indications of identification

amongst racial groups with political parties. Black participants may identify most with the ANC while white participants may identify most with the DA. In the case of this question, it can thus safely be stated that university youth do to an extent identify with certain political parties, and that such identification is still largely based on race.

5.4.2. Do students identify with political leaders?

South African elections are based on support for political parties, however, identification with and support for these political parties do not necessarily imply identification with their leaders. In both surveys of 2006 and 2008 the vast majority of participants, regardless of social groupings, indicated that former president Nelson Mandela was admired most. Other leaders that were mentioned (but who did not receive nearly as many "admiration points" as Nelson Mandela) included Thabo Mbeki, Tony Leon, Patricia De Lille, FW De Klerk, Helen Zille and Paul Kruger. Except for Helen Zille who is currently the leader of the DA and Patricia De Lille, these leaders were mostly former leaders.

As for current political leaders, students who participated in focus group discussions raised their concerns about the levels of education and competency of their current leaders. At the time Jacob Zuma was the upcoming president and Julius Malema was already the leader of the ANC Youth League. Students were disapproving of the public actions of Julius Malema and stated that even though Jacob Zuma may have been completely innocent of all legal charges against him, he was not suitable to lead the country. It is also notable that these discussions revealed an admiration for leaders such as Patricia De Lille, whom students considered to be working in the interest of society as a whole, and not merely in the interest of supporters of their political parties. Students also sincerely expressed their regard for education (including leadership education) and training and they consider it as an important prerequisite for leaders and those in government positions regardless of race and gender. It can be assumed that students valued the inputs and work of previous leaders, but that they recognised the importance of moving forward and raising standards, and that current leaders were not entirely living up to these standards.

The study thus reveals that, while South African university youth identify and admire political leaders of the past, they struggle to identify with current leadership figures. The enormous support and admiration of former president Nelson Mandela may be an indication of the possibility that a leader, who manages to appeal to the interests and values of all social groupings, will also be a leader who enjoys immense respect from all corners of society, regardless of social differences such as race.

5.4.3. Do students politically support the parties and leaders they identify with?

Although most student participants in both survey studies indicated preferences of political parties, their political support did not seem to stem from participation in political party activities. For example, the 2006 survey revealed that the vast majority of participants have never done voluntary work for a political party, and the 2008 survey showed that most participants were never active in a political party and never participated in political protest marches or demonstrations. Furthermore, the vast majority of participants have never attended political rallies and were never active in the youth movement of a political party.

The 2006 survey further indicated that the majority of students have never participated in events that were arranged by a political party (such as political party meetings or rallies). Even during the run-up to the local government elections, the majority of student participants never attended meetings or rallies of political parties. This was in spite of the fact that a lot of the respondents were contacted by political parties (mostly the ANC, followed by the DA and the FF+) prior the local government elections. Students further indicated, in the 2008 survey, that they felt the extent to which political parties involved the youth was low.

In the case of support for political leaders, South Africa's political leaders are connected to political parties, and during elections the electorate is expected to vote for their political party of choice and not for their political leader of choice. Thus, it is difficult to determine the extent to which students politically support the leaders they identify with. Furthermore, as the majority of students indicated that they admire former president Nelson Mandela most, determining the extent of active political support for him as leader is not really possible as he is retired from the political arena.

Further insight was gained during the focus group discussions where participants revealed that the youth associate democracy with politicians and those in power. The term 'democracy' is thus connected with the political strategies and actions of government. Participants indicated that they consider it unfortunate that the ANC overlooked the need for "procedural democracy" and that, in stead of creating an educational resolution and proper utilisation of resources, they placed too much emphasis on acquiring resources. This may provide some insight into the lack of active political support for political parties and their leaders. South Africa's university youth may not want to vote for political parties with whom's political strategies they do not necessarily agree.

5.4.4. Do students have political values? What are they?

Both the survey studies indicated that students have certain political values and standards according to which they measure government performance and democracy in South Africa. These political values can be determined from their opinions on the most important issues of concern, as well as from the answers provided during the focus group discussions.

Crime seemed to be a key issue of concern in both survey studies. Additionally, the 2006 survey revealed that basic needs, service delivery and maintenance of infrastructure were considered important to participants and the 2008 survey revealed that HIV/AIDS and corruption of government officials were also of great concern.

Visibly against quota systems, participants in survey studies as well as focus group discussions indicated a strong sense of regard for equal opportunities and skills development as well as political (and other) education. They further indicated that accountability of leaders is important and that there is a need for a common vision in South Africa, which is something to build towards instead of work away from.

Furthermore, focus group discussions showed that students drew a distinction between equality and rights, and revealed that they considered those engaging in criminal activities as having too many rights, and enjoying more protection compared to their victims, whose

rights were violated in the first place. They stated that convicted criminals have too many rights and that they should feel the consequences for their actions by means of, for example, hard manual labour. Moreover, the focus group discussions revealed that participants hold traditional family values in high regard and suggest that these should be accommodated in government policies. For example, according to the students, women have the responsibility of raising children, while they are also generally disadvantaged and lack the proper skills for managing a top position. Thus, it was considered that they should be empowered, while their roles in their families should also be considered. For example, one participant indicated that women should be empowered and trained so that they may hold important offices, but that it should be taken into consideration that they cannot work similar hours to men, as they have too many responsibilities at home as well.

5.4.5. How applicable is the Party Identification Model

South African university youth hold strong political values which include equal opportunities, tolerance, education and skills development, while they also identify with political parties and leaders (although mostly historical). Their lack of electoral participation may be an indication of the notion that they do not identify with any current political party leaders, and that current political parties do not effectively incorporate their political values. In this regard, to a certain extent, one can then argue that the Party Identification Model is somewhat applicable; even if it is just to indicate that currently there are no leaders to identify with.

5.5. MEDIA/DOMINANT IDEOLOGY MODEL

The Media/Dominant Ideology Model holds that the media and regular exposure to dominant ideologies influence the voting behaviour of the electorate. In order to determine the applicability of this model to South African university youth, a number of questions can be asked. It should be determined how regularly the youth is exposed to the media and how reliable they consider it to be. Thereafter, the question should be asked as to what effect the media has on the voting behaviour of the university youth. Furthermore, it should be considered to what extent dominant ideologies have an effect on the voting behaviour of the youth.

5.5.1. Are students regularly exposed to the media?

The 2008 survey presented participants with several questions regarding the media and much insight into their exposure to the media was gained. Even though the 2008 survey's participants were mainly white students, the majority of participants in the focus group discussions were black – providing a balance in this study.

University youth often listens to radio news and regularly watch television news. Furthermore, the newspaper appears to be a relatively popular source of information amongst university youth. The only source of information that was not considered to be very popular was books on politics as most participants indicated that they rarely, if ever, read these.

In spite of their apparent lack of engagement with information in political books, university students appeared to be regularly exposed to the media in general.

5.5.2. Do students find the media reliable?

Even though university youth find themselves regularly exposed to the media, this does not indicate the extent to which they found these sources of information to be reliable. Participants in the 2008 survey study found the media in general to be fairly reliable, whereas independently-owned and internationally owned media were considered to be more reliable than state-owned media sources. For example, local (state-owned) radio and television stations were regarded by many participants as unreliable (even though some indicated that they are reliable). As for local (independent) radio and television stations, most participants considered these to be either reliable or very reliable. Local newspapers were rated either reliable or very reliable.

Furthermore, as regards international media (including radio, television and newspapers), most participants considered these to be either reliable or very reliable; and the internet was rated either reliable or very reliable. Thus, while university youth is regularly exposed to the media, they also find certain media sources to be more reliable than others.

5.5.3. Do the media have an impact on the voting behaviour and political values of students?

Even though the surveys did not clearly reveal the possible impact of the media on the voting and political behaviour of South African university youth, the focus group discussions provided information in this regard. Accordingly the university students indicated that they measure the South African democratic government based on what they know about Western countries and other liberal democracies. Based on this knowledge, they will react towards a government that does not perform according to these standards. This knowledge was most likely acquired from their exposure to the media.

Participants in the focus group discussions also indicated that the autonomy of the media is a very good thing, which, unfortunately can also be a threat. Furthermore, the fact that they were familiar with current affairs at the time (e.g. incidents of xenophobia) showed that they consider and pay attention to what is reported in the media. In light of the above, it may be possible that the media have an influence on the voting behaviour of the youth. Their absence from voting may be an indication of their dissatisfaction with government as well as political leaders and parties as portrayed in the media.

5.5.4. Does dominant ideology influence the voting behaviour of the youth?

Considering the findings of both survey studies, as well as the answers provided during the focus group discussions, it is clear that students base their views on more than mere ideologies. They consider themselves informed and educated and make their decisions and form their opinions based on what they know about democracy and how it is supposed to be pursued. They have clear and practical ideas around leadership and education and have a critical eye on current leadership and government.

There is, however, as can also be seen in the section on Party Identification, an indication that university youth have a certain degree of ideological affinity in that they do possess strong ideas on how society should be governed. These include the importance of education, family values, and the reasonable management of human rights protection policies. How these ideas and values influence the voting behaviour of the youth is a question that cannot

yet be answered with certainty. Even though the ideas of current political leaders and those of university youth differ remarkably, one cannot for certain assert that this is the reason for their low levels of electoral participation.

5.5.5. The applicability of the Media/Dominant Ideology Model

The applicability of Dominant Ideology on university youth is somewhat uncertain. However, the Media does seem to play a significant role in informing students and influencing their political opinions and behaviour. They find independent and internationally owned media sources to be more reliable than state-owned sources, which may be why they are more critical towards government and possibly less inclined to vote as they do not recognise appropriate candidates or parties to vote for.

5.6. RATIONAL CHOICE MODEL

The Rational Choice Model holds that voting behaviour is dependent on rational considerations of the electorate. In order to determine the extent to which this model can be applied to South African university youth, a number of questions can be considered: It should be determined whether or not students are in actual fact aware of issues of concern within their communities, and how well government performs in its functions. This will provide an indication of how informed participants are. Furthermore, it should be determined whether or not their voting behaviour and decisions are based on rational considerations.

5.6.1. Are students aware of serious issues in their communities?

Participants in both the 2006 and 2008 survey studies indicated a strong awareness of the serious issues in their communities. The 2006 survey revealed service delivery and basic needs, crime and maintenance of infrastructure as issues of concern, while the highest rated issues of concern in the 2008 survey appeared to be crime, HIV/AIDS and corruption of government officials.

The focus group discussions confirmed the students' awareness of serious issues of concern within their communities, and showed that they are also aware of the mistakes made in government regarding these issues. They raised the need for "procedural democracy"

wherein the focus should be on proper education and training as well as utilisation of resources. They highlighted the need for political education and agreed that they had a misconception about democracy for which they are now carrying the consequences; they also noted that understanding democracy and how things are supposed to be can also empower the public to mobilise politically. Students are thus aware of important issues in their communities as well as in society in general.

5.6.2. Are students aware of government performance?

Even though the 2006 survey indicated that 60% of the participants thought that South Africa has improved over the last five years, the majority regarded local government or municipalities as non-responsive to basic needs and services, and were not satisfied with local government services. Furthermore, the 2008 survey indicated that the majority of participants were not satisfied with how democracy works in South Africa and, regarding different government functions, participants considered government as somewhat unsuccessful. In dealing with matters such as creating job opportunities, service delivery, crime, HIV/AIDS, eradicating poverty, promoting peace and security and dealing with illegal immigrants, participants considered government to be mostly unsuccessful.

As for dealing with gender discrimination, providing scholarships for studying, addressing human rights and protecting different languages, participants in the 2008 survey rated government as neither successful nor unsuccessful.

Focus group discussions revealed that students consider South Africa as heading in the right direction, but that there is still a long road ahead. They also revealed an initial misconception about democracy and that the association of the ANC with democracy may lead to criticism of the ANC being regarded as attacks on democracy itself. Students are aware of government performances and the policy mistakes they made. They felt positive for when they would get the chance to lead the country, but showed concern for the many minority groups leaving the country. They aspired towards a non-racial society wherein problems would not be associated with race and where, for example, poverty in itself will be an issue, instead of “black poverty” or “white poverty”.

Students thus consider themselves to be aware of government performance in addressing serious issues, and mostly regard government as unsuccessful in these matters.

5.6.3. Are their reasons for voting behaviour based on rational considerations?

Students in both the 2006 and 2008 surveys, who were not registered to vote, were asked to provide reasons for this. Almost half of the non-registered voters in the 2006 survey appeared to be apathetic. Furthermore some were underaged, and others were disillusioned by politics in South Africa. Most student participants in the 2008 survey were not registered to vote due to not having sufficient information, being underaged or merely not wanting to.

As for their reasons for not participating in the local government elections, the participants in the 2006 survey indicated that this was because they were not registered to vote, or because they were apathetic.

When considering the observation on how the youth associates democracy with those in power and political leaders, one can somehow understand their lack of involvement in certain cases, as the leaders whom they admired most are not involved in politics anymore, and the current leaders are found worrisome (to say the least). The idea of the university youth being "rationally apathetic" comes to mind wherein the university youth may possibly choose not to participate in the electoral process based on rational considerations and knowledge.

5.6.4. The applicability of the Rational Choice Model

South African university youth appears to be very much aware of the serious issues of concern within their communities, as well as government's performances in dealing with those issues. However, whether or not their voting behaviour is based on rational considerations, is debatable. Whereas a lot of the participants were not registered to vote and did not participate in elections due to apathy, one can consider the possibility that they may have decided not to participate based on rational grounds. The concept "rationally apathetic" comes to mind and leads one to consider the possibility that, on account of the lack of proper and realistic alternatives, university youth see no reason to seriously consider registering to

vote and voting. In this sense, the Rational Choice Model may be relevant, but the extent to which it is, is currently uncertain.

5.7. COHORT EFFECT

The Cohort Effect focuses on different "political generations" who share certain experiences from events during their periods of influence (between 15 and 30 years old). They thus share periods of socialisation, social characteristics and exposure to national circumstances. One can test the applicability of this effect by comparing the behaviour of this political generation to that of others.

5.7.1. Does each one of the two groups of students share socialisation?

In terms of socialisation the participants were all students of the University of Pretoria, and thus they all had access to tertiary education and were not disadvantaged in this regard. Furthermore, this generation did not form part in the same struggles of the youth of the past and largely reaped the benefits of a democratic and constitutional society wherein equal access to medical treatment, resources and human rights protection are considered to be priorities. They were also exposed to, what they considered to be, policy mistakes made by government and the focus group discussions revealed that participants were clearly aware of these. These policy mistakes include approaches to rectification of the injustices of the past by means of quota systems and Affirmative Action. University youth revealed that they disagreed with these approaches and highlighted the importance of proper education in stead. They also observed the power struggle within the ANC amongst different leaders and the results thereof at the 2007 ANC conference in Polokwane, and got to form their own opinions in these regards. The focus group discussions, for example, revealed that the South African university youth does not consider Jacob Zuma as an appropriate leader, in spite of the possibilities that he might have been innocent of all charges brought against him. There thus proved to be a real difference between the opinion of South African university youth and that of leaders within the ANC who elected Jacob Zuma as their new president.

Both of the two surveys indicated that university youth prefer engaging in political discussions with their family and friends and furthermore, they share certain contexts and

experiences such as those indicated in the next sub-section. Thus the two groups of students indeed share socialisation.

5.7.2. What national circumstances were the surveyed groups exposed to?

In order to determine the national circumstances the surveyed groups were exposed to, a quick calculation was made to determine the approximate period in which they were born. Most of the participants of the survey studies and focus group discussions were born after 1987. As for lasting influences of shared socialisation as a generation, it is held that people are more "open" to political influences between the ages of 15 and 30 (Goerres 2007:50). Thus, when one calculates the political occurrences to which the participants were exposed, these include the ones from: 2002 until present. Key historical events during this period included the provision of antiretroviral drugs at all public hospitals in July 2002; election victories for the ANC; the expulsion of Deputy President Jacob Zuma in the light of corruption charges in June 2005; the proposed name change of South Africa's capital city Pretoria to Tshwane in May 2005; the allowing of same sex-unions in December 2006; dismissing of corruption charges against Jacob Zuma in September 2006; mass strikes by public-sector workers in 2007; xenophobic attacks in 2008; the election of Jacob Zuma as president of the ANC in December 2007; the launch of a new party the Congress of the People (COPE) in December 2008; the election of Jacob Zuma as president in May 2009; the DA gaining control of the Western Cape Provincial government; the economy going into recession for the first time in seventeen years in 2009; and violent protests against poor living conditions in July 2009; and the hosting of the World Cup Football tournament in June 2010, amongst others (BBC News 2010).

These circumstances were very different from those that previous political cohorts, who were born and bred during the apartheid era and who experienced the struggle against apartheid, were exposed to. Previous political cohorts were thus more exposed to national events revolving around racial conflict and tensions, while this cohort was exposed to events more economic in nature and somewhat less racial. In other words, this cohort was exposed to the problems experienced within a new found democracy where a liberal constitution serves as the supreme law of the country.

5.7.3. Is there a difference in the voting behaviour or political values of the "political generations" studied?

One can argue that both the two surveyed groups are part of the same political generation. However, compared to other "political generations" this one has unique ideas about democracy that differ from those of current leaders. They are also more politically educated and aware of democratic principles. Whereas previous cohorts were exposed to the struggles and victory of new found democracy in 1994, this cohort was exposed to various other events such as those mentioned in subsection 5.7.2.

Voting behaviour and political values differ to the extent that previous generations were not necessarily as politically educated (in a formal sense) as the university youth who participated in this study. Previous generations voted according to their beliefs, which were freedom-related, and they associated the ANC with the struggle for these beliefs. This studied generation, however, can be considered more "rationally informed" in that they value the practicality and applicability of democratic policies more.

5.7.4. The relevance of the Cohort Effect

Considering the arguments of the Cohort Effect in Chapter 2, as well as the findings presented in Chapter 4, it does indeed appear that this effect is relevant to the South African university youth. South African university youth as political generation grew up in a different era than their predecessors did. Furthermore, they were exposed to different national events after they had reached the age of 15. These national events were different from the struggles and new found freedom of the past and the victory of democracy, in the sense that they marked different political, social and economic events from that of previous eras. Instead of ideology playing a significant role, these events sought more practical economic, social and political solutions.

5.8.INDIVIDUAL AGEING EFFECT

The Individual Ageing Effect holds that as individuals age, their previous voting experiences as well as increasingly developed social norms will increase the likelihood of future electoral

participation. In order to determine if this effect holds true for the university youth, the following questions were asked: Do previous voting experiences influence the future likelihood of students to vote? Do students consider voting as socially desirable? Do perceived social norms affect students' voting behaviour?

5.8.1. Do previous voting experiences influence the future likelihood of students to vote?

The majority of participants in both the 2006 and 2008 surveys indicated that they did not previously vote, but in both surveys students indicated a very high intention to vote in the following election. It should be kept in mind, though, that intentions to vote 'next time' are always and uniformly high as such intentions do not commit those who proclaim them.

Furthermore, the 2006 survey revealed that of those respondents who did previously vote in the local government elections, almost everyone (98.33%) indicated that they intended to vote during the upcoming elections, while amongst those who did not vote, more than 88% intended to vote in the next elections.

It is thus not possible to determine whether or not previous voting experiences influence the future likelihood of students to vote. This is due to the fact that intentions to vote in future elections do not necessarily imply that this will definitely happen. In order to determine whether or not previous voting experiences increase the likelihood of future electoral participation, one would need data captured over a longer period of time.

5.8.2. Do the students consider voting and political participation as socially desirable?

Both the 2006 and 2008 surveys revealed that South African university youth regarded it as important to get involved in political processes such as voting. Of those participants in the 2006 survey who were interested in politics, more than 90% confirmed that it was important to get involved in politics. Interestingly of those students who were not interested in politics, 62.79% still stated that it was important to get involved in politics, even though those who were interested in politics were more likely to regard political involvement as important than those who were not interested in politics. Furthermore, the 2008 survey revealed that the majority of South African university youth considered voting to be the duty of all citizens as

well as a means by which a difference can be made. To summarise, the study revealed that university youth indeed considers voting and political participation to be, at the very least, socially desirable.

5.8.3. Do perceived social norms affect students' voting behaviour?

Even though students indicated that they consider voting a socially desirable action, most of them were still not registered to vote. It comes to show that they may still struggle to find a party with whom they can relate in terms of political values. However, the Independent Electoral Commission's report on the 2009 National and Provincial Elections in South Africa, indicated that a "young" electorate came forward and cast their votes (IEC 2009:94). The correlation between this occurrence and social norms is, however, uncertain. The 2009 elections saw some interesting changes in terms of party politics, wherein a few ANC members broke away and formed a new political party named COPE (BBC News 2010). Either this excited and interested the youth enough to mobilise them to cast their votes, or their social norms or impression that voting is a civil duty played a role. It should also be kept in mind that these where national and provincial elections, and the same eagerness on the part of youth to vote does not necessarily extend to local government elections. Regardless, one should always keep in mind that individuals still have a choice of whether or not they want to adhere to social norms or to reject it (Lister 2007:25).

5.8.4. The relevance of the Individual Ageing Effect

In the case of South African university youth it is not entirely possible to establish the relevance of the Individual Ageing Effect. Even though the university youth do consider voting as socially desirable and important, it was not possible to determine how this influences their voting behaviour. While they consider voting to be socially desirable, the majority of South African university youth do not participate in elections. Furthermore, it is not possible to determine whether or not previous voting experiences influence the future likelihood of students to vote by means of the two survey studies alone. In order to establish the answer to this question, data over a longer period of time will be needed.

5.9.LIFE CYCLE EFFECT

According to the Life Cycle Effect voter participation is low in young and old age, but peaks in middle age, and thus the low voter turnout amongst the youth is not something a society should necessarily be concerned about. In order to determine the applicability of this effect on the South African university youth, a number of questions were asked including whether or not electoral participation of students increase over time, and how the select group of students' voting behaviour compares to that of older and aged groups.

5.9.1. Will electoral participation of students increase over time?

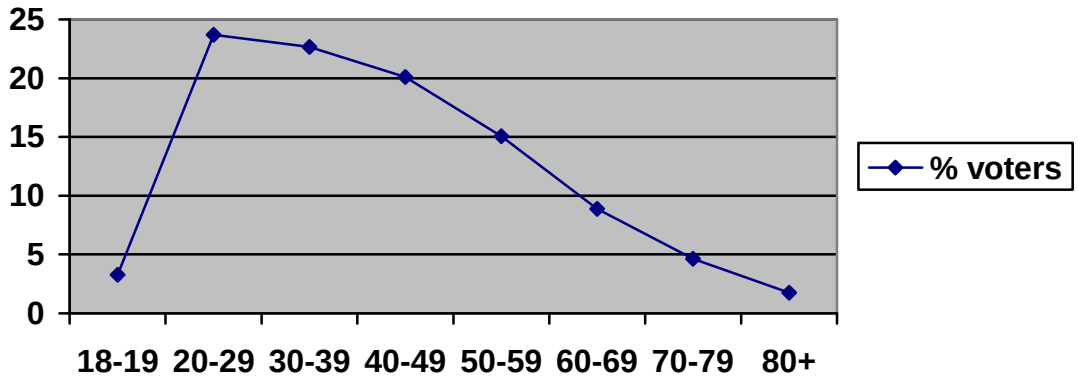
The only indication of future participation in elections was during both the 2006 and 2008 survey studies in which the majority of participants indicated that they intended to vote in the upcoming elections. However, whether or not their future electoral participation subsequently increased is, for reasons already conveyed, uncertain. The report on the 2009 National and Provincial Elections by the Independent Electorate Commission indicated that the biggest percentage of voters who participated in this election came from the youth (IEC 2009:94), however it is not certain if this is an ongoing trend or a once-off occurrence. Furthermore, this report focussed on the population in general and there was no distinction made between educated university youth and other members of this age group. Regardless, this group did form a significant percentage of the total votes, and for this reason it is noteworthy.

5.9.2. How does the select group of students' voting and political behaviour compare to that of older groups and aged groups?

In order to answer this question, statistics from the South African Independent Electoral Commission were used as they presented electoral results in different age groups. According to the Elections Report on the 2009 National and Provincial Elections in South Africa, the highest percentages of voters were between the ages of 20 and 49, where 23.69% of voters were 20 to 29 years of age, 22.67% were 30 to 39 years old and 20.10% were between 40 and 49 years of age (IEC 2009:94; Table 5.1). The participants in this particular study more or less fell within this group. The participants in the 2006 survey were mostly between the ages of 17 to 24 years old, which means that by 2009 they were between 20 and 27 years of age.

They thus fell within the category of highest percentage of voters. However, it should be kept in mind that this study specifically focuses on university students.

Figure 5.1 Percentage voters in 2009 National and Provincial Elections by Age



When looking at Figure 5.1, one can easily observe a "sudden peak" in the age category 20 to 29 years, and then a gradual decline in voter participation. Figure 5.1 was drawn up based on statistics from the IEC (2009:94) according to which voter participation amongst different age categories were as follows:

Age Group	**Percentage Voters in 2009**
18 – 19	3.26
20 – 29	23.69
30 – 39	22.67
40 – 49	20.10
50 – 59	15.07
60 – 69	8.87
70 – 79	4.62
80+	1.74

Table 5.1 Voter participation according to age. Source: IEC. 2009. *The 2009 Elections Report: National and Provincial Elections 22 April 2009*.

During the two registration weekends on 8 and 9 November 2008 and 7 and 8 February 2009, 3.16 million new voters were registered and the voters roll was increased to 23.1 million of which 42 percent (9.8 million) were young voters between the ages 18 and 35 years (IEC 2009:2).

Furthermore, most volunteers who worked for the IEC during the election were between the ages 20 and 35 years, where 22.36% was between 20 and 25 years and 34.60% was between 26 and 35 years (IEC 2009:51).

Moreover, the HSRC did a study on the political interest in 2008 among mainly three age groups namely: those from 16 to 29 years old, those older than 60 years and those in between (HSRC 2009). The HSRC's study revealed that political interest was lower among 16 to 29 year olds and those aged 60 and older (HSRC 2009). However, their interest in politics did not differ significantly from middle-aged South Africans (HSRC 2009). What is interesting is that within the age group 16 to 29, male and female participants were equally interested in politics (HSRC 2009). However, within the middle-aged group (30 to 59 years) and the older group (60+) men were much more interested in politics than their female counterparts (HSRC 2009). There may thus have been a convergence between generations in the gender gap in political interest, which may possibly be an indication of more young women becoming increasingly educated and exposed to South African politics. The differences between political interest between black and other population groups across the three age groups were not discernable (HSRC 2009).

There was no statistically significant difference between age groups when it came to how important they regarded voting. As regards the sense of civic duty to vote, it was deeply entrenched with 80 percent of South Africans over 16 years of age subscribing to this viewpoint in late 2008 (HSRC 2009). According to the study of the HSRC (2009), there was no real evidence of signs of disengagement among young people, however, as was seen in the survey studies, young people are mostly disengaged from the electoral process. Furthermore, even though the youth who participated in the two surveys also indicated that they regard voting as important and socially desirable, this did not coincide with their actual

voting behaviour or participation in elections. In spite of their high regard for voting, they are still mostly disengaged from the electoral process.

Those in the age group 18 to 24 years were less inclined to know who they would vote for (59%) relative to the average South African of voting age, and more likely to say that they would not vote (20%) (HSRC 2009). The predominant reason provided by 18 to 29 year olds were that they would not vote due to lack of interest (53%), failure to register (17%), lack of an ID book (16%) and disillusionment with politics (11%) (HSRC 2009). Young people claimed a strong commitment to the democratic process still (HSRC 2009), which may indicate the need for more in-depth research and consideration of possible measures to be taken to appeal more to the needs and interests of the youth by government and politicians.

5.9.3. Relevance of Life Cycle Effect

With the changing circumstances in the political arena in 2009, it is uncertain as to what extent this effect is relevant to the South African university youth. Judging from the findings of the two survey studies alone, one could assume that this effect is relevant to the university youth of South Africa in the sense that they under-participate in electoral processes but that there were indications that levels of participation will increase over time. However, came the 'controversial and exciting' elections in 2009, the youth formed the biggest group within the electorate (IEC 2009:2). It is thus yet to be determined whether or not this trend will continue in the next election.

5.10. VOTING BEHAVIOUR ORTHODOXY

In order to determine the applicability of the Voting Behaviour Orthodoxy on South African university youth, it was sought to determine whether or not there are some common elements in the way in which models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour perceive the problem of voting behaviour. Furthermore, the presence of common elements in the methods used to answer the problem of voting behaviour was also investigated.

5.10.1. Are there some common elements in the way models and effects perceive the problem of voting behaviour and the methods used to answer them?

When considering the models of voting behaviour one can detect some common elements in the ways they perceive the notion of voting behaviour. All of the models include social circumstances and surroundings as well as sources of information (albeit the media or social groups within which political discussions take place) that play roles in determining voting behaviour. The Sociological Model holds that the social characteristics that makes one part of a group who is exposed to certain circumstances, determines one's voting behaviour. Within these groups and circumstances early socialisation also takes place, which can be linked to what the Michigan Model argues on how long term patterns of partisanship then develops within certain social locations. Within this context social and political values are acquired and individuals start to identify more with certain political parties and leaders than with others, and the Party Identification Model becomes relevant. Furthermore, within society, voters are exposed to the Media which focus on their own particular target audiences, and through these sources of information voters further develop attitudes and opinions regarding voting and politics in general. And lastly, some rational consideration can take place within this social context; rational consideration that is also based on a lot of information which comes from general sources of information to which voters are regularly exposed – linking up with the Rational Choice Model. Thus the common elements between the various models of voting behaviour become clear. Regarding the different age effects on voting behaviour, namely the Cohort Effect, Individual Ageing Effect and Life Cycle Effect, all three take into account the influences of age combined with circumstances on voting behaviour.

As for the methods used to answer questions around voting behaviour, a widespread utilisation of surveys, statistics and reports occurred in the literature on models of voting behaviour. Through these methods voting behaviour was observed and evaluated. The utilisation of the two surveys in this research study thus also proved to be effective in evaluating the extent to which the largely Western-centric models of, and age effects on, voting behaviour applied to South African university youth.

As can be seen in the analysis of models of, and age effects, on voting behaviour in the attempt to evaluate their applicability to the case of South African university youth, ultimately most of these are applicable, albeit to varying degrees. However, there is not one clear-cut or exclusively relevant model of voting behaviour when it comes to the South African university youth, but this is of course also true for all other (Western) groups and explains the proliferation of explanatory models and theories . Ultimately, the voting behaviour orthodoxy as developed by Catt (1996:1) can still be relevant to South African university youth when voting is perceived as a mere preference for one party over another (Oversloot et al 2002:32) or abstinence from voting can be an indication of no preference at all.

5.11. CONCLUSION

For the purposes of easier analysis the models of voting behaviour and various age effects on voting behaviour were individually evaluated, based on the analytical framework developed in Chapter 2.

The Sociological Model of voting behaviour proved to be somewhat, though not entirely, relevant to the case of South African university youth. There proved to be some differences between the voting behaviour of certain groups who shared social characteristics, while amongst other groups the social cleavages did not prove to make any difference. There was a slight difference between male and female university youth regarding their voting and political behaviour, whereas male students appeared more positive towards the electoral process and their female counterparts slightly more withdrawn. Furthermore, even though black students appeared more positive regarding politics in general, compared to their other racial counterparts, there were no significant differences between the racial groups as regards voting behaviour specifically. As for language groups, Afrikaans and siSwati speakers appeared more positive towards the voter registration process, but for other opinions on voting and politics, the differences between language groups were not clear from this particular study.

With reference to the Michigan Model with its emphasis on voting behaviour specifically, which includes participation in elections and voter registration, students from different social backgrounds showed similar behaviour and there were no real differences between their voting behaviour, and in this context this model did not prove to be entirely applicable. There were no real differences between the political and voting behaviour and opinions of students from rural and urban areas, except for the matter of most important issues within their communities. On the other hand, this finding was in line with what the Michigan Model holds on partisanship and socialisation, as these university youth mostly discussed elections and politics with those who also tended to share their social location.

The Party Identification Model proved to be somewhat applicable to South African university youth even though the extent to which this is the case is uncertain. While the South African university youth prove to hold strong political values, and even though they greatly admire political leaders of the past, the majority indicated in both the surveys that they were not registered to vote. This lack of electoral participation may indicate that they do not identify with current leaders and their political values, or the finding might indicate that students, at least to some degree, responded to the questionnaires in what they perceived to be the 'correct way'.

Even though the applicability of the Dominant Ideology Model to South African university youth is uncertain, the Media does play a role in informing students and determining their political opinions and behaviour. The South African university youth find independently and internationally owned media sources to be more reliable than state-owned sources, which may be an indication of some of the reasons behind their critical attitude toward government and why they are less inclined to vote.

Regarding the Rational Choice Model the extent of its relevance to South African university youth remained somewhat uncertain, even though it may be relevant. The possibility of the South African university youth to sometimes choose to not participate in the electoral process based on rational consideration is very real. Even though many of the participants were not registered to vote and did not participate in previous elections, the group still appeared to be

thoroughly aware of serious issues of concern within their communities and government performance, as well as political matters reported on in the media. This may lead one to consider the possibility that the South African university youth will not participate in the electoral process if they can not find rational reason to do so.

The Cohort Effect on voting behaviour proved to be relevant to the group. The events to which this political generation was exposed from the age of 15 proved to be very different from those previous cohorts had been exposed to. Contemporary South African youth grew up in an era that was different from that of their predecessors. The events to which the South African university youth were exposed to, sought practical economic, social and political solutions to problems usually experienced by a young democracy. Thus their reasons for particular political and voting behaviours were based on considerations of these events and not on mere 'liberation and freedom ideology'.

It is uncertain whether or not the Individual Ageing Effect is relevant to South African university youth and their voting behaviour. Even though South African university youth consider it socially desirable to vote, one would need to conduct longitudinal studies in order to determine whether or not previous voting experiences would influence (or increase) future voting behaviour of the studied group.

Judging from the findings of the two surveys alone, it could be assumed that the Life Cycle Effect is somewhat relevant to the university youth of South Africa in the sense that they under-participate in the electoral process but that there are some indications of increase in future electoral participation. However, with the changing circumstances in the political arena that presented itself in 2009, the extent to which this effect is relevant to the South African university youth is uncertain. During the 'controversial and exciting' 2009 National and Provincial Elections (with the new COPE party competing in elections and Jacob Zuma becoming ANC president of choice midst legal charges – which were ultimately dropped – , the youth comprised the biggest group within the electorate. It is yet to be determined if this trend will be continuing in the next election.

In conclusion, ultimately all of the models of voting behaviour and effects on voting behaviour were applicable to South African university youth, albeit to a greater or lesser extent. There was, however, no clear-cut and exclusively relevant model or effect when it came to the voting behaviour of the studied group of university students. Overall, one could conclude that the voting behaviour orthodoxy can be deemed relevant to the South African university youth when considering voting to be an indication of preference for one political party or candidate over another (Oversloot et al 2002:32 and Catt 1996:1) and abstinence from voting can be an indication of no preference at all.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

The focus of this study was specifically on South African university youth, as they are often regarded as the future leaders and political elite of the country. Western literature on voting behaviour covers a variety of models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour. The purpose of this study was thus to determine the extent to which Western models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour can be applied to the case of South African university youth.

From the overview in Chapter 1 on the broad literature on voting behaviour, an initial impression of mere apathy and disinterest on the part of youth was created. However, recent developments in elections, such as the 2009 National and Provincial South African elections, suggested that the voting behaviour of the South African youth went much deeper than that. Consequently the question was asked as to how relevant Western literature is on the voting behaviour of South African youth, and more specifically that of the university youth. The reason why South African university youth is of such significance is that they are the individuals who will ultimately be equipped and qualified to fill elite positions in the workplace and in society: the future leaders of their country.

When considering the Western literature on voting behaviour, various approaches or models were developed for the proper comprehension of the notion of voting behaviour or electoral participation. These included the Sociological Model, the Michigan Model, the Party Identification Model, the Media/Dominant Ideology Model, as well as the Rational Choice Model. Furthermore, various age effects on voting behaviour were identified, which sought to further explain the differences in voting behaviour as age varies. These age effects include the Cohort Effect, the Individual Ageing Effect, as well as the Life Cycle Effect. It has been thoroughly noted that these models and effects are by no means mutually exclusive, and none of them are exclusively relevant or applicable to cases of voting behaviour. Moreover, it has also been established that two or more of these models and age effects can to varying extends be applied simultaneously to certain cases. Even as an individual progresses through his or

her life (in other words, as the individual changes), the relevancy and extent of applicability of models and effects on the voting behaviour of that particular individual can change.

Considering Western literature on voting behaviour, as well as the unique nature of the South African youth (both historically as well as current), the question was asked as to how relevant this literature is to the case of South African university youth.

In an attempt to answer this question, a study was made of the various models on voting behaviour, as well as the different age effects on voting behaviour. Chapter 2 presented an in-depth and critical discussion of the scholarship on voting behaviour, models of, and age effects on voting behaviour, and similarities and differences were identified. From this it became clear that the models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour are interrelated and should be considered as complementary to each other, rather than in competition with each other.

Furthermore, it appears as though various changes occurred in the long-term that influenced voting behaviour, whereas initially there used to be very little rational thinking in voting and the political values of younger generations increasingly became non-economic in nature. These changes do not imply changes in models of voting behaviour, but rather changes within society and the lives of voters. Thus, within this context it can be assumed that as voters undergo changes within society and their lives in general, their voting behaviour also change, resulting in certain models of voting behaviour becoming more relevant over time while the relevancies of others decline.

Against this background of Western literature on voting behaviour, a framework for analysis was developed in Chapter 2, for the purpose of determining to what extent the current (Western) literature on voting behaviour is relevant and applicable to South African university youth. The analytical framework consisted of key explanations or arguments held by each of the various models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour. It was against these key points that the findings of this particular research project were

considered, and the extent to which the models of and age effects on voting behaviour apply to the case of the South African university youth was measured.

The findings used for analysis in this particular study was gained from two survey studies as well as supplementary focus group discussions, which were conducted on the University of Pretoria. The full research methodology was presented in Chapter 3. In order to develop a proper framework for analysis, an extensive desktop study on literature on voting behaviour was necessary. Furthermore, in order to gain information on the voting behaviour of the South African university youth, two survey studies were conducted in 2006 and 2008, and to supplement these quantitative studies, three qualitative focus group discussions were conducted. The findings of these research studies were used for purposes of analysis.

The respective findings of the survey studies were presented in Chapter 4. The first part contained information on social affiliation and demographics, while the second part consisted of information on general political opinions (also revolving around voting) as well as information on political participation. Furthermore, the findings of political and voting behaviour were presented in different categories for easier comparison and analysis. These categories were: voting; interest in politics; political discussions; political leaders; political parties; the media; the current situation in South Africa; and issues of importance.

The framework for analysis and the findings of the survey studies were used in order to determine the extent to which the different models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour can be applied to the case of South African university youth. Chapter 5 contained this analysis and it was found that most of the models of voting behaviour as well as age effects on voting behaviour were – to varying extents – applicable to the case of South African university youth.

THE APPLICABILITY OF WESTERN VOTING BEHAVIOUR LITERATURE TO SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITY YOUTH

As regards the different models of voting behaviour, their applicability to the voting behaviour of the South African university youth is as follows:

The Sociological Model proved to be somewhat, though not entirely (i.e. regarding *all* social cleavages), relevant to the case of South African university youth. There was a slight difference between male and female university youth regarding their voting and political behaviour, whereas male university youth appear to be more positive and their female counterparts more withdrawn. In the case of language, there was a slight difference between some linguistic groups in their voting behaviour; however, the significance of this difference was not clear from the study. Regarding race, even though there were some differences in political opinions, when it came to voting behaviour, specifically, there were no significant differences between the different racial groups. Thus, as regards gender as social characteristic, the Sociological Model is considered relevant to the South African university youth; however, as regards the other social characteristics this model is relevant to a lesser extent.

With reference to the Michigan Model, and voting behaviour specifically, students from different social backgrounds showed similar behaviour, and there were no noticeable differences in their voting behaviour. This may be because, even though students coming from rural and urban areas share backgrounds of socialisation, they came together in a common environment (the university) and, within this context, their voting behaviour is similar. The majority of university youth were not registered to vote and were not active in the electoral process, which leads one to ponder the nature of political discussions they engage in, and whether or not these influence them negatively in terms of voting behaviour. Even though students from rural and urban areas indicated similar voting behaviour, the relevance of partisanship and early socialisation can be recognised as these university youth differed in their views regarding issues of importance.

The extent to which the Party Identification Model applies to the case of South African university youth is somewhat uncertain. Even though they hold strong political values and identify with certain political parties and leaders, the majority of these students do not seem to support these parties through their votes. This may be because most of them admire retired or historical political leaders the most and do not identify with current leaders and

their political values. Thus, there is a good possibility that the Party Identification Model can be applied to the case of the voting behaviour of South African university youth; however, current findings of voting behaviour amongst South African university youth cannot verify the extent to which this is true. Even though South African elections are conducted on a party-basis, these political parties are represented by certain prominent leaders. As there is no indication of identification with these current political leaders by South African university youth, lack of electoral participation may possibly be due to a lack of leaders with whom they can identify.

Regarding the Rational Choice Model, the extent of its relevance to students and their voting behaviour remains somewhat uncertain. There is a very strong possibility that South African university youth rationally choose not to participate in the electoral process. When also considering their inputs during this study, one can observe a rational form of reasoning when it comes to political opinions and values. There is thus a possibility that the South African university youth sometimes cannot find rational reasons why they should show interest in the electoral process, and consequently they appear apathetic. They might also abstain from the electoral process as a means of indicating dissatisfaction with how democracy is currently managed in South Africa.

Furthermore, the Media and its influence on political and voting behaviour are also relevant to South African university youth. Their clear criticism of government and their policy mistakes proves that they are informed on current affairs and matters of public interests. The media play a role in informing students and determining their political opinions and behaviour. Additionally, through the media, South African university youth acquire knowledge on how democracies should be run, and politically, they behave accordingly. Furthermore, South African university youth find independently and internationally owned sources of news to be more reliable than those that are owned by the state. Contrary to their support for independent and international sources of media, South African university youth is slightly less trusting of government-owned sources of news and information than they are of independently owned and international sources of information. Subsequently, one can assume that there is a relationship between their hesitance to trust in government-owned

media and their general lack of involvement in the electoral process. It may possibly be an indication that South African university youth do not consider the current government itself as a reliable institution.

The applicability of the Dominant Ideology Model is uncertain even though South African university youth possess strong political values and ideas on how society should be governed. Even though the ideas of current political leaders and those of university youth differ remarkably, one cannot for certain assert that this is the reason for their low levels of electoral participation. Furthermore, there is no indication of the possibility that certain political ideas have been imposed on South African university youth. Thus, albeit they have a degree of ideological affinity, it is doubtful that this has been imposed by the current leadership with whom's ideas they differ so significantly. This may be attributed to the societal diversity within South Africa wherein one clear and dominant ideology would be hard to indoctrinate; and with wide access to various sources of information (including international and independent sources), South African university youth can possibly be considered to be more open-minded regarding political matters and whom they choose to support during elections (if any). Thus, the relevance of the Dominant Ideology Model in the case of South African university youth, cannot yet be established for certain.

Regarding the three different age effects on voting behaviour, the following can be concluded:

The Cohort Effect proved to be relevant to the voting behaviour of South African university youth. South African university youth base their reasons for political and voting behaviours on considerations of particular events to which they were exposed to. They proved to be aware of current affairs, as well as of the prerequisites for a democracy and these may have significant influences on their voting behaviour.

The applicability of the Individual Ageing Effect cannot be established with certainty through this study alone. Even though South African university youth do consider it socially desirable to vote, most of them are generally absent from the ballot box during election time.

Furthermore, even though participants in the surveys mostly indicated that they intended to vote in the next elections, the extent to which these intentions are converted into actions can only be determined by means of a study that extends over a longer period of time, i.e. a longitudinal study.

Prior the 2009 National and Provincial Elections, the Life Cycle Effect could also be considered as possibly relevant to the case of the South African university youth. However, the elections in 2009 saw some interesting changes in the voting behaviour of the youth, who comprised the largest group within the electorate. This recent development decreased the certainty with which the Life Cycle Effect can be applied to South African university youth. One should, however, also keep in mind that this was a National and Provincial Election, which is also often perceived by young people as more important than the Local Government Elections. Future elections will determine whether or not this new result in voter turnout proved to be a new trend, or whether or not it was a mere one-time occurrence and that the Life Cycle Effect is in actual fact more applicable to South African university youth than we realise.

It was concluded that most of the models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour were applicable to the South African university youth. However, sometimes this was to a lesser, rather than a greater, extent. There was no clear-cut and exclusively relevant model or effect when it came to the voting behaviour of South African university youth and ultimately the voting behaviour orthodoxy proved to have a place in this case. South African university youth would participate in elections if they deemed it worth their while and if they held a preference for a particular political party. However, their occasional absence from voting may also be an indication of no current preferences (considering the options available to them).

In general, one can apply certain aspects of most of the Western literature on voting behaviour to the case of South African university youth. However, the uniqueness of this particular group, both in history as well as current behaviour, causes one to consider the possibility that South African university youth should be studied from a different perspective.

However, as there is still a dearth of extensive research on the voting behaviour of the South African youth, it is difficult to determine this perspective. One does, however, also need to consider the history of the current South African youth, as well as the political events they were exposed to. Ultimately, regarding South African university youth, one needs to do an extensive study on their history (which is also the history of a next generation who did not participate in the struggle against Apartheid) and more studies on their current voting and political behaviour (including post 2009). When using these studies in combination with those parts of the Western models of voting behaviour and age effects on voting behaviour that are applicable to the South African university youth, only then one can start to understand the voting behaviour of South African university youth.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As can be observed from the report on the 2009 National and Provincial Elections, the South African youth (which includes the university youth) is not a very predictable group when it comes to their voting behaviour (IEC 2009:94). Thus, they may become an increasingly interesting group for political study. From this particular research study, the need for further research on the subject becomes clear.

Further possible studies on the voting behaviour of the South African youth may include:

- A similar study with university youth attending university in rural areas. By means of such a study one can gain an even broader understanding of South African university youth and their voting and political behaviour.
- A study, similar to this particular one, on the voting behaviour of South African youth who do not attend university. Such a study will provide more insight into the voting behaviour of a whole different group of South African youth, who have not necessarily been able to gain access to tertiary (or any other kind of higher level) education. Although it is usually assumed that students with a tertiary education become ‘future leaders’, South Africa’s history and economic situation do not preclude leadership to evolve from outside the formal education sector.
- Studies such as this particular one and the two mentioned above can be compared and used for a more general study on the voting behaviour of the South African youth.

- A longitudinal study can be conducted with a particular group of youth in order to determine the relevance of the Individual Ageing Effect; as well as to determine any other developments in voting and political behaviour within a particular group over a longer period of time.
- A wider regional and comparative study to determine the indicators of continuous political participation in the SADC region may also prove to be of value.

From this particular research study, some recommendations can also be made for the purposes of involving South African university youth more in the political process:

- The university youth of South Africa consider education, and specifically political and leadership education, as imperative for the proper functioning of a democracy. Thus more attention should be paid to political and leadership education for the purposes of raising political awareness amongst the South African youth.
- South African university youth do not consider political parties as effectively involving them in their endeavours. Subsequently, political parties can attempt to appeal more to the youth.
- The viewpoints of South African university youth proved to be (from this study) greatly informed and practical. However, this group mostly felt that their views are not considered, nor taken into account by political parties and leaders. From this, it can be recommended that political parties and elites make a greater effort in considering the viewpoints of South African university youth.
- South African university youth appear to be very enthusiastic when it comes to political discussions, and requested more platforms for this purpose. Thus, it is recommended that more opportunities for political discussion be provided to this group

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ANNEXURE A

2006 SURVEY STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire on Local Government elections 2006

Dear respondent

Local government elections were held on 1 March 2006 in South Africa. Researchers from the Departments of Political Science and Sociology at the University of Pretoria are conducting a pilot study on these elections. We are keen to understand your views on the processes surrounding these local government elections. This questionnaire is for South African citizens only.

Please note that your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to decline to participate. If you agree to complete this questionnaire you can decline to answer any of the questions asked.

We do however appeal to you to answer all questions that are applicable to you as accurately as possible. Please note that the information you provide will be handled with strict confidentiality. You are not required to provide your name. Hence, your responses are anonymous and cannot be linked to you in person. Where options are provided for answers to questions please tick the box following the number allocated to each option.

By completing this questionnaire you are deemed to have granted informed consent.

---

1 What is your sex?

Male	1		Female	2	

2 How old are you?

	years

3 How would you describe yourself in terms of 'racial group'?

Black	1	
Coloured	2	
Indian or Asian	3	
White	4	
Other (please specify)	5	

4 What is your religious affiliation?

Christian	1	
Hindu	2	
Jewish	3	
Moslem	4	
No religious affiliation	5	
Other (please specify)	6	

5 What is your mother-tongue?

Afrikaans	1	
English	2	
isiNdebele	3	
isiXhosa	4	
isiZulu	5	
Sepedi	6	
Sesotho	7	
Setswana	8	
siSwati	9	
Tshivenda	10	
Xitsonga	11	
Other (please specify)	12	

6 In what language medium of instruction are you studying for your degree?

Afrikaans	1		English	2	

7 What year level of study are you registered for this year?

First year	1	
Second year	2	
Third year	3	
Fourth year (undergraduate degree)	4	
Postgraduate degree (Honours or higher)	5	

8 At what campus are you studying?

Main campus UP	1		Mamelodi campus	2	

9 Where do your parents live?

Urban area	1		Rural area	2	

10 Where do you live when you attend university?

With family	1	
Board privately	2	
A university residence (hostel)	3	
A private residence (hostel)	4	
A commune	5	
A Flat		
Other (please specify)	6	

11 How long have you lived in South Africa if you are a naturalised citizen?

	years

12 Are you registered as a voter?

Yes	1		No	2	

13 If you are not registered as a voter, why have you not registered as a voter?

_____
_____
_____
_____

14 If you are registered as a voter how far is the voting district in which you are registered from the university?

It is in the metropolitan area the University is situated in	1	
It is in a town adjacent to the metropolitan area the University is situated in	2	
It is more than 50 but less than 200 kilometres from the University	3	
It is further than 200 kilometres from the University	4	

15 Which South African leader(s) do you admire most?

_____
_____

16 Do you generally support a particular political party?

Yes	1		No	2	

17 Are you a member of a political party?

Yes	1		No	2	

18 Have you ever done voluntary work for a political party?

Yes	1		No	2	

19 Please rank the following political parties in order of your preference for them. Use the numbers “1” to “10”. Allocate “1” to the party you feel the closest to and “10” to the party you feel most distant from.

ACDP (African Christian Democratic Party)	
ANC (African National Congress)	
Azapo (Azanian People’s Organisation)	
DA (Democratic Alliance)	
FF+ (Freedom Front Plus)	
ID (Independent Democrats)_	
IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party)	
PAC (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania)	
UCDP (United Christian Democratic Party)	
UDM (United Democratic Movement)	

20 Have you ever participated in events arranged by a political party?

Yes	1		No	2	

21 Have you ever attended any political party meetings/rallies?

Yes	1		No	2	

22 Did you attend meetings/rallies in the run-up to the local government elections of 2006?

Yes	1		No	2	

23 Are you interested in politics?

Yes	1		No	2	

24 Do you think it is important to get involved in political processes?

Yes	1		No	2	

25 Do you think voting in elections make a difference?

Yes	1		No	2	

26 Which elections do you think are most important?

Local government	1		National elections	2	

27 Would you say things in South Africa have improved over the past five years for people like yourself and your family?

Yes	1		No	2	

28 What is the most important issue in the community you live in when you are **NOT** at university?

_____
_____
_____
_____

29 Is the local government (municipality) responding to this need?

Yes	1		No	2	

30 Are you satisfied with the services provided by the local government, generally or overall?

Yes	1		No	2	

31 Should local government be held accountable for the following matters? In your ranking "1" indicates the most important and "10" the least important.

	Yes	No	Rank the importance
Providing housing	1	2	
Providing electricity	1	2	
Providing water and sanitation	1	2	
Maintaining roads	1	2	
Combating crime	1	2	
Rooting out corruption at local government level	1	2	
Generating jobs	1	2	
Providing health care services	1	2	
Providing recreational facilities	1	2	
Changing place and street names	1	2	

32 In your opinion how well has local government addressed the following matters?

	Excellently	Adequately	Poorly
Providing housing for rental	1	2	3
Providing electricity	1	2	3
Providing water and sanitation	1	2	3
Maintaining roads	1	2	3
Combating crime	1	2	3
Rooting out corruption at local government level	1	2	3
Generating jobs	1	2	3
Providing health care services	1	2	3
Providing recreational facilities	1	2	3
Changing place and street names	1	2	3

33 Where did you get information from on the recent local government elections? Please tick the boxes which apply and rate the usefulness of each information source.

Source	Used		Quality	
	Yes	No	Good	Poor
Television				
Radio				
Newspapers				
Magazines				
Media advertisements				
Fliers				
Posters				
Student organisations				
Meetings				
Visits from party canvassers/officials				
Telephone canvassing				
Family				
Friends				
Fellow students				

34 List the parties which canvassed/contacted you/dropped fliers in the constituency you live in.

	Only tick block if yes
ACDP (African Christian Democratic Party)	
ANC (African National Congress)	
Azapo (Azanian People's Organisation)	
DA (Democratic Alliance)	
FF+ (Freedom Front Plus)	
ID (Independent Democrats)_	
IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party)	
PAC (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania)	
UCDP (United Christian Democratic Party)	
UDM (United Democratic Movement)	
Other (please specify)	
Other (please specify)	
Other (please specify)	

35 Did you discuss the local government elections beforehand with someone?

Yes	1		No	2	

36 If yes, with whom?

	Yes	No
Party canvassers/officials		
Family		
Friends		
Fellow students		
Others (please specify)		

37 Did you vote in the local government elections?

Yes	1		No	2	

38 If you did not vote, why not?

_____
_____
_____

39 If you did not vote, how did you spend 1 March (election day)?

_____
_____
_____

40 If you did vote, did you vote for the party controlling the local government before the election?

Yes	1		No	2	

41 Did any of the following issues influence your choice in the local government election?

	Yes	No
The role of the party in the liberation struggle		
Performance of the party in the past		
Promise to improve housing		
Promise to provide electricity		
Promise to provide water and sanitation		
Promise to improve recreational facilities		
Promise to provide more jobs		
Promise to improve accountability		
Promise to root out corruption		
Promise to tackle crime		
Promise to tackle moral issues		
Promise to build an effective opposition		
Promise to represent minority interests		
Opposition to changing place or street names		
To remind politicians not to take you for granted		
Other (please specify)		
Other (please specify)		

42 Do you know the result of the local government election for the ward you are registered in?

Yes	1		No	2	

43 Are you satisfied with the outcome of the local government elections overall?

Yes	1		No	2	

44 Do you intend to vote in the next **national election** in 2009?

Yes	1		No	2	

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING

ANNEXURE B

2008 SURVEY STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Participant

The Departments of Political Sciences (University of Pretoria) and Politics (University of Johannesburg) are conducting this survey on the political attitudes and behaviour of university students across the member states of the SADC region. Your opinions are of great importance and value to our understanding of our region's future and to decision makers in your countries, in SADC and in the rest of the world. To this end we kindly request that you complete the attached questionnaire. Your response is anonymous and the information you provide will be treated as confidential at all times. The results obtained from this survey will be reported in summary format only and no reference will be made to individual responses.

Please note that your participation is completely voluntary. By completing this questionnaire we accept that you have given us your informed consent. You may choose not to answer some of the questions, but please answer those questions that you do complete as honestly as possible.

Your university has granted us permission to request you to participate in this survey.

We thank you for your participation.

Prof M Schoeman
University of Pretoria
South Africa

Prof Y Sadie
University of Johannesburg
South Africa

QUESTIONAIRE (South African Students)

Please tell us something about yourself.

1. Your gender?

Male	1	Female	2

2. Your current level of study, i.e. do you regard yourself as a junior or a senior student?

Junior	1	Senior	2

3. In terms of the Employment Equity Act categories, in which of the following groups would you classify yourself?

Black	1
White	2
Coloured	3
Indian / Asian	4
Other	5

4. In which faculty are you a student?

Economic and Management Sciences	1
Humanities	2
Health Sciences	3
Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology	4
Natural and Agricultural Sciences	5
Education	6
Law	7
Theology	8

5. What is your home language?

Isi Zulu	1
Isi Xhosa	2
Sepedi	3
Afrikaans	4
Setowana	5
English	6
Sesotho	7
Si Swati	8
IsiNdebele	9
Tshivenda	10
Xitsonga	11
Other (please specify)	12

In the following section we ask a number of questions pertaining to your opinion regarding political issues. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers: we are interested in your thoughts on these matters.

6. How satisfied are you with the way in which **democracy** works in your country?

Very satisfied	1	Satisfied	2	Dissatisfied	3	Very dissatisfied	4

Please provide a reason/s for your answer.

_____

_____

_____

7. If you are not satisfied with how democracy works in your country, please express your ideas on how you believe it can be improved in your country.

_____

_____

_____

8. To what extent do you believe political parties in your country **involve** the youth in the following processes and activities? Please use the scale provided. If you believe that you really do not know, mark the option *do not know*.

	Not at all	**Low**	**Moderate**	**High**	**Do not know**
Party structures (excluding youth movement)	1	2	3	4	5
Youth issues addressed in party brochures	1	2	3	4	5
Youth as party candidates	1	2	3	4	5
Opinion of youth	1	2	3	4	5
Youth movement	1	2	3	4	5

9. In your view, what should the **voting age** be in your country? (Mark with X)

14 years	1
16 years	2
18 years	3
21 years	4
25 years	5
Other (please specify)	6

10. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Use the following scale: **strongly disagree =SD; disagree =D; agree =A; strongly agree =SA**

	SD	**D**	**A**	**SA**
Voting impacts on the quality of government	1	2	3	4
By voting, I can make a difference	1	2	3	4
By voting I can make things better	1	2	3	4
It is my duty as a citizen to vote	1	2	3	4

11. How reliable do you believe the following sources of information on political matters in your county are? Use the following scale: **very unreliable = VU, unreliable = U, reliable = R, very reliable = VR, not accessible = NA**

	VU	**U**	**R**	**VR**	**NA**
Local radio (state owned)	1	2	3	4	5
Local radio (independent)	1	2	3	4	5
International radio (e.g. BBC)	1	2	3	4	5
Newspapers (local)	1	2	3	4	5
Newspapers (international)	1	2	3	4	5
Local TV stations (state owned)	1	2	3	4	5
Local TV stations (independent)	1	2	3	4	5
International TV stations (e.g. CNN, Sky News)	1	2	3	4	5
Internet	1	2	3	4	5

12. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following? Use the following scale: **strongly disagree = SD, disagree= D, neutral = N, agree = A, strongly agree = SA**

	SD	**D**	**N**	**A**	**SA**
A country should have at least two strong political parties competing with each other	1	2	3	4	5
The majority should rule a country	1	2	3	4	5
It is permissible to falsify election results in order to allow the better candidate/party for the country to win	1	2	3	4	5
It is not good for a country when individuals and groups have divergent opinions and pursue divergent interests	1	2	3	4	5
There should be a small gap between rich and poor	1	2	3	4	5
People should have equal access to things such as houses, jobs and a decent income	1	2	3	4	5
It is the duty of citizens to criticise government	1	2	3	4	5
It is disloyal to criticise an elected government	1	2	3	4	5
Women require equal representation in government and in parliament since they have different needs and interest to those of men	1	2	3	4	5
To ensure equal representation for women in government and in parliament a quota system is the best solution	1	2	3	4	5
Everyone should have the right to use their own language in dealing with government institutions, in parliament and in courts	1	2	3	4	5
Children should be taught in their mother tongue in primary school	1	2	3	4	5
Children should be taught in their mother tongue in secondary (high) school	1	2	3	4	5

13. To what extent are you in favour or do you oppose each of the following? Use the following scale: **strongly opposed = SO, opposed = O, neutral = N, in favour = F, strongly in favour = SF**

	SO	**O**	**N**	**F**	**SF**
Death penalty	1	2	3	4	5
Mandatory HIV/AIDS testing	1	2	3	4	5
Gay and Lesbian rights	1	2	3	4	5
Interracial marriages	1	2	3	4	5
Inter-ethnic marriages	1	2	3	4	5
Legalised prostitution	1	2	3	4	5
Press censorship	1	2	3	4	5
Corporal punishment	1	2	3	4	5

14. To what extent do you agree / not agree with the following statements? Use the following scale: **strongly disagree = SD, disagree = D, neutral = N, agree = A, strongly agree = SA**

	SD	**D**	**N**	**A**	**SA**
Sometimes a strong non-elected leader is better than a weak elected leader	1	2	3	4	5
Parliament is a necessary institution	1	2	3	4	5
Military rule is better than weak democratic rule	1	2	3	4	5
A good president should be allowed more than two terms as president	1	2	3	4	5
A single party open to everyone in a country can be better for national unity / nation building	1	2	3	4	5
Cabinet ministers should be chosen by means of quotas for each population/ethnic group	1	2	3	4	5
Cabinet ministers should be chosen by qualifications, regardless of ethnicity	1	2	3	4	5
A country's leader should be a member of the ethnic majority	1	2	3	4	5

15. Who do you think is **helped** by the government? Mark **ALL** applicable options

Government officials themselves	1
The families and friends of government officials	2
The business partners of government officials	3
Members of the ethnic and language groups of government officials	4
Members of governments officials' own economic class	5
Civil servants	6
Ordinary people	7

16. How do you rate the **performance** of each of the following institutions in your country? Use the following scale**: totally inadequate = TI, inadequate = I, adequate = A, excellent = E, don't know = DK**

	TI	**I**	**A**	**E**	**DK**
Parliament / National Assembly	1	2	3	4	5
The president	1	2	3	4	5
Cabinet	1	2	3	4	5
Local government	1	2	3	4	5
Judiciary (courts)	1	2	3	4	5
Military	1	2	3	4	5
Police	1	2	3	4	5

17. To what extent do you trust each of the following institutions in your country? Use the scale provided:

	Strongly Distrust	**Distrust somewhat**	**Trust somewhat**	**Trust Fully**
Parliament / National Assembly	1	2	3	4
The president	1	2	3	4
Cabinet	1	2	3	4
Local government	1	2	3	4
Judiciary (courts)	1	2	3	4
Military	1	2	3	4
Police	1	2	3	4

18. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Use the following scale: **strongly disagree = SD, disagree = D, neutral = N, agree = A, strongly agree = SA**

	SD	**D**	**N**	**A**	**SA**
People in central government are involved in corruption	1	2	3	4	5
People in local government are involved in corruption	1	2	3	4	5
The police are involved in corruption	1	2	3	4	5
There is more corruption now in my country than 5 years ago	1	2	3	4	5

19. How successful is your government in addressing each of the following? Use the following scale: **very unsuccessful = VU, unsuccessful = U, neither successful nor unsuccessful = N, very successful = VS, successful = S**

	VU	**U**	**N**	**VS**	**S**
Creating Jobs	1	2	3	4	5
Service delivery (roads, water, housing, transport, medical services, electricity)	1	2	3	4	5
Preventing crime	1	2	3	4	5
Preventing HIV/ AIDS	1	2	3	4	5
Addressing gender discrimination	1	2	3	4	5
Providing scholarships for studying	1	2	3	4	5
Eradicating poverty	1	2	3	4	5
Promoting peace and security	1	2	3	4	5
Respecting human rights	1	2	3	4	5
Dealing with illegal immigrants	1	2	3	4	5
Protecting people's different languages	1	2	3	4	5
Treating people fairly in court	1	2	3	4	5

20. Which **three** of the following do you regard to be the most important areas of concern in your country? Enter a **1** for the **MOST IMPORTANT** area of concern, a **2** for the **SECOND MOST IMPORTANT** area of concern and a **3** for the **THIRD MOST IMPORTANT** area of concern. **Use each of the numbers 1, 2 and 3 ONLY once.**

	Ranking of three most important areas of concern
HIV/AIDS	
Malaria	
Lack of employment	
Inadequate service delivery	
Lack of housing	
Low education standards	
Land redistribution	
Poverty	
Violation of human rights	
Gender inequality	
High crime rate	
Lack of peace	
Weak economy	
Undemocratic government	
Corruption of government officials	
Elections not free and fair	
Differences between rich and poor	
Other – specify	

21. Which political leader in your country (past or present) do you admire most?

_____

22. To what extent are you considering **settling in another country** once you have completed your studies?

Strongly considering it	1
Considering it	2
Not considering it	3
Not sure	4

23. If you consider settling in another country, which country would you want to settle in?

_____

In the following section we ask some questions about your political behaviour. There are no right or wrong answers.

24. How often do you listen to radio news?

Never	1	Rarely	2	Sometimes	3	Often	4	Very often	5

25. How often do you watch television news?

Never	1	Rarely	2	Sometimes	3	Often	4	Very often	5

26. How often do you read a newspaper?

Never	1	Rarely	2	Sometimes	3	Often	4	Very often	5

27. How often do you read books about politics? (**excluding** prescribed books)

Never	1	Rarely	2	Sometimes	3	Often	4	Very often	5

28. How often do you discuss **politics** with each of the following people / groups? If a category does not apply to you, e.g. if your mother has passed away or is estranged, mark NA (Not applicable)

	Never	**Rarely**	**Sometimes**	**Often**	**Very Often**	**NA**
Your father	1	2	3	4	5	6
Your mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
Family members other than your parents	1	2	3	4	5	6
Friends and classmates with different views	1	2	3	4	5	6
Friends and classmates with similar views	1	2	3	4	5	6
Party officials	1	2	3	4	5	6
Members of political organizations on or off campus	1	2	3	4	5	6

29. How often do you participate in the following activities? Use the scale provided

	Regularly	**Fairly regularly**	**Seldom**	**Never**
Asking for advice on political matters	1	2	3	4
Attempting to influence the political views of others	1	2	3	4
Writing letters to the newspapers about political matters	1	2	3	4
Presenting your views to politicians (e.g. by signing petitions)	1	2	3	4
Being active in a political party	1	2	3	4
Being active in political protest marches/political sit-ins/demonstrations	1	2	3	4
Attending political rallies	1	2	3	4
Being active in the youth movement of a political party	1	2	3	4

30. Generally speaking, which political party in your country do you support?

_____

31. Are you registered as a voter in your country?

Yes	1	No	2

32. If you are **not** registered, which of the following applies to you? Mark **ALL** applicable options.

I am too young to register	1
The registration process is too cumbersome	2
I am not in possession of the required documentation	3
I live too far from the registration point	4
I do not have sufficient information	5
I do not want to	6

33. Have you ever voted in an election or referendum?

Yes	1	No	2

34. Are you a card-carrying (signed-up) member of a political party?

Yes	1	No	2

35. Do you plan to vote in the next election in your country?

Yes	1	No	2	Do not know	3

In conclusion, we would like to ask you a few questions about the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. Again, there are no right or wrong answers.

36. Which **one** of the following best describes SADC?

It is a preferential trade area for Southern and Eastern Africa	1
It is a customs union including the states of Southern Africa	2
It is a regional organisation headed by South Africa	3
It is an organisation that promotes regional integration in Southern Africa	4
I do not know what describes SADC	5

37. To what extent do you think that SADC makes a difference to the lives of the people of the region in terms of each of the following? Use the following scale: **No difference = ND Not much difference = NMD; Somewhat of a difference = SD; Great difference = GD**; **Don't know = DK**

	ND	**NMD**	**SD**	**GD**	**DK**
Making it easy for people to move across borders	1	2	3	4	5
Transnational crime prevention in the region	1	2	3	4	5
Resolving conflict in the region	1	2	3	4	5
Encouraging tourism in the region	1	2	3	4	5
Encouraging democratisation of countries in the region	1	2	3	4	5
Promoting free and fair elections in the countries of the region	1	2	3	4	5

38. To what extent do you agree with each of the following statements. Use the following scale: **Strongly disagree = SD; Disagree = D; Marginally disagree = MD; Marginally agree = MA; Agree = A; Strongly agree = SA**

	SD	**D**	**MD**	**MA**	**A**	**SA**
SADC should have a regional parliament to make laws for all countries in the region	1	2	3	4	5	6
There should be a common passport for all SADC citizens	1	2	3	4	5	6
People should be allowed to move freely across national borders in the SADC region	1	2	3	4	5	6
The SADC Standby Force should intervene in member countries in cases of gross violations of human rights	1	2	3	4	5	6
The SADC Standby Force should intervene in member countries in cases of civil wars	1	2	3	4	5	6
SADC should pay more attention to the youth	1	2	3	4	5	6

39. How important do you think it is to have SADC to promote peace, security and development in Southern Africa?

Not important at all	1
Somewhat unimportant	2
Somewhat important	3
Very important	4
Have no opinion	5

Please use the space below to make comments or express any additional opinions regarding the issues addressed in this survey

_____

_____

_____

Thank you very much for having completed this survey.