

**POLITICAL SOCIALISATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS WITHIN A RURAL SETTING
IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF CALAIS VILLAGE IN LIMPOPO PROVINCE**

by

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late parents who brought me up in an environment of great love and care.

DECLARATION

Student Number: 3451-670-0

I declare that this dissertation is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

SIGNATURE

D. Mbabvu

DATE

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ABSTRACT

The central issue in this study is political socialisation and its implications within a rural setting in South Africa with a particular focus on Calais village in Limpopo Province. The aim of the study is to determine how adult residents of Calais village, are politically socialised; and furthermore to assess the impact of the socialisation process on the residents' political behaviour within a democratic South Africa.

In order to achieve the research purpose, face-to-face interviews were conducted with forty (40) adult residents in Calais village. The study revealed that the respondents were politically socialised by the media, immediate family, peers, extended family, political parties, local municipality, school, traditional leadership, ward committee and religious institutions. The media were the most important agent, while the religious institutions were the least. Furthermore, NGOs and trade unions were not socialisation agents in Calais village.

The socialisation process had an impact on the respondents' political behaviour in terms of political interest, party identification, political beliefs, efficacy, knowledge, awareness and participation.

KEY CONCEPTS

Agents of political socialisation; Calais village; political attitudes; political behaviour; political expectations; political information; political knowledge; political orientations; political participation; political socialisation; political values; residents; role; rural and traditional setting.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
ANC	African National Congress
ANES	American National Election Studies
AZASO	Azanian Students Organisation
BPPS	Belgian Political Panel Survey
CIRP	Cooperative Institutional Research Program
CNEP	Cross National Election Project
CONTRALESA	Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DA	Democratic Alliance
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ESS	European Social Survey
GSS	General Social Surveys
HERI	Higher Education Research Institute
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
ICCS	International Civic and Citizenship Study
ID	Independent Democrats
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IEA	Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IEC	Electoral Commission of South Africa
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
LAPOP	Latin American Public Opinion Project
LNP	Lebowa National Party
LPM	Landless People's Movement
LPP	Lebowa People's Party
NAPTOSA	National Professional Teachers' Organisation
NELS	National Educational Longitudinal Study
NES	National Election Study
NGK	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk
NHKA	Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika
NP	National Party

NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
POPCRU	Police and Civil Rights Union
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACP	South African Communist Party
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SANSCO	South African National Students' Congress
SASCO	South African Students' Congress
SASO	South African Students' Organisation
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USP	Universidade de São Paulo

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the 1990s, political socialisation has gained renewed interest among political scientists in America and other Western democracies. If studying political socialisation is important for the purposes of understanding how citizens in advanced democracies acquire their political orientations, then such a process should also be worth exploring in an emerging democracy such as South Africa. Since 1994, South Africa has made a transition to democracy and important political developments have occurred. For example, all South Africans now enjoy various political rights and other privileges which were very limited during the apartheid era. Thus, it is important to understand how South African citizens acquire their political orientations. The political developments in post-apartheid South Africa provide a suitable situation in which to examine how South Africans are politically socialised.

The manner in which citizens are politically socialised has implications for the way in which a country is governed, the extent of harmony and cooperation, and the stability of the political system. Within the South African context, adult political socialisation is essential for the functioning, stability and consolidation of democracy. Adults normally engage in a range of political activities such as voting, attending political meetings, party membership, political campaigning, signing of petitions, commenting on draft legislation and contacting political and government officials. The way in which the South African political system operates depends on the political attitudes, knowledge, opinions, values and behavioural patterns of the citizens. In order for South Africa's democracy to flourish, citizens should be adequately socialised in a manner that provides support and commitment to the political system. According to Booyesen (2009:2), the citizens' active participation in processes of policy and governance are the cornerstone of society. This means that a democratic political system can only function with the active participation of citizens.

Rural communities in South Africa constitute about one third of the total population, yet little is known about their political socialisation. An investigation on how political socialisation takes place within a rural and traditional setting is crucial since rural communities are also key participants in the South African political system. In this context, it is essential to understand how adult residents in rural communities, such as Calais village, are politically socialised and the implications thereof on their political behaviour and participation.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The fundamental problem in this study is: Who are the agents of political socialisation in a rural and traditional setting; what role do they play in political socialisation and what impact do they have on the political behaviour of adults? Thus, in this study the focus is on the agents of political socialisation and their role in the political socialisation of adult residents in a rural and traditional setting such as Calais village, located in post-apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, the study will focus on the impact of political socialisation on the residents' political behaviour. In the study, attention will be paid to political socialisation in general, but particularly to adult political socialisation.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study are the following:

The first objective is to determine who and what the agents of political socialisation are within Calais village.

The second objective is to determine the role of each agent in the political socialisation of residents in Calais village, as well as the factors that might affect the role of these agents.

The third objective is to determine what the outcomes of the political socialisation process are in terms of residents' political values, orientations and attitudes, political knowledge and expectations, political behaviour and particularly political participation.

1.4 KEY CONCEPTS

Clarity on the following key concepts used in the study is at this stage necessary in order to eliminate ambiguity and misunderstanding. The concepts defined in this section only include those that would enable an understanding of the research design. Other concepts such as political efficacy and political awareness would be defined in the sections where they become relevant.

Agents of political socialisation:

Agents of political socialisation are 'elements', such as groups and institutions that facilitate the development and transmission of political knowledge, values and attitudes, at both the individual and community levels, during the process of political socialisation. They enable citizens or members of a society to acquire certain knowledge, values and attitudes of their political system and also educate them to participate within that political system. Agents of political socialisation include for example, family, school, peers, political parties and the media (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Langton 1969; Greenberg 1970; Jaros 1973).

Calais village:

Calais village is the primary area of this research and is situated in the north western part of the Maruleng Local Municipality in Limpopo Province, South Africa. The area is led by a headman (*Induna*) who represents the central decision making structure in the village (Dippenaar, Moilwa, Olorunju and Visser 2005).

Political attitudes:

Political attitudes are a set of either positive or negative views on a political issue, events and personalities (Ranney 1996).

Political behaviour:

Political behaviour refers to all political activities, or lack thereof, of citizens within a political system.

Political expectations:

Political expectations refer to a strong hope or belief that a political situation or issue will happen or be the case.

Political information:

Political information is facts that have to do with political issues such as elections, government, political parties, political candidates and campaigns (Shaker 2011).

Political knowledge:

Political knowledge is the awareness and familiarity with a variety of political issues such as government institutions and processes, political parties, political leaders and the Constitution (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Thomson 2007).

Political orientations:

Political orientations are an integrated set of attitudes, values and beliefs regarding political issues which influence an individual's political behaviour (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; McDevitt and Chaffee 2002).

Political participation:

Political participation refers to actions by citizens by which they seek to make demands on government, influence and support government and its policies. It is behaviour such as voting, campaigning, demonstrating, rioting and signing of petitions (Verba, Nie and Kim 1971; Van Deth 1986; Reichert 2010).

Political socialisation:

Political socialisation is a process through which people acquire political knowledge, values, attitudes and expectations relating to their political environment. It is a process by which people are inducted into a political culture. Political socialisation is a continuous process which begins at childhood, and then it proceeds to adolescence and adulthood (Almond and Verba 1963; Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Langton 1969; Greenberg 1970; Jaros 1973; Krampen 2000; Wass 2005).

Political values:

Political values are defined as citizens' overarching normative principles and belief assumptions about government, citizenship and society. They are citizens' all-encompassing basic rules and beliefs regarding political matters. Political values are enduring beliefs that a mode of conduct is preferable to another (McCann 1997).

Residents:

Residents are people who permanently live in Calais village. When reference is made to adult residents these would, for purposes of this study, be people aged eighteen years and older. It is important to note that adults have been defined as such because eighteen years is the voting age in South Africa.

Role:

Role refers to a function or part performed especially in a particular process or situation. For the purposes of this study, the concept 'role' means the function performed by each agent in the political socialisation of residents in Calais village (Merriam-Webster 2002).

Rural and traditional setting:

A rural and traditional setting is an area that is sparsely populated in which people are mainly dependent on farming or natural resources. In such an area, there is limited access to economic opportunities, electricity, housing, potable water and basic infrastructure such as roads. Many people in rural and traditional settings are unemployed and have low levels of education. Within the South African context, large areas comprising most rural and traditional settings are situated in the former homelands or Bantustans, which mainly depend on migratory labour as well as government social grants for survival. In the former homelands of South Africa, traditional leaders such as kings, chiefs and headmen continue to exercise some control the rural areas because of the shared governance with rural local municipalities (Constitution of South Africa, 1996; Integrated Rural Development Strategy 2000; Dippenaar et al 2005; Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015).

1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Political socialisation is not a new field of study in political science. Despite the importance of political socialisation for politics and democracy it has been an under-researched field in South Africa. Thus far, very little is known about political socialisation in South Africa, particularly within a rural and traditional setting. In the census of 2011, the total population size of South Africa was approximately 51.8 million people. In the subsequent year, a general household survey which was conducted by Statistics South Africa showed that 18 million people lived in rural areas (Statistics South Africa 2011; 2013). Rural areas are geographically the largest section of South Africa. Although urban areas are often densely populated, geographically they only comprise in total a small portion of South Africa. Rural areas, therefore, continue to be important within the South African political landscape. The statistics on South Africa's rural population show that rural citizens are key stakeholders in the country's political system.

With the exception of studies by Booyesen and Kotzé (1985), Kotzé (1986), Mattes, Denmark and Niemi (2012), and Esau and Roman (2015), there has not been much documented research on political socialisation in South Africa. Some international studies on political socialisation by Fred Greenstein (1960; 1965), Robert Hess and David Easton (1960), Robert Hess and Judith Torney (1967), David Easton and Jack Dennis (1969), Pauline Marie Vaillancourt (1972), Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi (1974), have largely concentrated on urban children and adolescents (Sears 1975). Given the current status, it is hoped that this study will contribute to a better understanding of political socialisation within a South African rural setting and also augment the scant existing literature on political socialisation in South Africa.

As mentioned in section 1.2, the aim of the study is to determine how political socialisation takes place within a rural setting in South Africa and its implications thereof. In order to satisfy the requirements of the study, a rural and traditional community was sought. A point of departure for the study was to select an area with suitable characteristics. Thus, Calais village satisfied the requirements and it was chosen for the study. The selection of

Calais village was an informed one, considering the fact that the researcher aimed to have a better understanding of political socialisation within a rural and traditional setting. The village proved to be a suitable vantage point for studying political socialisation within a rural and traditional environment. Calais village's homogeneity in terms of race, ethnicity and language is not a prerequisite although it would be an advantage.

Calais village, the study area of this research, is located in the rural part of Limpopo Province and it has a traditional leadership system which is led by a headman (*Induna*). The headman (*Induna*) represents the central decision making structure in the village (Dippenaar et al 2005). Furthermore, the village is characterised by a strong traditional culture, which could imply that the residents are inclined to follow a subject political culture. According to Almond and Verba (1963), in a subject political culture citizens have little or even no orientation and knowledge on the political system, thus their role in the political process is very limited and passive. This study will also investigate whether the residents' socialisation involves the acquisition of political values regarding national politics, or whether it mainly involves local politics.

A better understanding of political socialisation and its impact within a rural context is of great importance since Calais village has high levels of unemployment, poverty and illiteracy. The socio-economic factors in the village could play a major role in the residents' political socialisation (Dippenaar et al 2005). The significance of socio-economic factors on citizens' political socialisation is also noted by Kotzé and Steyn (2003:31), who observed that the environment into which a person is born and raised plays a crucial part in that person's political socialisation. They argue that people who reside in rural areas are less exposed to technology, the media and other development resources than those who live in urban areas. Thus, the political socialisation of rural people is likely to be different from that of people in urban environments. According to Neerincx (1978:7), the influence of political socialisation agents may be affected by the socio-economic factors in the environment, such as unemployment, shortage of housing, communications efficiency and sophistication, and population size.

This study has further academic value because it could identify agents of political socialisation that have not been identified in previous studies. Previous studies on political

socialisation have identified the family, school, media, peers, religious institutions and political parties as agents of political socialisation (Hyman 1959; Hess and Easton 1960; Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Easton and Dennis 1969; Jaros 1973; Jennings and Niemi 1974; Sears 1975).

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this section is to review the literature on political socialisation relevant to this study. The focus is on identifying trends, issues, limitations and gaps. In the first part of this review, the focus is on political socialisation as an area of specialisation in Political Science. In the second part, the literature on various agents of political socialisation receives attention. These agents include the family, school, peer groups, mass media and secondary groups such as religious institutions and political parties. The discussion on agents of political socialisation also highlights the situation within the South African context. A detailed theoretical outline of political socialisation is provided in chapter two of the dissertation.

1.6.1 Studies on political socialisation

The study of political socialisation has long been a major field of inquiry for political scientists. Studies of political socialisation can be traced back to antiquity and to philosophers of politics and education such as Plato, Aristotle, Confucius, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Dennis 1967:1; Dawson and Prewitt 1969:5; Langton 1969:3; Jaros 1973:9; Sears 1975:94; Bennett 2007:2)¹. The above-mentioned scholars speculated about how individuals acquired politically relevant concepts, values and information, as well as how new members of a society were inducted into the political system. Although speculative in nature, their work provided crucial knowledge on political socialisation (Dennis 1967:1).

¹ The most relevant works of classical philosophers of politics and education are as follows:

Plato. 1945. *Republic*. Translated by Francis MacDonald Cornford, New York: Oxford University Press (Cited in Jaros 1973:9; Dawson and Prewitt 1969:6; Langton 1969:3)

Aristotle. *Politics*. (Cited in Langton 1969:3)

Jean-Jacques Rousseau. 1947. *The Social Contract*. Translated by Charles Frankel, New York: Mafner Publishing Company (cited in Jaros 1973:11)

Alexis de Tocqueville. 1960. *Democracy in America*. New York: Knopf (Cited in Dawson and Prewitt 1969:5)

Plato through his seminal work *The Republic* emphasised the importance of civic education and childhood experiences as the way of inculcating appropriate citizenship values. He pointed out that children could be socialised into good citizens through comprehensive government instructional or educational programmes. Plato argued that citizens' political values affected the stability and order of political institutions. Thus, he attributed the deterioration of politics to failures in political socialisation. Similarly, Aristotle stressed the importance of political education in the stability of political structures. He explained that different political structures required different types of political values and predispositions (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:7; Jaros 1973:10).

Confucius, a Chinese philosopher, scholar, and advisor to the Chinese rulers, regarded political socialisation important in the stability of the Chinese political system. His views differed from many of his contemporaries, particularly historians, who believed that the Chinese rulers should rule by using coercion and force. Confucius therefore advised various provincial rulers to train or educate their citizens rather than to try to control them by coercion and force. He believed that a well-regulated family was essential in creating political order. He explained that the love and respect that a child felt towards his or her parents would in later years extend to men in positions of political authority (Jaros 1973:10).

The importance of political socialisation was also observed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. He argued that childhood socialisation was necessary for the stability and maintenance of the state. He was of the opinion that the foundation of social life was through political indoctrination of children. Rousseau believed that government should continuously teach and guide citizens so that there would be harmony and political stability (Jaros 1973:11).

Although the work of the above-mentioned ancient scholars provided important groundwork on political socialisation, it is only recently that research has begun to change the speculative nature of their work into reliable understanding of what these phenomena actually entail (Dennis 1967:1). In addition to classical work by Plato, Aristotle, Confucius, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, there were also studies that were done in the early twentieth century by Charles Merriam and Theodore Newcomb. In the 1920s and 1930s, Charles Merriam conducted studies on American civic education. Merriam's work provided

the impetus for the emergence of political studies of socialisation and at the same time sought to further the practical enterprise of civic education. His studies provided a point of departure for the relationship between political socialisation and political regimes (Dennis 1967:1; Sears 1975:94; Alwin, Cohen and Newcomb 1991; Owen 2004:4).

Between 1935 and 1939, Theodore Newcomb did a longitudinal study on Bennington College students. Newcomb's study presented an account of political socialisation and a clear case of political attitudes being formed in the period of late adolescence and early adulthood. Newcomb found that within the four years of college life, socio-political attitudes of most Bennington students changed from conservative to liberal (Dennis 1967:1; Sears 1975:94; Alwin et al 1991).

Political socialisation as a field of study gained prominence in the late 1950s. Political scientists' heightened interest in political socialisation was largely inspired by Herbert Hyman's systematic review work in 1959. Hyman also stressed the importance of childhood socialisation in the stability of political systems (Hyman 1959; Dawson and Prewitt 1969:12; Sears 1975:94; Niemi and Hepburn 1995). The popularity of political socialisation in the late 1950s was also due to a major shift in the focus of political science research to political behaviour. Subsequent to Hyman's pioneering work, there were series of empirical studies by for example, Fred Greenstein (1960; 1965), Robert Hess and David Easton (1960), Robert Hess and Judith Torney (1967), David Easton and Jack Dennis (1969), Pauline Marie Vaillancourt (1972), Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi (1974) – (see Dawson and Prewitt 1969:12; Sears 1975:94; Niemi and Hepburn 1995).

Since the late 1950s, research output on political socialisation has increased resulting in the publication of several reviews, texts and articles (Sears 1975:94; Bennett 2007:2). The rapid growth and increasing popularity of the field of political socialisation was also documented in *The American Political Science Association's* fourth (1961) and fifth (1968) Biographical Directories, with 84% of the Association's members selecting political socialisation as their first field of specialisation. Thus, Greenstein (1970) wrote that political socialisation had become a "growth stock" (cited in Bennett 2007:3).

Greenstein (1960; 1965), Hess and Easton (1960), Hess and Torney (1967), and Easton and Dennis (1969), mainly focused on political attitudes and behaviour in children since they viewed political socialisation as a process which began in early childhood and ended when children reached adolescence. The focus on children's political socialisation was also due to a realisation that political behaviour was learned behaviour. Politics was not a sudden event of adult life different from other developmental processes, rather political awareness and participation began in early childhood (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:12; Sears 1975:94; Niemi and Hepburn 1995; Bennett 2007:3; Petrović et al 2014:7).

It is important to mention that most scholars who conducted research on childhood socialisation used the primacy and structuring principles as models for their investigation². The primacy and structuring models emphasise the importance of childhood political socialisation for later exposure to political socialisation agents (Searing, Schwartz and Lind 1973:421; Searing, Wright and Rabinowitz 1976:83). Studies on childhood political socialisation fell into three main categories, namely attachment to the political system, partisan attitudes and political participation. Attachment to the political system focused on institutions, structures and norms of the political system. Partisan attitudes referred to attitudes towards current incumbent political authorities, groups, policies and ideologies. Political participation was about citizens' activities that were aimed at influencing government policies (Sears 1975:94).

Regarding attachment to the political system, Greenstein (1960; 1965), Hess and Easton (1960), Hess and Torney (1967), and Easton and Dennis (1969) established that children's earliest political development was their attachment to symbols of the political system such as flags, slogans, public buildings and national events. On partisan attitudes, for example, Greenstein (1965), and Hess and Torney (1967) found that young children aged about eleven years had already adopted partisan attitudes such as political party identification and preferences (Sears 1975:120). Concerning political participation, adolescents' political outlooks demonstrated that the teen years showed increased political interest, following political events, identification with political parties, and

² In terms of the primacy principle, political orientations are learned during childhood and this childhood learning is relatively enduring throughout life (Searing, Schwartz and Lind 1973:415; Searing, Wright and Rabinowitz 1976:83). The structuring principle emphasises that basic political orientations acquired during childhood structure the later learning of specific issue beliefs (Searing, Schwartz and Lind 1973:415).

participation in political groups. Late adolescence was characterised by gradual and steady increase in political participation and involvement (Dawson and Prewitt 1969).

Despite the popularity and significance of early studies on political socialisation, there were a number of scholars who cast doubts on some of the field's theoretical assumptions. For example, David Marsh (1971) criticised three key assumptions of political socialisation. Searing et al (1973) questioned the significance of the structuring principle and Searing et al (1976) doubted the reliability of the primacy principle (Bennett 2007:3).

David Marsh (1971) raised serious doubts about three of the key assumptions in the field of political socialisation, namely the ideas that: (1) adults' political dispositions are largely the result of childhood political socialisation (2) adults' political behaviour is partly shaped by childhood socialisation; and (3) individuals' dispositions and behaviours affect the stability and functioning of the political system. Marsh noted that since the three assumptions are closely related any valid criticism of one assumption would necessarily weaken the others (Bennett 2007:3).

Searing et al (1973) challenged the relevance of the structuring principle. Searing and his colleagues subjected the structuring principle to an empirical test. They argued that the assumption that children's political attitudes were important had never been convincingly demonstrated and neither had that assumption been justified by fully articulated theoretical statements. They stated that this assumption remained untested due to a lack of longitudinal studies on childhood orientations. Upon completion of their test, Searing and his colleagues concluded that many of the socialisation orientations were generally unrelated to attitudes toward outstanding political issues of the day. Furthermore, their findings contradicted the assumption that the more important an orientation is in adult behaviour, the earlier it is learnt in childhood. Lastly, they found that orientations were no more related to issue beliefs than are the sort of personality factors for which negative results had been familiar for some time (Searing et al 1973:415; Niemi and Hepburn 1995:3; Bennett 2007:3).

Subsequently, Searing et al (1976) also tested the reliability of the primacy principle. They investigated adult change in political party identification, political efficacy and political trust. Searing and his colleagues used data drawn from the election studies that were done by the University of Michigan Survey Researcher Center between 1952 and 1968. Their findings are summarised as follows: (1) the primacy principle was found to be sound, although it was often overstated. The study showed that orientations did change more than basic attachments and loyalties, but less than issue beliefs (2) there was little evidence of the existence of historical generations. (3) Age effects were considerably less important for explaining orientation change³. The three orientations (party identification, political efficacy and political trust) responded more readily to contemporary events. Furthermore, Searing et al (1976) pointed out that the findings of their study partly supported the primacy principle although some magnitudes of attitude change were too vast to be ignored. They also concluded that adult political socialisation experiences were really what should be studied (Searing et al 1976:83; Bennett 2007:3).

Early studies on childhood political socialisation were further criticised because they largely focused on white, middle class, urban and suburban USA children at only one historical period. In addition, these studies were not representative of all societies as they did not cover other parts of the world such as Africa. Another limitation of studies on childhood political socialisation was their over-concentration on urban areas, which meant that the political socialisation process in rural and traditional settings was overlooked. However, it is also important to mention that subsequent studies in the 1970s by Paul Abramson and Ronald Inglehart (1970), Kendall Baker (1970), Robert Stradling and Elia Zurick (1971), Robert William Connell (1971), Jon Pammett (1971), Pauline Marie Vaillancourt (1972) and Howard Tolley Jr. (1973) included a wider range of children and political systems, which often produced contradictory results. For example, on the issue of personalisation, a study that was done by Jon Pammett (1971) in Canada found that children knew more about Parliament than about the country's Prime Minister. Stradling and Zurick (1971) also found that among British children there was little idealising and

³ Historical generations are age cohorts or group of people who are around the same age and whose orientations are unusually durable, having developed in response to major events and crises which re-shaped a population's outlooks. A historical generation is created when an age group's new views are long-lasting and not affected by environmental change (Searing et al 1976).

most of the children had negative evaluations of British political party leaders (Sears 1975).

Furthermore, studies on childhood political socialisation were criticised on the theoretical assumption of persistence and the use of survey research among children. The importance of early childhood political socialisation for the stability of a political system has been questioned as well. On these issues, the children who were earlier found to have a positive image of the political authorities led the protest events in the 1960s – their positive image turned into rebellion against the very authorities they had a positive image of during their childhood (Petrović et al 2014:7).

By the early 1980s, political socialisation had lost its popularity due to criticism of the field's major theoretical assumptions. The number of publications dwindled and hardly any scholarly attention was given to the field anymore. During that period, political socialisation almost disappeared from political science. The field was shrinking due to the fact that it was based on exaggerated premises which were derived from misinterpreted and misunderstood research findings. Thus, political scientists began to call attention to the theoretical flaws in much of the existing political socialisation research. Another reason that contributed to less interest in political socialisation research was that the USA withdrew its armed forces from Vietnam and much of the anti-war movement's steam was gone, and therefore calm returned to university campuses (Bennett 2007:3; Garcia Bedolla 2010:4; Petrović et al 2014:5).

Since the 1990s, there has been renewed interest in political socialisation among political scientists and a realisation of its importance within politics (Niemi and Hepburn 1995:4; Hooghe 2004:335; Quintelier 2008:25; Garcia Bedolla 2010:4; Petrović et al 2014:8). Some political scientists indicate that the resurgence in political socialisation research is due to a concern about declining levels of conventional participation, particularly among young people (Garcia Bedolla 2010:5; Petrović et al 2014:9). It has been observed that there is less participation by young people in mainstream politics, voluntary associations and various forms of civic life (Quintelier 2007:165; 2008:25). It is thus understandable that in the study of political socialisation the focus has shifted to a range of topics such as

youth political participation, partisanship, migration, and racial, gender and ethnic identities (Hooghe 2004; Quintelier 2007, 2008; Garcia Bedolla 2010:4; Petrović et al 2014:9).

Unlike earlier studies which focused on young children, contemporary research has also shifted to late adolescence and early adulthood. Some notable recent studies on late adolescence and early adulthood have been conducted by Debra Roker (1991), Hugh McIntosh, Daniel Hart, and James Youniss (2007), Ellen Quintelier, Marc Hooghe, and Gabriel Badescu (2007), Sam Hardy, Amit Bhattacharjee, Americus Reed, and Karl Aquino (2010), Ruth Dassonneville, Ellen Quintelier, Marc Hooghe, and Ellen Claes (2012), Müge Bakioğlu (2014), Nabila Naz, Yasir Nawaz and Muhammad Ali (2014), Melissa R. Gotlieb, Kyurim Kyoung, Itay Gabay, Karyn Riddle, and Dhavan V. Shah (2015).

According to Petrović et al (2014:8), the shift in focus from childhood to early adulthood research could be a realisation by political scientists that political socialisation is a life-long process. McLeod and Shah (2009:8) point out that the crucial period in political socialisation seems to be during late adolescence and early adulthood. They argue that transition from late adolescence to early adulthood is the critical period of political socialisation because it is the end of schooling and the beginning of individuals' occupational lives. During this period, the political socialisation role of the family diminishes, while that of peers, school, and the media increases.

Contemporary political socialisation research is fundamentally different from early research. In early research the emphasis was that political socialisation should serve as a mechanism to ensure the stability of the political system. Current research, on the contrary, seeks to know where and how young people acquire political knowledge, their level of political interest and participation. In the past the focus was on the influence of parents and schools, but now it is on the role of voluntary associations, mass media, peer groups and informal interactions (Hooghe 2004:335).

Although contemporary studies have shifted from childhood socialisation, adult political socialisation has not been a popular area of research among political scientists. Besides the studies on youth political knowledge and participation, there is scarce comprehensive

research on adult political socialisation. Thus, Sigel (1989) observes that knowledge on adult political socialisation is relatively sparse and fragmented. Since many studies on political socialisation have paid little attention to adult socialisation particularly within a rural environment, the present study represents an effort to address this deficiency.

1.6.2 Literature on the agents of political socialisation

The focus of this section is on agents of political socialisation. Substantial work has been done on agents of political socialisation. In some studies, the focus is on a variety of agents, while in others it is limited to a specific agent. The principal agents of political socialisation identified in most of the literature are: the family, school, peer groups, mass media and secondary groups. At the same time, these studies also identify important factors that affect the role of the agents of political socialisation. A more detailed theoretical discussion on each of the above-mentioned agents and the factors that affect their role is provided in chapter two.

1.6.2.1 The family

There has been a number of publications on the political socialisation role of the family. Some of the notable studies in this regard were carried out by Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi (1968), Akira Kubota and Robert Ward (1969), Kent Jennings, Laura Stoker and Jake Bowers (2001), Molly Andolina, Krista Jenkins, Cliff Zukin and Scott Keeter (2003), and Ellen Quintelier, Marc Hooghe and Gabriel Badescu (2007). The work by the above-mentioned scholars indicated that indeed the family plays an important role in the political socialisation of individuals.

In 1965, Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi undertook a study with a specific focus on the impact of the family on political socialisation. The main purpose of their study was to assess the transmission of political values from parents to children. Jennings and Niemi observed the variation in the distributions of children's political values as a function of the distribution of same political values among their parents. Data collection involved interviews with a national representative sample of 1 669 American high school seniors (twelfth Graders) from 97 secondary schools and 1 992 parents. The actual number of students who had at least one parent respondent was 1 562. Jennings and Niemi found

that the value distributions in children matched with that of their parents. The findings of the study showed a high degree of correspondence between children's political party identification and that of their parents. However, parent-child distributions on other variables such as socio-political groupings and political cynicism differed widely⁴. Despite the high congruence of parents and children's party identification, Jennings and Niemi still questioned the family's preeminent position in political socialisation (Jennings and Niemi 1968).

Overall, Jennings and Niemi provided valid conclusions on the role of the family in political socialisation because their study drew data from a representative sample of American high school students (twelfth Graders). The focus on high school seniors was significant because the respondents were approaching the point when they were about to leave their parents' homes and thus the future political influence of their families would be less. Since the high school seniors were yet to establish marriage and occupational ties, it was a crucial stage to examine the influence of the family on the students' present and past socialisation experiences. The other strength of the study was that the researchers obtained data from parents and children, and that enabled them to do important comparisons. Although the study was significant, its shortcomings were that it was restricted to political values only; it did not examine other socialisation outcomes such as political knowledge, attitudes and participation. The study's concentration on American students meant that the findings could not be generalised to other cultural settings. Furthermore, the study focused on adolescents, meaning that the political socialisation of other age groups was not investigated. Finally, the study did not examine the impact of the family vis-à-vis other political socialisation agents.

Kubota and Ward (1969) examined the influence of the family on political socialisation in Japan. The data for the study was collected through three surveys that were done in 1967, before and after the Japanese general election. These surveys were based on a single stratified national probability sample of 2 371 individuals of the Japanese population aged fifteen and above, drawn from 50 of the 123 election districts that returned candidates to

⁴ Socio-political groupings refers to a group of people who belong to an identifiable social and/or political unit, and are distinguished by certain physical, geographical, social, religious and membership characteristics. Examples of socio-political groupings are Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Labour Unions, Whites, and Business Organisations (Jennings and Niemi 1968:175).

the lower house. The findings of the study showed that there was generational transmission of party identification in the Japanese families. The study indicated that there was a moderate degree of correspondence between parents' political party identification and that of their children. It was also notable that the degree of influence found for Japan was similar to, although lower than that of the USA. The data also indicated that when the focus of inquiry shifted from party identification to issues such as political interest, family influence - at least for the fifteen through nineteen year age bracket - seemed to play only a marginal and negligible role. Kubota and Ward (1969) also observed that mothers seemed at least as prominent as the fathers with regard to parental influence on children's political party identification.

Through their study, Kubota and Ward (1969) provided valuable information on the state of political socialisation in Japan. The comparative approach of the study showed the extent of political socialisation in Japan when compared with the USA. The strength of the study was that the data were gathered from a probability sample of child-parent pairs from the same family. The advantage of choosing a sample of child-parent pairs was that the researchers could measure family influence by directly questioning both children and parents about their own attitudes and behaviour as well as their perceptions about the other's views and actions. Although the sample for the three surveys was quite large, the sample that was used to obtain data on political socialisation was insufficient because the researchers chose only 177 child-parent pairs. The findings from such a small sample of 177 child-parent pairs could not be generalised to the entire Japanese population. The data relating to political socialisation constituted a small portion of the product of the surveys because a large portion of the surveys focused on political attitudes and voting behaviour in general.

In 1999, Jennings, Stoker and Bowers (2001) examined how the family influenced the political socialisation process. They used data from the longitudinal parent-child surveys which were conducted by Jennings and Niemi in 1965, 1973, 1982 and 1997. Three major findings came out of the study. First, they found that parents played an important role in the political education of their children. Despite transformations in the political environment and character of family life over the past thirty years, their findings about youth coming of age in the 1990s were similar to those of youth socialised in the 1960s.

Second, children were found more likely to adopt their parents' political orientations if the family was highly politicised, but they were also more likely to adopt any parental attribute that was clearly and consistently cued. Third, early acquisition of parental characteristics influenced the character of adult political development. Adolescents who entered adulthood without a strong parental imprint tended to manifest more attitudinal instability in their early adult years and less continuity over their life-span than do their more well-socialised counterparts (Jennings et al 2001).

The significance of the work by Jennings et al (2001) was the longitudinal nature of the study. The study managed to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of intergenerational transmission of political orientations compared to earlier research by Jennings and Niemi in 1965. The study also emphasised the importance of the family in political socialisation, a conclusion which was questioned by Jennings and Niemi in their 1965 research. However, the limitation of the study was that the number of respondents who were interviewed throughout the longitudinal study decreased from 1 669 to 935, which means that only 56% of the initial respondents had been retained. Over the course of the study, only 636 child-parent pairs had survived compared to the initial 1 562 child-parent pairs of 1965.

In 2002, Andolina et al (2003) studied civic engagement in the USA. Their study revealed that many lessons for political engagement were learnt and initiated within the family. The results showed that young people who grew up in the middle of regular family political discussions were much more involved in many political activities such as voting, volunteering in voluntary groups and associations, and involvement in boycotts. Furthermore, the study indicated that parents, guardians and siblings served as critical role models for civic and political behaviour. Young people who were raised in families where someone volunteered, were highly involved themselves in various groups and associations.

Andolina and her colleagues showed that the family can serve as an important role model for youth political behaviour. Their conclusions were based on two surveys with a large national sample of 3 246 respondents. The size of the sample allowed them to analyse differences among groups within the fifteen to twenty-five age cohort which was used in

the study. The other advantage was that the sample for the two surveys reflected the American population in terms of gender, race, education and region. Although the study was important, its limitation was that it was based on cross sectional surveys of American young people aged fifteen to twenty-five years, thus other age groups were not represented. Furthermore, the fact that the respondents' parents were not part of the study meant that the researchers could not draw causal inferences.

Another important study on the influence of the family on political socialisation was carried out by Quintelier et al (2007). The study investigated the intergenerational transmission of political orientations, with a particular focus on the family's influence on adolescents. The study was undertaken simultaneously in Belgium, Canada and Romania and it entailed a comprehensive comparison of sixteen year old high school students in these three countries. Quintelier et al (2007) selected representative samples as follows: in Belgium 6 330 students participated in the survey, in Canada 3 334 and in Romania 1 876.

The results of the study showed a remarkable consistency across the three countries. Discussion of politics within the family, and the role model of parents who were actively engaged in voluntary activities exerted a significant effect on political participation patterns of the adolescents. The study also showed that the socio-economic status of the respondents was positively related to their political participation, except in Romania. It was observed that there was a strong interaction effect between socio-economic status and political discussion. In families with a high socio-economic status, political discussion seemed to be a particularly powerful tool to transmit political value patterns. The influence of the family on the socialisation of adolescents was not as strong in Romania as in Belgium and Canada. In Belgium and Canada families with a higher socio-economic status were more successful in transmitting political attitudes and behavioural patterns than those in Romania (Quintelier et al 2007).

The strength of the study by Quintelier et al (2007) was its comparative nature as it focused on three different cultural environments. What is also important is the fact that the study focused on two stable democracies namely, Belgium and Canada, and a newly emerging democracy such as Romania. Although the study produced valuable results on intergeneration transmission of political orientations, its limitation was that it only focused

on sixteen year old adolescents and therefore other age groups were not covered. The other weakness was that the adolescents' parents were not part of the study and therefore the parents' views were not obtained.

In addition to the international studies discussed above, there are studies that focus on the political socialisation role of the family within the South African context. Some of these studies were carried out by Susan Booyesen and Hennie Kotzé (1985), and Michelle V. Esau and Nicolette V. Roman (2015).

Similar to most international studies, the study by Booyesen and Kotzé (1985) highlighted the significance of the family in socialising South African children, particularly with regard to political partisanship. Booyesen and Kotzé found that most parents and their children identified with the same political parties. The conclusions made by Booyesen and Kotzé were based on their study of students at the Rand Afrikaans University in 1984. The study formed part of a three year longitudinal study aimed at determining the effect of early adult political socialisation. The research sample consisted of 305 first year Afrikaner students aged eighteen or nineteen years. Geographically, representation in the sample was split as follows: Johannesburg area - 22 %, East Rand - 29 %, West Rand - 19 %, Transvaal countryside - 20 %, and Pretoria and the rest of South Africa -10 %. In terms of socio-economic status, 57 % of the respondents were from middle-class families (Booyesen and Kotzé 1985).

It should be mentioned that although the study by Booyesen and Kotzé was significant, it had some limitations. First, the sample was not representative of the South African population as the study concentrated on white Afrikaans-speaking students and therefore the results could not be generalised to the whole South African society. Second, the sample was biased towards the middle-class as most of the students (57 %) were from middle-class families. Third, the study was focused on first year students at one South African university only.

Esau and Roman (2015) examined the influence of the family on political socialisation of youth in Cape Town. They found that there was a significant positive relationship between parents and adolescents regarding family active citizenship, youth active citizenship and

political attitudes. The study sample consisted of 275 youth, of which 47% ($n=128$) were male and 53.5% ($n=147$) were female. The ages of the respondents were between thirteen and twenty two years. The majority of participants were in Grade ten (46%). The respondents' home languages were English (55%) and Afrikaans (44%). Of the respondents, 98% ($n=268$) identified themselves as a Coloured (mixed) race group (Esau and Roman 2015).

Overall, the study showed that the family was an influential political socialisation agent in South Africa. The results of the study were consistent with those of previous studies by other scholars such as Andolina et al (2003) and Quintelier et al (2007). However, the study did not show a conclusive picture of the family's political socialisation role in South Africa due to a number of limitations. First, the study did not represent the entire South African society as it was restricted to Bonteheuwel Township in Cape Town. Second, the study was done in an urban area and therefore the political orientations of the youth in rural areas were not examined. Perhaps, different findings would have been produced if the study was also conducted in a rural and traditional setting. Third, the study only concentrated on the youth (younger than twenty years) and therefore other age groups were not represented. Fourth, the data was self-reported by respondents and thus the views of their parents and other family members were not obtained. Fifth, the study was a cross-sectional study and it only provided a snapshot of the relationships between variables.

1.6.2.2 The school

In addition to the family, the school has been widely recognised by various political scientists as one of the key agents of political socialisation (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Langton 1969; Massialas 1969; Jaros 1973). The influential role of the school has also been observed in some recent studies by for example, Daniel Bar-Tal and Assaf S. Harel (2002), Andolina et al (2003), and Ruth Dassonneville, Ellen Quintelier, Marc Hooghe, and Ellen Claes (2012). Although the school is important in the socialisation process, some scholars have questioned its influence. For example, Joakim Ekman and Pär Zetterberg (2010) concluded that the school was ineffective in the political socialisation of Swedish school children.

Bar-Tal and Harel (2002) examined the role of Israeli schools in political socialisation, with a particular focus on the influence of teachers on the political attitudes of high school students. Their study was made up of two phases comprising both students and teachers. The first phase consisted of 866 students who were doing their twelfth Grade. The students were selected from eleven high schools in the three main cities of Israel namely, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa. The second phase was made up of 167 teachers of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth Grades from the eleven participant high schools. The results of the study showed that out of 866 students, 591 reported that at least one teacher had influenced their political attitudes. Teachers directly influenced the students by initiating political discussions, giving political interpretations, involving students in political discussions, and answering students' political questions. Indirect influence occurred when teachers encouraged autonomous and original thinking, and enabling students to provide creative answers. In addition, teachers engaged in indirect socialisation by creating open relations between themselves and students (Bar-Tal and Harel 2002).

Furthermore, the study indicated that the teachers' influence was differential because not all students reported that all teachers were influential. The study also revealed that influential teachers were more aware of and involved in politics. It was also observed that influential teachers were more interested in politics, followed it in the media, and were themselves involved in various activities in the community or school.

The study by Bar-Tal and Harel (2002) was important because it showed the influential role of the school in shaping the political attitudes of students. The results clearly indicated that teachers played a major role in the political socialisation of students. Obtaining data from both students and teachers also strengthened the validity of the results. However, the limitation of the research was that it focused on twelfth Grade students from only eleven high schools in three Israeli cities and thus it was not representative of all high school students in Israel. The use of mailed questionnaires to obtain data from teachers could possibly lead to bias because the researchers had little or no control over the people who actually completed the questionnaires. According to Bailey (1987:150), in mailed questionnaires there is no guarantee that the respondent will be able to complete the questionnaire in private. For example, a spouse or parent might demand to read the

completed questionnaire and censor it. In a worse case, another person might fill in the questionnaire for the respondent if the respondent feels he or she does not qualify or is too busy.

In the study by Andolina et al (2003), it was found that lessons learnt in high schools and college positively influenced students' civic and political engagement. A total of 1166 American high school and college students aged fifteen to twenty-five years participated in the survey. The findings of the study indicated that the school provided a training ground for civic and political involvement, offered opportunities for open political discussions, and created ways for service work. Of the students, 70% stated that they took a course which included government, politics or national issues, 48% of them said that their interest in politics had increased as result of taking courses in civic education, while 41% said these courses had no impact. Open political discussions were found to be common in high school classrooms. In terms of teachers' encouragement, 49% of the students reported that their teachers encouraged open political and social debates. Furthermore, 54% said teachers encouraged them to make up their own mind (Andolina et al 2003).

Regarding extracurricular activities, 75% of high school students reported that the school arranged and offered volunteer or service activities and 65% of college students also said the same. Of the students whose high schools required volunteer work, 59% had actually volunteered the previous year. Civic lessons were not limited to classroom settings since many high school students were involved in extra-curricular activities. Two thirds of the students (66%) participated in some form of organised social or political group. Participation of college students in associations was less common than it was among high school students, as 60% of college students were not involved with any campus groups (Andolina et al 2003).

Andolina et al (2003) were able to provide crucial information on how American high school and college students were politically socialised and how that process influenced their civic and political behaviour. They also managed to measure the students' cognitive engagement (for example, political knowledge), and the civic and political activities they were involved in. The results were generalisable to all American students because the study was made up of a large representative national sample of American schools.

However, the limitation of the study was on the measures of school training. The study documented that students were provided with opportunities to discuss their service work in classroom, but the nature of the discussion was not revealed. Furthermore, the study could not establish the skills used by teachers when facilitating classroom discussions.

Dassonneville et al (2012) focused on the relation between civic education, and political attitudes and behaviour among Belgian adolescents. The data for the study were derived from the Belgian Political Panel Survey (BPPS), a two-wave panel study among sixteen and eighteen year olds which was conducted in 2006 and 2008. In 2006, a representative survey was conducted among 6 330 sixteen year olds and in 2008, a total of 4 235 students (or 67%) from the initial panel were surveyed for a second wave, this time at the age of eighteen years. The results indicated that formal civic education (classroom instruction) and active learning strategies (activities such as participating in group projects, visiting parliament or the town hall, being a member of a school council, and participating in service learning) were positively related to the students' political attitudes and behaviour. The study revealed that formal civic education was associated with the development of higher levels of political interest, while active learning strategies were linked to higher levels of political participation. The presence of an open classroom climate did have a significant effect on the development of political trust, but was not significantly related to the development of political efficacy⁵.

The longitudinal design employed by Dassonneville et al (2012) enhanced the reliability of the study. The use of a panel study enabled the researchers to examine the relation between civic education and the students' political attitudes and behaviour over a two-year observation period. In addition to the longitudinal nature of the study, the sample used was representative in terms of region, school type, language and gender. However, the disadvantage of using a panel study was attrition - that is, some of the respondents dropped out of the study. A total of 4 235 students (67%) from the initial panel remained in the study. The problem of attrition implies that the findings may have been less robust, thus affecting the conclusions of the study.

⁵ An open classroom climate is a type of civic education which allows students to learn about democracy by being in a school that constitutes a small-scale democracy. For example, students are encouraged to make up their minds about certain issues. In addition, students are allowed to contribute to school decision making on issues such as school discipline or teaching agenda (Dassonneville et al 2012:5).

In a Swedish study by Ekman and Zetterberg (2010), it was found that the schools in Sweden were ineffective in the political socialisation of students. Ekman and Zetterberg (2010) examined the role of Swedish schools in socialising students to become political citizens. The focus of their research was on how schools in Sweden promoted citizenship competencies, comprising democratic values, political trust, political efficacy, political literacy and political participation. Ekman and Zetterberg utilised data from the International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS), conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 2009. The scholars drew their conclusions from a large representative sample of students selected from 169 Swedish schools. The data contained information on the political attitudes, and present and anticipated political participation of 3 464 Swedish students (Ekman and Zetterberg 2010).

The findings of the study showed that Swedish schools had limited possibilities to promote citizenship competencies such as democratic values, political trust, political efficacy, political literacy and political participation. Such competencies seemed mainly to be developed at home – or elsewhere – rather than in schools. The study also revealed that students from an ‘academic’ family background (with at least one parent with university education) who attended a class with a large share of students with equally well educated parents, tended to score higher on the political literacy test. In other words, Swedish schools tended to reinforce already existing differences among students, based on gender, ethnic background and parents’ educational attainment. In addition, there was no statistically significant effect of the classroom communication climate on the students’ level of political knowledge.

The importance of the study also lies in the fact that it covered a range of variables such as democratic values, political trust, political efficacy, political literacy and political participation. Another important factor was that Ekman and Zetterberg (2010) obtained accurate information on the students’ family backgrounds from official census data (from *Statistics Sweden*), rather than relying on students’ own estimations of their parents’ level of education, occupational status and family income. The other advantage was that in addition to student data, the study also contained a survey of teachers, and information

about school context characteristics. Despite its significance, the limitation of the study was its restriction to fourteen year olds, which meant that other age groups within the Swedish schooling system were excluded. The fact that the study was restricted to one age group meant that it could not be generalised to all the students in Swedish schools.

Internationally, the school has been widely recognised as a key socialisation agent, but its socialisation role in South Africa has received little attention. Within the South African context, some of the studies on the role of the school were undertaken by Saleem Badat (1999), Steven Finkel and Howard Ernest (2005), Johannes Seroto (2012), and Robert Mattes, David Denmark and Richard Niemi (2012).

Badat (1999) analysed the ideological and political orientations, and internal organisational features of South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO) and South African Students' Organisation (SASO) from 1968 to 1990. He also examined the organisations' role in educational, political and other spheres, and the factors that shaped their activities. Badat concluded that SANSCO and SASO functioned as catalysts of collective action and political formation, and thus contributed to the demise of apartheid, as well as to social transformation in South Africa. In terms of membership, SANSCO and SASO largely consisted of black university students and were mainly involved in mobilisation and collective action. Mobilisation was usually carried out through dissemination of printed media, person-to-person contacts and mass meetings, while collective action was done through petitions, sit-ins, marches, demonstrations, lecture and meal boycotts, and occasionally destruction of property. In addition to mobilisation and collective action, SANSCO and SASO politically socialised their members through seminars, workshops, annual congresses, and singing of "freedom songs" (Badat 1999).

Badat's study contributed to a better understanding of student organisations' role in political socialisation. The findings were based on interviews with some key officials in SANSCO and a wide variety of documents obtained from the two student organisations, for example, newsletters, policy manifestos, pamphlets, minutes of meetings and training workshops, reports, public speeches of officials, official documents relating to conferences, various books and articles, student newspapers and articles.

However, it is worth mentioning that the conclusions made by Badat should be viewed with caution. First, students who were members of SANSCO and SASO were not interviewed, and therefore their perspectives were not obtained. The students' orientations such as political attitudes, knowledge and values were not measured. The study heavily relied on documentary analysis and few interviews with the organisations' former leaders. Second, the study did not provide conclusive evidence to show that the student organisations were effective in transmitting political orientations to their members. Third, some community newspapers popularised anti-apartheid organisations and therefore their publications on the effectiveness of the SANSCO and SASO could have been exaggerated. Fourth, the study only focused on black students' organisations and thus organisations representing other racial groups were not studied.

In 1998, Finkel and Ernst (2005) evaluated the effectiveness of civic education among South African high school students. Their study measured political knowledge, civic duty, political tolerance, institutional trust, civic skills and approval of political participation. They used survey data collected from 600 South African high school students. The sample was made up of 300 students from the *Democracy for All* programme and 300 other students, some of whom received civics training from their normal high school teachers and some of whom did not receive civics training at all⁶. A random sample of areas within six of South Africa's eight provinces where the *Democracy for All* programme was in operation was selected for inclusion in the study. Overall, the sampling strategy resulted in three groups of students: those who were exposed to the *Democracy for All* training (N = 261), matched students who were exposed to some formal civics education as part of their normal high school classes (N = 124), and matched students with no formal civic education exposure (N = 215) - (Finkel and Ernst 2005).

Finkel and Ernst (2005) found that civic education had substantial impact on students' political knowledge. Students who received civic education on a weekly basis were more likely to identify correctly the names of key South African political leaders and possessed

⁶ *Democracy for All*: It was a programme run by Street Law, a democracy and human rights organisation housed at the University of Natal's Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, Durban, South Africa. Since the early 1990s, Street Law operated the *Democracy for All* civic education programme in South African high schools in an effort to institutionalise and implement democracy and human rights education in formal school education in the post-apartheid era (Finkel and Ernst 2005:342).

basic knowledge of the South African constitutional structure than students who received civics instruction less often, or not at all. The study also showed that the effects of civic education on democratic attitudes, values, and orientations towards political participation were weaker, but that even these orientations could be changed through civics instruction under certain conditions related to the classroom and instructional environment. Furthermore, the study revealed that civic education affected not only the levels of key democratic orientations, but also the interrelationships between them. For example, civic education successfully taught students “what goes with what” in terms of democratic values and skills.

The significance of the study lies in the fact that a number of important variables were measured. The other important factor was that the type of research design enabled the researchers to compare the political orientations of three groups of students and thus determine the effect of civic education on the students’ political orientations. However, the shortcoming of the study was that the sample was not representative of all South African high school students since it focused on Grade eleven and twelve students in six South African provinces namely, Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, Kwazulu-Natal, North West, and Western Cape.

The study by Seroto (2012) focused on the provision of citizenship education for black African students during the period 1948 to 1994. Seroto analysed the following citizenship curricula documents: *The Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951 (South Africa 1953)*; *Department of Native Affairs policy documents (1956a and 1956b)*; *Department of Native Affairs policy document of 1957* and *Department of Bantu Education policy document of 1967*. In addition to the above documents, the curricula of History and Social Studies for Grades one to seven were also analysed. The results of the study showed that history and social science curricula only dealt with the political ideology underpinned by the government’s separate development policy and there was no section in the curriculum dealing with injustices or oppressions as experienced by South Africans. The study also showed that citizenship education did not allow for dialogue regarding engaging ideologies such as colonialism, apartheid and egalitarianism (Seroto 2012).

Seroto (2012) provided some important insights into how citizenship education was provided to black African students during the apartheid era. The study was a good analysis of the quality of citizenship education that was provided to black students. However, the study could have provided more information by also examining the effects of citizenship education on school children's political knowledge, values and attitudes. In addition, the researcher could have also measured other issues such as the role of school teachers, the interaction between school children, classroom ritual activities and the schools' social environment. The researcher solely relied on document analysis and therefore data from people who were students or teachers during apartheid were not collected. Another limitation is that the study concentrated on black African students only and students from other racial groups were excluded. Finally, the study could have provided more valuable information if it had examined the effect of citizenship education on political socialisation of all South Africa students.

Mattes et al (2012) explored whether the socialisation and education of Cape Town's young people could impart a critical, engaged democratic citizenship, even in the face of high levels of poverty, unemployment, racial inequality and violence. The study sample consisted of 2 518 Grade eleven students from 45 high schools in metropolitan Cape Town. The 45 schools were randomly selected with probability proportionate to the size of its eleventh Grade population. The results of the study showed that the students' levels of support for democracy were below those of adults from Cape Town or amongst South Africans more generally. The students' knowledge of politics and their understanding of democratic processes, procedures, and citizens' roles, as well as their anticipated future education were all highly related to their support for democracy (Mattes et al 2012).

The study also revealed that students in classes that were open to meaningful, respectful political discussion and debate were more likely to demand democracy. Of the students who were studying History, 57% said they often discussed political and social issues in classroom. On the other hand, one fifth (20%) of students indicated that they often discussed political and social issues in Life Orientation class. Furthermore, the study indicated that teachers promoted open classroom discussion on political and social issues. Furthermore, 42% of the students said that their teachers encouraged them to make up their own minds when discussing political and social issues.

The study by Mattes et al (2012) should be considered in light of a few limitations. First, their sample was not representative of all South African students and thus the findings were not generalisable to all South African students. Second, the study did not equally represent all the racial, ethnic and language groups in the country. Third, the study focused on students in eleventh Grade only, and other grades were not represented in the study.

1.6.2.3 Peer groups

Similar to the family and school, the impact of peer groups on the perceptions and opinions of individuals has been documented by various authors. Some studies have recognised the influence of high school peer groups on social norms, aspirations and school achievement⁷. Although the influence of peer groups is widely documented in most literature, there is little research on the role of peer groups on individuals' political orientations (Langton 1969:123). The scholarly work by Eric Dey (1996), Diana Mutz and Jeffrey Mondak (2006), and Camila Campos, Shaun Hargreaves-Heap and Fernanda de Leon (2013) represents some of the few studies on the political influence of peer groups.

Dey (1996) studied the processes through which undergraduate student political attitudes were influenced by peers, college faculty and social trends. During his investigation, Dey used data that were collected as part of the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP), a continuing programme of research that was sponsored by the American Council on Education and the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) at the University of California, Los Angeles. The data were used for a CIRP panel study of 23 200 college students and 15 700 college teachers in 1985 and 1989 at 143 institutions. During the panel study, students were surveyed as they entered college in 1985 and again in 1989. In addition, a faculty survey of college teachers was conducted in 1989 at the same institutions in which the students were enrolled. The faculty data were aggregated at the level of the institution and then merged with the student data.

⁷ Some studies on the influence of student peer groups on social norms, aspirations and school achievement were conducted by:

Theodore Newcomb, "Student peer group influence" in Robert Sutherland et al, *Personality Factors on the College Campus* (Austin: Hogg Foundation, 1962), and p.62. (as cited in Langton 1969:123)

James S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society* (New York: Free Press 1961) – (as cited in Langton 1969:123)

The results of Dey's study indicated that peer and faculty contexts generally had a positive influence on the students' political orientations. There was a tendency for students to change in the direction of institutional norms. Students who were in politically liberal institutions became increasingly liberal while those attending politically conservative institutions became increasingly conservative. It was also observed that the level of interpersonal interaction students had with their peers and faculty was not consistently related to changes in student political orientations. The significance of the study was that it was based on longitudinal data which enabled the researcher to analyse the students' college experiences over a four-year period. In addition, the study was based on a large sample of college students and teachers.

Although Dey's work provided important insight into the processes by which peer groups influenced student political attitudes, it had a few limitations. First, there was a problem of non-response because not all students who completed the questionnaires answered all the questions. The problem of non-response could lead to bias because the researcher may have made inaccurate inferences. Second, the study relied on secondary data collected in the 1980s and that means the results might have been based on outdated information. Third, the measures used in the study focused on the institutions globally. The measures were not analysed by departments within colleges, by student sub-cultures or by defining a precise interpersonal environment for each student (for example, identifying the students and faculty with whom the student had a good deal of personal contact). Fourth, the research did not address the link between the students' political orientations and their political participation.

The study by Mutz and Mondak (2006) focused on the process of peer political socialisation within the workplace. Mutz and Mondak used data from the 1996 national survey funded by the Spencer Foundation; Huckfeldt and Sprague's 1995 data on discussion networks in South Bend; the USA component of the 1992 Cross National Election Project (CNEP); the 1985 and 1987 General Social Surveys (GSS); and the 2000 National Election Study (NES). The results of the study showed that the workplace facilitated peer political socialisation due to political discussions by a large number of individuals. Political discussions in the workplace involved greater interaction among

people of different political views than did political discussions in contexts such as the family, the neighbourhood, or the voluntary association. It was also observed that exposure to different political views within the workplace increased individuals' knowledge and understanding of why their colleagues held political views different from theirs. Furthermore, it was found that political discussions at work promoted political tolerance among workers (Mutz and Mondak 2006).

Mutz and Mondak (2006) provided important insight on how the workplace promoted political socialisation, particularly among individuals with different political perspectives. Using data from five surveys, the researchers could find consistent evidence which confirmed that the workplace played a significant role in peer political socialisation. However, the shortcoming of Mutz and Mondak's work was that it narrowly focused on two variables namely, political discussion and political tolerance. The study could have provided more information if it had focused on other political consequences of workplace-based interactions, such as political interest, political partisanship, political knowledge and political participation. The other limitation was that the researchers only investigated the extent of political disagreement in workplace political discussions, implying that workplaces only consist of politically heterogeneous groups. Lastly, the study did not indicate whether the workplace reinforced or changed individuals' existing political orientations or whether it facilitated the formation of new ones. It only showed that workplace political discussions facilitated understanding and political tolerance among workers.

In 2010, Campos et al (2013) conducted an experiment to investigate whether peer groups influenced individual preferences over political affiliation and political engagement. The study sample was drawn from students enrolled at Brazil's largest university, Universidade de São Paulo (USP). The data were collected through two wave surveys. The data in the first survey consisted of 1 593 student responses from 48 classes; the data in the second wave had 1 103 student responses from 39 classes. The first wave was conducted before the 2010 Brazilian presidential election and the second wave just after the presidential election. In both waves students were asked the same questions (Campos et al 2013).

Upon completion of their study, Campos et al (2013) found no evidence that the political identification of an individual was affected by the political identification of his or her peers. The researchers also observed that peer engagement affected individual engagement, individual political knowledge and political identification among those who were initially least engaged. The study by Campos et al (2013) was important because it provided crucial information on the impact of peer groups on individuals' political orientations. Using the experimental method, the researchers could compare correlations between individuals' political orientations with that of peer groups. However, the results of the study were not generalisable to the entire Brazilian population since the data were gathered from one university in Brazil. Furthermore, the findings might have been affected by the fact that the number of respondents in the second wave was lower than that of the first wave.

In South Africa, Acheampong Amoateng (2015) examined the influence of peer groups on the political socialisation of students at the University of Johannesburg. Structured interviews were carried out with 1 214 students. The findings of the study indicated that discussion of politics with peers (friends and classmates) positively correlated with the students' level of political awareness. Although the study provided valuable information on peer socialisation, its limitation was that it only concentrated on one public university in South Africa. Furthermore, the study could have provided more valuable information if it had focused on other important variables such as the students' political interest and knowledge.

1.6.2.4 The mass media

The mass media are also recognised as more prevalent and effective instruments of communication and socialisation in modern societies (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:195). The influence of the mass media on political socialisation has been addressed in most publications. The discussion in this section highlights some of the studies by for example, Steven Chaffee, Scott Ward and Leonard Tipton (1970), Hennie Kotzé (1986), Michael Delli Carpini, Scott Keeter and David Kennamer (1994), Judith Moeller and Claes de Vreese (2013), and the School of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, South Africa (Malila 2013).

Chaffee et al (1970) studied media use and political socialisation among American junior and senior high school students. Chaffee and his colleagues concluded that mass media played an influential role in the political socialisation of the students. The study revealed that media use (for public affairs and politics) increased the students' political knowledge. Although mass media was influential insofar as political knowledge was concerned, it was found that its impact did not extend to overt political behaviour such as campaigning activity. The students attributed both informative and opinion making powers to the media. In addition, they rated the media as more influential than other agents such as parents, teachers and peers (Chaffee et al 1970).

Chaffee et al (1970) provided valuable information on how the mass media shaped the political orientations of the students. The study provided solid evidence on the effects of political information that was disseminated through mass media. However, the shortcoming of the study was that the researchers made conclusions on the respondents' opinions without rigorously testing them. Their findings on opinion formation were based on the respondents' introspective self- description. Furthermore, the inference that media usage increased the respondents' political knowledge could not be entirely conclusive because there could be other factors (aside from media use) that could have contributed to changes in the levels of political knowledge. Thus, the researchers did not accurately establish the causal effect between media usage and the levels of political knowledge. The causal effect between media usage and the levels of political knowledge could have been determined by using an experimental design. Furthermore, the results of the study were not representative of the entire American population because the data were collected from high school students in just five American cities.

Delli Carpini et al (1994) examined the relationship between the citizens' level of political knowledge and the amount of information available to them through the news media. They employed three telephone surveys and the data were weighted on gender, race and education to match with population parameters. The researchers compared citizens of one American state (Virginia) in two media markets: one was the state capital (Richmond), where the media paid a great deal of attention to state politics; the other was the Washington metropolitan area, where state news was given relatively little media attention. The results of the study showed that citizens in and near Richmond in Virginia

State were significantly more politically knowledgeable than citizens elsewhere in the state, especially in the northern Virginia. A newspaper content analysis indicated that citizens in and near Richmond were more exposed to political news than citizens in the northern Virginia.

The study indicated the importance of the media environment in citizens' acquisition of political knowledge. The validity of the findings was strengthened by the fact that the data were drawn from three surveys. Despite the significance of the results, there were some limitations. First, the focus of the study was limited to state politics and therefore it did not reflect American national politics. Second, some of the findings were based on a newspaper content analysis. The researchers did not examine the content of other media such as television and radio. Third, other important variables such as political interest were not covered by the study. If the researchers had also investigated political interest that information could have helped to further clarify the differences in the respondents' political knowledge. Fourth, the study did not measure media use and therefore the extent to which the respondents used the media was not known. The inclusion of media-use variables would have allowed the researchers to assess the comparative effectiveness of different media environments by comparing only those who paid attention to the news, or by controlling for levels of attentiveness.

The study by Moeller and de Vreese (2013) assessed the effect of the media on political attitudes and behaviour. The researchers focused on two types of dependent variables namely political attitudes and civic engagement. In addition, the study also included independent variables such as media exposure and quality of democracy. In conducting their study, Moeller and de Vreese did an analysis of the first three rounds of the European Social Survey (ESS) which was carried out in 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2010 respectively. The ESS was a general population survey carried out in 22 to 31 countries among a representative sample of approximately 2 000 respondents per round and country. The countries that were included in the analysis are Austria, Bulgaria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine and United Kingdom (UK). The respondents for the study were between the ages of fourteen and twenty years.

The results of the study showed that the media had both mobilising and demobilising effects on political attitudes and political participation. Exposure to entertainment media had a negative effect on political attitudes and behaviour. The exposure to entertainment media contributed to a feeling of distrust in politics and led to lower political participation among adolescents. Both adolescents and adults became less inclined to sign political petitions or boycott a product for political reasons as they spent more time exposed to entertainment media. On the other hand, exposure to news media stimulated higher political participation, particularly among those older than twenty one years. In addition, the findings indicated that in countries where democracy was not functioning at its best – and not the mature democracies – young citizens had little interest to participate in politics.

The study was important because it focused on many variables which enabled the researchers to draw conclusions from a large amount of information. The results were highly reliable because the data used in the study were drawn from many European countries. The weakness of the study was that the indicator on entertainment media was an indirect measure calculated on general media use and news media use; it included more than just entertainment media use, for example advertising or education media content. In addition, indicators on entertainment and news media use were measures of exposure and not attentive media use. The study also excluded the effect of the media on online political participation, for example participation through social network sites such as Facebook, which are particularly relevant for young people. However, there is a correlation between offline and online political participation, and therefore focusing on offline participation is still relevant in the study of political behaviour. The other weakness was that the use of a cross-sectional research approach. By using such an approach, Moeller and de Vreese (2013) did not fully identify the causal effect of the media on political attitudes and behaviour. If they had employed a longitudinal research approach, that could have enabled them to determine the influence of the media overtime.

The study by Kotzé (1986) represents one of the few studies on the role of the media on political socialisation in South Africa. In 1983, Hennie Kotzé conducted a cross-cultural study of South African school children completing their secondary education (matric) in the

Johannesburg area.⁸ The school children were from eight African, six white, three coloured and two Indian schools. The sample was made up of 1 100 students split as follows: Africans (412), Whites (413), Indians (166) and Coloureds (109). The study mainly focused on media exposure, the type of material the students preferred reading in newspapers, their radio listening patterns, preferences regarding television material, reliability ratings of newspapers, radio and television, and students' political attitudes.

During the study, it was found that most of the students were exposed to radio, television and newspapers, although the exposure patterns were different. The results showed that newspapers and television carried a high political content and therefore it was an opportunity for political socialisation to happen. Black students were the most interested in reading about politics in newspapers, while the white Afrikaans-speaking pupils had the least interest. The white Afrikaans-speaking pupils' low interest in newspapers could be attributed to the fact that newspapers were highly criticised by the National Party (NP) government. Music stations such as Radio 5 and 702 delivered almost no social and political comment, and were the most popular among white, coloured and Indian groups. Black students preferred English and African radio services to the music stations. In terms of television material, whites were less interested in political television programmes than the other groups. All groups except Indians regarded television as the most reliable medium. Indian students expressed a low trust in television and a relatively high support for newspapers, and that could possibly explain the groups' negative sentiment towards the apartheid government. In terms of political attitudes, black, coloured and Indian pupils had strong views against the NP government (Kotzé 1986).

Kotzé (1986) emphasised the significance of the media on political socialisation of school children from different cultural groups during the apartheid era. His study also showed the differences in media exposure and political polarisation among the school children. Despite its importance, the study was not generalisable to the entire South African population because it was restricted to matriculants in the Johannesburg area. The concentration on Johannesburg, which is an urban area, meant that rural school children were not represented in the study. Furthermore, the study did not cover all the age groups

⁸ The study was cross-cultural because the sample group included members of all the country's population and language groups (Kotzé 1986:416).

in South Africa because it focused on school children only. The other shortcoming is that the effect of the media on aspects such as the students' political knowledge and participation was not measured.

Another study on the role of the media in South Africa was undertaken by The School of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, South Africa. The study focused on youth identity, the media and the public sphere in South Africa. The aim of this study was threefold: first, it investigated the ways in which various forms of media, including new media, shaped youth identity in South Africa. Second, it probed the possible ways in which media contributed to the civic identity of South African youth. Third, the study explored whether the media reflected youth voices (Malila 2013).

During the study, three sets of data were collected from 956 respondents, mostly between fifteen and thirty years of age in four provinces: Eastern Cape, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape. The sample was racially split as follows: Black African (57%), Coloured (13%), Indian (11%) and White (6%). In addition to questionnaires, data were also obtained through media content analysis, focus groups in Gauteng, Eastern Cape, and KwaZulu-Natal, and youth policy documents.

The study showed that young people used a wide range of media to access news. The results also indicated that young people used the media to develop their civic identities and they had high levels of trust in the media in general. However, there was a significant lack of interest in politics or topics that related to politics, and low levels of political activity and engagement among the youth. Furthermore, the results showed that young people were mistrustful of politics and political processes in South Africa. Although the study showed how the media shaped youth identity, it did not indicate the impact of the media on the youth's political attitudes, values and behaviour.

1.6.2.5 Secondary groups

In the political socialisation literature there are some scholars who have analysed the influence of secondary groups such as civil society organisations, religious institutions

such as churches, and political parties⁹. Some notable international studies in this regard were conducted by Daniel McFarland and Reuben Thomas (2006), Bogdan Mihai Radu (2010), Alejandro Díaz-Domínguez (2011), and Fulya Atacan and Derya Kömürcü (2014). Within the South African context, some of the studies on the role of secondary groups were undertaken by Keith Vincent Clarkson (1997), Tom Lodge and Ursula Scheidegger (2006), Kirty Ranchod (2007), Freddy Manavhela (2009), and Jacqueline Daku-Mante (2013).

McFarland and Thomas (2006) investigated the role of voluntary associations in political socialisation of young people. They found that voluntary associations played an important role in youth political socialisation. Their study indicated that general involvement in extracurricular activities was important, but that in particular, involvement in politically salient youth organisations (for example, service organisations, Student Council, drama clubs, musical groups, and religious organisations) concerning community service, representation, speaking in public forums, and communal representation increased political participation later in adulthood. McFarland and Thomas used two datasets from the National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS) and the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (*Add Health*). NELS was undertaken by the USA Department of Education in 1988, 1990, 1992 and 2000, focusing on eighth Grade students over a span of twelve years (average age fourteen to twenty-six years). The sample used in NELS consisted of 10 827 students from 1 476 schools. *Add Health* was conducted by Carolina Population Center, at the University of North Carolina, USA. The data for *Add health* were drawn from a nationally representative sample of 14 738 adolescents in Grades seven to twelve in the United States (McFarland and Thomas 2006).

McFarland and Thomas' study provided valuable insight into youth affiliations and the processes by which they influenced political socialisation among young people. The use of multiple longitudinal samples also provided detailed information on how youth associations politically socialised their members. The limitations of McFarland and Thomas' work were that the respondents merely reported having participated in an activity, not whether they were core members, nor what the quality of that membership experience was.

⁹ In this study the term 'church' is used as a generic term for organised religion and would also be applicable to other religious groups such as Muslims, Hindus and Jews.

Furthermore, the research could have provided more information if adult voluntary associations had been studied as well.

The role of the church in political socialisation was investigated by Radu (2010). He observed that the church influenced the formation of political attitudes and values among Romanian adolescents. Religious affiliation and patterns of church attendance also influenced adolescents' political participation. In drawing his conclusions, Radu used a representative sample of 1 876 Grade nine Romanian students in 40 schools. The results showed that high school students in Romania seemed to hold similar political attitudes and values irrespective of whether they were Greek Orthodox, Catholic or Protestant. However, Greek Orthodox students tended to have higher levels of intention to participate in elections and were completely opposed to unconventional participation (Radu 2010).

The study by Radu (2010) highlighted the effects of religion and the church on formation of adolescents' political attitudes and values. The significance of the study was that the data was collected from urban and rural Romanian students who belonged to different religious denominations. However, the findings did not represent all Romanian adolescents because the study focused on students in Grade nine only. The role of the church in other parts of the world was not examined because the study was limited to the role of church in Romania. The other limitation of the study was that there was no substantive evidence indicating that the church actually transmitted the political attitudes and values to the adolescents. It is possible that the adolescents may have acquired their political attitudes and values from other socialisation agents other than the church. In addition, the researcher did not examine the political relevance of the information that was disseminated by the church to the congregants. Overall, the study could have provided more valuable information if it had included the church clergy. The study was also weakened by the fact that the findings on political participation were based on the respondents' intention to vote and not actual political participation.

Diaz-Dominguez (2011) found that the church had little effect on political socialisation, especially regarding political knowledge and participation. This conclusion was different from the findings by Radu (2010). By using data from the 2010 AmericasBarometer surveys, Diaz-Dominguez (2011) found that religion (Christian denominations) did not

always increase political knowledge. The 2010 AmericasBarometer surveys were conducted by Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) through face-to-face interviews with nationally representative samples in 24 nations in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as web surveys in the United States and Canada. Diaz-Dominguez concluded that there was little difference in political knowledge across Christian denominations and also in comparison to the non-religious groups. In addition, the results indicated that possibly the church services were not used to communicate political messages.

Diaz-Dominguez's conclusions were more valid because large amount of data from 43 990 respondents were utilised. However, the study was restricted to one variable namely, political knowledge. The findings could have been enriched by including other important variables such as political attitudes and values. Furthermore, the study did not investigate the impact of political knowledge on the respondents' political participation.

Atacan and Kömürcü (2014) studied the role of political parties in Turkey. They carried out a study on youth political socialisation in Turkish political parties namely, Justice and Development Party (JDP) and Republican People's Party (RPP). The purpose of the study was to understand political socialisation and the role of party organisation within these two parties. Atacan and Kömürcü found that youth branches within the two parties functioned as socialising agents for partisanship and organisational learning process. The youth branches did not only introduce young party members to party ideology, but they served as a kind of political school where the members gradually became acquainted with political and party life. The young party members adopted the parties' rules, norms and values.

The study provided valuable information on how Turkish political parties contributed to youth political socialisation. However, the limitation of the study was its restriction to young members of the two parties. The study could have been strengthened by including the older generation as well.

Through his doctoral study, Clarkson (1997) assessed the political role of the UDF in South African politics from 1983 to 1990. The findings showed that the UDF succeeded in organising, coordinating and leading protests and resistance against the apartheid

government. Since its inception in 1983, the UDF engaged in political socialisation through mass mobilisation of black, coloured and Indian communities. Other political socialisation activities that were carried out by the UDF included the dissemination of political information on the use of non-violent struggle and how to organise for group action, training and education of UDF activists and supporters on actions of resistance and protest, and holding of political discussion sessions at local level. In addition, the UDF launched a large variety of grassroots protest rallies and meetings, consumer boycotts, rent boycotts and strikes (Clarkson 1997).

During the study, Clarkson used a variety of books, historical papers, media reports, local newspapers, magazines, publications by the ANC, UDF, COSATU, and South African Communist Party (SACP), videos, court transcripts, pamphlets, and commission reports. In addition, he held interviews with several former UDF activists and ANC members. The use of various primary and secondary sources enabled him to gather a large amount of information, and thus enriching the validity of his conclusions (Clarkson 1997).

However, the limitation of Clarkson's study was that the media reports he used might have contained inaccurate information due to censorship by the apartheid government and also propagandistic viewpoints from the UDF. In his thesis, Clarkson mentioned that he conducted interviews with several former UDF activists and ANC members. The researcher could have presented more reliable and balanced findings if he had also held face-to-face interviews with ordinary people and community leaders who resided in areas where the UDF was politically active.

In 2005, Lodge and Scheidegger (2006) studied the role of political parties on democratic governance in South Africa. Their work focused on six South African political parties namely, the ANC, DA, IFP, United Democratic Movement (UDM), Independent Democrats (ID), and African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP). The above-mentioned political parties were considered significant for the study due to their electoral performance in the 2004 general elections. During the study, aspects such as the parties' founding and establishment, policy development, membership, electoral activities and external relations received attention.

Lodge and Scheidegger (2006) collected data from different websites, party documentation, press reports and interviews with political party members and representatives. The results of the study indicated that South African political parties played an important role in the functioning and consolidation of democracy. Although the study was significant it did not show how the political parties actually influenced the citizens' political socialisation.

The study by Ranchod (2007) focused on the relationship between the state and civil society organisations in South Africa since 1994. She conducted a desk research, incorporating work done by the Centre for Policy Studies, the Centre for Civil Society and a number of other sources such as articles, research reports and discussion papers. Ranchod provided an explanation of how civil society organisations had influenced and engaged the government during the new dispensation. Her discussion indicated that civil society organisations such as COSATU, South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), and the Landless People's Movement (LPM) engaged in many political activities such as lobbying, strike action, mass mobilisation of citizens through protest marches, boycotts and stay-aways, and public policy debates in community halls, radio stations and newspaper articles.

Although Ranchod's work did not specifically focus on political socialisation, it provided some important insight into how civil society organisations influenced the political socialisation process through a variety of activities. Perhaps, the study could have been enriched through interviews with citizens and key informants from civil society organisations and government.

Manavhela (2009) focused on the political role of the church in South Africa. The study revealed that Afrikaans-speaking Dutch reformed churches, namely Gereformeerde Kerk, Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika (NHKA) and Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) supported and justified apartheid policies on biblical grounds. The above-mentioned churches politically socialised their members and the broader Afrikaner community in South Africa through church magazines like the *Die Kerkbode*; *Die Kerkblad*; *Op die Horizon*; *Kerk en Stad*. The NGK was politically involved to such an extent that most of the members of parliament were its church members as well. On the other hand,

there were also religious groups mostly consisting of black churches that were against apartheid. For example, the Anglicans, Catholics, and Presbyterians under the South African Council of Churches (SACC) opposed the apartheid system.

The data for the study were drawn from various books, Synod reports and minutes, ecclesiastic magazines and newspapers, internet sources, and general contributions from the ANC, and United Nations. In drawing his conclusions, Manavhela relied mostly on documentary sources. The study could have been strengthened by in-depth interviews with key informants such as political leaders, church leaders, church congregants, journalists, and news editors. Furthermore, method triangulation could have enhanced the reliability and validity of the research findings¹⁰.

Similar to the study by Clarkson (1997), Daku-Mante (2013) also examined the political role of the UDF in South African politics during the 1980s. In her study, she also focused on the activities of other political parties such as the ANC and PAC. The study included an assessment of the political strategies employed by the UDF, ANC and PAC in their resistance against apartheid. Daku-Mante observed that these political parties organised and mobilised black communities against the apartheid government through demonstrations and marches. Besides mass mobilisation and civil disobedience, the ANC and PAC were also instrumental in political socialisation through celebration of days such as Sharpeville Day, Soweto Day, South African Freedom Day and Women's Day.

Daku-Mante drew data from primary and secondary sources such as books, journal articles, documents containing debates of Parliament, speeches of notable political figures such as the former President of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, and documents from various political parties and pressure groups such as the UDF and ANC. The study clearly presented the significant role of the UDF, ANC and PAC in the political socialisation of black, coloured and Indian communities. Although important documentary sources were used in the study, the researcher could have augmented the data through face-to-face interviews with political leaders, activists, journalists, community leaders and ordinary citizens.

¹⁰ Method triangulation refers to a combination of the use of two or more research methods to investigate the same phenomenon (Mogalakwe 2006:228).

In the preceding discussion, various agents that influence the political socialisation process have been identified. The studies presented in this review highlighted the significance of socialisation agents in acquisition of political orientations.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methodology of the study is presented in this section. The discussion covers the research method, data collection, and data processing and analysis. A detailed discussion on data collection, sampling design, data processing and analysis is provided in chapter three.

1.7.1 Research method

The research employed a case study design using a qualitative approach. The reason for using a qualitative approach is that it is particularly suitable for studying complex social phenomena in a context of limited or no prior information, when the intention is to examine characteristics that distinguish individuals, groups or communities (Du Plooy 2001; Leedy and Ormrod 2005; Yin 1994).

A case study is defined as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used” (Yin 1994:13). A case study is a suitable way to research an area in which few previous studies have been undertaken (Onatu 2013:171). “It selects a small geographical area or a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of study” (Zainal 2007:1). It is normally used when the focus of the study is to answer “how” and “why” questions (Yin 1994:6).

The type of case study chosen for this research was intrinsic. The researcher opted for an intrinsic case study because the aim was to examine the case for its own sake (Zainal 2007:4). That is, the researcher particularly has an interest in understanding the process of political socialisation within a rural and traditional setting. Thus, the researcher had a genuine interest in the case, in order to have a better understanding of political socialisation within this particular rural setting. But at the same time, the use of a case

study method in this research could add to existing knowledge on political socialisation and also help to develop theory (Yin 1994:27). Thus, the findings of this case study could also be instrumental in augmenting the body of knowledge and theory on political socialisation within a rural and traditional setting (see Baxter and Jack 2008:548).

This case study used a micro level approach to address the research problem. Political socialisation is normally studied using macro- and micro- level approaches (Johnson and Hamalian 1983:20). The main difference between the above-mentioned approaches is that, with macro-level studies the focus is on how political systems inculcate appropriate norms, practices, attitudes and behaviours in citizens in order to sustain these political systems through generations. On the other hand, micro-level studies focus on “the patterns and processes by which individuals engage in political development and learning, constructing their particular relationships to the political contexts in which they live” (Owen 2008).

Calais village was selected as the case for several reasons. Rural areas are geographically the largest section of South Africa and they continue to be important within the South African political landscape. Despite the political significance of rural areas in South Africa, there is limited scholarly work on rural political socialisation. The selection of Calais village was considered to be relevant because the aim of the study was to have a better understanding of political socialisation within a rural and traditional setting. Thus, the village proved to be a suitable vantage point for studying political socialisation within a rural and traditional environment. Calais village satisfied the requirements for the case because of its traditional leadership, strong traditional culture, high levels of unemployment, poverty and illiteracy.

The study has academic value because it could identify agents of political socialisation that have not been identified in previous studies and also augment the scant existing literature on political socialisation in South Africa. Another reason for selecting Calais village as the focus of the study is the researcher’s ability to speak SePedi, which is the language spoken in the area.

1.7.2 Data collection

Individual face-to-face interviews were used as data collection instruments in the study. The interviews were conducted in July 2016, before the 2016 South African local government elections which were held on 3 August 2016. Conducting the interviews during this period might have influenced the results of the study. The patterns of political behaviour and participation among the respondents might have been affected by campaign activities of political parties in the area as well as the media coverage of pre-election political activities.

A total of forty (40) individual face-to-face interviews were conducted to obtain data from the respondents. The interviews were conducted with ordinary residents of the research setting, namely Calais village. All the respondents who participated in the interviews were eighteen years and older. An interview questionnaire was used during the interviews. The interviews were done in order to allow the researcher to clarify questions to the respondents, establish rapport with respondents, and also obtain detailed and fresh information.

1.7.3 Data processing and analysis

After collecting the data, the researcher then processed and analysed them. Data processing involved editing, coding and capturing. Once the data had been processed, they were analysed and recorded on frequency tables, bar charts and pie charts, and also expressed as percentages.

1.8 DEMARCATION OF THE STUDY

The study is demarcated as follows:

- The research is a single case study focusing on the political socialisation of adult residents in one rural community, namely Calais village. Thus, the study is not representative of the whole South African population.
- Political socialisation is normally studied using macro- and micro- level approaches (Johnson and Hamalian 1983:20). The main difference between the above-mentioned approaches is that, with macro-level studies the focus is on how political systems inculcate appropriate norms, practices, attitudes and behaviours in citizens in order to sustain these political systems through generations. On the other hand, micro-level studies focus on “the patterns and processes by which individuals engage in political development and learning, constructing their particular relationships to the political contexts in which they live” (Owen 2008). This study used the micro-level approach as opposed to the macro-level approach.

This study concentrates on how adult residents in Calais village have been and still are politically socialised; and furthermore, to assess the impact of the socialisation process on the residents’ political behaviour. The study does not focus on how the South African political system, for example political leaders, parliament and government institutions, instills norms, practices, attitudes and behaviours in residents in Calais village.

- In terms of the respondents’ characteristics, the study focused on male and female adults who permanently reside in Calais village. Although childhood experiences may be part of the socialisation process, the study did not investigate how children are being socialised because more interest was on the outcomes of the socialisation process in terms of adults’ political behaviour.
- In the study the focus is on identifying the most important agents of socialisation and their importance in citizens’ political socialisation. The study does not

investigate the detail of each sub-category of a specific socialisation agent. For example, it examines the role of the extended family as a broad category, but does not break it down into maternal and paternal uncles and aunts, or cousins. Likewise, on the role of the communication media the study examines the broad categories of media. For example, on the importance of television the study does not break it down to private and public programmes, or the type and timing of programmes or even the language of the programmes.

1.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The limitations of the study are as follows:

- The first limitation of this study is its external validity. Since the study is a single case confined to a rural and traditional setting, namely Calais village, the findings are not generalisable to other communities located in different developmental, political and social contexts. External validity is affected by the village's homogeneity in terms of race, ethnicity and language as it consists of black people who speak the SePedi language. Furthermore, the role of a specific culture was thus not taken into account. In South Africa that could also imply that different cultures may interact differently with the agents of political socialisation. The role of culture could also have implications on the external validity of the study.

Case study research has often been criticised by some scholars on the grounds that its results cannot be scientifically generalised to cases other than the study itself. This means that the sample used in a case study cannot be generalised to society as a whole (Kennedy 1979:663; Zainal 2007:5). Despite the above-mentioned limitation, the findings of this case study could be generalised to a theoretical proposition and not to a population or universe. The generalisation for case studies is not statistical, but analytical. In analytical generalisations, a previously developed theory is used as a basis with which to compare the results of the case study (Rowley 2002:20; Yin 1994:10). This means that the existing theory on political socialisation can be used as a basis to compare the results of this study. Furthermore, it is important to mention that although the findings may not be

generalised to South African society as a whole, they serve as an eye-opener on political socialisation, particularly within a rural and traditional setting.

- The second limitation is the unavailability of Calais' population statistics from which to develop a sampling frame. A sampling frame is defined as a "comprehensive list of all units or elements from which the sample is drawn". It is a list of all those within the target population who can be sampled (Collins, Du Plooy, Grobbelaar, Puttergill, Terreblanche, Van Eeden, Van Rensburg and Wigston 2000). Due to lack of a sampling frame for the study area, the researcher could not draw a representative sample for the study.
- The third limitation is that the study was based on a restricted sample of forty (40) adult residents in Calais village. The size of the sample could lead to a sampling bias or discrepancy between the characteristics of the sample and the actual characteristics of the population. This implies that the findings may not be absolutely conclusive. It is worth noting that although the sample was limited, the researcher selected the respondents with the necessary characteristics that enabled him to collect useful and sufficient data to address the research problem.
- The fourth limitation is the use of a lengthy interview questionnaire during the study. The length of the questionnaire affected the size of the sample and the number of interviews that could be conducted. However, the benefit of using such a lengthy questionnaire was the issue of completeness. The length of the questionnaire enabled the researcher to obtain sufficient and in-depth information to address all the research objectives.
- The fact that the study was conducted just before the 2016 South African local government elections may have implications for the findings of the study. This is an additional factor that would necessitate a follow-up study with this as a focus.

1.10 CHAPTER OUTLINE

In addition to chapter one, the dissertation consists of five chapters which are outlined as follows:

In chapter two, the theoretical framework of the study is provided. The theoretical framework consists of the following: The historical context of the concept of political socialisation, the definition of the concept of political socialisation; the process of political socialisation; the agents of political socialisation namely, the family, extended family, school, peer groups, mass media and secondary groups.

A detailed discussion on the research methodology used in this study is presented in chapter three. The discussion focuses on the research design, characteristics of the case, sampling design, data collection, ethical issues, and data processing and analysis.

The findings of the study are presented in chapter four. The findings are presented in line with the research objectives.

The research findings are discussed and interpreted in chapter five. The discussion of the research findings flows logically from the data presented in chapter four.

Chapter six is the last chapter of the dissertation. In chapter six, a summary, limitations of the study, suggestions for future research and conclusion of the research report are provided. The conclusion ties together, integrates and synthesises various issues raised in the body of the dissertation.

1.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the introduction of the study, the problem statement, objectives and justification of the study were discussed. The literature review, research methodology, demarcation of the study and limitations were also presented.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the literature review in chapter one, the focus is on identifying trends, issues, limitations and gaps in the literature on political socialisation as an area of specialisation in Political Science. However, in this chapter the focus is on developments in the theory pertaining to political socialisation. A theoretical understanding of political socialisation is essential for purposes of this research. In the first part of this chapter the historical context of the concept of political socialisation is provided. The concept is discussed by tracing its origins and how it has come into use in contemporary political science research. In the second part of the chapter, attention is paid to the concept of political socialisation. The discussion focuses on different definitions by prominent political scholars such as Almond and Verba (1963), Easton and Dennis (1969), Langton (1969) Dawson and Prewitt (1969), Jaros (1973) and Ranney (1982).

In the third part of the chapter, the process of when and how political socialisation occurs is described. The discussion focuses on direct and indirect forms of political socialisation. Furthermore, political socialisation during childhood, adolescence and adulthood is explained. Following from this, agents of political socialisation such as the immediate family, extended family, school and other educational institutions, peers, mass media, secondary groups, as well as other agents within a rural and traditional setting receive attention.

As mentioned in chapter one, the central issue in this study is political socialisation within a traditional and rural setting. The theory on political socialisation does not specifically deal with socialisation within a traditional and rural setting, but it does provide us with valuable knowledge and understanding of political socialisation in general. It is hoped that the results of this study will serve as a guide to inform future research as well as assist in

the development of a theory relevant to political socialisation within a traditional and rural setting.

2.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

For a proper understanding of the phenomenon of political socialisation, it is necessary to have a look at the history and development of the concept. Political socialisation is a particular manifestation of the more general phenomenon of socialisation. The concept of political socialisation was adopted from other behavioural disciplines such as social anthropology, psychiatry, social psychology, and sociology. All these disciplines study socialisation – especially childhood socialisation.

Early scholars of anthropology inquired into the process of socialisation when they investigated different cultures. They discovered that social behaviour differed from society to society and that cultural values were transmitted from one generation to another. For example, anthropologists found that children at a young age, began to learn from their parents and peers about how to behave in their society (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:8; Langton 1969:3).

The field of psychiatry, in turn, has contributed to an understanding of political socialisation through its emphasis on personality development. Psychiatrists such as Sigmund Freud (1938) stressed the importance of early childhood experiences in the development of adult attitudes and values (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:8; Langton 1969:3).

Sociologists such as Charles Cooley (1902) and George Herbert Mead (1934) also studied socialisation especially how group norms and standards are transmitted to individual members. They observed that group norms affected attitudes and behaviour of individual members and on the other hand individual members' orientations affected the functioning and stability of the group. Furthermore, they concluded that a citizen assumes a societal role by behaving in a way that is consistent to the expectations of society (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:10).

As mentioned in chapter one (see section 1.6.1), the origin of the concept of political socialisation is also traced to the classical literature of philosophers such as Plato,

Confucius, Aristotle, Alexis de Tocqueville and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. These classical scholars contributed immensely to the theoretical knowledge on political socialisation. They stressed the importance of early childhood political learning for the stability and persistence of world political systems (Dennis 1967:1; Dawson and Prewitt 1969:6; Langton 1969:3; Jaros 1973:9; Sears 1975:94; Bennett 2007:2).

Political scientists, however, have adapted the concept for their theoretical interests and needs. Political scientists began to use information from other disciplines to study socialisation within a political context. In the early 1950s, the term “political socialisation” was introduced to the field of political science by Herbert Hyman (1959) through his seminal systematic work on political socialisation. Hyman’s work identified the family as the supreme agent in the political socialisation process (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:11).

It is evident from this overview that the study of political socialisation as currently conceived emanates from a number of behavioural disciplines. The discussion provided in this section demonstrates the diverse roots of political socialisation scholarship. Thus, an understanding of how the concept originated is critical in the study of political socialisation.

2.3 DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Various scholars have provided different definitions of the concept of political socialisation. Most definitions stress the importance of the relationship between an individual and the political system (Petrović et al 2014:4). Some definitions of political socialisation focus on the individual, while others emphasise the important role of the political system. For example, Almond and Verba (1963), Easton and Dennis (1969), Langton (1969), and Nwabuzor and Mueller (1985) present political socialisation as a function of the political system, while Dawson and Prewitt (1969), Jaros (1973) and Ranney (1982) view the individual as more important in the political socialisation process.

Almond and Verba (1963), define political socialisation as a process through which an individual is inducted into a political culture. Political culture includes a nation’s political traditions, citizens’ political passions, political stereotypes, political style, and political

moods. Conceptualised roughly, political culture is the pattern of distribution of the citizens' political orientations. Almond and Verba therefore argue that an individual does not inherit his political orientations through his genes, but he comes to understand his role and fits into the political culture of the society he is a member of through the process of political learning. Political socialisation is therefore the way in which a society transmits political orientations - knowledge, attitudes and values - from one generation to the next generation.

Almond and Verba (1963) state that political socialisation performs three tasks in relation to political culture namely, maintenance, transformation and creation. First, it maintains a nation's political culture through the inter-generational transfer of a culture. Second, it transforms the political culture by leading the population or parts of it, to view and experience politics differently from the manner it did in the past. Third, socialisation creates a culture by changing old, and creating new political structures and social arrangements. The above functions mean that in any society, political socialisation maintains some cultural values, changes others and introduces new ones.

Easton and Dennis (1969) emphasise that political socialisation needs to be understood or approached within the broader theory of political systems. According to them, political socialisation is developmental processes through which people acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour. They regard political socialisation as the mechanism through which an individual accords legitimacy to the political system and develops a sense of political community. Political socialisation is therefore essential in ensuring the stability and persistence of a political system. System changes or adaptation, and persistence are both potential goals of a political system, and therefore socialisation provides a system maintenance element to the prevailing activities and structure of the system. The political system is maintained through the process of political socialisation if it is able to handle the demands or stresses from its citizenry (Easton and Dennis 1969).

Easton and Dennis present a three-level classification of political phenomena which is influenced by political socialisation. The three levels are government, the regime and political community. Government consists of individuals responsible for strategic decision making. Regime refers to political rules that determine political authority and also define

what is expected of citizens. Political community is the national identity that is shared by members of a society. Easton and Dennis view political socialisation essential in maintaining these three levels of a political system (Easton and Dennis 1969).

The definition by Langton (1969) is similar to that provided by Almond and Verba (1963). He defines political socialisation as the way in which society passes on its political culture from one generation to the other. Political socialisation is important in preserving traditional political norms, standards and institutions. However, the socialisation process can also have an opposite effect and bring about political and social change when socialisation agents, such as the family, peers, schools, organisations and the media, inculcate political values that are different from those of the past or when children are raised with political orientations that are different from their forebears (Langton 1969).

Nwabuzor and Mueller (1985:64) also define political socialisation as the way society transmits its political culture from generation to generation. Nwabuzor and Mueller present a similar definition to that of Almond and Verba (1963), and Langton (1969) because they emphasise the significance of society in transmitting political culture from one generation to another. They view political socialisation as one aspect of the general process of socialisation which every person undergoes. They explain that political socialisation is the aspect of the socialisation process which deals with political orientations and characteristics of the population and it is the process of teaching and learning about all aspects of the political system. Children and to a lesser extent adults, acquire cognitive, affective and evaluational orientations towards the political system.

Similarly, Dawson and Prewitt (1969) define political socialisation as a process through which political orientations are passed on from one generation to the next. It is a way in which one generation passes on political attitudes and values to subsequent generations. They call this “cultural transmission”, and it involves the passing on of political norms through agents such as the family and peer groups. Political socialisation is described as a process which opens up the political world to an individual. In their definition, Dawson and Prewitt mention that an individual acquires his/her “political self” as he moves from childhood, through adolescence and into adulthood. An individual gradually acquires a “political self”, that is, a sense of personal identification with the political world as he/she

moves from childhood, through adolescence and into adulthood. Seen from this perspective, the individual acquires basic political orientations during childhood, and more specific political understanding and behaviour during adolescence and adulthood. The “political self” is not born, but rather it is acquired through political learning as opposed to a natural maturation process of a person. The “political self” is never finalised as the individual continuously encounters new political configurations and events (Dawson and Prewitt 1969).

Jaros (1973) in turn, states that political knowledge, beliefs, values and behaviour patterns do not just happen or are mystically transmitted, but they are learned through training or indoctrination. He describes political socialisation as political learning and he views it as a relationship between people’s behaviour and what goes on in politics. He argues that what happens in politics is dependent on the political behaviour of people. Political socialisation is a process through which a political system transmits political knowledge, beliefs, values and behaviour patterns to citizens. He divides political socialisation into two categories namely, cognitive and affective socialisation. Cognitive socialisation refers to the transmission of political knowledge or information, while affective socialisation is the communication of political beliefs and values (Jaros 1973).

According to Ranney (1982:67), political socialisation is the developmental processes through which people acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour. It is a process by which people develop political attitudes towards their political systems. Ranney emphasises that political socialisation is a learning process because political orientations are not instinctive, but they are learned. Learning of political orientations starts in childhood and continues throughout an individual’s life.

Following from the above discussion of various definitions of the concept of political socialisation, for the purpose of this study, the concept of political socialisation is regarded as a process through which people are inducted into a political culture. It is a life-long process through which people acquire political knowledge, values, attitudes, orientations and expectations relating to their political environment. It is also the process through which the political culture is both maintained and altered. Furthermore, it is considered as a process that is particularly important to a political system.

2.4 THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

In this section, the process of political socialisation is described. Two aspects are important in the discussion, namely direct and indirect forms of political socialisation, as well as how political socialisation happens in different life stages.

2.4.1 Direct and indirect political socialisation

Political socialisation may take the form of either direct or indirect transmission or some combination of both. Direct political socialisation, which Almond and Coleman (1960) refer to as manifest political socialisation, happens through direct teaching or indoctrination. In direct political socialisation, the content of the orientations that are transmitted is political. It involves the explicit communication of information, values or objects toward political phenomena. It is made up of political lessons, political history, the functioning of the political institutions, the behaviour expected of citizens, the respect accorded to political leaders and the proper method of political participation. During direct socialisation, the individual learns openly about the structure of his/her government, political parties or a particular political ideology. For example, direct socialisation occurs when a parent discusses the political election with his/her child. Another example of direct political socialisation is the teaching of civic education in schools (Almond and Coleman 1960:28; Dawson and Prewitt 1969:63; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985:67).

Indirect socialisation also referred to as latent political socialisation by Almond and Coleman (1960), is the transmission of predispositions which are not in themselves political, but which ultimately influence the development of political orientations. These acquired non-political predispositions are then directed toward political objects to form political orientations. Indirect political socialisation thus involves a two-step process; acquiring a general disposition and then transferring it to political phenomena. For example, a child can develop certain expectations from people in authority such as parents and teachers. He/she may acquire a general disposition toward authority in general. Later on, this general disposition is directed towards political authorities. The fundamental point here is that non-political lessons and experiences can have political effects. An individual's political self is embedded in his/her entire belief system. A person's general belief system, which is acquired through many different types of social experience,

has indirect political content (Almond and Coleman 1960:28; Dawson and Prewitt 1969:63; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985:67).

Dawson and Prewitt (1969:64), however caution that direct and indirect political socialisation should not be confused with distinctions between intentional and unintentional forms of teaching. Intentional socialisation is deliberate, purposeful and thoughtful teaching of political knowledge, values, and skills to an individual. On the other hand, unintentional socialisation is the opposite of intentional socialisation. Unintentional socialisation takes place in an unplanned, unintended and non-deliberate manner. Pairing of direct socialisation with intentional teaching and indirect socialisation with unintentional transmission is incorrect and that impairs the usefulness of both distinctions. For example, direct political socialisation may be intentional when a father teaches his son the history of their favourite political party. Direct socialisation may be unintentional when a person learns to abide by the laws of the country by overhearing his friends narrate how they suffered while in prison. Indirect socialisation can also be intentional if workers are told that “good citizens” are those who pay their income tax. According to Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977:96), the critical distinction between direct and indirect forms of socialisation is not the overt intent of the socialisation agent, but whether or not the initial socialisation experiences is infused with specific political content.

2.4.1.1 Direct political socialisation

Direct political socialisation occurs mainly through the following four ways, namely imitation, anticipatory political socialisation, instruction or political education, motivation or political experiences (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985; Rush 1992; Kidd 2011).

First, imitation is the conscious (done deliberately) or unconscious copying of values and behaviour of others and normally occurs when an individual copies the attitudes of people he or she is with or would like to be with. Imitation usually grows out of a need to be accepted. Consciously or not, children especially pick up an important part of social, cultural and religious preferences from adults and adopt them as their own. Young and

old, the intelligent and those less intellectual, use imitation as a form of political learning (Dawson 1969:74; Rush 1992; Kidd 2011).

Imitation has both positive and negative manifestations. A positive manifestation is when an individual would imitate the behaviour of other people so that they accept him into their group or he would imitate their behaviour because they are significant people in his life. For example, a child would imitate the political attitudes of his siblings because they are very important people in his life. But political imitation can also take place in a negative manner, when an individual deliberately denies adopting the political values of his parents or other authorities. Negative imitation normally happens among the youth when they seek to be different from older generations (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:74; Dawson et al 1977).

Second, anticipatory socialisation is a method of political learning which is similar to imitation. This method of political learning is applicable to people who hope for professional jobs or aspire to occupy high social positions. As these people anticipate holding such positions, they start to take on the values and behaviour related to those roles long before they occupy them. Anticipatory socialisation is mostly seen in professional schools where Law and medical students, for example, begin to think and behave like lawyers and medical doctors. In politics, for example, a political activist who aspires to hold a high political position in future would prepare him or herself for political office long before he or she is elected to office (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:75).

Third, political education or instruction is the transmission of political orientations through formal education or less formally through the family, discussion groups, political parties, civil society organisations and government departments. Political education differs from imitation and anticipatory socialisation in the sense that the initiative is taken by the socialiser rather than the person being socialised. An example of political education is when students are taught about politics through the schooling system. Many schools in countries such as the USA, Britain, Germany and Russia provide political education through a formal curriculum commonly known as civic education (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:76; Dawson et al 1977; Rush 1992).

Political education is important in any society. Citizens should at least have basic knowledge about their political rights and responsibilities in order for them to effectively participate in their political system. They should have information about their government, how it operates and what the accepted norms are. For a country to operate efficiently and effectively, its citizens should know their political duties such as paying taxes, obeying laws and conservation of their environment. Most countries do provide political education to their citizens to promote loyalty, patriotism and support for political institutions (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:76). For example, the South African government encourages citizens to know and sing the national anthem.

Lastly, political socialisation takes place through motivation or political experiences when an individual learns about politics through his or her interaction with political personalities, structures and events. Although political learning does occur in non-political settings, much political learning takes place through observations and experiences in the political process. Political learning through motivation or experiences is more relevant to adults than among children. Adults usually have the opportunity to contact public officials or have a direct experience with public policies. An example of political socialisation through political experiences is when people support a government that produces public policies which satisfy their needs and wants. Another example of political socialisation through political experiences is when people feel that they can influence political action if the government is responsive to their wishes (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:78; Rush 1992).

From the above discussion, it is clear that direct political learning happens in different ways and it involves transmission of orientations which are specifically political in nature. For example, identification with a particular political party is most often transmitted directly to an individual by his family, his close associates or groups to which he belongs.

2.4.1.2 Indirect political socialisation

Indirect political socialisation consists of the following three methods of learning: interpersonal transference, apprenticeship and generalisation (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:65; Dawson et al 1977; Stone and Schaffner 1988).

First, interpersonal transference is a type of political learning in which a child acquires predispositions through experiences with non-political role models such as parents and teachers. As the child becomes aware of the political world or when he/she grows into adulthood, he/she transfers the predispositions acquired through experiences with non-political role models onto figures in the political system. For example, a child who grows up in a democratic or participant family learns to participate in the family's decision making and not submit blindly to people in authority. Thus, the family experience lays a base for democratic political orientations in the child. When that child becomes an adult he/she is likely to define his political role as a democratic one, in which he/she will share power, participate in decision making and not submit blindly to political authority (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:68; Kidd 2011).

Dawson and Prewitt (1969:67) state that the issue of whether an adult has democratic or authoritarian political orientations is presumed to be entrenched in his/her earliest experiences with non-political authority. A study by Easton and Hess (1962) analysed interpersonal transference among American grammar school children. The findings showed that school children, who acquired benevolent orientations towards the American President as a central authority figure, may have transferred the image of their parents to the President. Easton and Hess established that the authority with which the children had contact was their parents, and it was this image of authority that they subsequently transferred to political figures that crossed their vision.

The second method of indirect socialisation, apprenticeship, is similar to interpersonal transference. Apprenticeship is similar to interpersonal transference because an individual also acquires behaviour and experiences in non-political situations. However, it differs in the sense that the behaviour and experiences in non-political settings equip the individual with skills and values which are then used in the political system. The non-political activities are viewed as apprenticeship or training for political activities. The individual uses the various skills and values he/she acquires from non-political experiences to find his/her way through the political system. An example of apprenticeship is the children's character training organisations such as scouts and Little Leagues which are found in the USA. These organisations are crucial for political learning because they train children to: compete, but to compete only within the rules; win, but also accept defeat with grace;

choose leaders by popular vote and to penalise their mistakes by voting them out of office (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:69; Stone and Schaffner 1988; Kidd 2011).

Apprenticeship normally happens during late childhood, adolescence and adulthood within the family, school and work. A five-nation study by Almond and Verba (1963) showed that non-political activities in the family, school and work were all related to participation in political life. They pointed out that the role that an individual plays within the family, the school and job may be regarded as training for the performance of political roles. Participation in non-political activities may provide an individual with skills needed to engage in political participation (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:70).

Third, generalisation is very much related to the forms of indirect political socialisation that have been discussed above, namely interpersonal transference and apprenticeship. In general, political attitudes developed as social values are extended toward political objects. This means that a person's belief system contains dormant or inactive political content. The general values that have no reference to specific political issues normally play an important role in the shaping of political culture. An example of generalisation is with a person who is distrustful of other people. That person would normally view politicians or politics in a distrustful manner (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:72; Stone and Schaffner 1988; Kidd 2011).

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the process of political socialisation can occur either directly or indirectly. In studying political socialisation within a traditional and rural setting, it is therefore important to understand that some political orientations may be acquired through direct political learning, while others may result from indirect action.

2.4.2 The life cycle and political socialisation

Political socialisation is a life-long and on-going developmental process which begins early in life and continues until old age or death. There are many differences in the content and pace of political socialisation from one person to another and one culture to another or subculture to another. Despite these differences, there are sufficient similarities among people in the whole world that it is possible to outline the socialisation developmental cycle

in general terms (Ranney 1982; Jackson and Jackson 2003). In this section, the discussion will pay attention to the process of political socialisation throughout the human life cycle.

2.4.2.1 Political socialisation during childhood

The political socialisation process begins in childhood and it is based on primacy and structuring principles (see section 1.6.1). Political socialisation starts at an early age when a child forms an attachment to the symbols of the political system such as the President, the police officer and the flag. As early as the third or fourth year of life, the child first recognises some basic political objects such as the President and the police officer as somehow different from the members of his/her family. In addition to recognition of basic political objects, the child also learns that he/she is part of some collectivities that are bigger and more distant than his/her family – for example, that he is an American, a Jew and so on. Most young children personalise and idealise the political system in which they are brought up and it has been asserted that this attachment is a necessary precondition for loyalty to the political system as children become adults. By the age of seven many children even have political party preferences. As the child progresses through the socialisation process he/she develops a “political self”, which is the entire complex of orientations regarding his/her political world, including his/her views towards his/her own political role (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Searing et al 1973; Searing et al 1976; Ranney 1982; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985).

During childhood, the family is widely recognised as the most influential socialising agent although the school and peers also play a major role. As the child matures he/she interacts with his/her parents, teachers and peers, and learns about the political world. At this stage the child’s political knowledge generally develops from the individualised and personalised to the more general and abstract. The child develops specific knowledge and feelings toward political institutions. These feelings are neither fundamental nor as intense as the basic attachments and loyalties to the political system, but they are important to the overall functioning of the political system. As the child grows, the socialisation process continues, so do his/her political orientations change and develop (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Ranney 1982:67; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985:65).

2.4.2.2 Political socialisation during adolescence

As the child reaches adolescence the political socialisation process assumes new dimensions. Adolescence is the critical phase in life in which young people learn about their democratic responsibilities and acquire political attitudes that translate into adult political behaviour and opinions. Before adolescents reach the legal voting age, they develop basic opinions about politics and society that tend to stay stable over time (Langton 1969; Pacheco 2008).

Various authors have documented the socialisation role of the family, school, peers and the media during adolescence. The family exerts influence on the socialisation of adolescents by transmitting political attitudes such as partisanship, party identification and voting preferences. Parents influence adolescents' political development through political discussion, explicit political teaching and by serving as role models. The family can indirectly socialise adolescents through the manner in which decisions are made in the household (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Langton 1969; Jaros 1973; Quintelier et al 2007; Bachner 2010).

Although the family plays a crucial role during adolescence, its influence tends to weaken during this stage because other agents such as schools, peer groups and mass media begin to have more impact. It has been observed that agents such as peer groups and the mass media supplement the socialising functions of the family by preparing the adolescent for more specific political experiences. Such supplementation is essential in the modern context because the family is not always able to prepare children successfully for full social and political status, so that they can participate in complex political structures (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Jaros 1973; Newman and Newman 2006; Quintelier et al 2007; Lee, Shah, and McLeod 2013).

Many studies have established that the school socialises adolescents through the curriculum, the activities of the teacher, the school environment and extracurricular activities (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Langton 1969; Jaros 1973; Bar-Tal and Harel 2002; Bachner 2010) – (see section 2.5.3). For example, the importance of the school curriculum was highlighted in a study by Jennifer Bachner (2010). She found that high school civic

education courses strengthened students' psychological engagement with politics by increasing their political knowledge. Her study also revealed that students who complete a year of coursework in American Government/Civics were more likely to vote in an election following high school than those without exposure to civic education.

It has been observed that peer groups socialise young people both direct and indirectly through youth-led activist groups, extracurricular activities and interaction at school. Such peer-to-peer socialisation experiences provide the young people with opportunities for developing their political orientations (Jaros 1973; LaPlant 1998) – (see section 2.5.4).

The mass media, especially interactive digital media contributes significantly to the development and maturation of young people's political identity. For example, text messaging, e-mail, and online video sharing, enable public self-expression and information sharing, both of which are important political and civic learning opportunities. These communication channels also provide young people with the means to voice concerns directly relevant to their lifestyles (Gotlieb, Kyoung, Gabay, Riddle and Shah 2015).

2.4.2.3 Political socialisation during adulthood

Although much political socialisation does take place during childhood and adolescence, the acquisition of political orientations - sometimes even major changes in basic loyalties and identifications - occurs during adulthood. It has been observed that few societies are able to adequately prepare children for a variety of adult political roles, although some societies undertake that responsibility better than others. Thus, political socialisation cannot be fully completed during childhood (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:52). However, some scholars argue that basic orientations learned during childhood are relatively lasting throughout life and they also shape political learning in adulthood (Searing et al 1973:421; Searing et al 1976:83) – (see section 1.6.1).

Political socialisation during adulthood takes place due to changes in people's lifestyle, people's experiences in the workplace and family, as well as their participation in various political activities. When most people reach adulthood, they complete their formal

education, become employed or open businesses, marry, and buy houses and other property. As a result of these changes in life, most people may become more concerned about politics. Their political preferences may become more intense, their political party affiliations may become stronger and they may be more likely to vote and participate in politics. The changes in occupation, income level, and reference groups may alter people's political orientations learned in childhood and adolescence. People's daily experiences in the workplace and family can also affect their political positions. For example, an individual may hold a certain political view due to the influences he/she acquires from his work environment or family (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:57; Ranney 1982:69).

Within the workplace, people may develop or learn political skills by participating in work-related associations such as trade unions. The work-related associations are more directly comparable to those associations found in the family and school. If the workplace is unionised, an individual can learn to join with others and fight for his/her rights. Participation in trade union is likely to influence an individual's attitude towards his/her political system (Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985).

In addition to participation in workplace associations such as trade unions, an individual may be politically socialised as a result of direct political experiences. If an individual continually experiences bureaucratic indifference, police brutality or repressive politicians he/she may develop new political attitudes. As people become adults they start to learn more from the political world (Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985). Major political events can also affect the political socialisation of adults. An individual can switch his/her political party preferences, ideological stance or even national loyalty due to a certain catastrophic political event (Ranney 1982:82). For example, the end of the apartheid system in South Africa might have influenced some citizens to alter their political positions.

An adult's participation in political activities can change or alter his political attitudes or values. For example, voting, campaigning, engaging in political discussion, attending rallies and political meetings, and paying attention to political news in the media can change or alter old, and create new political attitudes and values. By paying attention to political news in the media, an individual can acquire new political knowledge and thus

revise his or her old information about politics (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:59; Ranney 1982:69).

The above discussion has highlighted that political socialisation is a life-long process which takes place throughout the life of an individual. It was stressed that the process of political socialisation begins at childhood, and then it proceeds to adolescence and adulthood.

2.5 AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

All societies have elements and institutions that transmit political knowledge, attitudes and values among their citizens. These elements and institutions are known as agents of political socialisation. The family, school, peer groups, mass media and secondary groups are usually recognised as the most important agents of political socialisation (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:99; Jaros 1973; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985; Petrović et al 2014:7). Currently, there is no consensus among political scientists on the exact influence of each agent in the formation of political orientations. However, these agents seem to be active in all cultural settings, in spite of wide variations in their precise roles and impact from one cultural setting to the next (Carlson 1975:28).

2.5.1 The family

The family is generally regarded as the most important agent of political socialisation because of the tenacity and intensity of political orientations which are acquired early in life. The role of the family is of particular importance during childhood political socialisation. It is the most powerful socialisation agent because a child develops his/her early impressions of the world within the family environment. The family is the first human group of which the child becomes aware. It is in the family where a person learns the core principles of who they are and what is expected of them. The family provides the first learning context for a person and the family will under normal circumstances continue with this role throughout a person's life cycle (Ranney 1982; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985; Botha 2014).

The significance of the family in the acquisition of political orientations is not surprising as it has been given priority by Jennings and Richard Niemi (1968), Kubota and Ward (1969), Jennings et al (2001), Andolina et al (2003), and Quintelier et al (2007) – (section 1.6.2.1). The family brings individuals into politics indirectly by shaping their opportunities to acquire education, jobs and income. It directly stimulates political interest, information and overall political activity through exposure to politics at home (Tossutti 2009).

2.5.1.1 Direct socialisation in the family

During the political socialisation process, direct socialisation in the family takes place through teaching or indoctrination and imitation. Teaching or indoctrination usually happens when the family directly transmits political orientations to its members. It has been observed that parents teach or indoctrinate their children through political discussions and explicit instructions. When parents have political discussion with their children they deliberately pass on political knowledge, attitudes, interest, norms and values to them. Usually, young children experience their first political discussions and activities together with their parents and/or siblings. Young children tend to share the political preferences, attitudes and beliefs of their parents or siblings. Within the family, an individual learns his/her set of social and gender roles. He/she learns what is expected of him/her and how to relate to other people (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985).

Through explicit instructions, parents also pass on their political loyalties, prejudices and biases to their children. Children are given clear instructions on how they should behave towards political authority. By way of instructions children learn attitudes of deference to or rejection of political authority as well as attitudes toward political participation (Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985).

Political socialisation through imitation happens when a child copies the political attitudes, values, and roles of parents and/or siblings. Intentionally or not, children pick up the political attitudes, values, and roles of their adults and/or siblings and adopt them as their own. The parental role model influences the children's interest in politics positively or negatively and also enhances their recruitment into the politics. These attitudes and

behaviour patterns learnt in the family form the base for future socialisation experiences. Thus, it has been observed that there is a tendency for children's political attitudes and preferences to resemble those of their parents (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Langton 1969; Jaros 1973; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985; Singh 2013).

2.5.1.2 Indirect socialisation in the family

Although the family performs much direct political socialisation, some of the socialisation that takes place happens without systematic planning, organisation or intention. Indirect political socialisation in the family occurs when there is transmission of attitudes and values that are non-political in nature, but influence the development of an individual's political orientations. Often, parents perform indirect political socialisation by developing their children's personalities and non-political attitudes and values. Usually when indirect socialisation takes place, parents politically socialise their children without even knowing it (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:108; Jaros 1973:88; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985; Quintelier et al 2007).

Parents are able to develop their children's personalities, non-political attitudes and values because they enjoy a dominant position in the early life of their children. The personality traits, non-political attitudes and values that children acquire within the family shape the way in which they react to political phenomena. Thus, parental practices, though they may be non-political and have no political motivation, may have significant impact on children's political behaviour (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:108; Jaros 1973:88; Quintelier et al 2007; Singh 2013).

The family also shapes the attitudes and behaviour of their children through the manner in which they handle decision making within the home as well as in the way they interact with the external environment. The children learn the decision making style that exists within their home and as they become aware of the political world or when they grow into adulthood, they transfer these predispositions acquired through the family experiences into the political system (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:122; Jaros 1973:94).

2.5.1.3 The role of the family during childhood

As already mentioned in section 2.5.1, the impact of the family is strongest during childhood because the family serves as the first step in the transmission of fundamental values. It also serves as an introduction where the individual learns his/her first set of social roles in the socialisation process. The major contribution of the family in forming the political personality of the child derives from its role as the main source and locus for the satisfaction of all his/her basic innate requirements. The family provides the child with his/her biological needs and social heritage. Each family with its own peculiarities of living, feeling and attitude presents a unique environment for the child. During childhood, the family has almost a monopoly because of the amount of time spent in a family environment. It is during these formative years that the child, including his/her “political self” is developed (Quintelier et al 2007; Singh 2013; Botha 2014).

During childhood, the family politically socialises children in various ways. First, children are politically socialised through political discussion when they are taught about a variety of political issues. For example, parents would directly teach their children about political figures, political parties and the political authority. Second, political socialisation in the family can also take place when the children imitate the political attitudes, values and roles of their parents. Third, the family would influence the political socialisation of children by controlling children’s exposure to the media. For example, the family would influence the consumption of political news when parents decide which newspapers their children read or the television news they watch. Fourth, political socialisation also occurs in an indirect manner when parents develop their children’s personalities and non-political attitudes and values. Parents develop their children’s personalities by promoting some values and discouraging the development of others (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Quintelier et al 2007; Singh 2013).

It has been observed that during childhood the family transmits to children political orientations such as identification of political authorities, partisanship and political party identification. Furthermore, within the family children also inherit many other social

contexts such as race, language and religious affiliations. Since in most cases children have a similar background as their parents, it is expected that parents and children will have similar political orientations (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Quintelier et al 2007; Singh 2013).

2.5.1.4 The role of the family during adolescence

The family plays an important socialisation role during adolescence, although its impact during this stage tends to diminish because other socialisation agents such as schools, peer groups and mass media begin to have more influence (Quintelier et al 2007). Political socialisation during adolescence can take place through political discussion in the home. A study by Hugh McIntosh, Daniel Hart, James Youniss (2007) showed that parents who take the time to talk with their adolescent children about the public affairs of the day can have a positive influence on the civic development of those youth. In addition, Andolina et al (2003) reported that young people aged eighteen to twenty-five years who grew up in families where they regularly heard political discussion in the home; often voted, volunteered, and were otherwise civically involved at higher rates than youth who did not experience this type of home environment.

As in childhood, the family directly socialises adolescents by transmitting attitudes such as partisanship, party identification and voting preferences (Quintelier et al 2007). Transmission of political attitudes can also occur in an indirect manner when specific patterns of decision-making within the family and ways of interacting with the outside world influence an adolescent's political attitudes (Jaros 1973).

2.5.1.5 The role of the family during adulthood

As in other stages of human life such as childhood and adolescence, adults are socialised by political discussion in the family. Most people hold political views that are similar to those of family members. Family members are likely to agree on political matters including political partisanship, vote choice and other political attitudes. The similarity between people who live together is inescapable and has been recorded throughout history (McDevitt and Chaffee 2002; Nickerson 2008).

The influence of political discussion within the family was emphasised by Bello and Rolfe (2014). Through their study, Bello and Rolfe found that adults' political views and attitudes were influenced by political discussion with other family members. The study also revealed that political discussion significantly affected vote choices among family members.

Adult political socialisation within the family also happens between spouses. It has been observed that within families, spouses have very similar political profiles. Even attributes such as party identification which are often viewed as fixed can be influenced by spouses. The possible reason for such correlation in spousal political orientations is the intimacy and frequency of interactions within the household. The high level of interaction, familiarity, respect, and trust among spouses facilitates an open discussion of politics and convergence in political views. The amount of discussion within the household, high correlation in attitudes, and behaviours between partners and convergence over time have led some scholars to conclude that interpersonal influence is the major driver of similarity between spouses (Nickerson 2008).

Often, political socialisation in the family occurs through a top-down process where parents socialise their children. Some studies have construed children as passive recipients of political information handed down by parents. However, there are some scholars who have observed that adults can also be politically socialised by their children. Children politically shape adults' political attitudes and values through a trickle-up influence. Some children can be active participants in shaping the political environment at home by initiating political discussion. They can serve as initiators of political involvement, inspiring their parents to become more politically engaged (McDevitt and Chaffee 2002). In a study by Terriquez and Kwon (2013), it was found that some American immigrant youth who participated in politically oriented community-based organisations politically socialised their immigrant parents by sharing political information and encouraging them to participate in American politics. The immigrant youth taught their foreign parents about American politics and encouraged them to participate in various political activities.

2.5.1.6 Factors affecting the role of the family

There are various factors that influence the role of the family in political socialisation. The family occupies a very important position in the life of a child. It has a monopolistic access to the child's formative years when he/she develops his/her basic political orientations. This means that political views that are acquired during childhood tend to be the most persistently held and thus influence later political development. The relationship and personal ties in the family cannot be matched by any other human relationships. Members of a family normally live in the same environment and that tends to create uniformity in political orientations. The strong emotional ties in the family, particularly during a child's early years, give the family a very prominent role in political socialisation (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:108).

The influence of the family depends on the individuals' level of political interest. Young people are more readily exposed to political socialisation if they have high levels of political interest. Individuals from families that are characterised by overexposure to politics are socialised more effectively and thus tend to participate more in political activities. This means that political socialisation will be more successful if family members have high levels of political interest (Quintelier et al 2007:10).

The family serves as an environment in which an individual develops self identification. An individual's self identification develops through interaction with others, especially parents and fellow siblings. The family provides an individual with physical and psychological needs. The individual comes to realise who he/she is through the manner in which family members react to him and thus he/she thinks and acts like his/her family. The self identification shapes the manner in which the individual relates to his/her political environment (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:109).

Through the family, the individual acquires his/her position in the vast social world. The family shapes political attitudes by placing its members in various social and economic groups. For example, if parents are involved in voluntary associations or political parties

themselves, their children are more likely to be exposed to some mobilisation effort by these organisations. In this way the family exercises control over the influences to which its members are exposed. Thus, the individual's ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural and educational values are determined largely by his/her family. The individual's position in the social world determines the manner in which he/she relates to the political environment (Dawson 1969:109; Quintelier et al 2007).

It is important to mention that the role of families is not uniform and the outcomes may depend on the circumstances of each family. In all societies political socialisation is undertaken by many families which are different from each other and function as separate units. This state of diffusion contributes to differences in individuals' social and political make-up. Individuals from different families would generally have different political cognitions, attitudes and values. This implies that individuals from different families are likely to view the political world from different perspectives. However, although there is differentiation in family socialisation it should not be overstated. Families operate within a political society with a given political culture. The family therefore derives political views it transmits to its members from the political system and other agents of socialisation. This means that even though there are differences among families there is some degree of homogeneity in their political culture (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:122).

Since the family is a key agent in passing on political culture from one generation to the next, its role in socialisation tends to be conservative rather than initiative. Unlike other agents, the family is often inclined to strive to preserve and maintain traditional practices. The family's conservative role hinders changes in political orientation and the ability of political culture to adjust to immediate political, social and economic changes. Even when a political system alters or changes, the family usually persists or continues to transmit political attitudes and values appropriate to the previous political order. The tendency of the family to persist in traditional patterns and outlooks makes the alteration of basic political orientations to happen over long periods of time, probably involving several generations. The conservative influence of the family is being experienced by emerging democracies particularly in Asia and Africa (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:124).

The impact of the family in political socialisation is dependent on the number and significance of other socialisation agents, as well as the thoroughness with which family units perform the socialisation process. The family is likely to have less impact if other socialisation agents take part in socialisation. When the family fails to socialise its members and other agents are available, these other agents are likely to be proportionally more influential. The opposite of this is equally true because in societies without secondary agents the family is likely to have a dominant influence on the socialisation process. Although there are these variations, the family stands out as the most prominent socialisation agent (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:107).

The significant role of the family in political socialisation has been clearly highlighted. Although the family directly and indirectly influences the socialisation process at all stages of human life, its impact is strongest during childhood. The discussion has also indicated that despite its significance, the role of the family is dependent on several factors.

2.5.2 The extended family

In most African cultures the family is extended to grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins and other relatives. Obligations to wider kin are usually invoked during crises, or life cycle events such as funerals. Within many countries, the nuclear family is predominant in urban areas, while extended families are more prevalent in rural areas. Extended families provide expressive, emotional, monetary, and in-kind support within and between households that enables families to lessen the severity of poverty and provide mobility opportunities (albeit limited) to children. This collective action, it is envisaged, brings about positive reciprocity which is important in maintaining stability in the extended family (Amoateng and Heaton 2007; Makiwane, Makoe, Botsis and Vawda 2012; Chirozva, Mubaya and Mukamuri 2014; Thomas 2015).

The extended family has a predominant socialisation function in traditional societies. In Kenya and Uganda, it was found that family and kinship ties played an important role in the radicalisation to commit terrorism. Stronger ties within extended family influenced individuals' identity formation and consequently their involvement in terrorist activities (Botha 2014:68). Although the extended family is significant, particularly in South Africa,

its role in political socialisation is unclear. Most studies on political socialisation only focus on the influence of the nuclear family. The majority of literature omits the role of extended family networks and therefore there is very limited scholarship linking extended family with political socialisation. Some of the scholarly work on the role of extended family was undertaken by Neelanjan Sircar (2015) and Leonard Thomas (2015).

Sircar (2015) observed the importance of extended family in rural India. He examined how voters in two rural villages of India, namely Ranjanpur and Chaandinagar, formed and changed their political preferences. The findings showed that the voters in the two villages used kinship networks to develop more accurate preferences by collectively reasoning through newly available information on candidates. Furthermore, the study revealed that there were very strong kinship network effects on changes in issue preferences and vote choice over the course of the political campaign.

In the USA, Thomas (2015) investigated how family structures affected voting by looking comparatively at black and white family structures. The study showed that extended family networks facilitated voting, especially among African Americans. The findings also revealed that the inclusion of family structure in addition to demographic variables such as education, age and gender strengthened the voting effects of family structure for blacks, but weakened the voting effects of family structure among whites.

2.5.2.1 Direct socialisation within the extended family

Within the extended family, direct political socialisation occurs through political discussion, motivation and imitation. When members of the extended family discuss politics, they share and disseminate political information among themselves. The political discussions also enable members within the extended family to acquire political knowledge and ideas. Thomas (2015) observed that black extended families in the USA used their networks to disseminate information about candidates during election time (Thomas 2015:33)

Direct political socialisation also happens when members of the extended family motivate one another to vote or participate in any other political activity. Members of the extended family influence the socialisation process by persuading one another to take part in

various political activities. Besides persuasion, extended families can also put pressure on their members to vote for certain political candidates during elections (Thomas 2015:33).

Within the extended family, individuals can be politically socialised by imitating the behaviour of their relatives. Individuals use their extended family as a reference group or standard for evaluating themselves and others. Thus, the extended family influences how its members think and behave (Schaefer 2013:108).

2.5.2.2 Indirect socialisation within the extended family

The extended family performs some activities which indirectly influence the political socialisation process. These activities are not in themselves political, but they affect the formation of political orientations. For example, indirect political socialisation can take place when the extended family engages in activities such as provision of child-care and transportation for its members to vote on Election Day. Such kind of activities can have a positive effect on the political values and attitudes of family members and as a result enhance participation in political activity (Thomas 2015:33).

2.5.2.3 Factors affecting the role of extended family

Political socialisation within the extended family is affected by the extent of co-operation, cohesion and interdependence among the family members. When there is co-operation, unity and interdependence among members of an extended family that can lead to kinship-based political discussions and co-ordination of political activities within the family. Such strong kinship ties can facilitate political socialisation within the extended family (Sircar 2015:10).

As indicated in the above discussion, the extended family is an important agent of political socialisation especially within the African context, although it has not received much scholarly attention. An understanding of the role of extended family is particularly significant for this study. The reason for this is that the current study focuses on a traditional and rural setting where extended family networks are prevalent.

2.5.3 The school and other educational institutions

Besides the family, an individual confronts other groups and institutions which also socialise him/her to politics. In many societies, the school and other educational institutions are regarded as the second most important agent of political socialisation. The school and other educational institutions often support or reinforce the political attitudes and behaviour patterns formed within the family environment, but they can also foster new political orientations or change existing ones (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:146; Langton 1969:84; Massialas 1969:155; Jaros 1973:100).

The discussion in this section concentrates on the political socialisation role of primary and secondary schools, as well as institutions of higher learning such as colleges and universities. As highlighted by Bar-Tal and Harel (2002), Andolina et al (2003) and Dassonneville et al (2012), the school and other educational institutions occupy an influential position in the political socialisation of individuals (see section 1.6.2.2).

2.5.3.1 Direct socialisation at school and other educational institutions

Direct socialisation within the school and other educational institutions occurs through teaching or indoctrination and imitation. Teaching or indoctrination is done through the formal curriculum, ritual activities, and activities of the teacher or lecturers. Imitation happens when students copy the political behaviour of other students or their teachers (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:146; Langton 1969:84; Massialas 1969:155; Jaros 1973:100; Hillygus 2005; Adelabu and Akinsolu 2009; Boaduo 2013; Matsuda 2014; Akinboye and Eesuola 2015; Besar, Jali, Lyndon and Selvadurai 2015).

Through the curriculum, the school exerts influence and moulds the students' knowledge, beliefs and understanding of the political world. In a country with a strong political ideology, textbooks are normally used to indoctrinate students often in a selective or biased manner. Textbooks would normally be designed in a selective and biased manner to support the policies of the incumbent regime. Many political leaders and teachers view the school curriculum as a proper instrument for disseminating knowledge and values suitable for good citizenship. The school curriculum generally under-emphasise the

children's right to participate in political decisions and over-emphasise compliance with government and loyalty with the political system (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:147; Langton 1969:100; Massialas 1970:33; Jackson and Jackson 2003:123).

In tertiary institutions, such as colleges and universities political values and attitudes are also transmitted through the formal curriculum. In such institutions, textbooks are used to shape students' understanding of political issues (Adelabu and Akinsolu 2009; Boaduo 2013). In a Jordanian study, Althubetat and Jarrar (2013) found that formal university curriculum had a positive influence on students. They examined the impact of teaching political science on the political consciousness of students enrolled at Petra University in Jordan. Their study showed that teaching of political science in the university played an important role in expanding the students' knowledge in political affairs. Furthermore, provision of political science education created an appropriate environment for dialogue among the students and it also increased their ability to express their political views freely and confidently.

Ritual activities such as saluting the flag, singing the national anthem, and honouring national events play a crucial role in transmitting political values to students. Most schools throughout the world include many ceremonial activities in their curriculum as a way of expressing loyalty to the nation. Many policy makers believe that students' exposure to these ritual activities produces more attachment, respect and patriotism to the state and its institutions. School teachers in many countries are usually compelled by government legislation to spend some time and resources on classroom ritual activities which emphasise national loyalty and patriotism (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:156; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985).

When a student participates in classroom ritual activities his/her basic feelings of patriotism and loyalty may be reinforced. Classroom rituals may reinforce feelings of patriotism and loyalty to the nation even if the student does not understand the meaning of the words and activities he/she is engaged in. In some cases, the ritual activities reinforce political orientations already acquired through the family; in others they may introduce the individual to such orientations. Since classroom ritual activities are done in a group, they teach children to do things collectively and this is important in developing the foundation

for adult political activity – which emphasises group activity (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:158; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985).

In the classroom environment children are usually taught obedience and competitiveness. These two areas are particularly important for adult political and social life. With regard to obedience, children are taught to comply with school rules and standards of conduct. In terms of competitiveness, children learn that failure is undesirable, it is important to succeed, and that the society rewards successful people and disapprove failure (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:162; Jaros 1973:104).

Teachers influence the political socialisation process by encouraging students to think independently, creating open relations, initiating political discussions, and answering students' political questions (Bar-Tal and Harel 2002). Teachers can also influence the socialisation process when they require students to develop certain civic skills through activities such as giving speeches or oral reports, engaging in class debates or discussion. It has been observed that students who are taught skills such as debating or speech presentation are much more likely than those lacking such education to be involved in a variety of activities inside and outside the school environment. Furthermore, there is a much stronger link between these civic skills and students' political participation (Andolina et al 2003).

In some cases, the teacher may transmit political values outside the classroom through informal contacts with children. Teachers normally feel less restricted outside the classroom and therefore they may engage in political discussions that are considered unsuitable for the formal classroom environment. For example, teachers with unorthodox political values may find non-classroom political discussions as a suitable method of transmitting these values to their students (Jaros 1973:105).

In tertiary institutions such as colleges and universities, lecturers also influence the manner in which students are politically socialised. Lecturers influence the political socialisation process through the way in which they interact with students and also how they impart political information to students. In these institutions of higher learning, especially in democratic countries, it is difficult to control how lecturers interpret the formal

curriculum to students. It has been observed that lecturers sometimes distort the curriculum by hijacking it to promote political ideologies that they support (Adelabu and Akinsolu 2009; Boaduo 2013).

Within the school environment, students can be politically socialised by copying the political behaviour of their peers. Usually, they view their peers as reference groups. Students can also develop political attitudes by imitating the behaviour of their teachers. The activities that are carried out by the teacher in the classroom have a significant effect on the process of political socialisation because he/she is expected to be a model of good behaviour and values. The role of the teacher influences the children's political orientations since he/she has direct influence during their formative years. The teacher as an authority figure represents the first model of political authority the child encounters. In addition to being an authority figure in the school, the teacher often occupies a position of respect and trust in his community. In rural areas, the teacher is seen as a community leader and a repository of knowledge and civilisation. Teachers can also transmit values to their students unconsciously. Students may acquire values by identifying with their teachers rather than through compliance. Students do not only learn through the reward-punishment process, but also by observing and reproducing the actions of other individuals (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:158; Jaros 1973:106; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985).

2.5.3.2 Indirect socialisation at school and other educational institutions

Indirect socialisation can be influenced by the school environment and extracurricular activities. Regarding the school environment, issues such as the social composition and location of the institution can indirectly affect students' political orientations. Extracurricular activities such as joining and participation in student organisations and political groups also shape the manner in which students are politically socialised (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:146; Langton 1969:84; Massialas 1969:155; Jaros 1973:100; Hillygus 2005; Adelabu and Akinsolu 2009; Boaduo 2013; Matsuda 2014; Akinboye and Eesuola 2015; Besar et al 2015).

In terms of the social composition of the school, issues such as social class, ethnic, racial, tribal and religious make-up of students and teachers may have an impact on the political

socialisation process. A student's interaction with others would normally affect the manner in which he/she views the social and political world. The make-up of the student population in the school can facilitate the development of community identification or prevent it. Furthermore, the make-up of the student population can help to bring about intergroup co-operation and harmony, or isolation and conflict. In the school environment, the student meets a larger and more diverse population of peers and teachers than he/she experiences in the home. From this diverse population of peers and teachers, the student learns about articulating and solving group problems, about asserting and protecting rights, and about social co-operation or conflict (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:168). Thus, the school environment also exposes the individual to alternative ideas that could affect his political socialisation – which may also be latent and only have an impact in future.

The place where an institution is situated affects the political life of students. For example, the political life of students in a remote rural college or university is likely to differ from that of students in an urban university situated in a big city. Besar et al (2015) studied the political behaviour of students at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). The university was situated in a fast-developing elite industrial area and it was also closer to other three Malaysian universities. They found that the university neighbourhood influenced the students' political behaviour because there was easy exchange of ideas and information among students in these universities.

In most schools the school programme is usually complemented by extracurricular activities and groups. Examples of extracurricular activities and groups are athletics, music groups and drama groups. These activities and groups provide school children with skills appropriate for their integration into the adult political world. The school-based extracurricular activities are relevant because they teach children important cultural values. Through the school sporting activities children learn cultural values applicable for competition and sportsmanship (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:170; Hart, Donnelly, Youniss and Atkins 2007:200).

In many high schools, students gain significant training through extracurricular activities such as joining and participation in student organisations and political groups. Students who participate in high school student organisations and political groups continue to be

civically and political active even after completion of their high school education. High school extracurricular involvement influences political socialisation and contributes to early adulthood political participation (Andolina et al 2003). A study by Hart et al (2007) examined the relation of high school experiences to early adulthood political participation. The study focused on American eighth Grade students' experiences in high school extracurricular participation and community service. The results of the study revealed that high school extracurricular participation and community service were associated with voting and volunteering in early adulthood.

In tertiary institutions, student organisations or bodies also play an important role in the political socialisation of students. Student organisations are usually established to manage the affairs of students, protect and prevent exploitation of students either by government or university, improve the ability of students to influence decisions, and participate in university management decision making. Many student organisations are highly politicised and thus provide students with a platform to practice political roles. They often serve as fertile training ground for indoctrination, and political activism for aspiring politicians. A study by Adelabu and Akinsolu (2009) revealed that in a Nigerian university, the student union dictated the pace of policy and political beliefs of students. The student union controlled all the activities of students and it also organised various activities to politically enlighten students (Adelabu and Akinsolu 2009; Boaduo 2013; Besar et al 2015).

In South Africa, student organisations have been playing a major role in student politics since the apartheid era. Organisations such as the SASO, Azanian Students Organisations (AZASO) and Congress of South African Students (COSAS) organised student mass meetings, demonstrations, strikes and boycotts in the struggle against apartheid (Reddy 2004). After 1994, student organisations have continued to play an active political socialisation role. For example, Luescher-Mamashela, Kiiru, Mattes, Mwollo-ntallima, Ng'ethe and Romo (2011) observed that at the University of Cape Town (UCT) most students were active members of student and voluntary organisations. These organisations catered for the academic, artistic, religious, political and other recreational needs of the students. Student politics at UCT was dominated by student political organisations of which the most significant were those representing student branches of political parties (i.e. the ANC Youth League, the Young Communist League and the

Democratic Alliance Student Organisation) as well as the South African Students Congress (SASCO). Furthermore, student organisations at UCT mobilised students around current political debates and encouraged them to participate in campus political meetings and protests.

2.5.3.3 Factors affecting the role of the school and other educational institutions

The role of the school and other educational institutions is affected by factors such as the competence of teachers and lecturers, and the availability of resources. Although the school curriculum is important, its impact depends on how skilfully and effectively it is disseminated to the students as well as the extent to which it is politically orientated. The effectiveness of teachers and lecturers determine the success or failure of the school curriculum. It has been observed that teacher or lecturer qualities such as warmth, stimulation, organisation and responsibility contribute to better communication, provoke thinking and affect the values of students (Jaros 1973:101; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985).

The availability of books, libraries and other facilities produces greater cognitive and attitudinal development in students' political orientations. Lack of such important educational resources may have a negative effect on the political socialisation of students (Jaros 1973:101; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985).

The discussion on the school and other educational institutions showed that these institutions play a major role in the political socialisation process. It was explained that the school and other educational institutions politically socialise students through direct and indirect activities. The discussion concluded by highlighting factors which affect the role of the school and other educational institutions in political socialisation.

2.5.4 Peer groups

Peer groups also occupy an important position in the political socialisation process. They serve as important sources of information through which knowledge and norms are communicated. Individuals acquire knowledge about their political world through peer groups. The importance of peer groups in political socialisation was documented by Dey

(1996), Mutz and Mondak (2006) and Campos et al (2013) – (see section 1.6.2.3). Peer groups are defined as groups of people who are about the same age, at least share equal status, problems and interests. Members of a peer group have certain characteristics in common. A peer group is a basic form of social relationship which serves as an essential instrument of social learning and adjustment in all societies. Some examples of peer groups are childhood play groups, small work groups, school friends, youth friendship cliques and adulthood social groups. Peer groups may have leaders, but they do not have properly defined and rigid role relationships like those found in families and even formal student organisations. Unlike families, peer groups are formed by equals and the relationships among their members are not hierarchical (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:127; Jaros 1973:124).

Peer groups may reinforce or alter existing political attitudes and values acquired through the family and other agents or even form new ones. These groups are more influential during late adolescence and early adulthood. During this period, the influence of the family and the school tends to diminish, while the role of peer groups becomes more significant. When an individual reaches late adolescence and early adulthood, the individual is faced with the challenge of interpretation of and adjustment to political changes. Political socialisation in peer groups supplements the basic political learning, and it prepares individuals for all conditions they are likely to confront in the political world. However, peer groups do not always function against families, they often reinforce family values. Furthermore, peer groups provide continuing signals through which individuals understand and adjust to daily changes in the political world (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:129; Langton 1969:125; Jaros 1973:125).

One of the most important functions of peer groups is the transmission of political culture of the wider society of which they are part. While adolescent peer groups may have their own sub-culture, they also teach the adult sub-culture of which they are part and reinforce the norms held by adults (Langton 1969:125).

2.5.4.1 Direct socialisation in peer groups

Direct political socialisation in peer groups can occur through various ways. Peer groups influence the political socialisation process by means of political discussion, motivation or pressure and imitation (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:134; Goethals 1999).

Political socialisation in a peer group often takes place when members of the group discuss politics. For example, a small group of friends who go to night clubs together may sometimes get involved in political discussions and thus influence each other's political values. While it is not always the case that people achieve consensus through discussion - sometimes conformity pressures produce opinion and behaviour change without any need for persuasion or rationale. Peer group discussion can have a significant influence on individuals by providing them with new political knowledge. This newly acquired knowledge may reinforce or alter existing beliefs as well as foster increased cognitive development (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:134; Goethals 1999).

Peer groups socialise individuals by motivating or pressuring them to conform to attitudes and behaviour acceptable to the group. A group member may be requested or instructed to perform certain behaviour or risk group rejection. In this way, a group member is threatened with punishment if he/she attempts to deviate from group norms. Such pressures and threats may be indirect and informal or they may be more visible and direct, such as depriving deviant members of group rewards or membership. In peer groups, punishments and rewards are effective means for restricting or motivating behaviour. This form of peer influence is the usual connotation of peer pressure (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Newman and Newman 2006; Lee et al 2013).

Political socialisation through imitation takes place when individuals who spend a lot of time together, for example, watch each others' style of dress, gestures and use of language, and then imitate those behaviours in an effort to strengthen their group membership. Peer influence also happens through subtle means such as gossiping, teasing and humour to influence each other's attitudes and behaviour. For example, gossiping could be used as a means of communicating unacceptable behaviour without direct confrontation (Ryan 2001; Newman and Newman 2006).

Imitation in peer groups can also happen when individuals use their groups as points of reference. Peer groups do not only provide communication channels, but they also provide an individual with his interpretation and understanding of the political world and how he/she fits into it – his/her political self. These groups act as points of reference and individuals adopt the views of fellow group members because they like or respect them or they want to be like them. For example, a person may become interested in politics because his friends do or because he wants to be accepted by them (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:134).

2.5.4.2 Indirect socialisation in peer groups

A peer group can indirectly affect the political socialisation process through certain activities in the group. The significance of peer groups also lies in the fact that they train their members for political participation. Through small group experiences, peer groups provide their members with training for participation in various political activities. When individuals take part in small face-to-face group decision making they prepare themselves for participation in more complex future decisions (Verba 1972).

2.5.4.3 Types of peer groups

As mentioned in section 2.5.4, peer groups are made up of different types such as childhood play groups, small work groups, school friends, youth friendship cliques and adulthood social groups. In this section, the discussion focuses on adolescent and adult peer groups.

2.5.4.3.1 Adolescent peer groups

During adolescence, individuals spend substantial time within their peer groups and rely on peers for their support, opinions and advice. Thus, adolescent peer groups may have a significant opportunity to contribute to their members' developing identities. It has been observed that adolescents are initially attracted to peers who are similar to them in terms of personality, interests, and behavioural dispositions, and consequently, peer group members become more alike over time (Dumas 2011). Friends play a very important role in any person's life, but during early adolescence, when a person becomes more politically

conscious, young adults are particularly vulnerable to the opinions of their peers. Peer influence during adolescence plays a prominent role because an individual's alienation from his/her family increases as the influence of peer groups over political opinions intensifies (Ryan 2001; Botha 2014).

Socialisation within adolescent peer groups usually takes place in schools and other educational institutions, scouting groups and various kinds of athletic teams. Much peer socialisation in schools, scouting groups and sports teams takes place informally, through adolescents' interaction with fellow students and teammates. Such socialisation increases as adolescents proceed through the school years, particularly the high school years. As adolescents mature and spend more time with peers, socialisation at this stage sometimes conflicts with what is being taught at home and school (Ritzer 2016).

Peer socialisation in adolescence can manifest itself in various ways. First, peer influence may occur through discussion of a particular issue within a group. Second, it can take place through suggestion, threat or pressure. Third, individuals can be influenced by their peers through modelling or imitation. Fourth, peer socialisation may take place when teenagers create opportunities for unsupervised activities. For example, teenagers may have a party or meet in a shopping mall when their parents are unlikely to be present (Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Goethals 1999; Newman and Newman 2006; Lee et al 2013) – (see section 2.5.4.1). Political socialisation within adolescent peer groups usually persists into adulthood as exposure to the family and school diminishes. Most adolescents may remain as members of peer groups throughout their lives and continue to receive political information (Wayne, Mackenzie and Cole 2007:168).

2.5.4.3.2 Adult peer groups

In the same way as adolescents, adults in many societies belong to numerous peer groups. Adults develop primary associates in almost any social structure or secondary group to which they belong (Botha 2014). Adults may behave alike when they know each other well. For example, adults who are friends may vote for the same party, send their children to similar schools, choose the same types of holidays or enjoy eating at certain restaurants and not others (Nickerson 2008:49; Campos et al 2013:2).

When adults interact with friends or colleagues they are exposed to a wide range of information which may influence their political orientations. Discussions with friends or colleagues who are interested or active in politics can help people learn more about politics. People may be exposed to information about the procedures of electoral politics and involvement, information about which candidate to support, why they have to support that candidate, when the candidate is holding a rally, or even how to just get involved in various political activities (McClurg 2003).

Peer socialisation during adulthood takes place in different types of environments. Many scholars have observed that peer influence during adulthood usually occurs in contexts such as the workplace, churches, voluntary associations, universities and colleges (Dey 1996; McClurg 2003; Mutz and Mondak 2006; Adelabu and Akinsolu 2009; Klofstad 2010; Campos et al 2013).

In the workplace, churches, and voluntary associations, adult peer socialisation usually happens through political discussion. However, the workplace has been found to be the social context best positioned to facilitate cross-cutting political discussion. Political discussion in the workplace involves a large number of discussants with different political views than in environments such as churches and voluntary associations. It has also been observed that political discussion in the workplace promotes political tolerance among workers (Mutz and Mondak 2006).

Adult socialisation in educational institutions such as universities and colleges is influenced by on-campus peer groups. Peer effects on adult political socialisation within a university context were emphasised by Casey Klofstad (2010). He investigated peer socialisation among undergraduate students at a large public university in the Midwestern United States. He found that political discussion among peers positively correlated with their civic participation. Furthermore, the results of the study showed that students who engaged in political discussion with their dormitory roommates increased their participation in voluntary civic organisations by 38% (Dey 1996; Adelabu and Akinsolu 2009; Klofstad 2007; Klofstad 2010).

In addition to workplace, churches, voluntary associations, and educational institutions, adult peer influence can also take place in village neighbourhoods. During the 2009 Mozambican elections, Marcel Fafchamps, Ana Vaz and Pedro Vicente (2015) studied the peer effects of electoral campaigning within households and villages. Fafchamps and his colleagues implemented a large-scale field experiment using leaflets, text messaging and a free newspaper. They investigated whether treatment effects were transmitted through social networks and geographical proximity at the village level. The findings of the study indicated that the interventions (leaflets, text messages and newspapers) increased voter turnout and the electoral knowledge of both targeted and untargeted individuals in treated locations; and increased voter turnout of individuals living with targeted subjects. Furthermore, the electoral information and political interest were positively transmitted across peers because even people who did not receive leaflets, text messages and newspapers did receive electoral information through peers in their villages (Fafchamps et al 2015). This two-step flow of political information discussed above is also relevant to the role of mass media in the political socialisation process (see section 2.5.5).

2.5.4.4 Factors affecting the role of peer groups

The influence of peer groups in the political socialisation process is affected by the access of peer groups to their members and emotional ties among the members. Members of peer groups have substantial access and exposure to each other. The high-level interaction among members enables peer groups to easily transmit political orientations. Furthermore, the highly personal and emotionally involved relationships that exist in peer groups influence political attitudes. The emotional strength of interpersonal relationship among members of a peer group easily facilitates the political socialisation process (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:131).

It is clear from the preceding discussion that peer groups are one of the key agents of political socialisation. Peer groups like other agents; perform both direct and indirect political socialisation. It was also highlighted that peer groups consist of different types although the discussion concentrated on adolescent and adult peer groups. The factors which influence the role of peers in political socialisation also received attention.

2.5.5 The mass media

The mass media play a significant role in political socialisation because they provide people with valuable political information. The information that is transmitted by mass media has a great influence on people's political orientations (Chaffee et al 1970; Shahid 2013:57). Television, radio, newspapers and magazines disseminate various types of messages which influence political socialisation. Most of the political information is transmitted from government to citizen, from group to group, from group to individual, through the mass media. Due to technological development in communication media and the diminishing influence of traditional structures such as the extended family and the local community, the mass media are becoming increasingly an important agent of political socialisation (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:194). The significance of mass media in political socialisation was also documented by Kotzé (1986), Delli Carpini et al (1994), Moeller and de Vreese (2013) – (see section 1.6.2.4).

When assessing the influence of mass media in political socialisation, it is important to take note of four important factors. First, the media transmit political cues which are initiated by other socialisation agents. Second, the information that is carried by the media goes through a two-step flow. Third, the media tend to reinforce existing political orientations rather than create new ones. Fourth, the information that is transmitted by the media is received and interpreted in a social setting, and in the context of socially conditioned predispositions (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:195).

Most of the information that is transmitted by the media such as television, radio and newspapers originates outside the media environment. Therefore, it should be borne in mind that the media do not create political information, but they convey the political information that is generated by other agents. Political leaders, political parties and government officials make statements; secondary groups such as trade unions, interest groups and political parties pass on political information to their members; political events are picked up and communicated to the citizens. These agents make use of mass media to communicate their political information to the citizens. The information that is disseminated by the media flows down through two stages. When the mass media disseminate political information, they often do not influence the citizens directly. Often,

the information coming from the media first reaches a small number of “opinion leaders” such as teachers, ministers and political activists, who are particularly attentive to the media. These “opinion leaders” interpret, transform and then disseminate the information to those over whom they are influential such as friends, co-workers and family members. The reason for this is that there are instances where those individuals exposed will be directly influenced. This effect is particularly important within a context where not all individuals have access to the media (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:197; Ranney 1975:116).

As mentioned above, the mass media reinforce existing political orientations rather than change or create new ones. Due to a number of reasons, the media reinforce political orientations that are already acquired through other socialisation agents such as the family, school and peer groups. The reinforcement of existing political orientations is for example due to the nature of the political information that is transmitted. Often, the information that is transmitted via the media is designed mostly to support a particular status quo and to express interpretations considered appropriate for a particular audience. Reinforcement of political orientations is also caused by tendencies among the public that receives the information. People are more likely to pay attention to the media when they agree with the information that is conveyed. For example, people normally pay more attention to the political speeches made by political parties or politicians they support. Consequently, the media are not the most effective way of converting the public to new ideas. Although political messages may be disseminated, there is no guarantee that they will reach the intended audience (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:198; Ranney 1975:109; Hague and Harrop 2004:114). However, it is worth mentioning that the media’s reinforcement function is rather controversial and its role may vary from one society to another.

According to Ranney (1975:109), the media can also initiate, convert and activate certain issues within society. The media can initiate a particular issue or topic which people are not focusing on or they have no views on. Thus, in such a situation the media can initiate views on such an issue or topic. Regarding conversion, the media can convince people to abandon previously held views on a particular matter. In some cases, the media can stir up the citizens to discuss certain topics that may appear to be dormant.

Furthermore, the mass media are responsible for agenda setting and framing. In agenda setting, the media influence what people think or talk about. For example, television often focuses on news that is widely discussed by people in society. With regard to framing, the media focus on particular aspects of an issue, its origins and remedies. The media would encourage the audience to portray the issue in a similar way (Hague and Harrop 2004:114).

2.5.5.1 Direct socialisation by the media

The mass media perform direct political socialisation when they disseminate political information with the aim of shaping the citizens' political attitudes and values. The media can directly structure political and electoral choice by influencing public perceptions on the nature and importance of certain issues. In some democratic societies, the media often influence citizens' political views by playing a "watchdog" role in order to prevent abuse of political power, prevent corruption or enhance the quality of democracy. In some states, particularly in authoritarian regimes, the media can disseminate political information for propaganda purposes in order to sway public opinion towards the incumbent government. Thus, political information can be deliberately manipulated to favour certain political interests or positions (Heywood 2007:203).

It has also been observed that the media can directly influence the socialisation process through political debates on television and radio. Exposure to political debates or programmes can affect the citizens' political attitudes, knowledge and values (Druckman 2003; Larkin and Were 2013; Muneer 2014; Ahmmed 2014).

2.5.5.2 Indirect socialisation by the media

The media performs indirect political socialisation by dissemination of political information to "opinion leaders". These opinion leaders are people who are much interested in political issues; they consume large quantities of political information and are influential in the formation of their friends' or families' political views (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:197; Ranney 1975:116) – (see section 2.5.5).

2.5.5.3 Types of media

There are various types of media which facilitate the political socialisation process. The discussion in this section concentrates on television, radio, newspapers and the Internet.

2.5.5.3.1 Television

Television has a considerable effect on the lives and political development of individuals. However, it plays a less significant socialisation role in many rural areas because many citizens in these localities have limited access to it (Jackson and Jackson 2003:127). According to Glenn and Mattes (2011:5), radio remains the most frequently used source of news in South Africa, although television has almost caught up. This is also evident in South African rural areas such as in Calais village where most households now have access to television (Maruleng Municipality Reviewed IDP 2015-2016) – (see section 3.2.1.5).

Television viewing and the consumption of political information has an influence on the political socialisation of individuals. The effect of television viewing on political socialisation was recognised by James Druckman (2003). Druckman investigated how television images during an American presidential debate affected the criteria through which individuals based their candidate (debater) evaluations, overall candidate evaluations and learning about politics. He used the famous 1960 first presidential debate between John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon. His study employed an experimental design, where some participants listened to an audio version of the presidential debate while others watched the debate on television. The findings showed that television images substantially shaped political attitudes and learning.

The significant influence of television on political socialisation was also documented by Marina Popescu and Gabor Toka (2009), Brenda O'Neill (2009), Judith Moeller and Claes de Vreese (2013), and Arshad Ali, Sarah Sohail, and Syed Ali Hassan (2013). In their study, Popescu and Toka (2009) found that exposure to television tended to increase the political knowledge of the majority of citizens in European countries. O'Neill (2009) investigated the role of the media in shaping the political behaviour of citizens. Her study revealed that consumption of television political news played an important role in the

political and civic engagement of the citizens. The data used in the study came from the 2003 General Social Survey (GSS), commissioned by Statistics Canada¹¹.

The study Moeller and De Vreese (2013) focused on the role of television viewing on the formation of political attitudes and political mobilisation. They investigated the impact of television on adolescents in 23 European countries. It was found that exposure to political news stimulated higher political participation, particularly among those older than twenty-one years (Moeller and de Vreese 2013).

In Pakistan, Ali et al (2013) examined the impact of television on political socialisation of university students. They examined the extent of media exposure and political knowledge among university students in Pakistan. Their study indicated that television played a powerful and influential role in creating political awareness among Pakistani university students. The results of the study revealed that Pakistani university students acquired significant political knowledge by watching political news and talk shows on television. Furthermore, television was found to be the most popular media outlet among students at the University of Gujrat in Pakistan.

2.5.5.3.2 Radio

Although many people in African urban areas access newspapers and the Internet, radio continues to dominate as the most accessible source of public affairs information and news in urban and rural areas. Radio is regarded in Africa as a medium that narrows the knowledge gap on current affairs and as an outlet for socio-political expression (Kalyango 2009:200).

Despite its significance, the impact of radio on political socialisation has not been widely investigated. However, some of the few studies in this regard were conducted by Joseph Cappella, Joseph Turow and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (1996), Gangheong Lee and Joseph Cappella (2001), Yusuf Kalyango Jr. (2009) and James Benjamin Taylor (2013).

¹¹ The GSS was a cross-sectional telephone survey undertaken with a large sample of Canadians (N=24,951) from across the 10 Canadian provinces between February and December 2003. The total sample for O'Neill's study was restricted to Canadians aged 18 and over (N=23,744), that is, Canadians of voting age.

Cappella, Turow, and Jamieson (1996) studied the effect of radio on political socialisation of American citizens. The focus of their study was on the impact of political call-in talk radio in the USA. The study included a three wave national survey of 1 666 radio listeners, and content analysis of Rush Limbaugh's talk radio show¹², examination of fifty political talk shows on each of three days during the Republican primaries. The results of the study showed that regular political talk radio listeners were more likely than non-listeners to be more knowledgeable about politics and social issues, and to be involved in political activities. Another study by Lee and Cappella (2001) examined the effects of political talk radio (PTR) on the formation of voters' attitudes toward political leaders in the USA. They found that listening to political radio talk shows had a positive impact on the formation of citizens' political attitudes towards their political leaders. However, it is worth noting that people who are knowledgeable and interested in politics may use the radio as an important source of information while the disinterested may not do so.

In Uganda, Kalyango (2009) studied the role of radio during the democratisation process in that country. His study focused on the relationship between the use of political news on radio and support for democracy. First, the findings of the research showed that radio was the most accessed medium in Uganda. Second, the study indicated that by listening to political news and shows on radio, more than two-thirds of Ugandan voters understood politics and they indicated that they had the ability to participate in the political process. Lastly, access to radio led to higher levels of political interest and support for democracy among Ugandan citizens.

During his doctoral studies, Taylor (2013) examined the role of extreme media (i.e. political talk radio and cable news opinion shows) on the political attitudes of radio listeners in the USA. He investigated whether extreme media had both positive and negative externalities for democratic citizenship. His study employed laboratory experiments, national survey data and qualitative interviews to test the effect of extreme

¹² The Rush Limbaugh Show is the most listened to radio talk show in America, broadcast on over 600 radio stations nationwide. It is hosted by America's Anchorman, Rush Limbaugh, also known as: America's Truth Detector; and the Doctor of Democracy. Retrieved January 27, 2016 from: <http://newstalk1290.com/show/rush-limbaugh-live/?trackback=tsmclip>

media on political knowledge, political trust in government, efficacy and political tolerance. The results of the study indicated that consumption of political news on radio increased political knowledge and efficacy, while it decreased trust in government.

2.5.5.3.3 Newspapers

Newspapers disseminate various types of messages which influence the political socialisation of citizens (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:194). Newspapers are the oldest and earliest mass medium, but they still continue to be effective despite the emergence of other media such as television, radio and the Internet. The significance of newspapers is due to the fact that they shape the agenda for the day and dictate the dominant interpretation of different important items and issues. Newspapers have been the traditional forum for public debate - the means by which the ideas are disseminated and considered by a society. The effectiveness of newspapers lies in their ability to cover a wider range of issues in more depth than other news media. Newspapers politically socialise citizens through political news stories, political campaign advertisements, political columns, political cartoons and letters to the editor (Yaser, Mahsud, Chaudhry and Ahmad 2011).

The importance of newspapers on citizens' political socialisation was emphasised in studies by Steven Chaffee, Hernan Galperin, and Roxana Morduchowicz (1997), James Druckman (2005), and Noman Yaser, Muhammad Nawaz Mahsud, Ishtiaq Ahmad Chaudhry, and Muhammad Ijaz Ahmad (2011). In Argentina, Chaffee et al (1997) investigated the political socialisation of students in Grades five and six through the use of local newspapers in classrooms. They found that the use of the newspaper in the classroom significantly and positively affected students' political knowledge, democratic norms, and communication behaviours. Strong effects were found on tolerance, support for democracy, the formation of political opinions, and on communication behaviours such as discussing politics with family members and reading the newspaper at home.

Druckman (2005) studied how newspaper and television news covered political campaigns and influenced voters in the USA. He found that television news and

newspapers differed substantially in the quantity of coverage, but did not drastically differ in terms of content.

In 2008, Yaser et al (2011) conducted a study on the voters' consumption pattern of newspaper political content during 2008 elections and the effect of that on the voters' political behaviour. The study was carried out in both urban and rural (sub-urban) areas of Lahore city in Pakistan. The findings revealed that the newspapers' political news to a great extent, while political commercials to some extent, were consumed more readily by the readers during the elections in 2008 than the other types of political contents of newspapers. It was also found that the voters who spent more time reading newspaper political content acquired more political information. Consumption of political content differed on the basis of the readers' age, gender, location, income, and education level. Furthermore, consumption of newspaper political information affected the voters' political behaviour because the voters who consumed more media political contents showed more political participation (Yaser et al 2011).

2.5.5.3.4 The Internet

The Internet is now among the most important media that influence the process of political socialisation. In addition to television, radio and newspapers, the Internet is becoming one of the most preferred methods of fulfilling communication needs, especially among the youth. Nowadays many people can access political information through online information sources, such as political blogs, candidates' websites, online news magazines, and online news sources of mainstream news organisations (for example, Sabc.co.za, CNN.com and NYTimes.com). For example, a video sharing website called YouTube offers content which is sometimes a combination of all three forms of communication, i.e. words, sound and picture. Some studies have found that the Internet is used for expressing and sharing political concerns and opinions. The Internet does not only provide information, but it also facilitates the users to further investigate news items by looking into the different sources (Lee et al 2013; Shahid 2013).

The rising importance of the Internet in politics and its impact on political socialisation has been investigated in studies by Caroline Tolbert and Ramona McNeal (2003), Jung Hwan

Yang and June Woong Rhee (2010), Anderson Milton Starling (2014), Ian McAllister (2015), and Muhammad Ashraf Khan and Muhammad Yasir Shahbaz (2015).

Tolbert and McNeal (2003) used data from the 1996, 1998, and 2000 American National Election Studies (NES) to examine the effects of the Internet on American voters' electoral behaviour. They found that the Internet enhanced voter information about candidates and elections and in turn stimulated electoral participation. It was observed that respondents with access to the Internet and online election news were significantly more likely to vote in the 1996 and 2000 presidential elections.

A South Korean study by Yang and Rhee (2010) focused on the role of Internet news as an agent of political socialisation, and as a catalyst for family discussion on politics. Yang and Rhee conducted an online survey on 300 young people living with their families in South Korea. The study indicated four major findings. First, it was found that informational, evaluative, and participatory use of Internet news was closely associated with political socialisation. Second, informational use of Internet news was positively related to the amount of family discussion on politics, evaluative use of Internet news was associated with student-initiated discussion, and participatory use of Internet news was more closely associated both with the amount of family discussion and student-initiated discussion. Third, political socialisation mediated the effect of Internet news use on family discussion. Fourth, the size of impact of Internet news use on family discussion differed by family communication patterns (Yang and Rhee 2010).

Starling (2014) used three data sets from American National Election studies (ANES) to study how Internet access and use affected overall levels of political knowledge among American young people¹³. The findings of the study showed that the use of the Internet significantly increased the levels of political knowledge among American young people.

Using a large 2013 Australian national election survey, McAllister (2015) studied the role of the Internet in shaping political knowledge among the young, and in turn, its effects on

¹³ The ANES is one of the largest and longest – standing national election-year surveys in the USA. Since 1948, the ANES has conducted surveys of the American population in presidential, and most mid-term, election years.

political participation. His study revealed that using the Internet during an election campaign significantly increased political knowledge among young people in Australia. Furthermore, the study indicated that such political knowledge also enhanced the likelihood of voting.

Khan and Shahbaz (2015) examined the role of social networking media in the political socialisation of youth in Multan, Pakistan. Their study focused on residents between the ages of 18 and 30 years. The results of the study showed that using the Internet (social networking media) made young people to think about political and social issues, increased their understanding of political and social issues, maximised their exposure to politics, encouraged them to vote in the upcoming election and motivated them to participate in political demonstrations.

2.5.5.4 Factors affecting the role of the media

There are certain factors that affect the role of the mass media in political socialisation. These factors are as follows: kind of message, type of audience, conditions, interpretation of the information and type of media.

The impact of the media depends on the kind of message that is being disseminated. Communication is often strong when the media are dealing with new and unstructured information. Communication through the media is effective if the political information is disseminated during a period when there is no existing strong opinion on a particular issue. The effect of the media is also determined by the kind of audience which receives the message. Usually, people who consume less political information are less likely to be influenced. On the other hand, those who consume more political information are more likely to be influenced by the political messages they receive. The media's role in political socialisation is also dependent on the conditions within a country. If the incumbent government has a monopoly over media communications, then it is better positioned to use the media to influence public opinion. Furthermore, in most countries the media operate within a legal framework and thus they are constrained by certain laws on what they publish or disseminate (Ranney 1975:120; Kalyango 2009:201).

The interpretation of political information that is conveyed by the media is influenced by the social setting of the individual who receives it. The social setting determines which media the individual will be exposed to. For example, an individual interacts with other people on a social level and his/her relationship with other people may affect the way he/she interprets and reacts to political information received via the media (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:199). It is also important to note that the individual will filter political information in terms of his own predispositions.

The process of political socialisation is also affected by the type of media that are used to obtain information. The type of media that is used, determines the attitude and behaviour of an individual towards political situations, and quality and quantity of information he/she will possess. Newspapers transmit a larger quantity of messages, and print news items that are characterised by greater depth coverage, with fuller detail, broader perspective, and richer background information. Television is another type of media which is very effective in conveying information because it presents visual images, while the other media are largely restricted to verbal modes. Television is particularly effective in transmitting information to young people, who tend to be visually oriented and less cognitively sophisticated than adults (Lee et al 2013; Shahid 2013).

In the above discussion, the focus was on the role of the mass media in political socialisation. The media perform both direct and indirect socialisation, and are particularly important in the dissemination of information. There are various types of media which influence the socialisation process, but there are also several factors that affect the role of the mass media in the process of political socialisation.

2.5.6 Secondary groups

Secondary groups such as religious institutions, political parties, interest groups, trade unions and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) act as agents of political socialisation in much the same way as peer groups, schools, and the family. These groups are significant particularly during youth and adulthood, as the influence of the family and school declines. Secondary groups are also important in perpetuating and reinforcing political orientations that are initiated by primary groups. They usually instruct their

members concerning political attitudes and behaviour, punish deviant members to enforce standards, and mobilise and train citizens to participate in politics (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:186).

Three types of secondary groups that influence the process of political socialisation are particularly important. The first type of secondary groups is composed of organisations that are established specifically for political purposes such as political parties and political youth groups. The second type of secondary groups consists of organisations that are formed for non-political purposes, but which carry out political education and mass mobilisation. Examples of such organisations are religious institutions, trade unions and voluntary organisations. The third type of secondary groups includes organisations which perform political socialisation through informal ways. Country clubs and tennis clubs are some examples of these groups. These types of groups vary mainly in how deliberate, thorough and successful they are during the socialisation process (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:186; McFarland and Thomas 2006:403; Weissenbach 2010; Hofmeister and Grabow 2011:16; Terriquez and Kwon 2013:7).

2.5.6.1 Direct socialisation by secondary groups

Secondary groups directly influence the political socialisation process through a number of activities such as dissemination of political information, holding of political debates or discussion, requesting for political activity, and training.

Religious institutions, political parties, interest groups, trade unions, and NGOs disseminate political information to their members and the general public during meetings, rallies, conferences or via media such as television, radio, newspapers, and the Internet. Organisations such as political parties also disseminate political information through manifestos to enable citizens to know about their goals and objectives (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:186; Heywood 2007:279; Djupe and Gilbert 2008; Weissenbach 2010; Hofmeister and Grabow 2011:16; Frahm-Arp 2015).

Secondary groups shape the citizens' political views by engaging in political debates or discussion on important societal matters. These organisations can engage in political

debates or discussion with government or their members. Similar to the dissemination of political information, secondary groups often debate or discuss political issues during meetings, rallies, conferences or through the media (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:186; Heywood 2007:279; Weissenbach 2010; Hofmeister and Grabow 2011:16).

Direct political socialisation also occurs when secondary groups request their members or the general public to take part in political activity. In most cases organisations such as political parties mobilise and motivate citizens to participate in electoral activities. NGOs usually persuade people to support a particular societal issue through campaigns. These campaigns can be done through meetings, conferences or via the media (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:186; Ranney 1982; Baggott 1995; Venter 1998; Jackson and Jackson 2003; Park 2006; Heywood 2007; Tossutti 2009; Weissenbach 2010; Hofmeister and Grabow 2011; Okeke 2014).

It has been observed that political parties, interest groups, trade unions and NGOs directly socialise the citizens by providing training on various political issues. These organisations usually train citizens on various aspects such as political rights, voting, political processes, and citizenship. Secondary groups conduct training through workshops, pamphlets, posters, websites, radio and television (Bailey 1998; Venter 1998).

2.5.6.2 Indirect socialisation by secondary groups

Secondary groups also politically socialise the citizens through indirect action. Often, organisations such as interest groups, trade unions and NGOs indirectly socialise the populace by engaging in activities such as lobbying, demonstrations, petitions, strikes, and boycotts. Through such action, they mobilise the citizens specifically to exert influence and put pressure on government concerning important policy matters (Ranney 1982:233; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985:144; Heywood 2007:306).

2.5.6.3 Types of secondary groups

As indicated in section 2.5.6, various secondary groups which exert their influence on the political socialisation process are religious institutions, political parties, interest groups, trade unions, and NGOs. In the subsequent sections, attention is paid to the role that is played by each these groups.

2.5.6.3.1 Religious institutions

Religious institutions such as churches, mosques, synagogues and temples are also recognised as important agents of political socialisation. Dawson and Prewitt (1969:186) mention that although churches are primarily non-political, they take stands and issue statements on political issues. For example, a religious organisation such as the South African Council of Churches (SACC) was a prominent anti-apartheid institution during the apartheid era in South Africa (Manavhela 2009) – (see section 1.6.2.5).

The significance of the church is also recognised by Ranney (1982:225), who observed that many religious denominations were deeply concerned with political issues such as regulation of child labour, birth control and censorship of the media. According to Jackson and Jackson (2003:124), religious organisations exercise significant informal influence on the political culture of many nations in the world. For example, religious institutions such as fundamentalist Islam are very rigid and authoritarian in their organisation and teaching. Where religions are state religions, particularly in theocratic states such as Iran, it could be expected that the role of religious institutions would be particularly important.

Most religious institutions are usually structured on hierarchical relationships of obedience between religious leaders and their congregations. Religious associations are seen as places where people can address their common concerns such as assisting needy people. The interaction between religious leaders and their congregants facilitates the transfer of political information and organisational skills which are necessary for political and civic participation. In the USA and Canada, religious beliefs and participation in religious activities exert significant effect on democratic institutions and civil society. Regular church attendance has been linked to higher rates of electoral turnout, political interest,

memberships in voluntary organisations, and volunteering and philanthropy. It has been found that some church members or regular attendees of services report that they receive requests for political activity or were exposed to political messages at church-based meetings or discussions from the pulpit (Tossutti 2009).

The important role of the church in the political socialisation process was also emphasised by Paul Djupe and Christopher Gilbert (2008). Djupe and Gilbert investigated the extent to which the church influenced the political behaviour of American citizens. They examined how membership in organised American religious bodies shaped political life of church members. The findings of their research showed that attending church affected individual political attitudes and actions. Their study indicated that the clergy and small church groups such as choirs and church councils disseminated political information to church members through sermons and political discussion. In addition, individual church members formed their own informal discussion networks with people they knew or befriended. As a result, political information was shared among the congregants through political discussion in these informal networks.

Within the South African context, the church also plays an active role in the political socialisation of citizens. For example, Maria Frahm-Arp (2015) studied the political involvement of three South African churches namely, His People, Grace Bible Church and Acts of Faith Harvesters. She examined the political messages expressed by the church leaders during the build-up to the 2014 elections, how the church used select social media sites to spread their messages and how some members reacted to the political messages of their church leaders. The findings of the study indicated that all three churches believed that Christians should be politically active, pray for the country's leaders, vote in the elections and obey the rules of government. Furthermore, the results showed that the churches had different political reasons for supporting democracy which ranged from seeing political engagement as a way to access government and municipal grants, to seeing themselves as the 'chaplains' to those in the highest offices of government and thus able to influence the way in which the country was governed.

2.5.6.3.2 Political parties

Political parties are by their very nature politically orientated. To achieve their political aims, they perform a variety of tasks in many societies. One of the key functions that political parties carry out is political socialisation. In stable democracies political parties tend to reinforce the established democratic political system directly by helping socialise a section of the population into the prevailing democratic political culture. They help to transmit political attitudes and values from one generation to another. Political parties assist in inculcating fundamental values and norms. They help create and maintain support for the political system by following accepted rules, thereby contributing to societal acceptance and legitimation of that system. However, it is also important to mention that an anti-system or a revolutionary political party would, of course, do the opposite, but would try to influence people to support their political views (Venter 1998; Jackson and Jackson 2003:321).

In addition to inculcating the population into a certain political culture, political parties also play a significant socialisation role by providing the public with important political information. They inform, educate and influence the citizens with regard to public affairs. Parties also initiate certain issues into civil society, providing the public with the opportunity to discuss matters and form opinions. Through debate and discussion, political parties help to set the political agenda. Furthermore, political parties mobilise and motivate the public to participate in the electoral process (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:186; Heywood 2007:279; Weissenbach 2010; Hofmeister and Grabow 2011:16) – (see section 2.5.6.1).

Within the South African context, political parties also play a significant socialisation function. Owing to high levels of illiteracy in South Africa, particularly in rural areas, most political parties carry out voter education. They also conduct training on how to campaign, nurture political skills and provide information on contemporary issues. Political parties such as the ANC, which were banned during apartheid, endeavor to inculcate a feeling for the legitimacy of the political system among party members and the population as a whole. Some parties in South Africa are also instrumental in re-socialising the population. For example, just after 1994 the National Party re-socialised most of its white supporters

by changing their political attitudes to accept reality and the necessity of a new dispensation (Venter 1998:264) – (see section 2.5.6.1).

2.5.6.3.3 Interest groups and trade unions

Organised groups such as interest groups and trade unions also exert influence on the policies and actions of government (Ranney 1982:220; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985:143; Venter 1998:289; Jackson and Jackson 2003:329; Heywood 2007:296). During their operations, interest groups and trade unions also play an important political socialisation function. Interest groups and trade unions are non-political, although some and particularly trade unions have divisions that deal with political education, collective bargaining and welfare of their members (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:186). Examples of trade union organisations in South Africa are the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), National Professional Teachers' Organisation (NAPTOSA) and Police and Civil Rights Union (POPCRU). Examples of interest groups are the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), AfriForum, Section27 and Black Sash (Venter 1998:281).

Trade unions and interest groups create a better-informed and more politically educated electorate by promoting debate and discussion on important societal issues. By defining issues and arenas of conflict, they play a crucial role in developing public awareness and knowledge of political issues. They also provide wide opportunities for the citizens to participate actively in the political process. Trade unions and interest groups broaden the scope of political participation, both by providing an alternative to conventional party politics and by offering opportunities for grassroots activism (Venter 1998:288; Jackson and Jackson 2003:331; Heywood 2007:301).

Trade unions and some interest groups also engage in various activities such as demonstrations, petitions, strikes, boycotts and non-violent civil disobedience. Through these activities, they mobilise the electorate in an attempt to influence and put pressure on government regarding various policy issues (Ranney 1982:233; Nwabuzor and Mueller 1985:144; Heywood 2007:306) – (see section 2.5.6.2).

2.5.6.3.4 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

NGOs perform various political, social and economic functions in society. They are different from organisations such as political parties in the sense that they are concerned with specific interests and do not attempt to govern or compete for office, but merely seek to influence decisions taken by government. They differ from ordinary interest groups that aim to promote and protect their members' defined interests. NGOs usually do not have formal fee-paying membership structures and consists of volunteers – both paid and unpaid, and are dependent on donations. Although NGOs are usually apolitical, some are in fact used as political fronts for specific political agendas. NGOs often play a critical political socialisation role. They can influence the political socialisation through mobilisation of public opinion, citizenship education and diverse activities (Bailey 1998; Venter 1998; Mercer 2002; Jackson and Jackson 2003; McFarland and Thomas 2006; Okeke 2014).

NGOs can mobilise public opinion in a number of ways. The actual formation of an NGO is an expression of public concern, even when the organisation has a small membership. The formation of an NGO may be a reflection of a wider public concern about the failure of government to satisfy the needs of the citizens. NGOs can influence public opinion through petitions, strikes, demonstrations and protests. As the citizens engage in strikes, demonstrations and protests they become aware of many political and social issues within their society. The importance of NGOs in this regard is that they provide a link between the government and citizens, and an important channel through which citizens can participate in political activities. In addition to petitions, strikes, protests and demonstrations, NGOs can also mobilise public opinion by persuading citizens to support their cause. Citizens may be persuaded to support a particular issue through public campaigns by NGOs. Public campaigns can be done through direct action or via the media (Ranney 1982; Baggott 1995; Venter 1998; Jackson and Jackson 2003; Park 2006; Okeke 2014) – (see section 2.5.6.2).

Regarding citizenship education, some NGOs may develop campaigns to engage the populace, to educate them about the political system and its recent changes, teach them how they can be a part of it, and make them want to stay involved. They teach citizens

about civics, citizenship, and politics through pamphlets, posters, websites, radio slots and workshops specifically targeted at different groups of citizens to promote citizen awareness and basic civic understanding. Some NGOs organise forums in which invited guests, usually political party representatives or candidates, present their philosophies or platforms with NGO members or the general public. This system allows citizens to learn about the politicians and their stances, in order to cast a thoughtful vote at election time, keep tabs on officials during their terms, or weigh the merits of one party over another (Bailey 1998; Venter 1998).

The role of NGOs in the provision of citizenship education was observed by Sun Young Park (2006). The study by Park examined the role of NGOs in providing citizenship education in England and South Korea. The study focused on the role of NGOs on the following three areas: social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy. Park carried out in-depth case studies of four NGOs namely, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), Young Korean Academy (YKA), Community Service Volunteers (CSV) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The results revealed that NGOs played a key role in connectivity between schools and community, and that non-formal settings are a significant influence on the development of citizenship among young people. It was also found that through provision of citizenship education in schools, NGOs played a major role in the social responsibility, community involvement and political literacy of students.

NGOs such as voluntary youth organisations and community-based organisations politically socialise their members through various activities. For example, members of these organisations are often requested to work together, organise meetings, mobilise participants through tasks, engage in collective decision-making processes, resolve common concerns, find common ground across different viewpoints, engage in public speaking and argue viewpoints. Through the above-mentioned activities, members of youth organisations and community-based organisations acquire skills that have direct application to adult political life. The internal activities of youth organisations also teach individuals to be leaders and build their self-esteem so that the prospect of engaging in public political activity will be less difficult (McFarland and Thomas 2006).

2.5.6.3.5 Traditional authorities

Since the pre-colonial era traditional leadership has played an important political function in African societies. Traditional leadership gave effect to traditional life and played a significant role in the day-to-day administration of African societies. The relationship between traditional leaders and their communities was very important. The normal functioning of the traditional communities was the responsibility of the traditional authority. The institution of traditional leadership was a political and administrative centre of governance for traditional communities. The institution operated and functioned according to applicable customs, traditions and customary laws (Khunou 2011:279).

Even in modern Africa and especially in South Africa, traditional authorities continue to occupy an important political position in rural communities (Traditional Authorities Research Group 1999; Dlungwana 2004; Lutabingwa, Sabela and Mbatha 2006; George and Binza 2011; Khunou 2011). Studies by the Traditional Authorities Research Group (1999), Khanyisa George (2010), and Clement Tlhoale (2012) have documented the political role of traditional leadership in South Africa's new dispensation; but nothing has been mentioned concerning the influence of traditional leadership on rural citizens' political socialisation. However, it is possible that traditional leaders do play a political socialisation role in South Africa's rural areas since they interact with rural citizens on a day-to-day basis.

2.5.6.4 Factors affecting the role of secondary groups

There are several factors which affect the role of secondary groups in political socialisation. The role of secondary groups is influenced by factors such as the size of the organisation, size of membership, resources, cohesion, leadership, and organisational values, objectives and activities (Ranney 1975:239; Heywood 2007:280; Wayne, Mackenzie and Cole 2007:169).

The size of an organisation as well as its membership determines how well it succeeds in influencing the citizens' political views. Usually, groups with a large membership can easily gain public attention. Having sufficient resources in the form of finances and personnel can also help an organisation to achieve its objectives, influence government decisions

and public views. An organisation with enough resources can undertake its activities successfully and also be able to drive its political agenda. Cohesion or unity within an organisation often contributes positively towards the organisation's role in influencing government policy. The quality of leadership is critical in the success of an organisation. It has been observed that a leader with good qualities is likely to inspire the members of his/her organisation to have a sense of identity, purpose and commitment (Ranney 1975: 239; Heywood 2007:280).

Secondary groups may have positive effect on political socialisation if their members identify closely with the groups' values or objectives. The groups' values or objectives should also be directly related to some aspect of politics. Furthermore, the groups should engage in promotional activities designed to inspire specific political attitudes or actions on the part of members (Wayne, Mackenzie and Cole 2007:169)

Thus, secondary groups are important as agents of political socialisation. Secondary groups such as religious organisations, political parties, interest groups and trade unions, and NGOs play an important role in political socialisation. It was also explained that secondary groups through both direct and indirect political socialisation. However, their role is affected by various factors

2.6 CONCLUSION

Emanating from the discussion was the fact that the concept of political socialisation was "borrowed" from diverse disciplines such as psychology, sociology, psychiatry and anthropology. It was also demonstrated that political socialisation does not have a definitive meaning and thus various authors provide different definitions for the concept. For the purpose of this study, the concept of political socialisation is defined as a life-long process through which people are inducted into a political culture. It is a process through which people acquire political knowledge, values, attitudes, orientations and expectations relating to their political environment.

An explanation was provided on how the political socialisation process takes place. It was highlighted that an individual's political socialisation occurs in both direct and indirect

processes. Direct socialisation happens through explicit activities such as teaching, imitation and motivation. On the other hand, indirect socialisation takes place through less overt methods such as interpersonal transference, apprenticeship and generalisation.

It was also explained that political socialisation is a life-long learning process which covers the entire life span. The discussion emphasised that political socialisation begins at childhood, and then it proceeds to adolescence and adulthood. There was a convincing demonstration that political ideas develop early in childhood. The theory showed that political attitudes, values, knowledge and behaviour patterns that are learned during childhood persist and influence later views and behaviour. It was highlighted that an individual acquires his/her “political self”, that is, a sense of personal identification with the political world during childhood. As the individual grows and matures into adolescence and adulthood, he/she acquires more specific political understanding and behaviour patterns. The socialisation process is never finalised because the individual endlessly encounters new political configurations and events.

The political socialisation theory also recognises that political socialisation is a continuous process which is influenced by various agents such as the family, school, mass media, peer groups, religious institutions, political parties, NGOs, interest groups and trade unions. The discussion on the socialisation agents showed that each of the agents has its own strengths and weaknesses peaking at different stages of a person’s political development. Thus, the extent of influence that is exerted by each socialisation agent varies according to the stages of human life. For example, the family plays a more influential role during childhood than it does during adolescence or early adulthood. Although all agents are significant in the political socialisation process, there is no consensus among political scientists on the exact influence of each agent in the formation of people’s political orientations. The theory also highlighted the fact that each agent of socialisation has both a direct and indirect role in the political socialisation process.

Furthermore, the discussion indicated that the role of each agent is affected by certain factors in the social, economic and political environment. In the family, political socialisation is affected by the monopolistic position of the family especially in the lives of children, the relationship and personal ties among family members, provision of physical

and psychological needs by the family, family members' level of political interest, the type of political environment in which the family operates, and the number and significance of other socialisation agents. The influence of the extended family in political socialisation is affected by cohesion, co-operation and interdependence among the members of the family. Political socialisation at school and other educational institutions is affected by the competence of teachers or lecturers as well as the availability of books and other educational resources. Within peer groups, the political socialisation process is influenced by the access of peer groups to their members and emotional ties among the members. The impact of the mass media in the socialisation process is determined by the type of information which is disseminated, type of audience, conditions in a country, interpretation of the information and type of media. The socialisation role of secondary groups is influenced by the size of the organisation, size of membership, resources, cohesion, leadership, and organisational values, objectives and activities.

It also important to mention that the political socialisation theory also highlighted the fact that the role of some agents may be complementary in the sense that they reinforce the role of other agents, but they may also compete with one another. This often happens when values, orientations and attitudes are changed. In some instances, some agents may create new values, orientations and attitudes. This usually happens when people get exposed to new issues that they have not previously encountered. But being exposed to opposing views may indeed reinforce existing views and may not necessarily alter them.

In the next chapter, the research methodology used in this study is dealt with. The discussion focuses on the research design in terms of the characteristics of the case, sampling design, method of data collection, data processing and analysis.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter two, a detailed explanation of the theory pertaining to political socialisation was provided. In this chapter, the focus is on the research methodology used in the study. The discussion covers the research design, characteristics of the case, sampling design, data collection, and data processing and analysis.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

In this research, a case study using a qualitative approach was used. The setting of the case study is in Calais village in Limpopo Province, South Africa. The use of a case study means that the research is strictly confined to Calais village. A case study design is most relevant for this study for two reasons. First, the primary advantage of a case study is the detailed information that can be obtained by focusing on a single case. Second, a case study design was chosen because it provided the researcher with the opportunity to use a sample that enabled him to examine data at micro level.

The case study was qualitative in nature because the focus was meaning, experience and understanding. Although quantitative data were used, the researcher opted for a qualitative approach because it gave him an opportunity to interact with the respondents whose experiences he wanted to understand. The researcher's intended outcome was to provide a detailed description and interpretation of the research problem.

3.2.1 Characteristics of the case

In chapters one and two, it was indicated that political socialisation takes place within a setting. Thus, to understand the process of political socialisation within Calais village, it is necessary to have knowledge on the characteristics of the area. Therefore, in this section, the characteristics of Calais village are fully described. The discussion covers the

following: geographical location, land ownership and governance, demography, political history and socio-economic situation.

3.2.1.1 Geographical location

Calais village is situated 8 km north-west of Trichardtsdal in Limpopo Province, South Africa. It lies at the foothills of the Drakensberg mountain range. The village is next to white commercial farms and the Lekgalameetse Nature Reserve. Calais village is far away from urban centres of which the closest are Phalaborwa, Hoedspruit and Tzaneen. The distances by road from Calais village to these urban centres are as follows: Phalaborwa (84 km), Hoedspruit (66 km) and Tzaneen (47 km). The GPS co-ordinates of the settlement are: 24.132°S 30.348°E

Calais village is in the north-western part of the Maruleng Local Municipality in Limpopo Province. The Maruleng Local Municipality is situated within the Mopani District Municipal Area of jurisdiction. The municipality is bordered by the greater Kruger National Park to the east, the Ba-Phalaborwa and Tzaneen municipalities to the north, the Lepelle Nkumpi municipality to the west, and Tubatse and Bushbuckridge to the south. Maruleng is a rural municipality which is mostly characterised by agriculture, tourism and game reserves. Calais village also forms part of the Sekororo Tribal Authority. The village can therefore be described as remote, rural and tribal. Please see Appendix 4 for the map of Maruleng Local Municipality (Dippenaar et al 2005; Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015).

3.2.1.2 Land ownership and governance

Land ownership in Calais village is mainly communal and tribal in nature, although there is shared governance between the elected local leadership and traditional authority. From 1937 until 1958 the residents of Calais village were gradually dispossessed of some of their land by the apartheid government to make way for the Lekgalameetse Nature Reserve and white commercial farms. In 1994, the ANC-led government introduced the land reform process in South Africa in order to redress land distribution which was biased in favour of certain population groups and to restore land to people who were dispossessed of their land. In 2003, the residents of Calais village lodged a land claim with the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) in order to have their land restored to them. By

2005, the first phase of the land claim had been approved by the Minister of Land Affairs and there were plans to compensate the claimants in the form of restoration of their land from which they were evicted (Dippenaar et al 2005:21). According to the Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015, approximately 18.5% of the municipality's total land area was subject to 21 registered land claims. So far, only five claims have been settled and Calais village is one of the villages whose land has been returned (Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015).

Currently, the village is led by a headman (*Induna*) who is under Chief Sekororo, the Supreme Chief (*Kgosi*) of the Sekororo Tribal Authority. The Sekororo Tribal Authority has its headquarters at Moshate village, in Limpopo Province. Traditional leadership is not a new system of governance in Calais village because it existed before and during apartheid. The traditional leadership in Calais village is recognised in terms of current South African legislation such as the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996), the Municipal Structures Act (Act No. 117 of 1998), the Municipal Systems Act (Act No. 32 of 2000) and the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Act (Act No. 41 of 2003) - (Constitution of South Africa, 1996; Dippenaar et al 2005; Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015).

On the recognition and role of traditional leaders, Sections 211 and 212 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, state the following:

- The institution, status and role of traditional leadership, according to customary law, are recognised, subject to the Constitution. A traditional authority that observes a system of customary law may function subject to any applicable legislation and customs, which includes amendments to, or repeal of, that legislation or those customs. The courts must apply customary law when that law is applicable, subject to the Constitution and any legislation that specifically deals with customary law.
- National legislation may provide for a role for traditional leadership as an institution, at local level, on matters affecting local communities. National or provincial legislation may provide for the establishment of houses of traditional leaders; and a council of traditional leaders
(Constitution of South Africa, 1996; Mashau, Mutshaeni, and Kone, 2014:220)

According to Section 81(2)(a)-(c) of the Municipal Structures Act of 1998, the Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for local government in a province must identify the traditional leaders who may participate in the proceedings of a municipal council. Before a municipal council takes a decision on any matter directly affecting the area of a traditional authority, the council must give the leader of that authority the opportunity to express a view on that matter (Mashau et al 2014:220). Section 81 of the Municipal Structures Act, 1998, also states that during their participation, traditional leaders are bound by the “Code of Conduct for Councillors”, but do not have voting rights and do not become councillors as they are not members of the municipal council. Traditional leaders participate as representatives of their communities and have the opportunity to express views on matters directly affecting their area of traditional authority. The municipality may not adopt any by-law affecting a traditional community unless its traditional leaders have been consulted (SALGA 2012).

Section 81(1) of the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 states that the traditional authorities that traditionally observe a system of customary law in the area of a municipality may participate through their leaders in the proceedings of the council of that municipality, and those traditional leaders must be allowed to attend and participate in any meeting of the council (Mashau et al 2014:220).

In Chapter 2 of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Act of 2003, it is stated that a community may be recognised as a traditional community if it is subject to a system of traditional leadership in terms of that community’s customs and observes a system of customary law. The Act further states that once the Premier has recognised a traditional community, that traditional community must establish a traditional council and the members of that traditional council must comprise traditional leaders and members of the traditional community selected by the senior traditional leader concerned in terms of that community's customs in line with principles set out in provincial legislation (Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Act, 2003).

In addition to participation in the municipal council, the Supreme Chief (*Kgosi*) and headman (*Induna*) of Calais village also take part in other structures such as the Provincial and Local Traditional Councils, and the Congress of Traditional Leaders (CONTRALESA).

For example, Chief Seshego Sekororo is the chairman of CONTRALESA in Limpopo. In these structures, traditional leaders attend meetings, promote the interests of their traditional communities, assist with the administration of the traditional communities in co-operation with the relevant municipalities and state departments, and actively participate in the development of their communities. The participation of Calais' traditional leadership in Provincial and Local Traditional Councils, and CONTRALESA provides legitimacy to the traditional leaders particularly considering the fact that South Africa has a democratic system of government (Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Act of 2003; Limpopo Traditional Leadership and Institutions Act 6 of 2005; Business Day 2016).

In addition to traditional leadership, Calais village has a politically elected ward councillor who represents the village in the Maruleng municipal council. According to the municipality's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) for 2010 to 2015, there is a good relationship between the municipality and traditional leaders. The IDP states that traditional leaders participate in most municipal activities such as the IDP Representative Forum, *Izimbizo*, and council sittings (Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015).

The Maruleng municipality has a functional IDP Representative Forum which is made up of councillors, municipal officials, traditional leaders, taxi associations, and ward committees. Traditional leaders' roles and responsibilities in the IDP representative forum include attending weekly forum meetings, representing interests of their constituents in the IDP process, providing organisational mechanisms for discussion, negotiation and decision making amongst stakeholders, and monitoring the performance of the IDP planning and implementation process. Calais village participates in the IDP process through its traditional leadership, ward councillor and ward committee (Maruleng Municipality Draft Annual Report 2013/14; Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015).

The Maruleng municipality also promotes public participation through mayoral *Izimbizo* (community meetings). The residents in Calais village attend and participate in *Izimbizo* that are organised by the municipality. During *Izimbizo*, the municipal mayor solicits community views and recommendations on service delivery. Traditional leaders act as facilitators at *Izimbizo* where community members present their service delivery inputs to municipal leadership (Lutabingwa et al 2006; Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015).

In the event of disputes between traditional leadership and municipal councillors, the South African Local Government Association's 2011 guideline on the roles and responsibilities of councillors, political structures and officials, mandates the municipality to have a mechanism to resolve such disputes. The guideline states that in the event of a dispute between the municipal Executive Committee and any other political structure, or the municipal manager, the dispute must be referred to Council for resolution (SALGA 2011:24).

It is evident from the above discussion that land ownership in Calais village is mainly communal and tribal although there is shared governance between the local municipality and traditional leadership. It has been demonstrated that traditional leadership in Calais village is recognised in terms of the Constitution of South Africa and other relevant legislation. Thus, various pieces of legislation impact directly and indirectly on political leadership in the village and how the leadership interacts with residents in Calais village.

3.2.1.3 Demography

The population of Calais village is homogeneous in terms of race, culture, ethnicity and language. The village consists of black people who speak the SePedi language. The areas surrounding the village comprise mostly of SePedi and XiTsonga-speaking black people as well as Afrikaans-speaking white commercial farmers. The total population of Calais village is 2 484 people and the female population out-numbers the male population by approximately 18%. The population is relatively young, with the majority of the population under the age of thirty-four years. In terms of the 2011 census, the village had a total of 1 761 (71%) people under the age of thirty-four years. Migration to urban areas is common in the area because of scarce employment opportunities locally. Men in particular, migrate to large cities such as Johannesburg to look for employment, and women and children are left behind in the village. This could be one of the reasons why there are more women than men in Calais village (Dippenaar et al 2005; Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015; StatsSA 2015). Migration also affects the family structure of people living in Calais village and prevents the community from becoming isolated from the rest of South Africa.

The family size ranges from six to eight people and most of the families are headed by female single parents. The large number of families headed by single parents is exacerbated by high rates of teenage pregnancy. More than a third of the adult population lacks any form of schooling and most of them are unemployed¹⁴ (Dippenaar et al 2005; StatsSA 2013; Malekutu 2014; Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015).

3.2.1.4 Political history

For an understanding of the process of political socialisation in Calais village, the political history of the area is important. The reason for this is that the village's political history might over time have influenced the residents' beliefs, values, opinions and even political culture.

Historically, during the apartheid era, Calais village used to be in the former Lebowa homeland. The homeland was a self-governing black ethnic territory created by the National Party (NP) government and imposed on the Bapedi people (also known as Northern Sotho) in the then Northern Transvaal. The homelands, often referred to as Bantustans, were created following the passing of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, 1959 (Act No. 46 of 1959), which meant that any representation that Africans had in the South African parliament and provincial councils was terminated. The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, 1959, promised to extend Africans' right to self determination, albeit in the homelands only. Through the homelands policy, the apartheid government denied all black people living in the homelands or Bantustans their national political and civil rights, which meant that they could not participate in the country's political system. Blacks were divided into ethnic groups and relocated into geographical ethnic enclaves in order to reduce them to a series of separate minorities. The first Territorial Authority in Lebowa was established in 1962 and it had advisory powers only. Self-governing status was conferred on 2 October 1972 with Seshego as the seat of government (SAIRR 1973:184; Kotzé 1975; Geldenhuys 1981:6; Dippenaar et al 2005:21; Mokgawa 2010).

¹⁴ When reference is made to adult residents these would, for purposes of this study as indicated earlier, be people aged eighteen years and older.

The first general election in Lebowa was held on 11 April 1973. The Lebowa legislative assembly comprised 100 seats or members representing 15 districts or areas of the territory. Forty members were to be elected by Lebowa citizens and the remaining seats were allocated to nominated chiefs. In May 1973, Dr. Cedric Phatudi was elected the first Chief Minister of Lebowa government. He was elected by 45 votes against 40 cast for Chief Maurice Matlala. The general election was not contested on a political party basis. It was contested based on formation of groups of candidates, who established political parties soon after the first election in support of the new incumbent Chief Minister or the contender for that post (SAIRR 1974:161; Geldenhuys 1981:6; Duba 1992; Mokgawa 2010:32).

The political parties that were established shortly after this first election were the ruling Lebowa People's Party (LPP) and the Lebowa National Party (LNP) led by Chief Maurice Matlala. The opposition LNP voluntarily dissolved in March 1974. The subsequent elections in 1978 and 1983 were contested on political party basis. Three parties namely the LPP, an LPP wing led by Mr. Collins Ramusi and Black People's Party led by Chief A.S. Molapo participated in the elections. Dr. Phatudi was re-elected and retained his position on both occasions. However, on 7 October 1987 Dr. Phatudi died and he was succeeded by Mr. Mogoboya Ramodike who was elected unanimously by the legislative assembly. In 1989, elections were held, but only one registered party (LPP) and numerous independent candidates participated. Mr. Ramodike was re-elected as the Chief Minister (SAIRR 1979:294; SAIRR 1984:350; SAIRR 1988:928; SAIRR 1989:xliv; Mokgawa 2010:38).

In the 1989 Lebowa general election, a total of 952 048 votes were cast. The number of votes represented almost 50% of the homeland's estimated population of 1 991 447 and serves to confirm that the people of Lebowa did participate in the political process. A total of 151 candidates contested the 38 seats available for elected members in the Lebowa Legislative Assembly. Although there are no electoral figures pertaining to Calais village, there is an indication that the residents might have participated in the elections because 50 198 votes were cast in Naphuno constituency, the electoral division which Calais village formed part of. It is worth noting that the information on election results in Lebowa is not reliable due to the elections' lack of legitimacy. In addition, provision for the

registration of voters was made for the first time in preparation for the 1989 general election in Lebowa. During the 1989 election, the majority of voters were registered on the day of the election largely because the people of Lebowa were not yet acquainted with the process of registration, thus the voters roll was not compiled in advance (Duba 1992:173).

In 1989, Mr. F.W. de Klerk was elected leader of the ruling National Party (NP) and he subsequently replaced Mr. P.W. Botha as the President of South Africa. The following year was a turning point in South Africa's transition to democracy. On 2 February 1990, Mr. De Klerk announced the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela from prison and the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), SACP and other liberation movements. The National Party (NP) government and the anti-apartheid political organisations such as the ANC, PAC and others, began a process of democratic transition through negotiations. The negotiations resulted in the 1993 Interim Constitution and 1994 democratic elections (Seo 2008:1; Mokgawa 2010:66).

The 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1994 elections put an end to the apartheid system and homelands. A new non-racial democratic dispensation had been established and it provided various fundamental political rights to all South Africans. The creation of a new political order resulted in the incorporation of all homelands into the broader South African society (Seo 2008:405; Mokgawa 2010:14).

The new democratic dispensation provided all citizens in South Africa with an opportunity to participate in the country's political process. Since 1994, the residents of Calais village have been participating in the country's national and local government elections. According to the electoral reports produced by the Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa (IEC), a total of 813 residents in Calais village voted in the 1999 general election. In 2004, the number of residents who voted in the general election slightly increased to 834. However, since then voter turnout has been decreasing as statistics show that in 2009 only 777 residents cast their vote and in 2014 the number further decreased to 776 votes. As shown in Table 1, in the 2016 local government elections the voter turnout increased to 862 (IEC 2004, 2009, 2014).

Many political parties are present in Calais village, of which the most dominant are the ANC, Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), and Democratic Alliance (DA). On 3 August 2016, the local government elections were held and a total of sixteen political parties and one independent candidate contested the elections. A summary of the election results is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: 2016 Local Government Results (Calais village)

PARTY NAME	TOTAL VALID VOTES	% TOTAL VALID VOTES
African National Congress	181	21.37
Democratic Alliance	14	1.65
Economic Freedom Fighters	38	4.49
African Christian Democratic Party	0	0
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania	1	0.12
Independent Candidate	605	71.43
Congress of the People	1	0.12
Maruleng Community Forum	0	0
Civic Warriors of Maruleng	3	0.35
International Revelation Congress	3	0.35
African People's Convention	1	0.12
Socialist Radical Change	0	0
United Democratic Movement	0	0
National Independent Party	0	0
Vryheidsfront Plus	0	0
Agang South Africa	0	0
Ximoko Party	0	0
TOTAL VALID VOTES	847	100
TOTAL SPOILT VOTES	15	
TOTAL VOTES CAST	862	
TOTAL VOTER TURNOUT	862	

Source: IEC: 2016 Municipal Election Leaderboard. www.elections.org.za

As indicated in Table 1, the 2016 local government elections in Calais village were won by an independent candidate, Mr. Sefolwane Fistos Mahlo, earning 71.43% of the vote. He was followed by the ANC with 21.37%, the EFF with 4.49% and the DA with 1.65%. The rest of the political parties achieved less than 1%. The total voter turnout was 862, which

included 15 spoilt votes. These results were obtained from the IEC: 2016 Municipal Election Leaderboard. (www.elections.org.za).

As mentioned in section 3.2.1.2, apart from electoral participation, residents in Calais village participate in Mayoral *Izimbizo* (community meetings) that are organised by the Maruleng Local Municipality. During the *Izimbizo*, the community is provided with progress reports on issues pertaining to service delivery. The *Izimbizo* are intended to have a two-way flow of information between the municipality and the members of the public. (Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015). An *Izimbizo* is a mechanism that is designed and used by the South African government to bring the government closer to communities. It is aimed at consulting communities through their involvement in order to discuss and tackle service delivery matters. *Izimbizo* are meant to encourage public participation and allow the public to interact directly with political leaders (Department of Government Communication and Information System 2013).

3.2.1.5 Socio-economic situation

Regarding the socio-economic situation, Calais village has a clinic, few tuck shops, churches, shebeens, one primary school (Thapola-a-nkona Primary School), one secondary school (Calais Secondary School), but it has no tertiary or post-matric educational institutions. From 2014 to 2016, the matric pass rate at Calais Secondary School has been as follows: 2014 (50%), 2015 (65%) and 2016 (47.1%) – (Department of Basic Education 2016:167).

The residents in Calais village travel more than 30km to reach the town of Tzaneen. In terms of road infrastructure, the village has no tarred roads. There is service delivery in the village since the majority of the community (98%) has access to clean, potable water, although most households do not have access to water inside their yard or dwelling. Most households have been installed with electricity, although some of them still use firewood for cooking and heating as they cannot afford the high cost of electricity. In terms of telecommunications, most households in Calais village have access to radio, television, cellular phones and mail boxes (Dippenaar et al 2005:29; Malekutu 2014:6; Maruleng Municipality Reviewed IDP 2015-2016).

The formal education levels of people living in Calais village are relatively low. Of the population over twenty years of age, 37% did not attend school, while 25% attended secondary school but did not complete Grade twelve (matric). Employment opportunities in the formal economy are therefore limited for most of the community members. Some residents survive on temporary jobs in the government's Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), odd jobs on nearby farms, social grants and gambling. The high level of unemployment (78%) in the village contributes to the low levels of household income. The majority of households survive on less than the United Nations indicator of extreme poverty (less than \$1 a day per person). Despite the low socio-economic levels in the village, few households actively practise subsistence agriculture. Only few households practise subsistence agriculture despite the availability of communal land. As already mentioned in section 3.2.1.3, migration to urban areas for employment purposes is a common occurrence in the village. Some male residents in the village often migrate to the metropolitan areas of Gauteng Province, such as Johannesburg. They keep contact with their families telephonically and sometimes visit them during holidays (Dippenaar et al 2005:7; Malekutu 2014:39).

The South African Police service (SAPS) is responsible for safe and security in Calais village, although there is no police station in the village. The nearest police station that is utilised by the residents is Maake Police Station, which is situated 23 kilometres away. Calais village has a Community Policing Forum (CPF) and overall crime levels have shown a decline since 2002. However, crimes such as theft and murder have recently increased in the area. The most common crimes in the area are assault and theft (Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015).

Although the residents of Calais village have access to some of the basic services such as water and electricity, they still lack opportunities in terms of employment, good quality education, road infrastructure, and safety and security.

3.2.2 Sampling design

Although the size of the population in Calais village was relatively small, the use of interviews and a lengthy questionnaire during the study made the researcher to draw a

sample. Sampling was done by selecting individual residents from the whole population in Calais village (Bailey 1987:81; Collins et al 2000:147; Du Plooy 2001:100).

The sampling method used in the study is non-probability sampling. Non-probability sampling is a technique in which a sample is selected in a process that does not give all the units in the population equal chances of being chosen. In non-probability sampling, the probability of including population elements is unknown. Subjects in a non-probability sample are normally chosen on the basis of their accessibility or by personal judgment of the researcher. Non-probability sampling does not attempt to select a random sample from the population of interest. Rather, subjective methods are used to decide which elements are included in the sample. In non-probability sampling, the population may or may not be accurately represented (Bailey 1987; Collins et al 2000:158; Du Plooy 2001).

Thus, non-probability sampling was chosen for two reasons. First, the study was qualitative, and thus the main interest was to have a deeper understanding of the research problem. The researcher sought to study experiences, views and everyday practices in an in-depth manner. In this case, improved understanding of the research problem was more important than generalisability of the results. Second, there was no well-defined target population from which to sample due to the unavailability of a sampling frame. There was insufficient data on the population for the researcher to draw a representative sample (Collins et al 2000:158; Du Plooy 2001:113; Welman, Kruger and Mitchell 2005:67).

The type of non-probability sampling used during the study was purposive sampling. Purposive sampling also referred to as judgmental sampling is used when the researcher applies his own judgment about which respondents to choose, and picks those who best meet the purposes of the study. The researcher used his discretion to select the respondents whom he believed were well equipped with relevant information that would assist in addressing the research problem. During the study, the researcher selected respondents who possessed the necessary characteristics and were also accessible to him. The respondents who were accessible were the ones whom the researcher was able to approach, develop rapport with and convince to participate in the study. The respondents were considered the most productive sample to address the research problem. The researcher approached the potential respondents and requested them to

participate in the study. All the prospective respondents agreed to participate and they did so voluntarily (see section 3.2.3.3) - (Bailey 1987:94; Marshall 1996:523; Collins et al 2000:159; Leedy and Ormrod 2005:206).

The sample for the study was made up of forty (40) adult residents in Calais village. There are several factors that were considered in determining the size of the sample. First, the length of the interview questionnaire affected the sample size. The researcher used a lengthy questionnaire to conduct the interviews and thus it would be excessively demanding to interview a larger sample within the available time. Second, the size of the sample was considered appropriate for the study because it covered all the necessary categories of respondents in terms of age, gender, education, employment status and marital status. Third, given that Calais village has a homogeneous population in terms of race, culture, ethnicity and language, a sample larger than the one used in the study was not a critical requirement. Fourth, although a larger sample is beneficial, the researcher was careful not to use an excessively large sample because that would lead to unnecessary information overload and challenges in extracting rich thick data. Overall, the sample size of forty (40) respondents was considered ideal for the study because it enabled the researcher to make sound interpretations of the data and have enough data to ground and to produce an in-depth report of the findings.

As discussed above, non-probability sampling had certain advantages; however it also has some shortcomings. The first shortcoming is that the sample did not accurately represent the entire population. This means that the results of the study cannot be generalised to the whole population. The second limitation is that the unavailability of a sampling frame could lead to sampling bias (Collins et al 2000:158; Du Plooy 2001:113; Welman et al 2005:67).

3.2.3 Data collection

This section describes the process of how the data were collected during the study. The researcher obtained data from the respondents through individual face-to-face interviews. A structured questionnaire was administered during the interviews and all the respondents were asked the same questions in order to guarantee consistency.

Using face-to-face interviews in the study provided a number of advantages. Some of the respondents were unable to read and write because they had low levels of education. Thus, the researcher had to conduct the interviews in their home language, which is SePedi. The use of interviews enabled the researcher to clarify the questions to the respondents and also to obtain more in-depth information. Although the interview questionnaire was lengthy, the researcher managed to minimise respondent fatigue. The other advantage of using interviews is that the researcher was able to have face-to-face contact and verbal communication with the respondents. Face-to-face contact had the added benefit because it allowed the researcher to explain the purpose and importance of the study as well as to obtain the respondents' informed consent and confidentiality (see section 3.2.3.3).

Face-to-face contact with respondents also enabled the researcher to determine whether the potential respondents met the eligibility requirements of the study. Through face-to-face interviews the researcher managed to establish rapport with respondents, observe non-verbal behaviour and assess the validity of the respondents' answers. Interviews created a more relaxed atmosphere which made the respondents to feel more comfortable and thus provide more information. Interviews also enabled the researcher to ensure that all the questions were answered and the respondents did not simply follow the responses of other people. Furthermore, the researcher had the opportunity of making sure that all the interviews were carried out in privacy (Bailey 1987; Collins et al 2000).

Although face-to-face interviews enabled the researcher to obtain more in-depth information, they had a few shortcomings. Face-to-face interviews were more costly because the researcher had to travel and meet each and every respondent. The process was time consuming because the interview questionnaire was lengthy. In addition, transcribing and analysing the collected data was more challenging and time consuming. Please see Appendix 3 for a copy of the interview questionnaire.

3.2.3.1 Face-to-face interviews

All the interviews were done in environments where the respondents felt most comfortable. Most of the interviews were conducted in the respondents' homes, except for a few that were done at a local shop. Before commencing the interview, the researcher

began by introducing himself and then provided a brief explanation of the purpose of the interview, the format of the interview, importance of the respondent's participation, terms of confidentiality, how the interview would be recorded, and the expected duration of the interview. The researcher then asked the potential respondent if he/she was willing to participate in the study. If the potential respondent accepted to participate, he/she was requested to sign the informed consent letter as proof that he/she participated voluntarily (see section 3.2.3.3). It is important to mention that all the potential respondents who were requested to participate in the study, accepted to be interviewed.

During the interviews, the researcher asked the respondents a range of questions. The questions were posed orally in the respondents' home language, SePedi and each interview lasted about thirty minutes to an hour. The researcher recorded the respondents' answers on the questionnaires. In addition to the questionnaire, the researcher used a notebook to record additional information such as the place and time of interview, the atmosphere, and the respondent's body language.

3.2.3.2 Structure of the interview questionnaire

The questionnaire used in the study was divided into three sections: A, B and C (see Appendix 3). In section A, the respondents were asked to provide demographic information relating to their age, gender, marital status, level of education, employment status, race and ethnicity. Although Calais village is demographically homogenous, questions about race and ethnicity were included because even homogeneous populations may include "strangers" due to for example marriage and migration. In the question on marriage it should be noted that no distinction is made between traditional, common law and other forms of marriage. The purpose of the question is simply to determine whether a respondent regards him/her as being in a marital relationship.

In section B, the respondents were asked to provide information on where and from whom they obtained political information. For example, the respondents were asked to provide information on different agents of political socialisation. The more usual agents were included, but the respondents were also provided with an opportunity to identify other political socialisation agents particularly because it was not known who the agents in a

rural and traditional setting were. These questions should be viewed against the process of political socialisation as discussed in chapter 2. The distinction between direct political socialisation through for example imitation, discussion and instruction, and indirect socialisation, such as interpersonal transference is important. The focus is on broad categories of agents of political socialisation, and not on the detail of sub-categories. For example, no distinction is made between nursery schools, primary schools and secondary schools. With regard to communication media, no distinction is for example made between private and public media, or the language of communication. Likewise, with regard to religion the focus is on religion per se and not on specific religious denominations, thus only the broad categories of religions are identified. Once important agents of political socialisation are identified, future studies may focus on the detail of each identified agent.

Section C dealt with questions pertaining to the respondents' political behaviour and participation. For example, the respondents were asked to indicate their level of political interest, efficacy, knowledge, awareness and participation.

The questionnaire had both open-ended and closed-ended questions. Using a combination of both open-ended and closed-ended questions had several advantages. First, open-ended questions were used in order to allow the respondents to reply in their own words as well as to express their personal opinions, attitudes and feelings. Second, open-ended questions enabled the respondents to answer adequately and to clarify their answers. Third, the use of open-ended questions gave the respondents an opportunity to be creative and structure answers in their own way (Bailey 1987:120; Tustin, Ligthelm, Martins, and Van Wyk 2005). Since the study made use of interviews, a respondent would be allowed to refuse to answer any question and even respond in ways that were not necessarily captured by any of the close-ended options.

Despite the above-mentioned advantages, the limitation of using open-ended questions is that the questionnaire looked longer, thus requiring much more of the respondents' time and effort. Furthermore, data obtained through open-ended questions was not standardised from person to person, which made data comparison and analysis more challenging (Bailey 1987:120; Tustin et al 2005).

The advantages of using closed-ended questions were that the respondents had to choose from a fixed number of answers making it easier for them to provide answers from the given alternatives. Closed-ended questions helped to guide specific responses the researcher was interested in and thus eliminated irrelevant information. The data that were obtained through closed-ended questions were standardised and that enabled the researcher to do a comparison from one respondent to the other. The other advantage was that the answers provided by the respondents could be easily coded and analysed (Bailey 1987:120; Tustin et al 2005).

The limitation of using closed-ended questions was that the respondents who did not know the answers nor had opinions were likely to guess the appropriate answer or even to answer randomly. The other limitation was that some respondents may have felt a little frustrated because the appropriate categories for their answer either were not provided at all or were not provided sufficiently (Bailey 1987:118; Tustin et al 2005).

3.2.3.3 Ethical issues

Ethical issues pertaining to this study were also mentioned in sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. The following are the ethical principles that the researcher adhered to during the study: obtaining permission to conduct the study, informed and voluntary consent, protection of respondents from harm, confidentiality of information, and anonymity of respondents.

Before the study commenced, the researcher obtained ethical clearance from Unisa and permission from the village traditional leader (*Induna*) to conduct the study in Calais village. The researcher sought permission from the traditional leader (*Induna*) as this is a customary requirement. Permission was sought in writing through an application letter. The letter provided the personal particulars of the researcher, the title of the research project, a summary of the purpose and importance of the study, and an indication that the study would be voluntary. Please see Appendix 1 for a copy of the application to conduct research.

Informed and voluntary consent was also obtained from all the respondents. The purpose of obtaining informed and voluntary consent was to ensure that the respondents were not forced into participation. Consent was obtained through written letters. The consent letters

indicated the researcher's personal information and the purpose of the study. The letters also stipulated that participation was voluntary, the respondents had the right to withdraw from the study, all information gathered from the study will remain confidential and their identities as participants would not be disclosed to anyone.

The researcher did not ask for the respondents' names. Although the researcher knew the respondents' addresses, he did not really know who the respondents were. But due to the possibility that respondents may be identified, the researcher guaranteed confidentiality. All the information on the consent letters was provided in English. In cases where the respondents did not understand English, the researcher explained the information on the consent letters in the respondents' home language, which was SePedi. Please see Appendix 2 for a copy of the informed consent letter.

During the study, the researcher took necessary precautions to ensure that all respondents were protected from harm. Since the study involved different sets of respondents in terms of age, gender, level of education, and socio-economic status, the researcher made an effort to minimise discomfort and maximise respondents' convenience. He made reasonable effort to anticipate and guard against any possible undesirable consequences of the study.

3.2.4 Data processing and analysis

When the researcher had finished collecting data through the face-to-face interviews, his next task was data processing and analysis. The purpose of data processing and analysis was to study the data that were collected and to create a cohesive, systematic interpretation in order to answer the research questions. When processing and analysing the data, the researcher made an effort to eliminate bias by being truthful, honest and as accurate as possible about what he had found during the study.

Data processing involved three operations namely, editing, coding and capturing. Editing was necessary to ensure that all questionnaires were fully completed. During editing, the researcher had to ensure that all sections and pages of questionnaires had been completed. Each questionnaire was carefully scrutinised to determine whether the data recorded in the questionnaire were acceptable for use and if so, to prepare for coding and capturing.

After editing the questionnaires, the researcher began the process of coding. The researcher sorted the data as a way of labelling, compiling and organising them. The process allowed the researcher to summarise and synthesise the data. The task of coding the data became the basis for developing the analysis (Collins et al 2000; Du Plooy 2001; Leedy and Ormrod 2005; Tustin et al 2005).

The researcher started with coding of closed-ended responses. He organised the data by structuring them into meaningful groups or categories to make them more manageable. He systematically worked through the responses, by grouping and assigning numerical codes to them. For example, categories for closed-ended responses were assigned with numeric codes such as "male = 1 and female = 2". With regard to open-ended responses, the coding process was slightly different from the one done for closed-ended responses. The researcher went through the responses and identified themes that emerged from the data. The themes were then organised into categories. He then generated clear names and codes for each theme in order to make the data more manageable.

When the researcher had edited and coded the questionnaires, he then captured the data. Data capturing involved transferring data from the questionnaires to a computer. All the data were captured on Microsoft Excel. Although there were many specialist statistical software packages available, the researcher chose to capture the data on Microsoft Excel for functionality, convenience and cost reasons. As a statistical software package, Microsoft Excel can be used for data entry, manipulation and presentation. It also provides statistical analysis functions and other tools that can be used to run descriptive statistics and to perform several different and useful inferential statistical tests that are widely used in research. In addition, it provides all of the standard spreadsheet functionality, which makes it useful for other analyses and data manipulation tasks, including generating graphical and other presentation formats (Tustin et al 2005:469).

After the researcher had finished capturing, he cleaned the data to ensure that they were accurate. Data cleaning was done in preparation for analysis. During data cleaning, the researcher went through each questionnaire and compared it with the data that had been captured on the computer to make sure that the two documents matched. Once the researcher had finished data cleaning, he analysed the data. Data were analysed by

creating frequency tables, bar charts and pie charts and expressed as numbers and percentages. In addition to descriptive analysis, some data were also presented in narrative form.

3.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the research methodology used in the study was fully explained. As highlighted in the discussion, the researcher used a case study to answer the research questions. The rationale for selecting such a research design was also explained. In order to provide more information on the respondents, the profile of the study area was presented in terms of its geographical location, land ownership and governance, demography, political history, and the socio-economic situation.

In the discussion, attention was also paid to the sampling design used in the study. The description of the sampling design was necessary because it showed how the researcher selected the respondents that took part in the study. The manner in which data were collected from the respondents was also explained. The discussion on data collection focused on face-to-face interviews as the instrument that was used by the researcher to collect data from respondents. In addition to data collection, the researcher also highlighted how he dealt with ethical issues during the study.

In the last part of the chapter, the method of how data were processed and analysed was described. In the next chapter, the data that were collected during the study are presented and analysed.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the findings of the study are presented. The findings are based on the data that were collected through individual face-to-face interviews. As mentioned in chapter one, the aim of the study is to determine how adult residents in a rural and traditional setting, such as Calais village, located in post-apartheid South Africa, have been and still are politically socialised; and furthermore, to assess the impact of the socialisation process on the residents' political behaviour. A total of forty (40) residents in Calais village participated in the interviews.

In the beginning of the chapter, the demographic information of the respondents is presented in terms of age, gender, marital status, level of education, race and ethnicity. In the second part of the chapter, findings pertaining to the respondents' political socialisation are presented. The focus in the last part of the chapter is the respondents' political behaviour and participation. The findings are presented in narrative form, as well as in tables, bar charts and pie charts for ease of reference and interpretation.

4.2 PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

In section A of the questionnaire (see Appendix 3), data were collected on the respondents' demographic information. In Table 2, the respondents' profile is illustrated in terms of age, gender, level of education, marital status, employment status, race and ethnic group.

Table 2: Profile of respondents

	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE (%)
AGE		
18-29 years	20	50
30-49 years	12	30
50-59 years	6	15
60 and above	2	5
GENDER		
Male	20	50
Female	20	50
MARITAL STATUS		
Married	9	22.5
Single (never married)	30	75
Divorced	0	0
Widow	1	2.5
Widower	0	0
LEVEL OF EDUCATION		
No education at all	1	2.5
Primary	13	32.5
Secondary	22	55
Tertiary	4	10
EMPLOYMENT STATUS		
Employed full time	9	22.5
Employed part-time	1	2.5
Self-employed	0	0
Unemployed	30	75
RACE		
Black	40	100
White	0	0
Coloured	0	0
Indian	0	0
Other	0	0
ETHNIC GROUP		
Northern Sotho (Bapedi)	39	97.5
Southern Sotho (Basotho)	0	0
Tsonga	1	2.5
Venda	0	0
Tswana	0	0
Afrikaner	0	0
Zulu	0	0
Xhosa	0	0
Ndebele	0	0
Swazi	0	0
Other	0	0

The profile of the respondents in terms of age was determined from the responses to question number 1 in section A of the questionnaire. A total of 20 respondents were in the age group 18 to 29 years and they made up 50% of the study sample. The respondents in the age group 18 to 29 years were the majority in the study. The age group 30 to 49 years was made up of 12 respondents (30%). The age group 50 to 59 years was made up of 6 respondents (15%). Only 2 respondents (5%) were in the age group 60 years and above. In terms of gender, the sample was equally distributed since 20 males (50%) and 20 females (50%) participated in the study. Question number 3 of section A was concerned with the respondents' marital status. The data show that 9 respondents (22.5%) were married, 30 (75%) were single, and 1 (2.5%) was a widow. None of the respondents reported that they were divorced or widowers.

The respondents' level of education was ascertained from the responses to question number 4 of section A. Only 1 respondent had no education at all, 13 had primary education, 22 secondary education and 4 tertiary education. The findings indicate that the majority of respondents (55%) had secondary education and most of them were young adults aged between 18 and 29 years. The 4 respondents who had tertiary education were also young adults. The data also show that most of the respondents who had primary education were in the age group 50-59 years. The respondent who had no education at all was above the age of 60 years.

In terms of employment status, 9 respondents indicated that they were employed on a full-time basis, 1 was employed part-time, and 30 were unemployed. None of the respondents were self-employed. The data show that most of the respondents (75%) were unemployed. It is also important to mention that 10 (25%) of the unemployed respondents were still attending high school in the village although they were already eighteen years old.

With regard to racial composition of the sample, all the respondents who participated in the study were black. In the last question of section A, the respondents were asked to indicate their ethnicity. A total of 39 respondents (97.5%) were Northern Sotho (Bapedi) and only 1 (2.5%) was Tsonga. Race and ethnicity have been excluded in the breakdown of the findings due to the homogeneity of the respondents on these demographic variables.

4.3 RESPONDENTS' POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

In section B of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked questions pertaining to how they were politically socialised. The questions focused on sources of political information, the roles of the immediate family, extended family, school, media, peers, political parties, church, traditional leader (*Induna*), local municipality and ward committee. The order of the discussion on these agents reflects the sequence of the questionnaire. It does not reflect the order of their importance as identified by the respondents and noted in Table 2.

4.3.1 Sources of political information

In the first question (question number 1 in section B of the questionnaire), the respondents were asked to indicate the sources from which they obtained political information. The first question was open-ended as the respondents were asked to provide answers in their own words. The data obtained from the responses to the first question are presented in Table 3 and Figure 1.

Table 3: Sources of political information

SOURCE	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE (%)
Media	39	97.5%
Extended family	31	77.5%
Friends or colleagues	31	77.5%
Political parties	29	72.5%
Local Municipality	25	62.5%
Immediate family	24	60%
Church	8	20%
Traditional Leader (<i>Induna</i>)	6	15%
School	5	12.5%
Ward committee	2	5%

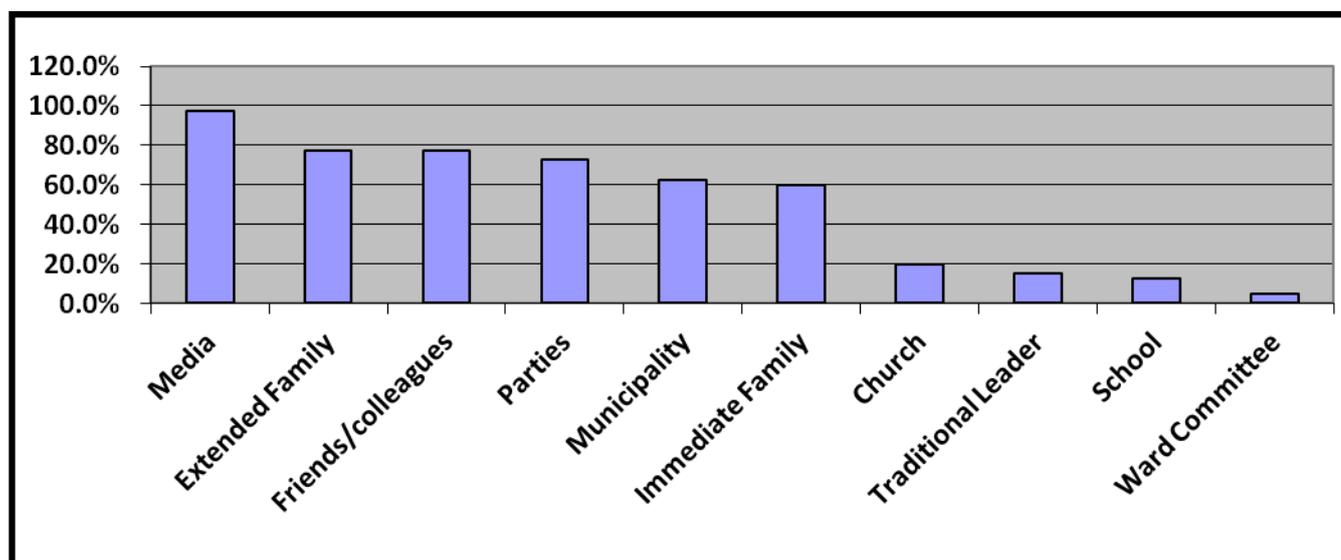
According to Table 3 and Figure 1, the data show that the respondents obtained political information from media, extended family, friends or colleagues, political parties, local municipality, immediate family, church, traditional leader (*Induna*), school and ward committee. Thus, the responses are divided into two groups, namely the more important agents of political socialisation had more than 50% of the respondents, while the less important agents of political socialisation

had less than 50%. The data reflected in Table 3 should be read together with the findings discussed in section 4.3.13, where the actual rankings of agents by the respondents are provided.

The media were the most important source of political information since 39 respondents (97.5%) received political information from them. The extended family and peers (friends or colleagues) were the second most important source of political information. A total of 31 respondents (77.5%) received political information from extended family, and friends or colleagues. Political parties were the third most important source of political information as reported by 29 respondents (72.5%). The local municipality was the fourth most important source as expressed by 25 respondents (62.5%). Of the respondents, 60% reported that they received political information from the immediate family, making it the fifth most important source of political information.

The less important sources of political information were the church with 8 respondents (20%), traditional leader (*Induna*) 6 respondents (15%) school 5 respondents (12.5%) and lastly, ward committee 2 respondents (5%).

Figure 1: Sources of political information

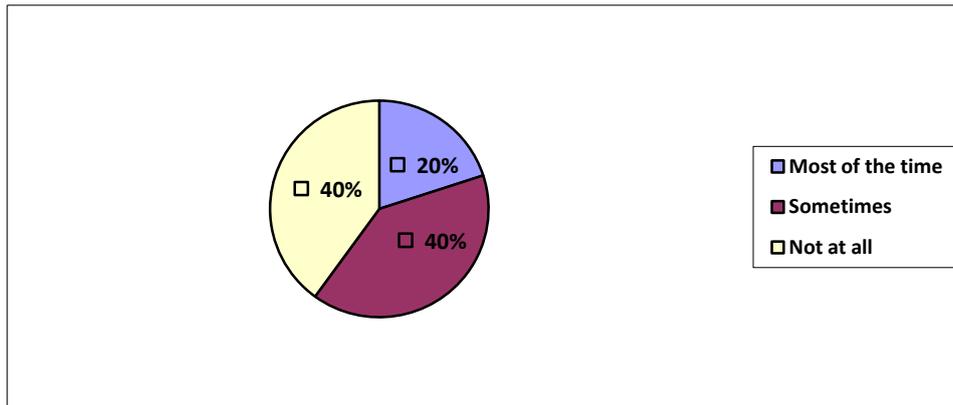


4.3.2 The role of immediate family

In this study, the immediate family refers to the people who were residing with the respondents during the time of the research. These include parents, spouses, siblings, and children. In order to determine the role of the immediate family on political socialisation, the respondents were asked questions on family political discussion, political party preference, political beliefs and family's

influence of formation of political views. On family political discussion, the respondents were asked if they discussed politics at home. A total of 24 respondents (60%) answered that they discussed politics in their families. In terms of frequency of political discussion, 20% of the respondents held political discussion most of the time and 40% did so sometimes, while 40% stated that they did not discuss politics at home (see Chart 1).

Chart 1: Political discussion with the family



Regarding political party preference, the respondents were asked if they supported the same political party as their family members. The majority of the respondents (72.5%) said that they supported the same political party as their family members. Furthermore, the respondents were asked if they generally had the same political beliefs as their family members. Most of them (67.5%) replied that they generally had the same political beliefs as their family members.

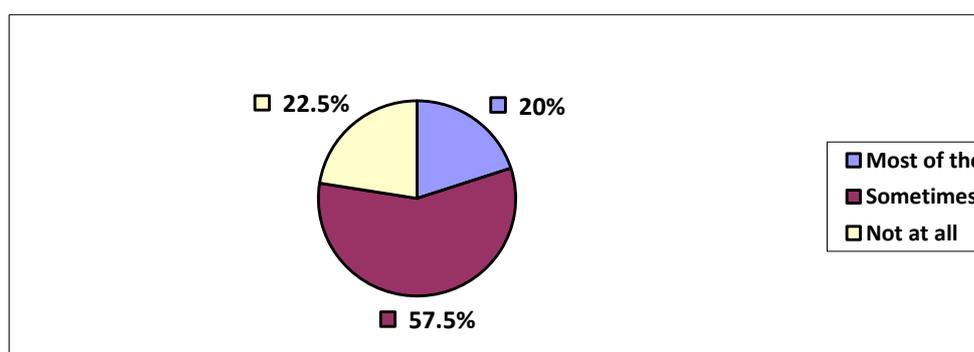
The respondents were also asked if they imitated the political behaviour of their family members on activities such as voting, campaigning for a political party, attending political meetings or rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests. Only 7 respondents (17.5%) said that they imitated the political behaviour of their family members on the above-mentioned political activities. 1 respondent (2.5%) reported that he imitated the political behaviour of his family members most of the time, while 6 respondents (15%) said they did it sometimes.

The political influence of the immediate family was also tested by asking the respondents to indicate if the family had a positive influence on the formation of their present political views. A total of 30 respondents (75%) were of the opinion that their families had a strong positive influence on the formation of their present political views.

4.3.3 The role of the extended family

In this study, extended family refers to relatives of the respondents who were not living with them during the time of the study. These relatives include aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins, nieces, and nephews. When investigating the role of the extended family, the researcher asked the respondents if they held political discussions with their extended family members. The majority of respondents (77.5%) answered that they discussed politics with extended family. Overall, 20% of the respondents reported that they discussed politics with extended family most of the time and 57.5% said they did so sometimes (see Chart 2).

Chart 2: Political discussion with extended family



The researcher then asked the respondents to indicate if their extended families had a positive influence on the formation of their present political views. Less than half of the respondents (42.5%) were of the view that their extended families had strong positive influence on the formation of their present political views. The majority of the respondents (57.5%) mentioned that their extended family had no positive influence on the formation of their present political views.

4.3.4 The role of the school

The role of the school was examined by asking the respondents questions pertaining to political learning at school, extracurricular activities, political discussion in class, and the influence of teachers and classmates. The respondents were asked if they learnt about politics at school. As indicated in Table 4, 18 respondents (45%) stated that they had learnt about politics at school as part of the History curriculum. Of the respondents who attended school, most (55%) indicated that they had not learnt about politics at school. It is important to mention that all the respondents who had primary education reported that political education was not provided at their school, Thapola-

a-nkona Primary School. The percentage of respondents who did not learn about politics at school was not a significant majority.

Table 4: Learning about politics at school

YES	NO	TOTAL
18	22	40
45%	55%	100%

In the second question (question number 10 in section B of the questionnaire), the respondents were provided with a list of school extracurricular activities and they were asked to indicate the activities they did at school. A total of 30 respondents (75%) stated that they sang the national anthem, 7 (17.5%) honoured or celebrated national events, 9 (22.5%) joined and/or participated in student organisations and 8 (20%) were involved in student protest or demonstration.

The frequency of political discussion at school was measured by asking the respondents to indicate how often they discussed politics with teachers and/or classmates. Of the respondents, 47.5% stated that they held political discussion with classmates, while 7.5% held political discussion with class teachers. Regarding frequency of discussion, 20% of the respondents reported that they held political discussion most of the time and 35% did so sometimes. A total of 18 respondents (45%) indicated that they did not discuss politics with teachers and classmates. Furthermore, only 32.5% of the respondents reported that their teachers encouraged students to discuss politics in class.

Regarding the influence of teachers, most of the respondents indicated that their school teachers were not an important influence on the formation of their present political views. As shown in Table 5, a total of 27 respondents (67.5%) were of the opinion that their teachers had no important influence on the formation of their political views. Only 13 respondents (32.5%) said that their school teachers had an important influence on the formation of their present political views.

Table 5: Influence of teachers on political views

YES	NO	TOTAL
13	27	40
32.5%	67.5%	100%

The majority of respondents (57.5%) also said that their classmates did not have an important influence on the formation of their present political views. As shown in Table 6, 42.5% of the respondents were of the opinion that their classmates were an important influence on the formation of their present political views.

Table 6: Influence of classmates on political views

YES	NO	TOTAL
17	23	40
42.5%	57.5%	100%

Furthermore, the majority of respondents were of the opinion that activities such as singing the national anthem, honouring or celebrating national events, and joining and/or participating in the student organisation did not have a positive influence on their present political views¹⁵. Of the respondents, 62.5% said that singing the national anthem did not have a positive influence on their political views and 77.5% also indicated that joining and/or participating in student organisations had no positive influence on the formation of their present political views.

Although most of the respondents stated that teachers, classmates and extracurricular activities were less influential on the formation of their political views, a large majority (77.5%) thought that it was important to learn about politics at school. They were of the opinion that it was important for schools to provide formal political education.

4.3.5 The role of the media

The study also explored the role of the media in political socialisation. The respondents were asked a range of questions on which forms of media they used to obtain political information, how often they used the media and also their opinions on the political influence of various forms of media.

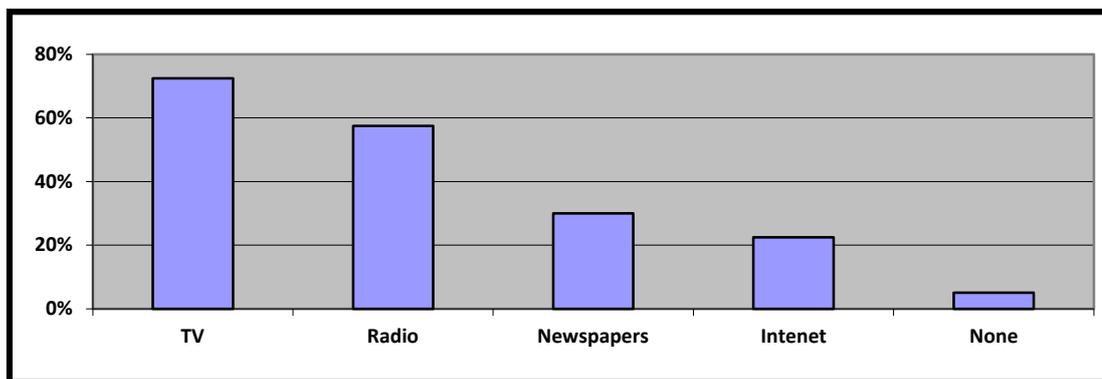
In the first question (question number 18 of the questionnaire), the respondents were asked to indicate the forms of media they used to obtain political information. The purpose of this question was to measure the extent to which the different forms of media provided the respondents with political information. A total of 29 respondents (72.5%) reported that they used television to obtain political information, 23 (57.5%) used radio, 12 (30%) newspapers and 9 (22.5%) the Internet. Only 2 respondents (5%) did not use any form of media to obtain political information. Television

¹⁵ In this study the term ‘positive influence’ refers to desirable effect or contribution.

was the most used form of media to obtain political information, followed by radio, newspapers and the Internet.

The data on the forms of media used by the respondents to obtain political information are presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Forms of media used to obtain political information



In the second question (question number 19 of the questionnaire), the respondents were asked to indicate how often they used various forms of media. The data in Table 7 show that 52.6% of the respondents watched television most of the time, and 42.1% watched it sometimes. Only 5.3% of the respondents indicated that they did not watch television at all. Of the 38 respondents who indicated that they made use of the media, 36.8% listened to radio most of the time, 42.1% listened to it sometimes, while 21.1% did not. The findings also show that 18.4% of the respondents read newspapers most of the time, 36.8% sometimes and 44.8% did not read newspapers at all. In terms of the Internet, 34.2% used it most of the time, 13.2% accessed it sometimes and 52.6% did not use it at all. Overall, television was the most frequently used form of media. Radio was the second most frequently used form of media, followed by newspapers in the third position. The Internet was the least frequently used form of media¹⁶.

¹⁶ The percentages in table 7 were calculated from the total of 38 respondents. The reason for this is that out of 40 respondents who participated in the study, 2 respondents did not have access to the media.

Table 7: Frequency of media usage

FORM OF MEDIA	MOST OF THE TIME	SOMETIMES	NOT AT ALL	TOTAL
TELEVISION	20 (52.6%)	16 (42.1%)	2 (5.3%)	38 (100%)
RADIO	14 (36.8%)	16 (42.1%)	8 (21.1%)	38 (100%)
NEWSPAPERS	7 (18.4%)	14 (36.8%)	17 (44.8%)	38 (100%)
INTERNET	13 (34.2%)	5 (13.2%)	20 (52.6%)	38 (100%)

The respondents were asked to indicate the forms of media they used most to obtain political information. Of the 38 respondents, 20 (52.6%) said they used television most, 8 (21.1%) used radio, 6 (15.8%) the Internet and 4 (10.5%) used newspapers. The respondents were further asked to indicate the forms of media they used least to obtain political information. Of the respondents, 18 (47.3%) used newspapers least, 10 (26.3%) radio, 9 (23.6%) television, and 1 (2.6%) the Internet. The results show that television was used most to obtain political information, followed by radio, the Internet and newspapers.

In the last question on the role of the media (question number 22 of the questionnaire), the respondents were asked to indicate the form of media which influenced their political views the most. Of the respondents, 20 (52.6%) indicated that television influenced them the most, 8 (21.1%) radio, 6 (15.8%) Internet and 4 (10.5%) newspapers (see Table 8).

Table 8: Influence of the media on political views

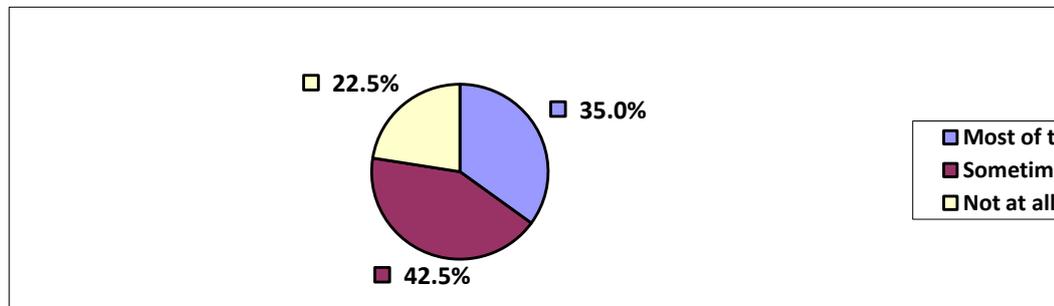
Type of media	Total Number	Percentage (%)
Television	20	52.6
Radio	8	21.1
Internet	6	15.8
Newspapers	4	10.5

4.3.6 The role of peers

In the context of this study, the term “peers” refers to the respondents’ friends and colleagues. During the study, the researcher also examined the influence of peers on political socialisation.

The researcher started by asking the respondents if they discussed political issues with friends or colleagues. Of the respondents, 77.5% indicated that they held political discussion with friends or colleagues. As shown in Chart 3, 35% of the respondents discussed politics most of the time, 42.5% did so sometimes and 22.5% did not discuss politics.

Chart 3: Frequency of political discussion with friends or colleagues



The respondents were also asked if they imitated the political behaviour of their friends or colleagues concerning activities such as voting, campaigning for a political party, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings or rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests. Most of the respondents (77.5%) answered that they did not imitate the political behaviour of their friends or colleagues. Only 6 respondents (15%) said that they imitated most of the time and 3 respondents (7.5%) did so sometimes.

It was also found that none of the respondents were instructed or threatened by their friends or colleagues to take part in political activities. However, 10 respondents (25%) reported that their friends or colleagues persuaded them to participate in political activities. Of these respondents, 3 (7.5%) said that their friends or colleagues persuaded them most of the time, while 7 (17.5%) were persuaded sometimes. A significant majority of the respondents (75%) reported that their friends or colleagues did not persuade them to take part in political activities.

The political influence of peers was also examined by asking the respondents the question: “Do you think your friends or colleagues have a positive influence on the formation of your present political views?” (See question number 27 in section B of the questionnaire) Most respondents (62.5%) were of the opinion that their friends or colleagues had a positive influence on the formation of their political views.

4.3.7 The role of political parties

When examining the political socialisation role of political parties, the researcher started by asking the respondents if they obtained political information from political parties in their area. A total of 29 respondents (72.5%) answered affirmatively to the question. The respondents were also asked to indicate the ways in which they obtained political information from political parties. Table 9 shows the methods through which the respondents obtained political information from political parties.

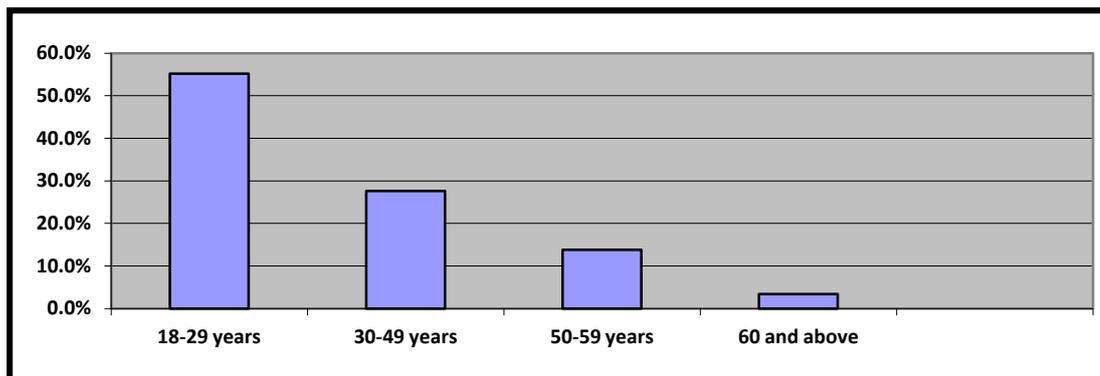
Table 9: Ways in which respondents obtained political information from political parties

	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE (%)
POLITICAL MEETINGS OR RALLIES	26	89.7
DOOR-TO-DOOR COMMUNICATION	17	58.6
COMMUNITY RADIO	3	10.3
PAMPHLETS	3	10.3
POSTERS	1	3.4
CELLPHONE MESSAGES	1	3.4
LOCAL NEWSPAPER	0	0
WEBSITES	0	0
WORKSHOPS	0	0

The results in Table 9 indicate that the majority of respondents (89.7%) obtained political information through political meetings or rallies, 58.6% door-to-door communication, 10.3% pamphlets, 10.3% community radio, 3.4% posters and 3.4% cellphone messages. None of the respondents reported having obtained political information through workshops, local newspapers or websites.

The data also show that there were differences in the ages of respondents who obtained political information from political parties. As depicted in Figure 3, 55.2% of the respondents were in the age group 18-29 years, 27.6% in the age group 30-49 years, 13.8% in the age group 50-59 years and lastly, 3.4% in the age group 60 years and above. The data show that the age group 18-29 years had the most respondents, followed by 30-49 years, 50-59 years, and lastly 60 years and above.

Figure 3: Dissemination of political information by age



The respondents were also asked if they had been trained by political parties on voting and political campaigning. Most of them (70%) indicated that they had received voter education from political parties, while 32.5% had been trained on political campaigning. Of the 40 respondents, only 15% reported that most of the time political parties requested them to undertake various political activities, while a significant majority (70%) was requested sometimes. Overall, 26 respondents (65%) thought that political parties had a positive influence on the formation of their present political views.

4.3.8 The role of the church

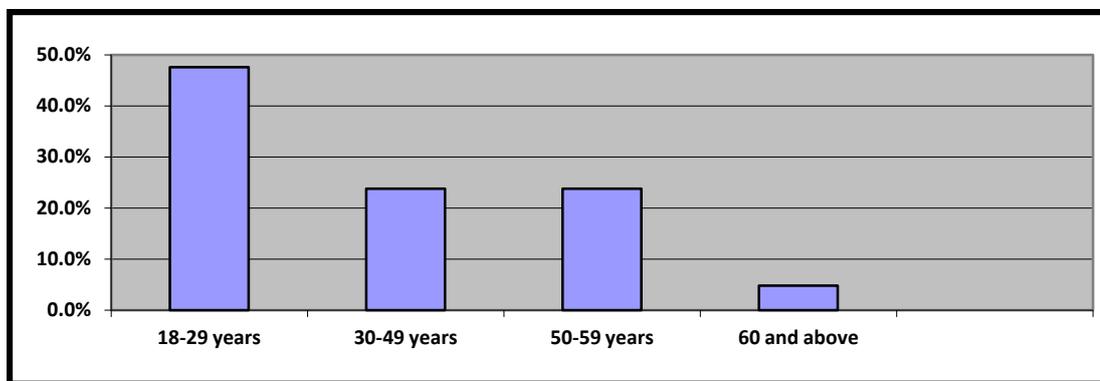
On the role of the church, the respondents were asked questions pertaining to religious affiliation, church attendance, acquisition of political information and the church’s overall political influence. The first question asked was: “What religion do you belong to?” (See question number 34 of section B) As indicated in Table 10, 23 respondents (57.5%) were Christians, 10 (25%) had no religion, 7 (17.5%) belonged to the African traditional religion and none were Muslims (0%).

Table 10: Religious affiliation

RELIGION	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE (%)
CHRISTIANITY	23	57.5
NONE	10	25
AFRICAN TRADITIONAL	7	17.5
ISLAM	0	0

The second question was: “Do you attend church or religious meetings in your community?” (See question number 35 in section B of the questionnaire) A total of 21 respondents (52.5%) answered that they attended church meetings. The results show that church attendance among the respondents varied according to age and gender. The breakdown of the respondents according to age is depicted in Figure 4. The data in Figure 4 indicate that most respondents (47.6%) who attended church or religious meetings were in the age group 18-29 years. The age groups 30-49 and 50-59 years had the equal percentage of respondents (23.8%), while the age group 60 years and above had the lowest percentage (4.8%).

Figure 4: Church attendance by age



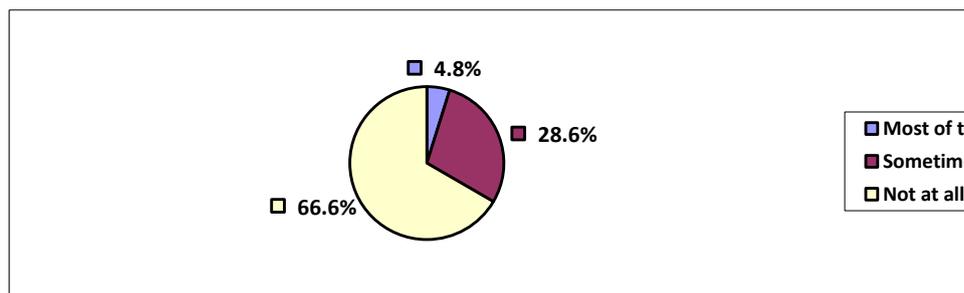
Church attendance according to gender is presented in Table 11. The data in Table 11 show that church attendance was more prevalent among females since more female (85.7%) than males (14.3%) attended church or religious meetings.

Table 11: Church attendance by gender

GENDER	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE (%)
MALES	3	14.3
FEMALES	18	85.7

The respondents were further asked if their churches provided them with political information. Only 8 out of the 21 respondents (38.1%) said that they obtained political information from their churches. The respondents mentioned that they obtained political information from their church leaders during church services or sermons.

Chart 4: Political discussion with fellow church members

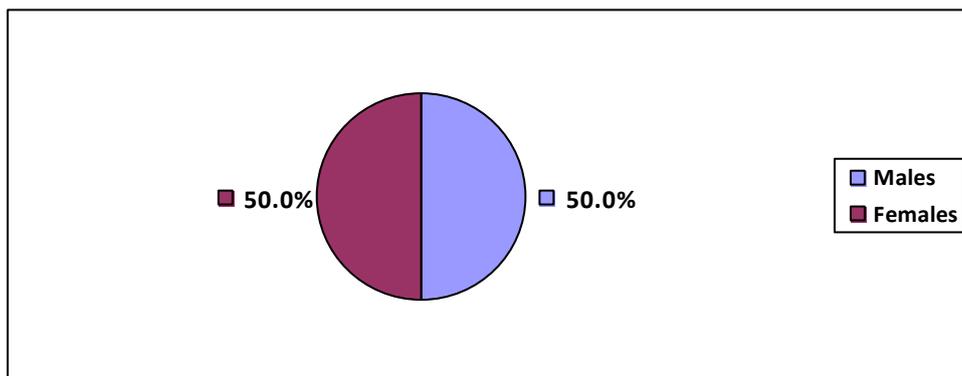


The respondents were also asked if they discussed politics with fellow church members during church attendance. As shown in Chart 4, a majority of the 21 respondents (66.6%) reported that they did not discuss politics with fellow church members during church meetings. Only 1 respondent (4.76%) indicated that she discussed politics with fellow church members most of the time, and 6 respondents (28.6%) held political discussion sometimes. In addition, some of the respondents (38.1%) stated that their churches requested them to take part in political activities. Regarding the church's political influence, the majority of respondents (90%) were of the opinion that the churches in their community had no positive influence on the formation of their present political views.

4.3.9 The role of the Traditional leader (*Induna*)

The role of the traditional leader (*Induna*) was assessed by asking the respondents four questions. In the first question (question number 41 in section B of the questionnaire), the respondents were asked if they received political information from the traditional leader (*Induna*). Only 6 respondents (15%) said they received political information from the traditional leader (*Induna*). In terms of gender, the data in Chart 5 show that the percentage of men (50%) who obtained political information from the traditional leader (*Induna*) was equal to that of women (50%)

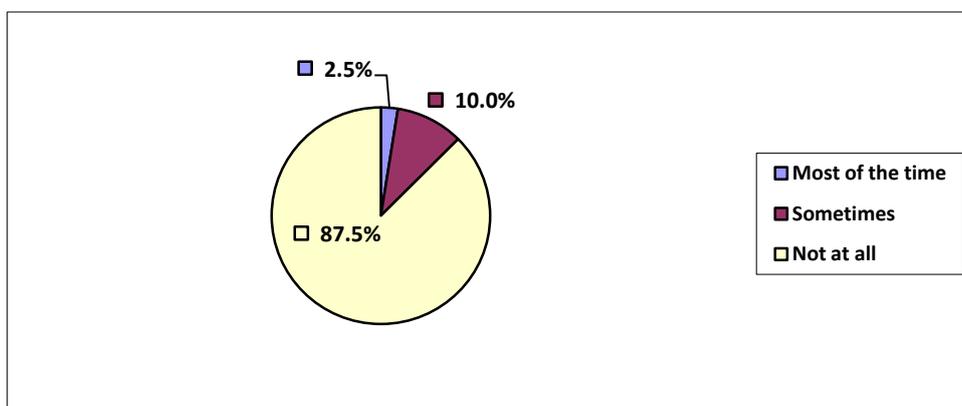
Chart 5: Dissemination of political information by gender



In the second question (question number 42 in section B of the questionnaire), the 6 respondents were asked to indicate the ways through which they obtained political information. All of them indicated that they obtained political information through community meetings that were organised by the traditional leader (*Induna*).

In the third question (question number 43 in section B of the questionnaire), all the 40 respondents were asked to indicate how often their traditional leader (*Induna*) requested them to take part in political activities such as voting, campaigning, attending political meetings or rallies, volunteering in a political party, and demonstrations or protests. As presented in Chart 6, only 1 respondent (2.5%) mentioned that the traditional leader (*Induna*) requested him most of the time, while 4 respondents (10%) were requested sometimes. A large majority of the respondents (87.5%) reported that they were not requested to participate in political activities.

Chart 6: Request for political activity



In the last question on the role of traditional leadership (question number 44 in section B of the questionnaire), the respondents were asked if they thought their traditional leader (*Induna*) had a positive influence on the formation of their present political views. According to Table 12, a total of 35 respondents (87.5%) thought that the traditional leader (*Induna*) had no positive influence on the formation of their present political views. Only 5 respondents (12.5%) were of the opinion that the traditional leader (*Induna*) had a positive influence on the formation of their present political views.

Table 12: Traditional leader's influence on political views

YES	NO	TOTAL
5	35	40
12.5%	87.5%	100%

4.3.10 The role of the local municipality

On the socialisation role of the local municipality, the findings show that out of the 40 respondents, 25 (62.5%) stated that they received political information from the local municipality. The respondents reported that they received political information through public meetings, workshops, pamphlets or booklets, door-to-door communication, community radio and posters. As presented in Table 13, the percentage distribution of how the 25 respondents obtained political information is as follows: public meetings (100%), community radio (24%), workshops (24%), door-to-door communication (16%), pamphlets or booklets (12%), posters (4%) and local newspaper (0%). The findings show that most respondents obtained political information through public meetings, while the least number of respondents obtained political information through posters.

Table 13: Ways in which respondents obtained political information from the local municipality

	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE (%)
PUBLIC MEETINGS	25	100
COMMUNITY RADIO	6	24
WORKSHOPS	6	24
DOOR-TO-DOOR COMMUNICATION	4	16
PAMPHLETS/BOOKLETS	3	12
POSTERS	1	4
LOCAL NEWSPAPER	0	0

The profile of respondents who obtained political information from the local municipality differed according to age, gender and education. The breakdown of respondents' ages, gender and levels of education is presented in Table 14. The data indicate that the most respondents (52%) were in the age group 18-29 years, followed by 28% in the 30-49 age group, 16% in the 50-59 age group, and lastly 4% in the 60 years and above age group.

In terms of gender, more females than males obtained political information from the local municipality. Of the respondents, 52% were females, while 48% were males. On education levels, those with secondary education were the most respondents (52%), followed by those with primary education (32%), tertiary education (12%) and lastly, no education at all (4%).

Table 14: Dissemination of political information by local municipality

	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE (%)
AGE		
18-29 years	13	52
30-49 years	7	28
50-59 years	4	16
60 and above	1	4
GENDER		
Male	12	48
Female	13	52
LEVEL OF EDUCATION		
No education at all	1	4
Primary	8	32
Secondary	13	52
Tertiary	3	12

During the study, all the 40 respondents were asked how often their local municipality requested them to take part in particular political activities (see question number 56 in section B of the questionnaire). A total of 21 respondents (52.5%) mentioned that sometimes their municipality requested them to take part in political activities such as voting and attendance of public meetings.

Only 2 respondents (5%) indicated that they were requested to do so most of the time. On the other hand, 17 respondents (42.5%) said that their municipality had not requested them to participate in political activities.

In question number 57 (section B of the questionnaire), the respondents were further asked if they thought their local municipality office had a positive influence on the formation of their present political views. Less than half of respondents (42.5%) were of the opinion that their municipality had a positive political influence. The majority of them (57.5%) thought that the local municipality had no positive influence on their political views.

4.3.11 The role of the ward committee

The findings of the study also revealed that the ward committee provided political information to some of the respondents, albeit a minority. The ward committee provided political information through community meetings in the village. Only 2 respondents (5%) reported that they had received political information from the ward committee. A large majority of respondents (95%) reported that they had not received political information from the ward committee.

The 2 respondents were asked to indicate if the ward committee requested them to participate in politics. Both of them reported that whenever they attended ward committee meetings, the ward committee requested them to participate in political activities such as voting and attendance of political meetings or rallies. Furthermore, both respondents were of the opinion that the ward committee had a positive influence on the formation of their present political views.

4.3.12 The role of NGOs and Trade Unions

The socialisation role of NGOs and trade unions in Calais village was also investigated. All the respondents reported that there were no NGOs and trade unions in the village. The findings of the study show that NGOs and trade unions were not agents of political socialisation in Calais Village.

4.3.13 Ranking of agents of political socialisation

In the last question of section B (question number 63), the respondents were asked to rank the agents according to their importance on the respondents' political socialisation. On a scale of 1-10, "most important" was indicated as number 1 and "least important" as number 10. The data presented in Table 15 show how the respondents ranked various agents on a scale of 1-10. It is

important to mention that there were differences in the responses as dealt with previously in section 4.3.1 and how the respondents actually ranked the importance of each agent.

As shown in Table 15, the media, immediate family, friends or colleagues, extended family and political parties were ranked as the most important agents. On the ranking scale from number 1 to 3, the media was ranked by most respondents (90%), followed by the immediate family (72, 5%), friends or colleagues (60%), political parties (40%) and extended family (40%).

The secondary agents were the local municipality, school, traditional leadership, ward committee and church. The local municipality was ranked fifth by 25% of the respondents, and the school was ranked sixth by 17.5%. The traditional leadership, ward committee were ranked from number 4 on the scale, while the church was ranked from number 5.

Table 15: Ranking of agents of political information

	SCALE										Total Number
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Media	26 (65%)	7(17.5%)	3 (7.5%)	3 (7.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	40
Immediate family	7 (17.5%)	12 (30%)	10 (25%)	5 (12.5%)	4 (10%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	40
Friends or colleagues	4 (10%)	11(27.5%)	9 (22.5%)	7 (17.5%)	7 (17.5%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	40
Political parties	3 (7.5%)	5 (12.5%)	8 (20%)	6 (15%)	13 (32.5%)	4 (10%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	40
Extended family	0 (0%)	8 (20%)	8 (20%)	11 (27.5%)	5 (12.5%)	5 (12.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	40
Local Municipality	0 (0%)	3 (7.5%)	7 (17.5%)	7 (17.5%)	3 (7.5%)	5 (12.5%)	7(17.5%)	2 (5%)	5 (12.5%)	1 (2.5%)	40
School	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	5 (12.5%)	8 (20%)	4 (10%)	10 (25%)	9 (22.5%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	40
Traditional Leader (Induna)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	3 (7.5%)	7 (17.5%)	11 (27.5%)	12 (30%)	6 (15%)	0 (0%)	40
Ward committees	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.5%)	6 (15%)	4 (10%)	13 (32.5%)	10 (25%)	3 (7.5%)	3 (7.5%)	40
Church	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (12.5%)	9 (22.5%)	10 (25%)	14 (35%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	40

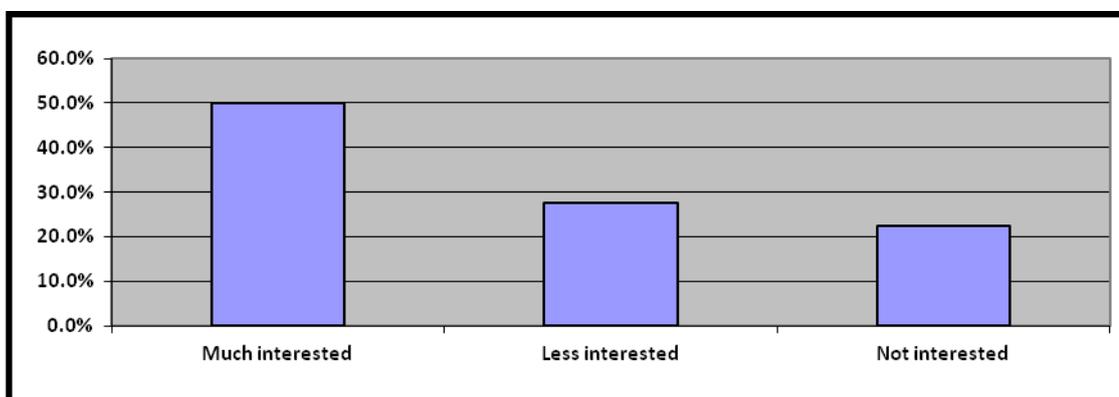
4.4 POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR AND PARTICIPATION

In section C of the questionnaire, respondents were asked questions pertaining to their political behaviour and participation. The respondents were asked questions on variables such as political interest, efficacy, awareness, knowledge and participation.

4.4.1 Respondents' political interest

In this study, political interest is defined as a feeling, desire and willingness of a person to pay attention to political issues such as government institutions and processes, elections, political parties, political leaders, and the Constitution (Dostie-Goulet 2010:3; Holleque 2011:3). In the first part of section C, the researcher set out to establish the respondents' political interest. The respondents were asked how often they followed what was going on in government and public affairs. Of the 40 respondents, 15 (37.5%) answered that they followed what was going on in government and public affairs most of the time, while 16 respondents (40%) did so sometimes. Only 9 respondents (22.5%) indicated that they did not follow what was going on in government and public affairs. The respondents were then asked to describe their interest in political issues that affected their community. As shown in Figure 5, 20 respondents (50%) reported that they were much interested, 11 respondents (27.5%) said they were less interested and 9 respondents (22.5%) indicated that they were not interested at all.

Figure 5: Percentage distribution of respondents' political interest



Furthermore, the findings show that the levels of political interest among the respondents varied according to age, gender and education. The distribution of the respondents' political interest according to age, gender and education is presented in Table 16. The age group 18-29 years had the highest percentage (30%) of respondents who were much interested in politics, followed by the age group 30-49 years (12.5%), age group 50-59 years (7.5%) and lastly, 60 years and above (0%). The data also show that the age group 18-29 years had the highest percentage (15%) of respondents who were less interested in politics, followed by the age groups 30-49 years, and 60 years and above with 5% respondents each and lastly, 50-59 years (2.5%). The age group 30-49 years had the highest percentage of respondents (12.5%) who were not interested in politics, followed by the age groups 18-29 years and 50-59 years with 5% respondents each and lastly 60 years and above (0%).

As shown in Table 16, more males (32.5%) than females (17.5%) were much interested in politics. The findings show that 15% females and 12.5% males had less political interest. Furthermore, 17.5% females and 5% males had no political interest at all.

Regarding the respondents who were much interested in politics, (32.5%) had secondary education, followed by those with primary education (10%), tertiary education (7.5%) and lastly, the one with no education at all (0%). The data also indicate that most respondents (15%) who were less interested in politics had secondary education, followed by those with primary education (10%), no education at all (2.5%) and lastly, tertiary education (0%). On respondents who were not interested in politics, 12.5% had primary education, followed by those with secondary education (7.5%), tertiary education (2.5%) and lastly, no education at all (0%).

Table 16 : Distribution of political interest

	MUCH INTERESTED (%)	LESS INTERESTED (%)	NOT INTERESTED AT ALL (%)
AGE			
18-29 years	30	15	5
30-49 years	12.5	5	12.5
50-59 years	7.5	2.5	5
60 and above	0	5	0
GENDER			
Male	32.5	12.5	5
Female	17.5	15	17.5
LEVEL OF EDUCATION			
No education at all	0	2.5	0
Primary	10	10	12.5
Secondary	32.5	15	7.5
Tertiary	7.5	0	2.5

4.4.2 Respondents' political efficacy

Political efficacy is defined as the feeling or belief that political and social change is possible and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change (Campbell, Gurin and Miller 1954: 187). It is the degree to which a person feels competent to participate in political activity and make a difference.

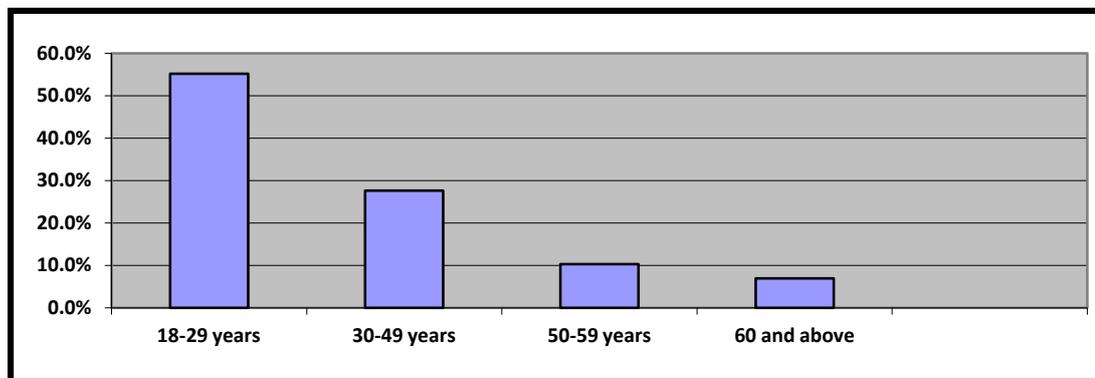
In order to determine the level of political efficacy, the respondents were asked if they felt that they could influence the political decisions made in their community. Most of the respondents (72.5%) reported that they felt they could influence the political decisions and (27.5%) did not think that they could influence the political decisions. The findings on the respondents' political efficacy are presented in Table 17 below.

Table 17: Respondents' political efficacy

YES	NO	TOTAL
29	11	40
72.5%	27.5%	100%

The 29 respondents who were politically efficacious differed in terms of their ages, gender and level of education. Of the respondents, 55.2% were in the age group 18-29 years, 27.6% in the age group 30-49 years, 10.3% in the age group 50-59 years and lastly, 6.9% in the age group 60 years and above. The breakdown of political efficacy in terms of age is indicated in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Political efficacy by age



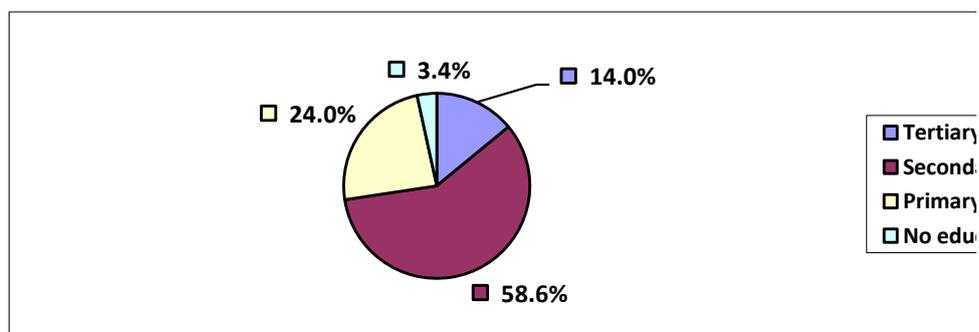
In Table 18, the data show that more males than females were politically efficacious. More males than females felt that they could influence the political decisions made in their village. Of the 29 respondents, 58.6% were males and 41.4% were females.

Table 18: Political efficacy by gender

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
17	12	29
58.6%	41.4%	100%

Of the respondents, 58.6% had secondary education, 24% primary education, 14% tertiary education and 3.4% had no education at all. The breakdown of political efficacy by level of education is presented in Chart 7 below.

Chart 7: Political efficacy by level of education



All the 40 respondents were then asked if they thought that they had the right to say something about what government does (see question number 20 in section C of the questionnaire). The majority of the respondents (90%) indicated that they had the right to say something about what government does and only 10% thought that they did not have that right. In the last question (see question number 21 in section C of the questionnaire), the respondents were further asked if they thought that it was important to participate in politics. A total of 37 respondents (92.5%) thought that it was important for them to participate in politics.

4.4.3 Respondents’ political knowledge

Political knowledge refers to the awareness and familiarity with a variety of political issues such as government institutions and processes, political parties, political leaders and the Constitution (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Thomson 2007). During the study, the level of political knowledge was measured by asking the respondents eight questions. All the questions were open-ended so that the respondents could reply in their own words. The respondents were requested to provide the names of their local councillor, Mayor, Premier, South Africa’s Minister of Finance and the leader of the main opposition party in South Africa. The respondents were also asked to name the political party with most seats in their local municipality, the political party with most seats in South Africa’s national assembly (Parliament) and also to list five South African political parties that they knew.

Table 19 indicates that out of 40 respondents, only 5 respondents (12.5%) provided correct answers to all questions. Of the 40 respondents, 12 (30%) were able to provide between four and

seven correct answers. Furthermore, 23 respondents (57.5%) could only provide between zero and three correct answers. The data in Tables 20 and 21 show a breakdown of the respondents' levels of political knowledge in terms of age, gender and education.

Table 19: Respondents' level of political knowledge

No. of respondents	Percentage (%) of respondents	No. of correct answers
2	5	0
2	5	1
13	32.5	2
6	15	3
3	7.5	4
0	0	5
5	12.5	6
4	10	7
5	12.5	8

In terms of political knowledge by age, the findings show that 2 respondents (5%) in the age group 18-29 years and 3 respondents (7.5%) in the age group 30-49 years provided correct answers to all the eight questions. The data also indicate that 9 respondents (22.5%) aged 18-29 years, 1 respondent (2.5%) aged 30-49 years, and 2 respondents (5%) aged 50-59 years provided between four and seven correct answers. Furthermore, 9 respondents (22.5%) aged 18-29 years, 8 respondents (20%) aged 30-49 years, 4 respondents (10%) aged 50-59 years and 2 respondents (5%) aged 60 years and above provided less than four correct answers (see Table 20).

Table 20: Political knowledge by age

AGE GROUP	0-3 Correct responses	4 – 7 correct responses	8 correct responses
18-29 years	9 (22.5%)	9 (22.5%)	2 (5%)
30-49 years	8 (20%)	1 (2.5%)	3 (7.5%)
50-59 years	4 (10%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)
60 and above	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

The findings in Table 21 show that in terms of male respondents, 7 provided between zero and three correct answers, 8 provided between four and seven correct answers and 5 provided correct answers to all eight questions. On female respondents, 16 provided between zero and three correct answers, 4 provided between four and seven correct answers and none provided correct answers to all eight questions.

Table 21: Political knowledge by gender

GENDER	0-3 Correct responses	4 – 7 correct responses	8 correct responses
MALE	7 (17.5%)	8 (20%)	5 (12.5%)
FEMALE	16 (40%)	4 (10%)	0 (0%)

The findings in Table 22 show differences of political knowledge in terms of respondents' level of education. Only 5 respondents (2 with secondary education and 3 with tertiary education) provided correct answers to all eight questions. Of the respondents, 2 with primary education and 10 with secondary education provided between four and seven correct answers. In addition, 1 respondent with tertiary education, 10 with secondary education, 11 with primary education, and 1 with no education at all provided between zero and three correct answers.

Table 22: Political knowledge by level of education

AGE GROUP	0-3 Correct responses	4 – 7 correct responses	8 correct responses
No education at all	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Primary	11(27.5%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)
Secondary	10 (25%)	10 (25%)	2 (5%)
Tertiary	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	3 (7.5%)

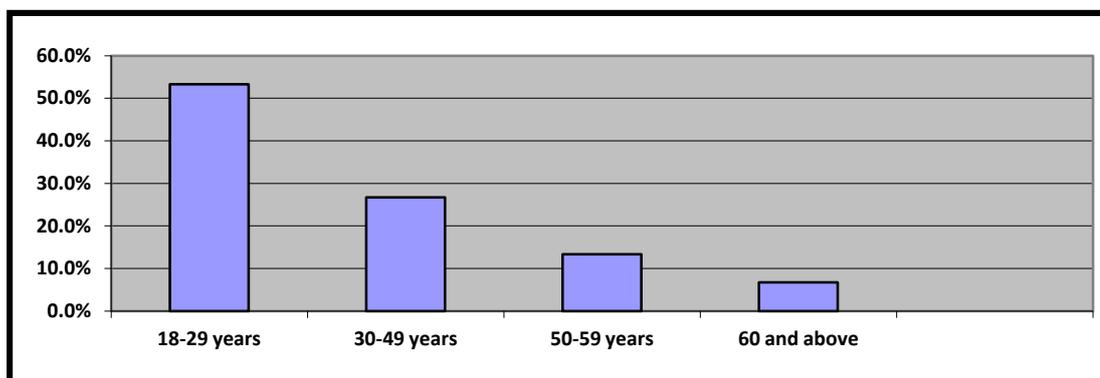
4.4.4 Respondents' political awareness

The researcher also requested the respondents to provide information on their political awareness. The first question was: "Do you pay much attention to political campaigns?" (Question number 12 in section C of the questionnaire). Of the respondents, 45% said that they paid attention to political campaigns most of time, 30% did so sometimes and 25% did not. The second question was: "Do

you pay much attention to the issue of voting or elections?” (Question number 14 in section C of the questionnaire). Again, 45% of the respondents said that they paid attention to political campaigns most of time, 30% did so sometimes and 25% did not. Overall, the findings indicate that there was political awareness among 75% of the respondents.

It was also found that the levels of political awareness among the 30 respondents (75%) varied according to age, gender and level of education. In Figure 7, the data show that most respondents (53.3%) were those aged 18-29 years, followed by those aged 30-39 years (26.7%), 50-59 years (13.3%) and lastly, 60 years and above (6.7%).

Figure 7: Political awareness by age



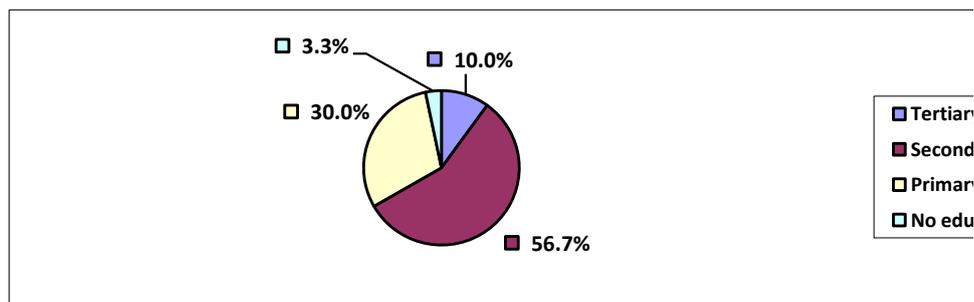
The respondents’ levels of political awareness by gender are presented in Table 23. The data indicate that more females (53.3%) than males (46.7%) paid much attention to issues of political campaigns and elections.

Table 23: Political awareness by gender

MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
14	16	30
46.7%	53.3%	100%

In Chart 8, the breakdown of the respondents’ political awareness in terms of education is presented. The data show that most respondents (56.7%) had attained secondary education followed by those with primary education (30%), tertiary education (10%) and lastly, the one with no education at all (3.3%).

Chart 8: Political awareness by level of education

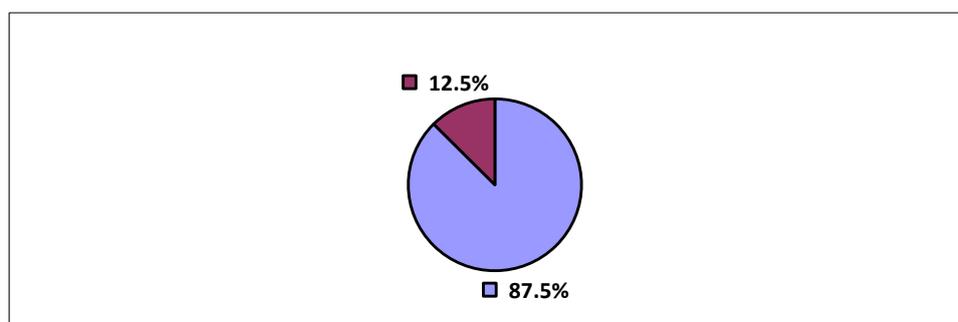


4.4.5 Respondents' political participation

Political participation refers to actions by citizens by which they seek to make demands on government, influence and support government and its policies. It is behaviour such as voting, campaigning, demonstrating, rioting and signing of petitions (Verba, Nie and Kim 1971; Van Deth 1986; Reichert 2010). In order to determine the respondents' political participation, the respondents were asked some questions pertaining to voting, party membership and other political activities.

The respondents were asked if they were registered voters and a large majority (77.5%) indicated that they were registered. Regarding party membership, less than half of the respondents (47.5%) indicated that they were members of political parties. On voting, 75% of the respondents reported that they had voted in the previous local and national government elections. As indicated in Chart 9, most of the respondents (87.5%) intended to vote in the next local and national government elections to be held in 2016 and 2019. The data in Figures 8, 9 and 10 show a breakdown of the respondents' levels of political participation in terms of age, gender and education¹⁷.

Chart 9: Respondents' intention to vote



¹⁷ The data for this study were collected before the South African municipal elections which were held on 3 August 2018. Details on the electoral turnout for the 2018 municipal elections are presented in section 3.2.1.4

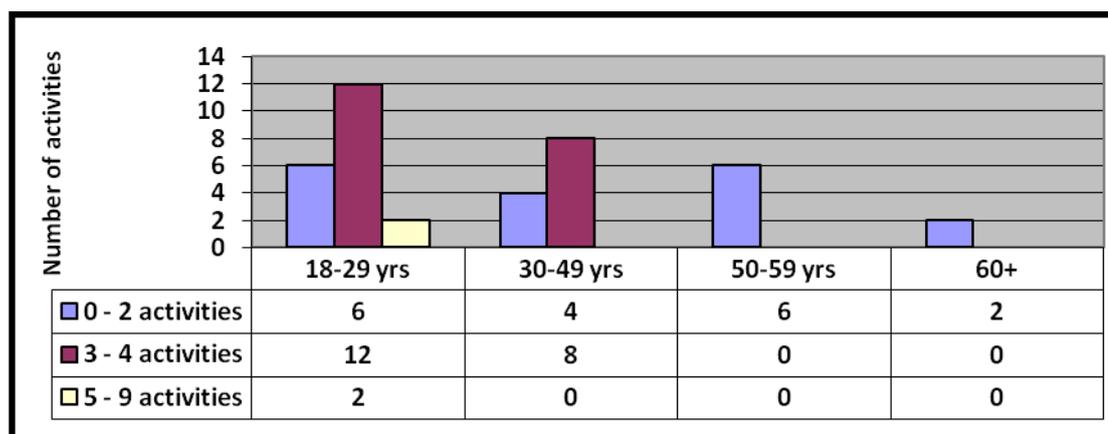
In Table 24, the respondents' political participation is presented. The respondents were asked to indicate the political activities they had previously undertaken. Most of them (67.5%) indicated that they had attended political meetings or rallies. Some of them had done various activities such as participation in internal party election, participation in demonstrations or protests, contacting the local councillor, political campaigning, commenting on newspaper or website political articles, signing petitions, and making enquiries at the local municipal office.

Table 24: Respondents' political participation

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE (%)
ATTENDED POLITICAL MEETINGS OR RALLIES	27	67.5
PARTICIPATED IN INTERNAL PARTY ELECTIONS	15	37.5
TOOK PART IN STRIKE, PROTEST OR DEMONSTRATION	13	32.5
CONTACTED LOCAL COUNCILLOR	12	30
CAMPAIGNED FOR A POLITICAL PARTY	11	27.5
ENQUIRED AT MUNICIPAL OFFICE	9	22.5
COMMENTED ON POLITICAL ARTICLES THROUGH NEWSPAPER OR WEBSITE	9	22.5
SIGNED PETITION	5	12.5
HELD AN ELECTED POSITION IN A POLITICAL PARTY	3	7.5
PARTICIPATED IN A RADIO/TV POLITICAL DISCUSSION	2	5

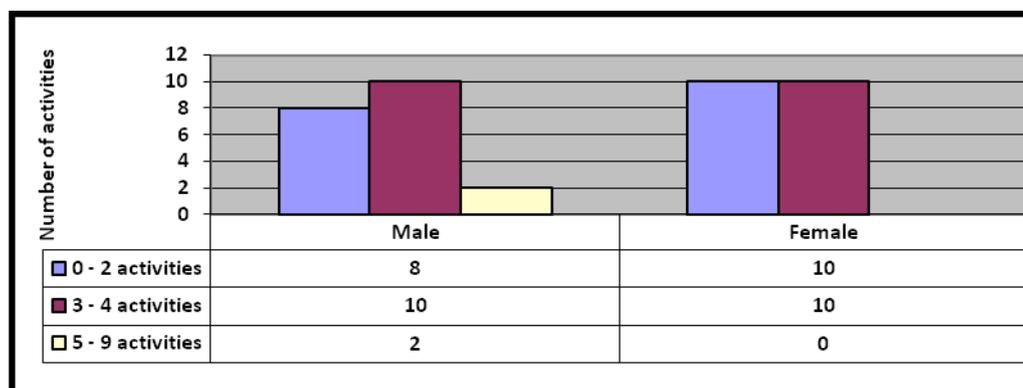
The study also indicates that the respondents' patterns of political participation varied in terms of age, gender and level of education. As depicted in Figure 8, of the 20 respondents in the age group 18-29 years participated as follows: 6 (30%) took part in between zero and two activities, 12 (60%) did between three and four political activities and 2 (10%) engaged in between five and nine activities. Regarding the 12 respondents in the age group 30-49 years, 4 (33.3%) participated in between zero and two activities, and 8 (66.7%) did between three and four activities. All 6 respondents (100%) in the age group 50-59 years did between zero and two political activities. The 2 respondents (100%) in the age group 60 years and above undertook between zero and two activities. During the study, it was also found that the respondents who had done between zero and two activities mainly voted and attended political meetings.

Figure 8: Political participation by age



The data presented in Figure 9 show that in terms of males' participation, 8 (40%) took part in between zero and two political activities, 10 (50%) participated in between three and four activities and 2 (10%) in between five and nine activities. With regard to participation by females, 10 (50%) took part in between zero and two activities, 10 (50%) in between three and four activities, and none (0%) participated in between five and nine activities.

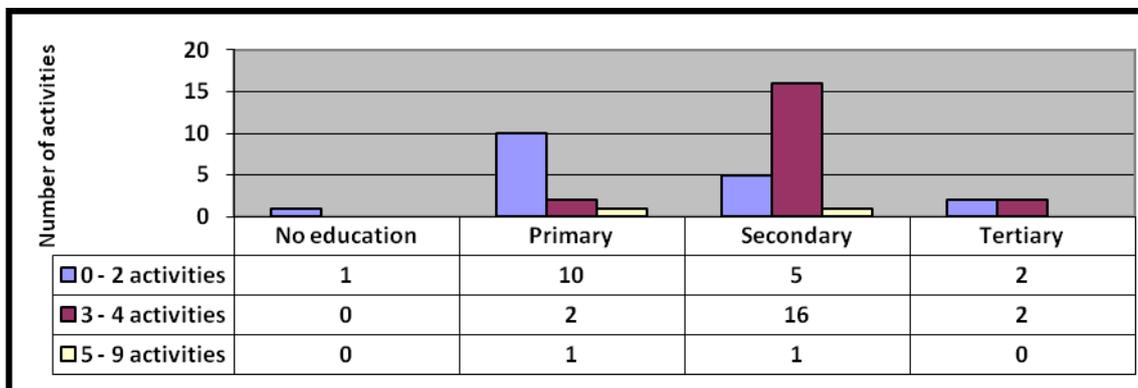
Figure 9: Political participation by gender



In Figure 10, the data show the respondents' political participation by level of education. The respondent who had no education took part in between zero and two political activities. Of the 13 respondents with primary education, 10 (76.9%) did between zero and two activities, 2 (15.4%) participated in between three and four activities and only 1 (7.7%) did between five and nine activities. The results also show that, of the 22 respondents with secondary education, 5 (22.7%) did between zero and two political activities, 16 (72.8%) took part in between three and four

activities and only 1 respondent (4.5%) did between five and nine activities. Furthermore, the data show that pertaining to the 4 respondents with tertiary education, 2 respondents (50%) did between zero and two activities, and the other 2 (50%) participated in between three and four activities.

Figure 10: Political participation by level of education



4.5 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to present the research findings in line with the objectives of the study. In the beginning of the chapter, there was a presentation on the profile of the respondents. The sample of the study was made up of forty (40) adult residents in Calais village. The data show that the profile of the respondents differed according to age, gender, marital status, level of education, employment status, race and ethnic group.

In the second part of the chapter, the respondents' political socialisation was dealt with. The findings concentrated on sources of political information, the role of socialisation agents as well as their ranking. The results of the study revealed that the respondents obtained political information from the media, extended family, friends or colleagues (peers), political parties, local municipality, immediate family, church, traditional leader (*Induna*), school, and ward committee. The data show that the media was the most popular source of political information followed by the extended family, friends or colleagues, political parties, local municipality, immediate family, church, traditional leader (*Induna*), school, and ward committee.

On the role of socialisation agents, it was found that the agents in Calais village influenced the political socialisation process through various mechanisms such as direct teaching, political discussion, dissemination of political information, persuasion, requests for political activity and imitation.

Regarding the ranking of socialisation agents, the media, immediate family, friends and colleagues (peers), extended family, and political parties were ranked as the principal agents. The local municipality, school, traditional leader (*Induna*), ward committee and religious institutions (church) were ranked as secondary agents. It is important to mention that the manner in which the respondents identified sources of political information was different from how they ranked them. For example, the respondents identified the extended family, friends or colleagues (peers), political parties and local municipality as more popular sources of political information than the immediate family. However, when the respondents ranked the agents, the immediate family occupied a higher position than the extended family, friends or colleagues, political parties and local municipality.

In the last part of the chapter, the focus was on the respondents' political behaviour and participation. The discussion concentrated on the respondents' levels of political interest, efficacy, knowledge, awareness and participation. The data show that the respondents displayed different levels on all the above-mentioned variables. Furthermore, the respondents' political behaviour and participation varied in terms of age, gender and level of education.

In the next chapter, the discussion of the research findings is presented. The discussion describes and interprets the findings of the study in relation to the research problem.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter one, it was mentioned that the aim of the study is to determine how adult residents of Calais village, located in rural post-apartheid South Africa, are politically socialised; and furthermore, to assess the impact of the socialisation process on the residents' political behaviour. In this chapter, the findings of the study are discussed and interpreted in light of the following research objectives:

First, to determine who and what the agents of political socialisation are within Calais village.

Second, to determine the role of each agent in the political socialisation of residents in Calais village, as well as the factors that might affect the role of these agents.

Third, to determine what the outcomes of the political socialisation process are in terms of residents' political values, orientations and attitudes, political knowledge and expectations, political behaviour and particularly political participation.

In the first section, the focus is on the agents of political socialisation that were studied in Calais village. The discussion then goes on to examine the role of each agent of political socialisation. Subsequently, the factors that affect the role of these agents are discussed and interpreted. Lastly, the chapter concludes with a discussion on the impact of the socialisation process on the residents' political behaviour and participation. The findings are also compared with existing theories on political socialisation.

5.1.1 The agents of political socialisation in Calais village

As discussed in chapter two, the political socialisation process is facilitated by a variety of agents. This section is especially important in identifying the agents which shape the political socialisation of adult residents in Calais village. In order to determine who and what the agents of political socialisation are within Calais village, the respondents were asked to indicate where and from whom they obtained political information. Based on the data, it was found that the respondents received political information from the following sources: the media, extended family, peers,

political parties, local municipality, immediate family, church, traditional leader (*Induna*), school and ward committee. It can thus be deduced that the above-mentioned sources were the agents of political socialisation in Calais village.

In this study, the media, immediate family, peers, extended family, and political parties were identified as the principal agents of political socialisation. These agents were regarded as such because of their importance or relative impact on the respondents' political socialisation. This is based on these agents' role in disseminating political information as well as the influence they exerted on the respondents' political socialisation (see section 4.3.13).

The following sources of political information were identified as the secondary agents of political socialisation: the local municipality, school, traditional leadership, ward committee and religious institutions (church). These agents were regarded as secondary agents because they were less influential on the respondents' political socialisation. The local municipality, school, traditional leadership, ward committee and religious institutions appeared to be weak transmitters of political attitudes, orientations and knowledge (see section 4.3.13).

Furthermore, it was found that NGOs and trade unions were not available in Calais village and thus there were not agents of political socialisation in the village. The absence of such organisations in Calais village could be due to the village's geographical location, which is far from major urban centres.

It is worth noting that the way in which the respondents identified the sources of political information was different from how they ranked them on political influence (sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.13).

5.2 THE ROLE OF THE AGENTS ON POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

In order to understand the importance of the socialisation agents in Calais village, the role of each agent in the socialisation process is discussed in this section. The discussion concentrates on the agents that were studied during the research namely, media, immediate family, peers, extended family, political parties, local municipality, school, traditional leadership, ward committee and religious institutions. The order in which the role of the agents is discussed reflects their influence in the socialisation process and not the way they were identified as sources of political information.

5.2.1 The media

The media (television, radio, newspaper and the Internet) do not only provide valuable information, but they also influence the political orientations of residents in Calais village. During the study, the influence of the media on political socialisation was assessed by examining various factors such as media exposure, frequency of media use, dissemination of political information, and respondents' opinions. As the data indicate, the media were identified as the most important agent of political socialisation. A large majority of the respondents identified the media as the most important source of political information as well as the most influential agent. Of the respondents, 90% ranked the media above all the agents.

The results show that the residents of Calais village were exposed to various forms of media such as television, radio, newspapers and the Internet. Television was used most frequently, followed by radio, newspapers and the Internet. The usage of television and radio by most respondents could be due to the fact that most households in the village have been installed with electricity (see section 3.2.1.5). A lesser number of respondents read newspapers and accessed the Internet, mostly outside of the village, because the local tuck shops did not sell newspapers and had no internet facilities. Most of the respondents who read newspapers and accessed the Internet did so when they had visited the town of Tzaneen. However, some of the respondents reported that they also accessed the Internet through their cellular phones. The low newspaper readership and Internet usage could also be due to low levels of education among some of the respondents. However, the presence of the internet in a community like Calais village is important in order to keep the residents abreast with events in the rest of the country.

In addition to using the media for general news, most respondents used the media to obtain political information. To the majority of respondents, television was the most preferred source of political news and the Internet was the least. It is likely that the media shaped the respondents' political orientations through the dissemination of political information. When comparing the political influence of different types of media, the respondents indicated that television was the most influential, followed by radio, the Internet and newspapers. It is worth noting that the Internet was the least used source of political news, although the respondents felt that it had more political influence than newspapers.

The overall findings on the role of the media in Calais village were not supportive of the political socialisation theory which tends to relegate the media to a secondary role (Hyman 1959; Dawson and Prewitt 1969). Perhaps the inconsistency between the findings of the present study and those of previous studies could be that earlier studies largely concentrated on childhood socialisation, while this study focused on adult socialisation.

Another reason for the difference between the findings of the present study and conclusions reached in earlier studies could be generational changes. Nowadays people are more exposed to the media than earlier generations. Thus, the process of political socialisation is not necessarily fixed in time. Due to societal and technological changes the role of the agents may change over time. In a rural setting such as Calais village residents may be more dependent on the media in order to remain connected to the outside world. Although Calais village is rural and remote, it is not isolated due to the prominence of various media which connect it with the rest of South Africa, as well as the rest of the world (see section 3.2.1.5). As the data show, 47.4% of the respondents had access to the Internet although only 22.5% used it to obtain political information.

5.2.2 The immediate family

In chapter four, the immediate family was regarded as the second most influential agent of political socialisation although it was initially identified as the fifth most significant source of political information (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.13). The immediate family politically socialised the respondents through direct action such as political discussion and imitation. On comparison, political discussion in the immediate family was more common than imitation.

As the data show, the majority of respondents held frequent political discussions with family members. Thus, it is likely that during these political discussions the immediate family passed on political attitudes, knowledge and values to the respondents. However, the findings also show that a significant percentage of respondents (40%) did not discuss politics within their immediate families.

Regarding imitation, it was found that some respondents copied the political behaviour, including values and attitudes of their family members. Imitation in the immediate family could happen deliberately or unintentionally when the respondents selected the political attitudes and values of family members and made them their own. These copied attitudes and values could then be used to form the base for the respondents' future political experiences. As the data indicate, only a

small percentage of respondents (17.5%) imitated the political behaviour of their family members (see section 4.3.2).

During the study, it was also found that the immediate family had a significant influence on the respondents' partisanship and political beliefs. The majority of the respondents supported the same political party as their family members. Furthermore, they generally had the same political beliefs as their family members. Possibly, political discussion and imitation within the immediate family had a positive effect on the respondents' party preferences and political beliefs. Although most respondents held similar political views as their immediate families, they did not necessarily feel that they imitated the political behaviour of their family members.

As discussed in section 2.5.1, the political socialisation theory recognises the immediate family as the most important agent (Hyman 1959; Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Langton 1969; Jaros 1973; Jennings and Niemi 1981; Botha 2014). In this study, the immediate family is also given priority although the findings are slightly different from those in earlier literature. As the data show, the present study found that the family was the second most influential agent in Calais village. Although the immediate family played a vital role, its influence could have been affected by the fact that it was competing with many socialisation agents. Another factor which could have affected the role of the immediate family is that this study focused on adults and thus their immediate families did not have a monopolistic effect on them since they were also exposed to other socialisation agents. These factors which may have affected the role of the family in Calais village are in line with the observations made by Dawson and Prewitt (1969) - (see section 2.5.1.6).

5.2.3 The peers

In this study, it was found that peers played a significant role in the political socialisation process in Calais village. The same as the extended family, peers were identified as the second most important source of political information. In terms of political influence, they were regarded as the third most influential agent (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.13). Peers politically socialised the respondents through political discussion, imitation and persuasion. In peer groups, political discussion was the most common mechanism in the political socialisation process and imitation was the least. In Calais village, peer socialisation took place in contexts such as the workplace, churches, and schools.

As shown by the data, frequent political discussion was common among most respondents and their friends and colleagues. It is possible that political information and ideas were exchanged and the respondents learnt more about politics through political discussion. The exchange of political information and ideas within peer groups might have reinforced or altered the respondents' existing political orientations or even created new ones. It is also likely that the high interaction among the respondents and their friends enabled peer groups to easily transmit political orientations. In addition, the interpersonal ties among members of peer groups could possibly facilitate the political socialisation process.

Through imitation, some respondents (22.5%) copied the political behaviour, attitudes and values of their friends and colleagues. The respondents imitated the political behaviour of their friends and colleagues concerning activities such as voting, campaigning for a political party, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings or rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests. Perhaps, the respondents imitated the political behaviour, attitudes and values of their friends and colleagues because they needed to be accepted or just because their friends and colleagues were important people in their lives.

Furthermore, the study revealed that a minority of respondents (25%) were persuaded by their friends and colleagues to take part in political activities such as voting and attendance of political meetings. During persuasion, it is possible that the respondents may have obtained information on a variety of issues such as procedures of electoral politics and involvement, information about which candidate to support, why they had to support that candidate, when the candidates or political parties were holding rallies, or even how to just get involved in various political activities. None of the respondents reported that they had been instructed or threatened by their friends and colleagues to take part in any political activities.

The significance of the peers is widely recognised in political socialisation theory. Peer groups are positioned as one of the primary agents of socialisation (see section 2.5.4). The political influence of peers in this study is consistent with the political socialisation theory. Overall, the findings of the present study support conclusions made in earlier literature by Dawson and Prewitt (1969), Jaros (1973), McClurg (2003), Klofstad (2007), Bello and Rolfe (2014), Botha (2014) and Fafchamps et al (2015).

5.2.4 The extended family

An analysis of political socialisation theory shows that very little is known about the political socialisation role of the extended family. In chapter two, it was mentioned that the extended

family's political socialisation function is a little researched topic in many studies. Most literature overlooks the political socialisation role of the extended family and as a result there is very scarce scholarship linking the extended family with political socialisation (see section 2.5.2). In this study, the extended family is recognised as one of the primary agents of political socialisation in Calais village.

During the study, it was found that the extended family played an important role in the political socialisation of some respondents. The extended family was regarded as the fourth most influential agent, although it was initially identified as the second most important source of political information (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.13). Within the extended family, political socialisation happened through political discussion among the family members. As shown by the findings, frequent political discussions were common within extended family networks. Political discussions usually happened when the respondents met with relatives during family visits, parties or any other social gathering. Given the interaction between the respondents and their relatives, it is evident that the extended family passed on political values and attitudes.

5.2.5 The political parties

As highlighted in chapter two, political parties perform a variety of tasks in many societies. One of the major activities that political parties carry out is political socialisation. Political parties such as the ANC, EFF and DA are active role players in the political socialisation of residents in Calais village (see section 3.2.1.4). During the study, it was found that political parties were the third most important source of political information. Regarding their influence in political socialisation, they were regarded as the fourth most influential agent; the same as the extended family (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.13). Political parties socialised the respondents through dissemination of political information, voter education, political campaign training and requests for political activity.

Political parties in Calais village provided most respondents with important political information. The political information was disseminated through meetings, rallies, door-to-door communication, pamphlets, community radio, posters and cellphone messages. Political meetings, rallies and door-to-door communication were the most common methods of disseminating political information to the respondents. In the process of disseminating political information, political parties informed, educated and influenced the respondents. Through dissemination of political information, it is likely that political parties initiated certain public issues and discourse into the community. This provided the respondents with the opportunity to discuss matters and form opinions.

Emanating from the study was the fact that the respondents who obtained political information from political parties were of different ages. Most respondents were aged 18-29 years, followed by those aged 30-49 years, 50-59 years, and 60 years and above. The data show that more young adults (82.8%) than the older generation (17.2%) obtained political information from political parties.

In addition to the dissemination of political information, political parties in Calais village provided voter education. It was found that most of the respondents (70%) had been provided with voter education. According to the respondents, political parties usually conducted voter education just before the elections. Through voter education the respondents were provided with basic information on how to vote; the date, time, and place of voting; the type of election; identification necessary to establish eligibility; registration requirements; and mechanisms for voting.

Some respondents (32.5%) had received training on political campaigning especially during election time. Through such training, the respondents were provided with skills on issues such as mobilisation of voters, distribution of party manifestos, and fundraising. It is likely that the training on political campaigning contributed to the respondents' political socialisation by stimulating their political interest, knowledge and participation.

During meetings or rallies, political parties mobilised and motivated most respondents to participate in the political process. A large majority of the respondents (70%) indicated that political parties requested them to participate in political activities such as voting, campaigning and attendance of political meetings or rallies.

The political socialisation theory positions political parties as secondary agents in the socialisation process (Hyman 1959; Dawson and Prewitt 1969; Jaros 1973). In this study, political parties have been identified as one of the principal agents of socialisation. The significance of political parties in Calais village is in line with the conclusions made by Venter (1998:264), Jackson and Jackson (2003), Heywood (2007:279), Weissenbach (2010), and Hofmeister and Grabow (2011:16), who regard political parties as key agents in the political socialisation process. Furthermore, the number of parties which contested the 2016 local government elections in Calais village shows the political significance of political parties in the village (see section 3.2.1.4).

5.2.6 The local municipality

In chapter three, it was mentioned that Maruleng Local Municipality plays an important political governance function in Calais village, particularly through provision of basic services and promotion of socio-economic development (Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015). Although substantial work has been done on political socialisation, the socialisation function of local government is an area of research that has not been addressed in previous studies, even though local politics are of great importance in some societies. In the present study, the local municipality was identified as the fourth most important source of political information. In terms of its political influence on the respondents, it was regarded as the fifth most influential agent (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.13).

The local municipality exerted its influence on political socialisation by providing political information and requesting the respondents to participate in politics. The respondents obtained political information through public meetings, workshops, pamphlets or booklets, door-to-door communication, community radio, local newspaper and posters. The respondents were provided with information pertaining to municipal services, the budget, IDP, elections, public meetings, and *Izimbizo*. Public meetings were the most common method that was used by the municipality to convey political messages, followed by workshops, community radio, door-to-door communication, pamphlets, and posters.

A significant majority of the respondents (62.5%) obtained political information from the municipality. The profile of these respondents varied in terms of age, gender and education. There were more young adults (18-49) years, than the older generation (50 years and above) who obtained political information from the municipality. Regarding gender, the data indicate that more females than males obtained political information from the local municipality. In terms of education, those with secondary education were the highest percentage (52%), followed by those with primary education (32%), tertiary education (12%) and lastly, the one with no education at all (4%).

It was also found that the municipality requested most respondents (57.5%) to vote and attend political meetings. The requests were usually done during public meetings, workshops and door-to-door visits. Perhaps, the political significance of the municipality was due to the fact that Calais village is a poor rural area and the municipality provided some of the basic services.

5.2.7 The school

In clarifying the influence of the school, the focus in this section is on the political socialisation role of Thapola-a-nkona Primary School and Calais Secondary School. The discussion focuses on these two schools because they were the only schools in the village (see section 3.2.1.5). Regarding political influence, the schools were ranked sixth although they were initially identified as the eighth most important source of political information (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.13). As the findings show, the schools in Calais village affected political socialisation both directly and indirectly. The schools performed direct socialisation through the curriculum, classroom ritual activities, political discussion and activities of teachers. Indirect socialisation took place through extracurricular activities such as joining and/or participating in student organisation, and student protest or demonstration.

During the study, it was found that the formal school curriculum only affected political socialisation at secondary school level. Some of the respondents (45%) reported that they only learnt about politics when they were attending Calais Secondary School. All the respondents who had primary education reported that political education was not provided at Thapola-a-nkona Primary School. The provision of political education at Calais Secondary School was at a limited and basic level. Civics or politics was not available as an academic subject at Calais Secondary School; however, it was provided as part of the History curriculum. Thus, it can be deduced that the limited dissemination of political knowledge through the study of History had little impact on the respondents' political socialisation.

Ritual activities such as singing the national anthem and celebrating national events took place at both schools. Singing of the national anthem was a daily activity, while celebration of national events was a rare occurrence. These activities were performed to express or display loyalty and identification with the nation. The majority of respondents reported that they sang the national anthem, albeit with limited effect, while only a handful attended gatherings to honour national events. The majority respondents mentioned that they engaged in ritual activities just as a formality or compliance with school rules.

Political discussions happened between the respondents, and their classmates and teachers. Thus, it is possible that through such discussions with classmates and teachers, the respondents acquired political knowledge and ideas. However, the data show that political discussion was not prevalent as less than half (47.5%) of the respondents discussed politics with classmates and only 7.5% did so with teachers. The interaction in the classroom did not yield much effect on the

respondents' political socialisation. As a result, most respondents felt that their classmates and teachers had no important influence on the formation of their present political views.

In terms of the activities of teachers, the study found that school teachers encouraged the students to discuss politics in class, although to a minimal extent. Of the respondents, only 32.5% reported that their teachers encouraged them to discuss politics in class. The less encouragement of political discussion in class meant that there was limited exchange of political information and ideas amongst students.

Regarding extracurricular activities, there was one student organisation at Calais Secondary School although most respondents had never joined or participated in the organisation. In addition, the majority of the respondents had never been involved in student protest or demonstration. All respondents who had primary education indicated that they had never joined or participated in a student organisation since there was no such organisation at Thapola-a-nkona Primary School. They also stated that they did not take part in student protest or demonstration because such activities had never happened at the school. Most respondents (77.5%) were of the view that participating in the student organisation or engaging in student protest or demonstration had little effect on the formation of their political orientations.

In the two schools, socialisation mostly took place through political discussions between the respondents and their classmates, and to a lesser extent through political learning in class and participation in extracurricular activities. Overall, the political socialisation role of the two schools in Calais village was minimal and as a result they appeared to be weak transmitters of political orientations.

As discussed in chapter two, the political socialisation theory regards the school as the second most important agent of political socialisation (see section 2.5.3). However, the findings of this study cast some doubt on this view. The findings contradict the observations made in literature by for example, Dawson and Prewitt (1969), Langton (1969) and Jaros (1973), which position the school as the second most influential agent. It is likely that the influence of the school in Calais village was found to be minimal because most respondents were already out of school when the study was carried out.

5.2.8 Traditional leadership

Traditional leadership has played a significant political and governance function in South Africa since the pre-colonial era. Even in the current democratic system in South Africa, traditional leadership continues to occupy an important political position in rural communities such as Calais village (Traditional Authorities Research Group 1999; Dlungwana 2004; Lutabingwa, Sabela and Mbatha 2006; George and Binza 2011; Khunou 2011). Despite the political significance of traditional leadership, existing literature on traditional leadership does not mention the influence of traditional leadership on rural citizens' political socialisation (see section 2.5.6.3.5). In the present study, traditional leadership was regarded as the seventh most important agent on dissemination of political information as well as on political influence (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.13). Traditional leadership influenced the socialisation process through dissemination of political information and request for political activity.

During the study, it was found that the traditional leader (*Induna*) in Calais village interacted with the residents through community meetings. In these meetings, the traditional leader (*Induna*) considered various issues such as the residents' grievances, problems and requests. In addition to these general issues, the traditional leader (*Induna*) provided political information and requested residents to take part in political activities such as voting and attendance of political meetings. The dissemination of political information and requests for political participation were usually done verbally.

Only a small percentage of the respondents indicated that the traditional leader (*Induna*) provided them with political information and also requested them to participate in political activities such as voting and attendance of political meetings. In terms of gender, the percentage of men who obtained political information from the traditional leader (*Induna*) was equal to that of women. Thus, there was a gender balance on acquisition of political information.

Although the traditional leadership in Calais village was active in the governance issues affecting the community; its influence on the respondents' political socialisation was quite minimal. As the findings indicate, a significant majority (87.5%) felt that traditional leadership had no positive influence on the formation of their present political views.

5.2.9 The ward committee

Calais village has a ward committee as part of the Ward Participatory System of local governance which is aimed at ensuring that governance is taken down to community level and that all

residents within the municipality are represented in decision making (Maruleng Municipality IDP 2010-2015). As the data indicate, the ward committee in Calais village had an influence on some of the respondents' political socialisation. As a source of political information, the ward committee was the least although it was ranked as the eighth influential agent (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.13).

The ward committee politically socialised some of the respondents through the dissemination of political information and requests for political activity. Of the respondents, only 5% obtained political information from the ward committee. The respondents obtained political information during community meetings. During community meetings, the ward committee would consider the needs and concerns of the residents, give feedback on the municipality's activities and also provide political information.

In terms of request for political activity, only a small percentage of respondents (5%) were requested to participate in political activities such as voting and attendance of political meetings or rallies. The ward committee appeared to be less active because most respondents were not aware of its existence or any meetings it had organised. Overall, the role of the ward committee in the political socialisation of the respondents was quite minimal.

5.2.10 Religious institutions

In chapter two, it was mentioned that religious institutions are primarily non-political, although they exert significant political influence (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:186; Ranney 1982:225; Jackson and Jackson 2003:124). In addition to being places of worship, religious institutions such as churches had an influence on the political orientations of some respondents. However, the church was ranked as the least (ninth) influential agent although it was initially identified as the sixth most important source of political information (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.13).

In terms of religious affiliation, most respondents (57.5%) belonged to the Christian religion, 25% did not belong to any religion, 17.5% belonged to the African traditional religion and none (0%) were Muslims. This indicates that churches in Calais village had a substantial following since most respondents were Christians who attended church meetings regularly. The church attendance among the respondents varied according to age and gender. The highest number of church attendees was in the age group 18-29 years, followed by 30-49 and 50-59 years, and lastly 60 years and above. Regarding gender, more women than men attended church meetings or services.

The church influenced the political socialisation process via dissemination of political information, political discussion and requests for political activity. The data show that a small percentage of respondents (38.1%) received political information during church sermons or services. During church services political information was disseminated verbally by priests and small church groups such as choirs and church councils.

During church attendance, some respondents (33.4%) engaged in political discussions with fellow church members. As discussed in section 4.3.8, of the respondents who attended churches services, 4.8% discussed politics most of the time, while 28.6% did so sometimes. Although such discussions may have facilitated exchange of political knowledge and ideas among the congregants, it is evident that they had little effect because most respondents regarded the church as the least influential agent.

Furthermore, the results indicate that some members (38.1%) were requested by their churches to participate in political activities such as voting and attendance of political meetings. Requests for political activity were done by church leaders or in some cases by church groups such as choirs. Since most respondents regarded the church as the least influential agent; it is clear that such requests had little impact on the respondents' political orientations.

Overall, this study found that the role of the church in the socialisation of the respondents was quite minimal. The findings of this study are inconsistent with the views expressed by Jackson and Jackson (2003), Tossutti (2009), Djupe and Gilbert (2008), and Frahm-Arp (2015). In their studies, the above-mentioned scholars emphasised the prominence of the church in the political socialisation process (see section 2.5.6.3.1).

5.3 THE FACTORS THAT AFFECT THE ROLE OF THE SOCIALISATION AGENTS

The discussion in section 5.2 indicated that various agents influenced the political socialisation of the respondents in Calais village. The study also revealed that the role of the socialisation agents was affected by age, gender, education, employment status, geographical location and access to basic services.

5.3.1 Age

During the study, it was found that the role of socialisation agents was influenced by the ages of the respondents. There were differences between the political socialisation of young adults (18-49 years) and the older generation (50 years and above). Differences in patterns of political

socialisation between young adults and the older generation were noticeable on variables such as political interest, efficacy, knowledge, awareness, and participation. Young adults displayed higher levels on the above-mentioned variables. For example, young adults were more politically knowledgeable than their older counterparts (see sections 4.4 and 5.4).

As shown in section 4.4.5, young adults participated in more political activities when compared to the older generation. Young adults participated in a variety of activities such as voting, signing of petitions, demonstrations or protests, political campaigning, attendance of political meetings or rallies, contacting the ward councillor, internal party elections and commenting on newspaper or website political articles. Participation among young adults included both conventional and unconventional forms of political participation. The older generation mainly participated in conventional activities such as voting and attendance of political meetings.

The findings show that the immediate family was the second most influential agent, which is inconsistent with most literature. The fact that this study concentrated on adults may have contributed to different results. As highlighted in section 2.5.1, the political socialisation theory states that the role of the family is stronger during childhood when it has monopolistic access to children. During adulthood, the influence of the family tends to diminish since adults are exposed to many socialisation agents.

5.3.2 Gender

Gender is another factor which affected the role of socialisation agents. Bearing in mind that an equal number of males and females participated in the study, the findings indicate a gender gap on some variables that were examined during the study. There were clear gender differences on variables such as political interest, efficacy, knowledge, awareness, and participation. The findings of the study point to the fact that the political socialisation process affected men and women differently.

As discussed in section 4.4, on all the above-mentioned variables except political awareness, male respondents displayed higher levels. For example, on political knowledge, it was found that only male respondents were able to provide correct answers to all political knowledge questions. Most of the female respondents only managed to provide correct answers to less than half of the questions.

Another visible difference was on political participation. More males than females were engaged in three or more political activities. Most female respondents only voted and attended political meetings. It is however surprising that females displayed lower levels on most variables, yet their level of political awareness was higher than that of males. This situation implies that a higher level of political awareness did not necessarily lead to higher levels of political interest, efficacy, knowledge and participation (see section 4.4).

The gender differences which were found in this study were similar to observations by Hess and Torney (1967), Guynan (2004), Delli Carpini (2005), Lizotte and Sidman (2009), Isaksson, Kotsadam and Nerman (2012), and Fraile (2014).

5.3.3 Level of education

The respondents' level of education also affected the role of the socialisation agents. The data show that levels of education determined how the respondents were politically socialised. There were differences between the more educated and those with lower levels of education on political interest, efficacy, knowledge, awareness and participation.

The effect of education was much visible on variables such as political knowledge and participation. For example, the respondents with tertiary education displayed higher levels on political knowledge. Those with secondary education tended to participate more than those in other categories (see sections 4.4 and 5.4).

The findings of the study show that there was a relationship between education and the respondents' political socialisation. However, it is worth mentioning that education did not have the same effect on all the variables. On some variables, education appeared to have a significant positive effect, while on others it was less effective. There were differences on the levels of political knowledge and participation among the respondents with tertiary education (see section 5.4). The positive influence of education on political socialisation was also noted by Dawson and Prewitt (1969), Hoskins, d'Hombres and Campbell (2008), and Mayer (2011).

5.3.4 Employment status

An individual's employment status has an effect on his/her political orientations. During the study, the respondents' employment status had an effect on the socialisation process. For example, there was a positive relationship between the respondents' employment status and political participation.

On political participation, the permanently employed respondents engaged in more political activities than those who were unemployed. The permanently employed respondents participated in a range of activities such as voting, signing of petitions, demonstrations or protests, contacting the ward councillor and attendance of political meetings or rallies. The respondents who were unemployed engaged in few activities and their participation was mainly limited to voting and attendance of political meetings.

The effect of employment status on political socialisation was also observed by Breakwell (1986), Banks and Ullah (1987), Henn, Weinstein and Wring (2002), and O'Toole, Marsh, and Jones (2003), who demonstrated that unemployment reduced rates of civic and political participation.

5.3.5 Geographical location and access to basic services

Geographical location and access to basic services are some of the issues which had an influence on the respondents' political orientations. As discussed in section 3.2.1, Calais village is far way from urban centres of which the closest are Phalaborwa, Hoedspruit and Tzaneen. The residents in the area travel more than 40km to reach the town of Tzaneen. On access to basic services, most households in the area have been installed with electricity (Dippenaar et al 2005; Maruleng Municipality Reviewed IDP 2015-2016).

During the study, it was found that there were no NGOs and trade unions in Calais village possibly due to the village's geographical location. The respondents mentioned that NGOs and trade unions were situated in the major urban centres such as Phalaborwa, Hoedspruit and Tzaneen. Thus, such organisations were not agents of political socialisation in the village. The geographical location of Calais village also affected the respondents' access to forms of media such as newspapers and the Internet (see section 4.3.5).

The availability of electricity in most households meant that most respondents were able to use television and radio, which contributed to higher levels of media usage as well as access to political information. This may have also led to the dominance of the media as a socialisation agent (see sections 4.3.5 and 5.2.1).

The effect of geographical location and access to basic services on the respondents' political orientations is proof that political socialisation is environment-specific. It is indeed valid that the

environment in which a person resides plays an important part in that person's political socialisation (Neerincx 1978:7, and Kotzé and Steyn 2003:31).

5.4 THE IMPACT OF THE SOCIALISATION PROCESS ON POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR AND PARTICIPATION

In this section, the focus is on the impact of the socialisation process on political behaviour and participation. The purpose of the discussion is to determine the extent to which the socialisation process shapes the residents' political behaviour and participation.

5.4.1 Impact of political socialisation on political interest

In order to determine the effect of the socialisation process on political interest, the respondents were asked to indicate their level of interest in politics. In the first question (question number 1 in section C of the questionnaire), the respondents were asked to indicate how often they followed government and public affairs. Most of the respondents (77.5%) said they followed government and public affairs. When asked to describe their political interest, half of the respondents (50%) reported that they had much interest in politics (see section 4.4.1).

The results show that although most respondents followed government and politics, only half had much interest in politics. The inconsistency in this finding is that on one hand a large majority of respondents were eager to know what government did, but on the other hand only half were actually interested in politics. Perhaps, a large majority followed government and public affairs because they felt or thought that government activities affected their lives, although in actual fact they did not have much interest in politics. There is no clear explanation for this anomaly, but it could imply that the socialisation process had a moderate effect on the respondents' overall level of political interest. It is important to mention that although only half of the respondents were much interested in politics, this was still a significant percentage.

Furthermore, the findings show that the respondents differed according to age, gender and education. More young adults (18-49 years) than the older generation (50 years and above) were much interested in politics. On gender, the data indicate that political interest was higher among males. More males than females displayed much political interest. Regarding education, political interest was highest among the respondents with secondary education, followed by those with primary education, tertiary education and lastly, the one with no education at all. Surprisingly, the respondents with tertiary education displayed lower political interest than those with lower

education. This inconsistency indicates that tertiary education did not necessarily translate into higher political interest.

5.4.2 Impact of political socialisation on party identification and political beliefs

The investigation on party identification and political beliefs was aimed at determining the effect of political socialisation on the respondents' patterns of party support and political beliefs. The respondents were asked if they supported the same political party as their family members. Most of them (72.5%) replied that they supported the same party as their family members. They were then asked if they generally had the same political beliefs as their family members. Again, most of the respondents (67.5%) said that they generally had the same political beliefs as their family members (see section 4.3.2). These findings show that the socialisation process positively influenced the respondents' party identification and political beliefs.

The similarity in the party identification and political beliefs of the respondents and their families indicates the significance of the immediate family. Possibly, the immediate family positively influenced the respondents' party identification and political beliefs through political discussion or imitation. Perhaps, the respondents' party identification and political beliefs may have been influenced by the socio-political environment. Thus, it is difficult to say whether it was the family that was actually responsible for the political socialisation, or whether it was the shared way in which the respondents reacted to political stimuli from the environment. It could also be both. Socialisation in the family could happen through discussion and debate, and not necessarily through imitation and instruction.

The immediate family had more impact on the respondents' party identification than it had on their political beliefs. The strong impact of the family on party identification and political beliefs was also identified by Jennings and Niemi (1981), Kenny (1994), Huckfeldt, Johnson and Sprague (2004b), who established that most people hold political views similar to those of family members.

5.4.3 Impact of political socialisation on political efficacy

When examining the level of political efficacy, the respondents were asked three questions. In the first question, the respondents were asked if they felt they could influence the political decisions made in their community. As indicated in chapter four, in response to the first question, most respondents (72.5%) felt that they could influence the political decisions made in their village. In the second question, the respondents were asked if they thought they had the right to say something about what government does. A large majority of the respondents (90%) indicated that

they had the right to say something about what government does. In the third question, the respondents were asked if they thought that it was important to participate in politics. Again, a large majority of the respondents (92.5%) thought that it was important for them to participate in politics. Thus, it is evident that the political socialisation process had a positive impact on political efficacy. What is also interesting about the results is that even some of the respondents who had earlier said that they were not interested in politics, displayed high political efficacy.

Political efficacy among the respondents varied according to age, gender and education. The level of political efficacy was highest among the respondents aged 18-29 years, followed by those aged 30-49 years, 50-59 years and 60 years and above. The findings also show that more males than females were politically efficacious. The relationship between political efficacy and education shows that most respondents had secondary education, followed by those with primary education, tertiary education and lastly, the one with no education at all. It is worth mentioning that the respondents with tertiary education displayed lower political efficacy when compared with those with lower education. This finding is an indication that tertiary education did not necessarily result in higher political efficacy.

5.4.4 Impact of political socialisation on political knowledge

In order to measure the level of political knowledge, the respondents were asked eight political knowledge questions. The data show that only 12.5% of the respondents managed to provide correct answers to all the questions. Of the respondents, 30% managed to provide between four and seven correct answers, while 57.5% could only provide between zero and three correct answers (see section 4.4.3). The findings show that there was a low level of political knowledge among most respondents. This indicates that the dissemination of political information by various socialisation agents had little effect on the level of political knowledge. The low level of political knowledge was evidenced by the fact that some of the respondents were unable to provide the names of their local councillor, Mayor, and Premier.

Overall, the political socialisation process had little positive effect on the respondents' political knowledge. The low level of political knowledge among the respondents corroborate the findings by Delli Carpini (2005:33) and Milner (2007; 2008), who concluded that there were low levels of political knowledge in the USA, Canada and other Western democracies.

The patterns of political knowledge among the respondents differed according to age, gender and education. It was found that young adults (18- 49 years) were more politically knowledgeable than

their older counterparts (50 years and above). Young adults scored higher on political knowledge questions than the older generation. These results contradict those obtained by Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996), Soule (2001), Delli Carpini (2005) and Milner (2007; 2008), who found that in America and Canada, older citizens were more informed than younger ones.

On gender, it was found that males were more politically knowledgeable than their female counterparts. Males provided more correct answers to the political knowledge questions. An important finding in this regard is that the respondents (12.5%) who provided correct answers to all the questions were males. This gender gap in political knowledge was also observed by Guynan (2004:20) and Delli Carpini (2005:33). In their studies, Guynan (2004:20) and Delli Carpini (2005:33) found that in countries such as the USA, Canada and Great Britain men were more politically knowledgeable than women.

On the relationship between education and political knowledge, the respondents with higher education were more politically knowledgeable than those with lower education. Education attainment was an important factor in determining the levels of political knowledge. The positive correlation between education and political knowledge corresponds with the findings made by Mondak (2000), Van Deth (2000), Torney-Purta (2004), Brussino et al (2011), and Owen, Soule and Chalif (2011). Although education had a strong impact on political knowledge, it did not have the same effect on levels of political interest and efficacy.

5.4.5 Impact of political socialisation on political awareness

During the study, two questions were used to examine the level of political awareness among the respondents. In the first question, the respondents were asked if they paid much attention to political campaigns (see question number 12 in section C of the questionnaire). Most respondents (75%) stated that they paid much attention to political campaigns. In the second question, the respondents were asked if they paid much attention to the issue of voting or elections (see question number 14 in section C of the questionnaire). Again, the same number of respondents reported that they paid much attention to voting or elections. The respondents explained that when political parties campaigned or when elections took place, they took notice of those activities (see section 4.4.4).

While most respondents (75%) paid much attention to political campaigns and elections, only half (50%) claimed to be interested in politics. Despite the high level of political awareness, the respondents' interest in politics was moderate. The heightened political awareness among the

respondents did not translate into higher levels of political interest. A surprising issue about these results is that there was a weak correlation between the respondents' political awareness and political interest although generally there is a close relationship between the two variables. Political awareness and political interest are viewed as closely related variables because both can be thought as types of cognitive engagement. However, the difference between the two variables is that political interest is the motivation to engage in politics. It is the desire to learn about politics and also take part in political activities. On the other hand, political awareness is just paying attention to politics. Thus, the fact that people pay attention to politics may not necessarily mean that they feel politics is important to them (Holleque 2011).

It is also important to mention that the level of political awareness among the respondents differed according to age, gender and education. Most respondents with high levels of political awareness were aged 18-29 years, followed by those aged 30-39 years, 50-59 years and lastly, 60 years and above. It was found that more females than males paid much attention to issues of political campaigns and elections. This is contrary to the findings regarding the levels of political knowledge and interest among female respondents. Although female respondents displayed higher political awareness, their political knowledge and interest were low. On the relationship between political awareness and education, the findings show that most respondents with a higher level of political awareness had attained secondary education, followed by those with primary education, tertiary education and lastly, the one with no education at all. The fact that the respondents with tertiary education displayed lower political awareness shows that education attainment had less effect on the respondents' political awareness.

Overall, the study revealed that the political socialisation process had a positive impact on the respondents' political awareness. It means that the activities of various agents had a positive effect on the respondents' level of attentiveness to political issues.

5.4.6 Impact of political socialisation on political participation

The impact of socialisation on political participation was examined by asking the respondents questions on voting, party membership and other political activities. As discussed in chapter four, the findings revealed that the respondents participated in various political activities such as voting, attending political meetings or rallies, participation in internal party elections, demonstrations or protests, contacting the local councillor, political campaigning, commenting on newspaper or website political articles, signing of petitions, and making enquiries at the local municipal office. It

can thus be deduced that the political socialisation process in Calais village had a positive effect on political participation.

The results show that most of the respondents were involved in conventional modes of participation such as voting and attendance of political meetings. A lesser number of the respondents participated in unconventional forms of political participation such as demonstrations, protests, participation in radio or television political discussion, signing of petitions and internet activism. The majority of respondents (77.5%) indicated that they were registered voters and 75% had voted in the previous national and local government elections. Furthermore, 87.5% of the respondents said that they intended to vote in the next local and national government elections to be held in 2016 and 2019.

There were differences in political participation according to age, gender and education. On the relationship between political participation and age, the data indicate that young adults (18-49 years) were more politically active than the older generation (50 years and above). The respondents who participated in three or more political activities were all young adults (18-49 years). Most of the young adults were involved in both conventional and unconventional political participation. The older respondents (50 years and above) participated in less than three activities and their activities were mostly limited to voting and attendance of political meetings. This finding is inconsistent with the conclusions made by Quintelier (2007), and Milner (2005; 2007; 2008), who found that there was a significant decline in political participation among young people in America and other Western democracies.

With regard to gender, male respondents participated in more political activities than female respondents. Most female respondents were less politically active as they participated in less than three activities. This gender gap in political participation was also identified in studies by Milbrath and Goel (1977), Verba et al (1978), Bratton (1999), Gallego (2007), and Li and Marsh (2008). In their studies, the above-mentioned scholars found that men were more politically active than women.

The decisive factor in explaining the difference in political participation between males and females could be due to the different societal roles of men and women. Generally, many women in rural areas have less time to participate in politics since they have to perform a variety of household chores and also take care of children. Another reason is that in some cultures

participation in politics is still viewed as a male activity (Jennings 1983) and that the situation could also apply to Calais village.

On education, the study revealed that there were different levels of political participation between the more educated respondents and those with lower education. It was found that the more educated respondents were more politically active than the less educated. Furthermore, the respondents with secondary education were the most politically active. In general, the results indicate that education had a positive effect on political participation. However, the inconsistency is that the respondents with secondary education were more politically active than those who had attained tertiary education. As discussed in section 4.4.5, 72.8% of the respondents with secondary education participated in between three and four activities, while only 50% of those with tertiary education also took part in between three and four activities.

The positive correlation between education and political participation was also emphasised by Hoskins et al (2008), Li and Marsh (2008) and Gallego (2009). They concluded that less educated citizens are less actively involved in politics. However, contrary to this, a study by Croke, Grossman, Larreguy and Marshall (2016) found that higher levels of education among Zimbabwean citizens did not increase political participation. Croke et al (2016) established that although most Zimbabweans were highly educated, they were not actively involved in the political process. Nonetheless, they acknowledged that Zimbabwe is an authoritarian regime and therefore that political system discouraged educated citizens who may have believed that participation was futile or falsely legitimised autocrats.

5.5 CONCLUSION

It is evident from the findings of the study that the agents of political socialisation in Calais village were the media, immediate family, peers, extended family, political parties, local municipality, school, traditional leadership, ward committee and religious institutions (church). NGOs and trade unions were not available in Calais village and thus they were not agents of political socialisation in the village. As discussed in section 5.1.1, the absence of NGOs and trade unions could be due to the village's geographical location. However, NGOs often work in rural communities and the difference between Calais village and other rural communities should be taken into account regarding the external validity of the findings.

The findings on the identification of socialisation agents in Calais village are mostly consistent with literature by, for example Hyman (1959), Greenstein (1960; 1965), Easton and Hess (1960), Hess

and Torney (1967), Dawson and Prewitt (1969), Langton (1969), Jaros (1973), Alwin, Andolina et al (2003), McFarland and Thomas (2006), Mutz and Mondak (2006), Quintelier (2007), Moeller and de Vreese (2013), Neelanjan Sircar (2015) and Leonard Thomas (2015). In these studies, the immediate family, school, media, peers, political parties, extended family and religious institutions were also identified as agents of political socialisation. However, the difference is that traditional leadership, local municipality and ward committee were not identified as socialisation agents in the above-mentioned previous studies. Furthermore, NGOs and trade unions were not socialisation agents in Calais village, yet they have been identified as agents in other studies.

On the role of socialisation agents, the media were regarded as the leading socialisation agent, followed by the immediate family, peers, extended family, political parties, local municipality, school, traditional leadership, ward committee and religious institutions (church). The media, immediate family, peers, extended family and political parties were recognised as the principal agents, while the local municipality, school, traditional leadership, ward committee and church were regarded as the secondary agents. The data indicate that the influence of these agents differed regarding their role in the dissemination of political information, formation of political orientations as well as on political participation. In addition, the influence of these agents depended on how they were ranked as socialisation agents by the respondents.

What is also important about the findings is that for some socialisation agents, their significance as sources of political information was not equivalent to their overall influence in the socialisation process. On the one hand, some agents occupied higher positions as sources of political information and on the other they were ranked lower on their socialisation influence. For example, the extended family was initially identified as the second most important source political information, yet it was ranked or regarded as the fourth most influential agent. The immediate family was initially identified as the fifth most important source of political information, although it was ranked or regarded as the second most influential agent. However, there are some agents which remained consistent. For example, the media were identified as the most important source of political information and they were also ranked as the most influential agent. Traditional leadership was identified as the seventh most important source of political information and it was also ranked as such on political influence.

What emerges from the study is that the socialisation agents influenced the political socialisation mainly through direct socialisation and to a lesser extent via indirect action. During direct socialisation, the respondents were politically socialised through political discussion, direct

teaching, training, imitation and motivation. The agents performed indirect socialisation through, for example, extracurricular activities.

The study revealed that the role of political socialisation agents was affected by factors such as age, gender, education, employment status, geographical location and access to basic services. This means that the manner in which the respondents were politically socialised was influenced by age, gender, education, employment status, geographical location and access to basic services. For example, on the issue of age it was found that young adults displayed higher levels of political interest, efficacy, knowledge, awareness, and participation. Issues such as geographical location and access to basic services also affected the respondents' access to forms of media such as newspapers and the Internet.

It was also found that the political socialisation process had an impact on the respondents' political behaviour and participation. The socialisation process produced different outcomes on the respondents' political interest, party identification, political beliefs, efficacy, knowledge, awareness and participation. On some variables, the socialisation process had a strong effect and on others it was either moderate or weak. In some cases, the socialisation process even produced inconsistent or conflicting outcomes.

The socialisation process had a moderate effect on political interest and it had a strong impact on party identification, political beliefs, efficacy, awareness and participation. The impact on the socialisation process on political knowledge was rather weak despite the fact that the respondents acquired political information from various agents. However, the study also revealed some anomalies between political efficacy and political interest. There was also inconsistency between political awareness and political interest.

The inconsistency between political efficacy and political interest was that there was high political efficacy, yet political interest was moderate. Generally, there is a close relationship between political efficacy and political interest and thus it would be expected that if one variable is high the other would also correspondingly be high. But in this study, it was not the case. The inconsistency between political awareness and political interest was that there was high political awareness, while political interest was moderate.

Furthermore, the levels of political interest, party identification, political beliefs, efficacy, knowledge, awareness and participation varied in terms of the respondents' ages, gender and

education. Young adults (18-49 years) and males displayed higher levels on most variables. The data also indicate that on a number of variables, most respondents with secondary education displayed higher levels than those with tertiary education. This shows that although education was an important factor in the socialisation process, attainment of tertiary education did not play a major role.

In the next chapter, an overall summary of the findings and suggestions for future studies are provided. The overall summary is an overview of the study covering the research problem, research objectives and the findings of the study. On suggestions for future studies, proposals are provided on other related studies that could further augment the current literature on political socialisation.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

As mentioned in chapter one, the aim of this study was to determine how adult residents in Calais village are politically socialised as well as how the socialisation process affects the residents' political behaviour and participation. The study was based on the following three objectives:

- First, to determine who and what the agents of political socialisation are within Calais village.
- Second, to determine the role of each agent in the political socialisation of residents in Calais village, as well as the factors that might affect the role of these agents.
- Third, to determine what the outcomes of the political socialisation process are in terms of residents' political values, orientations and attitudes, political knowledge and expectations, political behaviour and particularly political participation.

The purpose in this chapter is to provide a summary of the research findings, limitations of the study, suggestions for future studies and concluding remarks. The summary of research findings is presented in line with the above-mentioned research objectives. The discussion on the limitations highlights the shortcomings of the study. Suggestions for future studies deal with possible directions that could be followed in guiding future scholarly work on political socialisation. The last part of the chapter focuses on the dissertation's concluding remarks.

6.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS

As indicated above, the research findings focus on the objectives of the study, namely the agents of political socialisation in Calais village, the role of each agent in the political socialisation process, factors that affect the role of these socialisation agents, and the impact of the socialisation process on political behaviour and participation. It is important to mention that this summary of the research findings has cross references to relevant sections in the dissertation so that it does not repeat every aspect already covered in other chapters.

6.2.1 The agents of political socialisation in Calais village

At the beginning of section B (see question number 1 in Section B of the questionnaire), the researcher set out to determine who and what the agents of political socialisation are in Calais village. The respondents were asked to indicate where and from whom they obtained political information. As discussed in sections 4.3.1 and 5.1.1, the respondents mentioned that they obtained political information, in order of importance, from the media, extended family, peers, political parties, local municipality, immediate family, church, traditional leader (*Induna*), school and ward committee. The respondents did not obtain political information from NGOs and trade unions because such organisations were not available in the village.

6.2.2 The role of socialisation agents in the political socialisation process

In the questions in section B of the questionnaire (see questions number 2 to 63), the researcher investigated the role of each socialisation agent. The respondents were asked questions pertaining to the role of the immediate family, extended family, school, media, peers, political parties, church, traditional leader (*Induna*), NGOs, trade unions, local municipality, and ward committee. In this section, the above-mentioned agents are discussed in order of their importance regarding the influence they had on the respondents' political orientations. As highlighted in section 4.3.1 and 4.3.13, the role or political influence of some agents was not consistent with the way in which they were identified as sources of political information.

The media were identified as the most important agent, both on dissemination of political information and on political influence. In examining the role of the media, as discussed in sections 4.3.5 and 5.2.1, aspects such as media exposure, frequency of media use, access to political information, and the respondents' opinions were measured. On media exposure, the results show that the respondents had access to television, radio, newspapers and the Internet. Television was the most used form of media, followed by radio, newspapers and the Internet. Regarding access to political information, the respondents used television, radio, newspapers and the Internet to obtain political information. Television was the most popular source of political information, while the Internet was the least. Furthermore, the respondents ranked television as the most influential form of media, followed by radio, the Internet and newspapers. The role of the media is particularly significant within a rural and traditional context for it implies that although Calais village may be rural, traditional and even remote, it is not isolated from mainstream South Africa.

The immediate family was the second most influential agent of political socialisation, although as a source of political information it was less important than the extended family, peers, political parties and local municipality. The immediate family politically socialised the respondents mainly through political discussions and to a lesser via imitation. Possibly, transmission of political orientations occurred when members of the immediate family discussed politics and imitated each other's political behaviour. The results also show that the immediate family played a crucial socialisation role particularly in shaping the respondents' party identification and political beliefs. There was a reported similarity between the respondents and their families in terms of party identification and political beliefs (see sections 4.3.2 and 5.2.2).

As discussed in sections 4.3.6 and 5.2.3, peers were the third most influential agent although as a source of political information they were initially identified as the second most important. Peers affected the socialisation of the respondents mainly through political discussions, and to a lesser extent via imitation and persuasion. Political discussions, imitation and persuasion mostly occurred in places such as churches, workplace and schools.

In sections 4.3.3 and 5.2.4, it was explained that as a source of political information, the extended family was the second most of important agent. Overall, the extended family was the fourth most influential agent, occupying the same position as political parties. The role of the extended family was similar to that of the immediate family as it influenced political socialisation through political discussions. During the study, it was found that frequent political discussions were common within extended family networks. It is likely that through these political discussions the extended family transmitted political attitudes, values, and knowledge to the respondents.

On dissemination of political information, political parties were identified as the third most important source. Overall, they were the fourth most influential agent. Political parties contributed to the political socialisation process through mechanisms such as dissemination of political information, voter education, political campaign training and requests for political activity. Political parties disseminated political information through meetings, rallies, door-to-door communication, pamphlets, community radio, posters and cellphone messages. Political parties usually engaged in voter education and campaign training during election time. On dissemination of political information, it was found that more young adults (18-49 years) than the older generation (50 years and above) obtained political information from political parties (see sections 4.3.7 and 5.2.5).

In terms of disseminating political information, the municipality was identified as the fourth most important source although on political influence it was regarded as the fifth most influential agent. The local municipality contributed to the respondents' political socialisation through public meetings, workshops, pamphlets or booklets, door-to-door communication, community radio, local newspaper and posters. The socialisation of the respondents by the local municipality differed in terms of age, gender and education. The results show that more young adults (18-49 years) than the older generation (50 years and above) interacted with the local municipality. In terms of gender, the municipality provided political information to both men and women, although the number of women was slightly higher than that of men. On education, most respondents who interacted with the local municipality were those with secondary education, followed by those with primary education, tertiary education and lastly, the one with no education at all (see sections 4.3.10 and 5.2.6).

In sections 4.3.4 and 5.2.7, it was explained that the school was the eighth most important source of information. Overall, it was the sixth most influential agent. It contributed to the respondents' political socialisation through the formal school curriculum, ritual activities, political discussion, the activities of teachers, and extracurricular activities. The role of the school in the socialisation process appeared to be limited due to a few reasons. First, civic education or politics was not part of the school curriculum and thus the limited political knowledge was provided as part of History as a school subject. Second, there was limited political discussion between the respondents and their classmates and teachers. The limited political discussion may have resulted in insufficient political learning. Third, ritual activities such as singing the national anthem were less effective as most respondents viewed them just as a formality or compliance with school rules. Lastly, extracurricular activities such as joining and/or participating in student organisation, and student demonstration had little effect as most respondents did not participate in such activities.

Traditional leadership occupied the seventh position on dissemination of political information as well as on political influence. The traditional leadership in Calais village performed various governance duties such as consideration of residents' grievances, problems and requests. In addition to these governance duties, it also influenced the political socialisation process by providing the respondents with political information and requesting them to take part in political activities such as voting and attendance of political meetings. The interaction between traditional leadership and the respondents usually happened through community meetings. In terms of gender, the results indicate that there was an even percentage distribution of male and female respondents who interacted with the traditional leadership. Based on the findings, the respondents

reported that the traditional leadership was actively involved in general governance issues although its role in political socialisation was rather minimal. Since there was constant interaction between traditional leadership and the respondents, it is quite surprising that traditional leadership did not play a major role in political socialisation (see sections 4.3.9 and 5.2.8).

The ward committee was identified as the least important agent on dissemination of political information, although on political influence it occupied the eighth position. The ward committee in Calais village interacted with residents through community meetings where issues of service delivery were discussed. Only a small percentage of respondents obtained political information and received requests for political activity from the ward committee. The socialisation role of the ward committee was found to be weak as most of the respondents were not even aware of the existence of the committee or any community meetings it had organised (see sections 4.3.11 and 5.2.9).

In sections 4.3.8 and 5.2.10, the discussion showed that religious institutions (church) were the sixth most important source of political information. However, they were regarded as the least important agent on political influence. Despite being a non-political, religious institutions (church) did play a role in the political socialisation of the respondents. In terms of membership, the churches in Calais village had a significant following and their services or meetings were mostly attended by young adults (18-29 years). The data on gender show that more women than men attended church meetings on a regular basis. Churches in Calais village contributed to the political socialisation process through dissemination of political information during church sermons, political discussions among church members and requests for political activity.

From the above discussion, it is clear that the agents of political socialisation in Calais village facilitated the political socialisation process through various mechanisms such as dissemination of political information, political discussions, imitation and persuasion or requests for political activity. The findings indicate that the agents of political socialisation did not influence the political socialisation process to the same extent or degree. In terms of political influence, the principal agents were the media, immediate family, peers, extended family and political parties. The local municipality, school, traditional leadership, ward committee and religious institutions (church) were regarded as secondary agents.

6.2.3 Factors that affect the role of socialisation agents

During the study, it was found that there were various factors that affected the role of political socialisation agents. The manner in which the agents influenced the socialisation process was dependent on factors such as age, gender, education, employment status, geographical location and access to basic services.

In section 5.3.1, it was highlighted that age affected the role of socialisation agents because the way in which the respondents were socialised depended on their ages. As the data show, the patterns of political socialisation varied across different age groups. There were notable differences on variables such as political interest, efficacy, awareness, knowledge and participation. For example, it was found that there were higher levels of political interest, efficacy, awareness; knowledge and participation among young adults (18-49 years).

As discussed in section 5.3.2, there was a visible gender gap on levels of political interest, efficacy, awareness, knowledge and participation. Men and women displayed different levels of political interest, efficacy, awareness, knowledge and participation. The study showed that male respondents were dominant on most variables.

Education affected the role of socialisation agents because the respondents' political orientations were dependent on their levels of education. It was found that the political orientations of the respondents with higher levels of education were different from those of the less educated. There were higher levels of political interest, efficacy, knowledge and participation among the better educated respondents (see section 5.3.3).

The state of employment among the respondents also influenced the role of the socialisation agents. For example, the study indicated that the permanently employed respondents were more politically active than those who were unemployed. The respondents who were permanently employed participated in a range of activities, while those who were unemployed only voted and attended political meetings (see section 5.3.4).

In section 5.3.5 it was explained that issues such as geographical location and access to basic services influenced the role of socialisation agents. The geographical location of Calais village meant that most respondents had limited access to newspapers and the Internet. Nevertheless, it is important to note that they in actual fact they had, albeit limited access. The availability of basic

services such as electricity in most households enabled most respondents to access television and radio.

6.2.4 Impact of the socialisation process on political behaviour and participation

On the impact of the socialisation process on political behaviour and participation, the respondents were asked a variety of questions concerning political interest, party identification, political beliefs, political efficacy, political knowledge, political awareness and political participation (see sections B and C of the questionnaire).

Overall, the socialisation process had a positive effect on the political interest, although its impact was moderate. It was found that the level of political interest was moderate (50%) despite the substantial dissemination of political information by various socialisation agents. This finding implies that activities such as political discussions, imitation and persuasion did not yield a higher level of political interest among the respondents. The study revealed that the level of political interest varied according to the respondents' age, gender and education. There was a higher level of political interest among young adults (18-49 years), males and those with secondary education. The inconsistency in the findings is that political interest was moderate although the majority of respondents showed higher levels of political efficacy and political awareness (see sections 4.4.1 and 5.4.1).

In sections 4.3.2 and 5.4.2, it was explained that most respondents' party identification and political beliefs were similar to those of their families. The majority of respondents supported the same political parties as their families. Furthermore, they generally held the same political beliefs as their family members. These results on party identification and political beliefs revealed that the immediate family had a strong influence on the respondents' political orientations.

The study also showed that there was a high level of political efficacy. The high level of political efficacy was an indication that the political socialisation process positively affected the respondents' sense of citizen duty. The level of political efficacy differed in terms of age, gender and education. The data showed higher levels of political efficacy among young adults (18-49 years), males and those with secondary education (see sections 4.4.2 and 5.4.3).

As discussed in sections 4.4.3 and 5.4.4, most respondents were less politically knowledgeable. Only 12.5% of the respondents managed to provide correct answers to all the questions, despite the fact that most respondents acquired political information from various agents. Overall, the

socialisation process had little positive effect on the respondents' political knowledge. The levels of political knowledge differed in terms of age, gender and level of education. Young adults (18-49 years), males, and the better educated were more politically knowledgeable.

Political awareness was measured by assessing the respondents' attentiveness to political campaigns and voting or elections. The results showed a high level of political awareness as the majority of respondents paid much attention to political campaigns and elections. In terms of gender, age and education, young adults (18-49 years), females and those with secondary education had higher political awareness. Overall, there was a positive correlation between the socialisation process and the level of political awareness (see sections 4.4.4 and 5.4.5).

In sections 4.4.5 and 5.4.6, the discussion indicated that there was a high level of political participation among most respondents. The respondents participated in various political activities such as voting, attending political meetings or rallies, participation in internal party elections, participation in demonstrations or protests, contacting the local councillor, political campaigning, commenting on newspaper or website political articles, signing of petitions, and making enquiries at the local municipal office. However, most respondents participated in conventional activities such as voting and attending of political meetings. Furthermore, it was found that young adults (18-49 years), males and the better educated were more politically active. Overall, the findings show that the socialisation process had a positive impact on political participation.

6.3 ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

In this section, the findings of the study are compared with the existing theory on political socialisation. In some cases, the findings of the present study were consistent with existing theory, but in others there were differences. As discussed in chapter one, this research was an intrinsic case study in which the interest was the case itself. More emphasis was on understanding the process of political socialisation within a rural and traditional setting. The findings of this case study, however, could augment the body of knowledge as well as help in building theory on political socialisation within a rural and traditional setting.

On the identification of agents, the findings of this study are broadly consistent with existing literature on political socialisation by, for example Hyman (1959), Greenstein (1960; 1965), Easton and Hess (1960), Hess and Torney (1967), Dawson and Prewitt (1969), Langton (1969), Jaros (1973), Alwin, Andolina et al (2003), McFarland and Thomas (2006), Mutz and Mondak (2006), Quintelier (2007), Moeller and de Vreese (2013), Neelanjan Sircar (2015) and Leonard

Thomas (2015). The similarity is that the media, immediate family, peers, extended family, political parties, school and religious institutions have been identified as agents of political socialisation in previous studies. The difference is that in existing literature, traditional leadership, local municipality and ward committees have not been identified as socialisation agents. Furthermore, most existing literature recognises NGOs and trade unions as socialisation agents, yet the present study found that they were not agents in Calais village (see section 5.1.1).

As highlighted in sections 4.3.13 and 5.2, the media, immediate family, peers, extended family, and political parties were identified as the principal agents. Among these agents, the media were regarded as the most important agent, ahead of the immediate family and other agents. The local municipality, school, traditional leadership, ward committee and religious institutions (church) were regarded as the secondary agents in the socialisation process. This finding contradicts existing literature in some areas. Some existing literature on political socialisation by for example, Hyman (1959), Dawson and Prewitt (1969), Langton (1969) Jaros (1973) and Jennings and Niemi (1981), gives high priority to the immediate family, school and peers, and recognises them as the only primary agents. The media, political parties and religious institutions are relegated to a secondary role.

The discussion in section 5.3 indicated that age, gender, education, employment status, geographical location and access to basic services influenced the role of socialisation agents in Calais village. The findings are consistent with most existing literature on political socialisation by for example, Hess and Torney (1967), Dawson and Prewitt (1969), Henn et al (2002), Kotzé and Steyn (2003), Guynan (2004), Delli Carpini (2005), Hoskins et al (2008), Lizotte and Sidman (2009), Mayer (2011), Isaksson et al (2012), and Fraile (2014).

Furthermore, it was found that the socialisation process had a positive impact on political interest, party identification, political beliefs, efficacy, awareness and participation. On political knowledge, the socialisation process had less effect. These findings are also in line with most existing literature (see for example, Bratton 1999; Van Deth 2000; Torney-Purta 2004; Delli Carpini 2005; Milner 2008; Mondak 2000; Gallego 2007 and Li and Marsh 2008).

6.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As explained in chapter one, the limitations of this study are the following:

- The first limitation of the study is its external validity. The study is a single case confined to Calais village and therefore the findings are not generalisable to other communities located in different developmental, political and social contexts. External validity is affected by the village's homogeneity in terms of race, ethnicity and language as it consists of black people who speak the SePedi language. The findings of this case study could be generalised to a theoretical proposition and not to a population or universe. Thus, the existing theory on political socialisation can be used as a basis to compare the results of this study.
- The second limitation is the unavailability of the study area's population statistics for developing a sampling frame. Due to the lack of a sampling frame for the study area, the researcher was unable to draw a representative sample for the study.
- The third limitation is that the study was based on a restricted sample of forty (40) adult residents in Calais village. The size of the sample could lead to a sampling bias or discrepancy between the characteristics of the sample and the actual characteristics of the population. This implies that the findings may not be absolutely conclusive and thus are not generalisable to the whole South African society. It is worth noting that although the sample was limited, the researcher selected the respondents with characteristics that enabled him to collect useful and sufficient data to address the research problem.
- The fourth limitation is the use of a lengthy questionnaire during the study. The length of the questionnaire affected the size of sample as well as the number of interviews that were conducted. However, the benefit of using such a lengthy questionnaire was the issue of completeness. The length of the questionnaire enabled the researcher to obtain sufficient and in-depth information to address all the research objectives.

6.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

This study serves as an addition to the body of knowledge on political socialisation, particularly within a rural and traditional setting in South Africa. Although the findings of this study augment the limited scholarly work on rural political socialisation, more studies are still needed.

Since this study is confined to Calais village, there is a need to investigate the political socialisation processes in other rural communities in South Africa. The need for more studies is necessary because South Africa has nine provinces whose rural communities have diverse cultural and ethnic groups. Further studies on how socialisation takes place in other provinces would broaden the limited understanding of political socialisation in South African rural areas.

Thus far, this study is one of the few that have been done on adult political socialisation. It would be beneficial to conduct more studies on adult political socialisation with a specific focus on rural communities in South Africa. More studies on adult political socialisation will help us to have a better understanding on how adults develop their political orientations and how the socialisation process affects their political behaviour and participation.

As the findings indicate, most respondents were less politically knowledgeable despite the fact that they displayed higher levels of political efficacy and political awareness. Thus, it would be important for future studies to investigate if there are other factors that negatively affect the levels of political knowledge.

6.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study has achieved what it set out to do. The study has provided valuable information on how adult residents in Calais village are politically socialised as well as how the socialisation process affects the residents' political behaviour and participation. The study has made a major contribution to our understanding of adult political socialisation, particularly within a rural and traditional setting in South Africa.

First, the study has identified the agents which facilitate the political socialisation process within a rural and traditional setting. It is important to mention that on identification of socialisation agents the results were broadly consistent with those of previous studies. However, what makes the findings of this study slightly different is that some agents such as local municipality, traditional leadership and ward committee have not been identified in other studies. Furthermore, the study

has revealed that organisation such as NGOs and trade unions were not socialisation agents in Calais village.

Second, the study has provided significant information on the role of socialisation agents in Calais village. The findings show how each agent contributed to the respondents' political socialisation. Based on the results, it can be deduced that the socialisation agents in Calais village did not influence the political socialisation process to the same degree or extent. The data show that some of agents were highly effective while others were less effective.

Third, it was found that there were various factors that affected the role of socialisation agents. Factors such as age, gender, education, employment status, geographical location and access to basic services had an effect on how the agents influenced the political socialisation process. The results indicated that the political socialisation process affected young adults and the older generation differently. The same situation applied to men and women, the better educated and those who had low levels of education. Furthermore, the findings revealed that political socialisation was an environment-specific process because it was also dependent on the geographical location of Calais village.

Lastly, the results of the study have shown how the socialisation process affected the residents' political behaviour and participation. In some cases the socialisation process affected the residents' political behaviour and participation positively, while in others it was less effective.

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APPENDIX 1: APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Prof. Tendayi Sithole
Chair: Ethics Review Committee of the
Department of Political Sciences
UNISA

Date: 30 May 2016

The Headman
Ditlou Headkraal
P.O. Box 1909
Trichardtsdal
0890

Dear Sir,

APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: MR. DESMOND MBABVU

This letter serves to confirm that Mr. Desmond Mbabvu (3451-670-0) is currently a registered student at the University of South Africa (UNISA). He is doing a Masters degree in Politics and the title of his dissertation is:

POLITICAL SOCIALISATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS WITHIN A RURAL SETTING IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF CALAIS VILLAGE IN LIMPOPO PROVINCE

The research aims to:

1. Determine how residents of Calais village are politically socialised.
2. Assess the impact of the socialisation process on the residents' political behaviour.

I wish to apply that permission be granted to Mr. Mbabvu in order to conduct research in your community.

Participation in research would under all circumstances be voluntarily and information obtained from the study will be treated with the strictest confidentiality and will be used for academic purposes only.

This is an important study because very little is known about political socialisation in South Africa, particularly how political socialisation is taking place within rural settings.

Your approval will be greatly appreciated.

Contact details of Mr. Mbabvu are as follows:
Postal address: 62 Lawn Street, Rosettenville, 2190, JOHANNESBURG
Desmond Mbabvu
Student No. 3451-670-0
Tel: (011) 227-0050
Cell: 071 686 4098
Fax: 086 616 1369
E-mail: Desmond.mbabvu@gauteng.gov.za

Yours faithfully,

Prof. T. Sithole
Chair: Ethics Review Committee of the Department of Political Sciences

APPENDIX 2: LETTER OF REQUEST TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY

62 Lawn Street
Rosettenville
2190
JOHANNESBURG

Date: _____

Mr. /Ms _____
Calais village
Trichardtsdal
0890

Dear Mr. /Ms _____

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

I would like to invite you to participate in a research study on political socialisation. The research topic is:

POLITICAL SOCIALISATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS WITHIN A RURAL SETTING IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF CALAIS VILLAGE IN LIMPOPO PROVINCE

The purpose of this study is to determine how residents of Calais village are politically socialised and furthermore to assess the impact of the socialisation process on the residents' political behaviour.

This research has been approved by the Political Sciences Department at the University of South Africa (UNISA).

- Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you are free to decline to participate.
- You are also free to withdraw from the study at any point, even if you do agree to take part initially.
- Please ask the researcher any questions about any part of this research that you do not fully understand.
- All information gathered from the study will remain confidential. Your identity as a participant will not be disclosed to anyone.

Yours sincerely,

Desmond Mbabvu
Student No. 3451-670-0
Tel: (011) 227-0050
Cell: 071 686 4098
Fax: 086 616 1369
E-mail: Desmond.mbabvu@gauteng.gov.za

Agreement

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign this letter as a declaration of your consent.

Signature of participant Date

Participant name (printed)

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Identification number _____

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect information for a Masters Research Project. The research aims to determine how residents of Calais village are politically socialised; and furthermore to assess the impact of the socialisation process on the residents' political behaviour.

The information provided in the questionnaire will be kept confidential and will only be used for academic purposes. Your name will not be written on the questionnaire, as this guarantees anonymity. Please answer the questions below as truthfully as possible

Thank you.

SECTION A

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. What is your age?

18 – 29 years	
30- 49 years	
50 – 59 years	
60 and above	

2. What is your gender?

Male	
Female	

3. What is your marital status?

Married	
Single (never married)	
Divorced	
Widow	
Widower	

4. What is your highest level of education?

No education at all	
Primary	
Secondary	
Tertiary	

5. What is your employment status?

Employed full-time	
Employed part-time	
Self employed	
Unemployed	

6. What is your race?

Black	
White	
Coloured	
Indian	
Other (please specify)	

7. What is your ethnic group?

Northern Sotho (Bapedi)	
Southern Sotho (Basotho)	
Tsonga	
Venda	
Tswana	
Afrikaner	
Zulu	
Xhosa	
Ndebele	
Swazi	
Other (please specify)	

SECTION B

QUESTIONS ON POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

1. Where and from whom do you obtain your political information?

2. At home, your family discusses politics.

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

3. You support the same political party as your family members.

Yes	
No	

4. You copy the political behaviour of your family members (e.g. voting, campaigning for a political party, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings/ rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests)

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

5. You generally have the same political beliefs as your family.

Yes	
No	

6. Your family has a strong positive influence on the formation of your present political views.

Yes	
No	

7. Do you discuss politics with your extended family? (i.e. uncles, aunts, nieces, nephews, cousins and grandparents)

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

8. Do you think your extended family has a strong positive influence on the formation of your present political views?

Yes	
No	

9. Did you learn about politics at school?

Yes	
No	

10. Which of the following activities did you do at school?

Sing the national anthem	
Salute the South African flag	
Honour or celebrate national events	
Join and participate in student organisation	
Participate in student protest or demonstration	

11. My school teachers encouraged students to discuss political issues in class.

Yes	
No	

12. How often did you discuss political issues with teachers and/or classmates at school?

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

13. My school teachers were an important influence on the formation of my present political views.

Yes	
No	

14. My classmates were an important influence on the formation of my present political views.

Yes	
No	

15. Singing the national anthem, saluting the South African flag and honouring national events were an important influence on the formation of my present political views.

Yes	
No	

16. Joining and participating in the student organisation was an important influence on the formation of my present political views.

Yes	
No	

17. Do you think it is important to learn about politics at school? If your answer is yes, state why?

18. Which forms of communication media (e.g. TV, radio, newspapers and the Internet) do you use to obtain political information?

19. Please indicate how often you use the following communication media:

a) Television

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

b) Radio

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

c) Newspapers

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

d) Internet

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

20. Which forms of communication media (e.g. TV, radio, newspapers and the Internet) do you use **MOST** to obtain political information?

21. Which forms of communication media (e.g. TV, radio, newspapers and the Internet) do you **LEAST** use to obtain political information?

22. Which form of communication media (e.g. TV, radio, newspapers and the Internet) influences your political views the most?

23. Do you discuss political issues with your friends or colleagues?

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

24. You copy the political behaviour of your friends or colleagues (e.g. voting, campaigning for a political party, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings/ rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests)

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

25. Your friends or colleagues instruct or threaten you to take part in a particular political activity (e.g. voting, campaigning for a political party, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings/ rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests)

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

26. Your friends or colleagues persuade you to take part in a particular political activity (e.g. voting, campaigning for a political party, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings/ rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests)

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

27. Do you think your friends or colleagues have a positive influence on the formation of your present political views?

Yes	
No	

28. Do political parties in your area provide you with political information?

Yes	
No	

29. If yes, please indicate how you receive the political information:

Through political meetings/rallies	
Through workshops	
Through pamphlets or booklets	
Through door-to-door communication	
Community radio	
Local newspaper	
Posters	
Websites	
Other (please specify)	

30. Have you ever received training provided by political parties in your area on how to vote?

Yes	
No	

31. Have you ever received training provided by political parties in your area on how to do political campaigning?

Yes	
No	

32. Political parties in your area request you to take part in a particular political activity (e.g. voting, campaigning, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings/ rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests).

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

33. Do you think political parties in your area have a positive influence on the formation of your present political views?

Yes	
No	

34. What religion do you belong to?

Christianity	
Islam	
Traditional	
None	
Other (please specify)	

35. Do you attend church or religious meetings in your community?

Yes	
No	

36. Do the churches or religious organisations in your area provide you with political information?

Yes	
No	

37. If yes, please indicate how you receive the political information:

Through the church choir or group	
Through pamphlets or booklets	
During church or religious sermons	
Through door-to-door communication	
Community radio	
Local newspaper	
Other (please specify)	

38. At church, you discuss political issues with fellow church members.

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

39. Churches or religious organisations in your area request you to take part in a particular political activity (e.g. voting, campaigning, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings/ rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests)

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

40. Do you think the church has a positive influence on the formation of your present political views?

Yes	
No	

41. Does your traditional leader (*Induna*) provide you with political information?

Yes	
No	

42. If yes, please indicate how you receive the political information:

Through public meeting	
Through pamphlets or booklets	
Community radio	
Local newspaper	
Other (please specify)	

43. Your traditional leader (*Induna*) requests you to take part in a particular political activity (e.g. voting, campaigning, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings/ rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests)

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

44. Do you think your traditional leader (*Induna*) has a positive influence on the formation of your present political views?

Yes	
No	

45. Are there any Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in your area that you know of?

Yes	
No	

46. If yes, do these Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) provide you with political information?

Yes	
No	

47. If yes, please indicate how you receive the political information:

Through meetings	
Through workshops	
Through pamphlets or booklets	
Through door-to-door communication	
Community radio	
Local newspaper	
Posters	
Website	
Other (please specify)	

48. NGOs in your area request you to take part in a particular political activity (e.g. voting, campaigning, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings/ rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests)

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

49. Do you think NGOs in your area have a positive influence on the formation of your present political views?

Yes	
No	

50. Do Trade Unions in your area provide you with political information?

Yes	
No	

51. If yes, please indicate how you receive the political information:

Through meetings	
Through workshops	
Through pamphlets or booklets	
Through door-to-door communication	
Community radio	
Local newspaper	
Posters	
Website	
Other (please specify)	

52. Trade unions in your area request you to take part in a particular political activity (e.g. voting, campaigning, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings/ rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests)

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

53. Do you think Trade Unions in your area have a positive influence on the formation of your present political views?

Yes	
No	

54. Does your local municipality office provide you with political information?

Yes	
No	

55. If yes, please indicate how you receive the political information:

Through public meetings	
Through workshops	
Through pamphlets or booklets	
Through door-to-door communication	
Community radio	
Local newspaper	
Posters	
Website	
Other (please specify)	

56. Your local municipal office requests you to take part in a particular political activity (e.g. voting, campaigning, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings/ rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests).

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

57. Do you think your local municipality office has a positive influence on the formation of your present political views?

Yes	
No	

58. Are there any other sources except the ones already mentioned above, that provide you with political information?

Yes	
No	

59. If yes, please list these sources:

60. Please indicate how you receive political information from the sources you have listed above:

Through public meetings	
Through workshops	
Through pamphlets or booklets	
Through door-to-door communication	
Community radio	
Local newspaper	
Posters	
Website	
Other (please specify)	

61. The sources you have listed above, request you to take part in a particular political activity (e.g. voting, campaigning, volunteering in a political party, attending political meetings/ rallies and participating in demonstrations or protests).

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

62. Do you think the sources you have listed above have a positive influence on the formation of your present political views?

Yes	
No	

63. Please rank the following sources, from 1-10, according to their influence on you about politics. Most important is 1 and least important is 10.

Immediate family	
Extended family	
School	
Media	
Friends or colleagues	
Political parties	
Church	
Traditional Leader	
Local Municipality	
Other (please specify)	

SECTION C

QUESTIONS ON POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR AND PARTICIPATION

1. How often do you follow what is going on in government and public affairs?

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

2. How would you describe your interest in political issues that affect your area?

Much interested	
Less interested	
Not interested at all	

3. Do you feel you can influence the political decisions made in your community?

Yes	
No	

4. Who is your local councillor?

5. Who is your municipal mayor?

6. Which political party has most seats in your local municipality?

7. Who is the Premier of your province?

8. Which political party has the most seats in South Africa's national assembly (Parliament)?

9. Who is the leader of the main opposition party in South Africa?

10. Who is South Africa's Minister of Finance?

11. List five South African political parties that you know:

12. Do you pay much attention to political campaigns?

Most of the time	
Sometimes	
Not at all	

13. Are you a registered voter?

Yes	
No	

14. Do you pay much attention to the issue of voting or elections?

Yes	
No	

15. Are you a member of a political party?

Yes	
No	

16. Did you vote in the last National elections?

Yes	
No	

17. Did you vote in the last Local government elections?

Yes	
No	

18. Do you intend to vote in the next National and Local government elections to be held in 2016 and 2019?

Yes	
No	

19. Which of the following activities have you previously carried out?

Signed a petition	
Took part in a strike, protest or demonstration	
Made an enquiry at the municipal office	
Contacted your local councillor	
Attended a political meetings/rallies	
Campaigned for a political party	
Participated in internal political party elections	
Held an elected position in a political party	
Participated in political discussion on radio or TV	
Commented on political articles via newspapers or websites	
Other (please specify)	

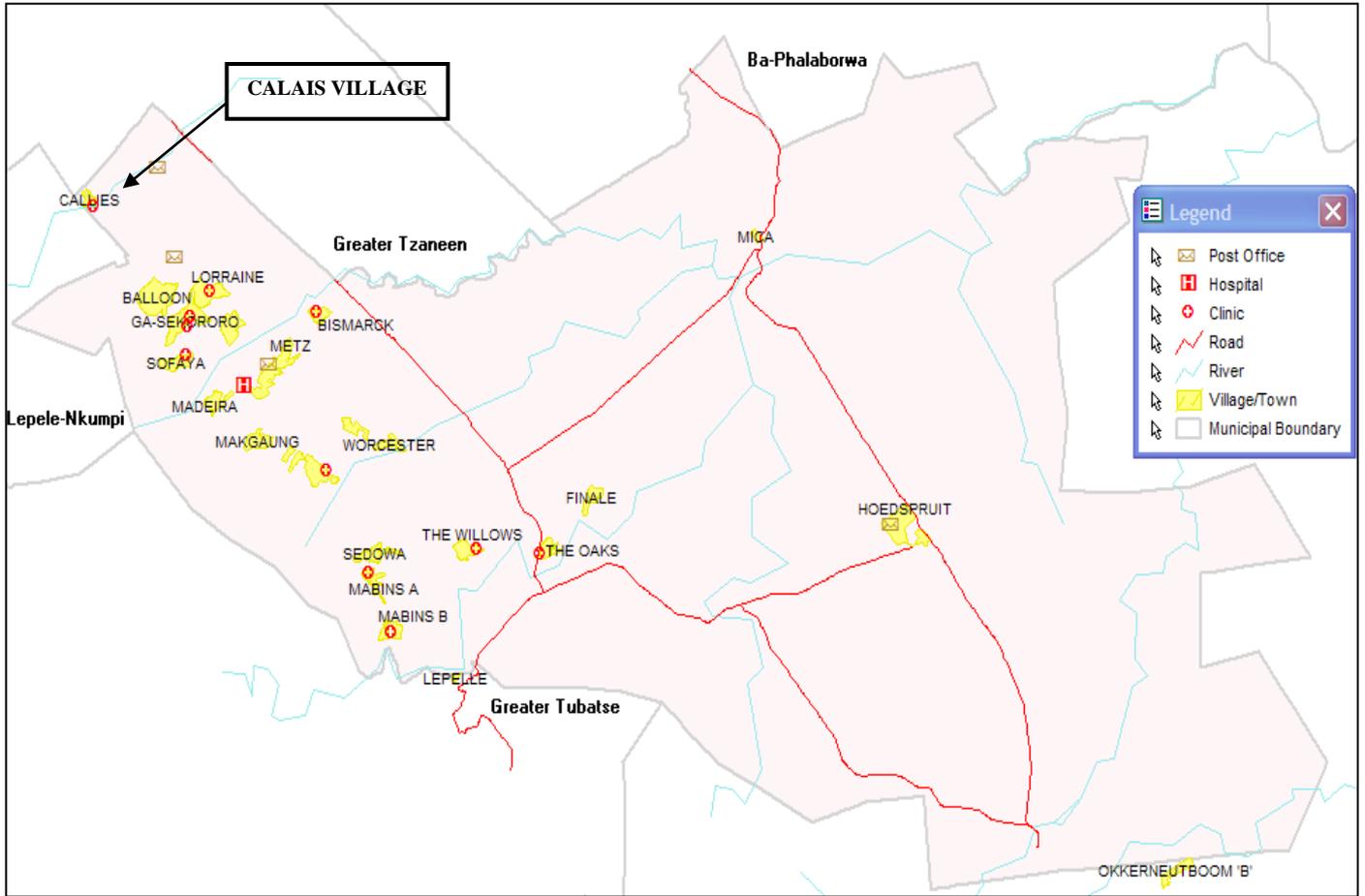
20. Do you think you have the right to say something about what the government does and why?

21. Do you think that it is important to participate in politics?

Yes	
No	

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX 4: MAP OF MARULENG LOCAL MUNICIPALITY



Map retrieved November 11, 2016 from: www.maruleng.gov.za