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POLITICAL EDUCATION AS A DETERMINANT OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education

In the
Faculty of Education

University of Fort Hare

Promoter

Professor E. O. Adu

(23 March 2019)

DECLARATION

I, Kazeem Ajasa BADARU, solemnly declare that this thesis submitted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education at the University of Fort Hare is my own work and has never been submitted by me or anyone else for the award of the same degree either at this university or any other higher education institutions in or outside of South Africa.

I also declare that the materials used or quoted in this study have been stated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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I, Kazeem Ajasa BADARU with the student number 201716043, solemnly declare that I am fully aware of the University of Fort Hare Policy on Plagiarism and that I have taken every possible precaution to comply with the regulations pertaining to this policy.

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I, Kazeem Ajasa BADARU with the student number 201716043, hereby declare that I am fully aware of the University of Fort Hare Policy on Research Ethics and that I have taken every possible precaution to comply with the regulations pertaining to it. I have therefore obtained an ethical clearance certificate with the reference number ADU231SBAD01 from the University of Fort Hare Ethics Committee.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated, first of all, to the almighty Allah for His benevolence and grace over me, to have preserved my life and given me this rare privilege to start and complete this onerous task of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Education. Walillahi-l-hamdu!!!

Secondly, I dedicate this thesis to my wonderful parents Alhaji F.A BADARU and Alhaja Seriat BADARU for their years of labour over my education despite being relatively old. May Allah prolong their lives and days here on this earth's planet to be able to see more of God's wonders in my life and that of my siblings, amen.

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ABSTRACT

Globally, there is a downward trend in youths' political interest and participation in the democratic governance. Consequently, various countries have included the teaching and learning of political education in their school curricula as a measure to combat the apparent dangers posed by the declining young citizens' participation in the political processes.This study therefore investigated political education as a determinant of university students' political participation in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. The study employed a mixed methods design. Using the probability sampling technique, a sample of 375 participants was randomly selected from one university in the Eastern Cape Province while semi-structured interviews were conducted among five (5) purposively selected members of the same university's Student Representative Council (SRC) executive committee. Simple descriptive statistics such as frequency counts and percentages were used to summarize all categories of variables; while Pearson correlation statistics, Chi-square and Ordinary least square regression were used to examine the relationship between dependent and independent variables at a 95% confidence interval. Alpha values less than 0.05 were considered to be statistically significant. Thematic content analysis was performed on the qualitative data. The quantitative analysis revealed that students' level of political awareness was high; 98.1% of them were aware of their rights to vote and be voted for. Students' political judgment was positively correlated with participation in campus (r =0.182) and national politics (r = 0.030) respectively. Most of the students agreed to take part in the 2018 SRC (78.8%) and 2019 national elections (77.9%) respectively. Political interest was significantly correlated with participation in campus (r = 0.375) and national politics (r =0. 404). The findings from the multivariate analysis showed that political interest (<0.001), parents' political involvement (<0.001) and year of study (<0.001) were the significant determinants of students' participation in politics. The qualitative findings also showed that there was a positive relationship between political education and students' participation in politics. Since political interest and family are element and agent of political education respectively, it is concluded that political education is to a large extent a determinant of university students' political participation. It is recommended that the universities, the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) and other stakeholders should do a thorough review of the university education curricula and programmes to ensure that political education is adequately accommodated and taken care of in a way that would increase students' interest, awareness and participation in politics. When this is amply done, students' cognitive skills and capacities would be enhanced to increase their participation in the political processes in South Africa.

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Keywords: Political education, political awareness, political judgement, political interest, political participation

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Let me conclude with the words of my mentor Prof. C.O.O Kolawole- the former Dean of Faculty of Education, University of Ibadan, Nigeria “If Paul plants and Apollo waters and God does not give the increase, and then there will be nothing to show for it”. For this, my deepest and sincerest thanks go to the almighty Allah for the gift of life and His bountiful blessings. I am eternally grateful to Him (Allah).

23 March, 2019

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AEM	Absolute Education Model
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
AZASCO	Azanian Student Congress
CAG	Citizenship Advisory Group
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
CASS	Continuous Assessment
CCE	Civics and Citizenship Education
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CSPE	Civic, Social and Political Education
DASO	Democratic Alliance Students' Organization
ECJS	Civique, Juridique Et Sociale
EFFSCO	Economic Freedom Fighters Students Command
FET	Further Education and Training
FF+	Freedom Front Plus
GET	General Education and Training
HE	Higher Education
HEQC	Higher Education Quality Committee
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
ISRC	Institutional Student Representative Council
LO	Life Orientation
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
MMR	Mixed Methods Research
NCCE	National Commission on Civic Education
NSC	National Senior Certificate
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students

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PASMA	Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania
PASO	Pan Africanist Student Organization
REM	Relative Education Model
RDM	Representative Democracy Model
SANSCO	South African National Students' Congress
SASCO	South African Students Congress
SASO	South African Students Organization
SCO	Students Christian Organization
SRC	Student Representative Council
SRG	Student Representative Guild
SSCE	Senior School Certificate Examination
SU	Student Union
SUG	Student Union Government
TUT	Tshwane University of Technology
UB	University of Botswana
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDSM	University of Dar Es Salaam
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America
UCM	University Christian Movement
YCL	Young Communist League

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction to the Study

It is vital for every society to develop a system of education through which it inculcates into the young people the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes considered useful and necessary for the growth and development of the society and the individuals, in particular. It therefore makes academic sense to discuss the concept of education. More importantly, an attempt to conceptualize it cannot be anything meaningful without making reference to the society. Education is organised and structured in a way that the needs of various societies, be it the developed or developing countries, can be met. In other words, academic curricula which are disseminated through the schools should reflect the yearnings, needs, aspirations and goals of the different societies where education is regarded as an instrument of development. Education has been defined as the inculcation of the societal values, norms and beliefs into individuals for the purpose of preparing them skilfully and mentally to solve a myriad of problems confronting the society and contribute meaningfully towards its well-being and developmental projects (Asemah, 2010). The societal norms, customs, needs and desires are transmitted to the people through education. Education is a necessary instrument which provides students with knowledge about functions of the civil society (Bennion, 2006) and helps them to adjust to its way of life from time to time. This implies that education serves as an instrument to construct and reconstruct the minds of individuals through the learning of their society and how to adapt to societal ways of living.

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Nevertheless, discussing the concept of politics in relation to education is also important in this study. Politics is concerned with the acquisition of power for the distribution of scarce goods and services and administration of people to achieve target goals. It is expected that every citizen has to participate in this process. The inferred process is called democracy, as famously defined by former president of the United States Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865). Specifically, he describes democracy as the

“government of the people, by the people, for the people”. Essentially, politics is a democratic process that allows citizens to freely express themselves on political or public issues, formulate their expectations, programmes or requirements without any fear of repression, vote in elections, engage in civil society organisations or political parties, and vie for an elective post as candidates in an election.

In politics, there is the need for the active participation of citizens in political discussions and make some meaningful contribution towards the successful operations and public service delivery of the democratic institutions (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011). People learn about politics through their education in schools, colleges, polytechnics and universities. Those aspects of education that equip people with the political knowledge, political skills and political values that empower them in the performance of their civic responsibilities are referred to as political education in this study. Crittenden (2018) argues that schooling is not only responsible for the political education of youths. He believes that there are several other institutions such as families, mass media, religious bodies which are equally involved in educating the youths for the understanding and performance of their civic duties. Intermittently, political education may be used interchangeably to mean civic education, citizenship education or education for democratic citizenship in this study.

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Education is crucial to prepare the younger generations with the important skills, knowledge and values required for active involvement in public life (Harkavy & Hartley, 2008; Nobbe, 2012), and is essential for developing critical thinking skills in the young ones (Reamey, 2011). Education supposedly increases competencies for understanding and participating in political activities and increasing political interest, enhancing sense of political obligation of individuals and stimulating their participation in the democratic processes (Persson, 2012). With education, individual citizens are well equipped with necessary skills that would help them participate and perform their civic responsibilities and duties, learn also about their obligations to their nation/state, thereby making meaningful contribution towards the country’s democratic evolution; by

and large, such skills help and improve the nation's democratic practices. Education in this study implies the formal system of education in terms of the primary education, secondary education and tertiary education especially at the university level.

Many studies have examined the relationships between education and political participation (Lewis-Beck, Jacoby, Norpoth & Weisberg, 2008; Schlozman, Verba & Brady, 2012; Persson, 2013). There are previous studies which have examined the various aspects of education which include years of education, college education and type of education at the upper secondary level. It has been argued by some political behaviour researchers that, individuals whose education is higher have the propensity to participate better in politics than others with lower education (Schlozman, Verba & Brady, 2012; Persson, 2013). Put differently, the higher the level of education an individual has, the higher the level of political participation and vice versa. It is expected that citizens who are well educated would have more knowledge and participate more in public life and politics than those who are less or not educated at all (Persson, 2013). However, observations and personal experiences of the researcher in this study are responsible for his curiosity to find out the extent this assertion could be proven to be true and valid by conducting this study.

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Generally, in most political behaviour studies, there is a common belief that education has a positive effect on participation in politics. Importantly, the relationship between education and participation in politics has been arguably the most reported type of relationship in the literature (Persson, 2013). Verba, Schlozman and Brady in Persson (2013) affirm that education leads to enhanced participation through the development of politically relevant skills such as the competencies in terms of speaking and writing abilities as well as the coping skills and knowledge in an organized society. Supporting this view, the researcher in this present study is of the opinion that political knowledge and abilities to speak and write are important attributes that any political leader may need to lead. This is the general belief, but it may not be true for every educated individual with the exposure to political knowledge, skills and abilities. For instance,

Lewis-Beck et al., 2008) believe that, “with more formal education comes a stronger interest in politics, a greater concern with elections, greater confidence in playing one’s role as a citizen, and a deeper commitment to norm of being a good citizen” (Persson, 2013). But, is this always the case?

Essentially, this study is poised to investigate whether or not political education is a determinant of university students’ participation in politics. Political education, which is the independent variable, has been measured in terms of its dimensions espoused by Nilgun, Sozer & Burcu (2015) in their study. The dimensions include political awareness, political judgement and political interest. The indices of each of the dimensions of political education are comprehensively dealt with in the next chapter under the literature review. Political education sufficiently increases individuals’ awareness of politics, enhances the individual’s sense of political judgment and stimulates the interest of people in politics. The dependent variable on the other hand is the students’ political participation. Once students have been adequately exposed to political education, it is expected to awaken their political awareness, sense of political judgment, interest in political activities and desire for participation in all forms of politics. Since education has been regarded as an important predictor of participation in politics, it is important to investigate how the various dimensions of political education are related to political participation. By so doing, ideas emerging from this study would further contribute to the pool of knowledge in this area.

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Political education is an important part of a country’s education system. All the nations of the world, whether democratic or non-democratic have some political education patterns for the purpose of promoting the values and ethos of their regimes among their young citizens in schools (Kennedy & Li, 2014). Democratic political systems in countries such as the US, Canada, United Kingdom (UK) and others introduce political education with a view to creating individual citizens with the requisite skills and knowledge about politics and make them participative in the democratic processes of

their countries. As Jefferson put it, ‘the people cannot rule well if they are a band of unskilful or un-thoughtful know-nothings’ (Nucci, Narvaez & Krettenauuer, 2014).

In non-democratic nation’s contexts, China and Saudi Arabia do not practise the tenets of democracy, but they have put in place a system of political education which prepares their young citizens to be obedient and subservient to the constituted authorities. Even the Nazi German regime of the 1940s consciously used the schools and agencies of government for the teaching and learning of citizenship education to inculcate the spirit of Nazism into the young people for them to become solely obedient and responsible to their strong leader Adolf Hitler (Rempel cited in Nucci et al., 2014). Political participation has been defined as all actions of the citizens intended or capable to influence the selection of political leaders and/or their policies (Gleiber, 2003). Nwankwo (2012) opines that no matter the name given whether political education or civic education, the two terms can be used interchangeably. He further submitted that the two terms (political education and civic education) are written together as ‘Political/Civic Education’ in the school curriculum of the German education system. It is therefore appropriate to call political education other names such as the civic education or citizenship education in this study.

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There is no gainsaying the fact that education acquired through formal schooling is crucial to influence political participation. It is capable of increasing motivation for participation in public life and political activities (Dalton, 2006). Education generally develops a broad range of mathematical skills, scientific knowledge, abilities to read, proficiency in writing skills, citizens’ increased capacity, efficacy and desire to participate in the democratic processes. As suggested by O’Neill (2009), it is evident that political knowledge to a great extent has been stalled as the levels of formal schooling rose over a period of time. On the contrary, a study has found that there is a positive relationship between the duration of formal schooling and political knowledge. This is confirmed to play a critical role in a democratic society confronted with the huge complexities of postmodernism (Essomba, Karatzia-Stavlioti, Maitles & Zalieskiene,

2008). Political or civic education is supposedly hinged on the idea that people cannot automatically turn out to be interested in politics without being consciously educated to become responsible citizens in any democratic society. In view of the importance of the political education to democracy, political education makes a provision for a curriculum deliberately designed to equip citizens with the political knowledge, skills and values intended to commit each and everyone to become committed to democratic citizenship.

Crick (2008) describes civic or political education as the basic way through which the individuals' acquisition of relevant competencies for their participation and engagement in the democratic processes is facilitated and ensured. He notes further that that civic or political education is incorporated into the public education curriculum, as a means to inculcate political knowledge and skills to understand the necessary tenets of government and become familiar with democratic norms and values in a country. In short, political education has the objectives of cultivation of virtues, acquisition of relevant knowledge, development of necessary skills required and anticipated for citizens to meaningfully participate in all spheres of national life. Higher education (most especially universities) has enormous responsibilities to perform to encourage participation and engagement in political life (Campbell, 2006; Misa Anderson & Yamamura, 2005).

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According to Crittenden (2018), civic education, no matter when and how it is accomplished, has the objective of preparing citizens of a country, especially the youth, to become responsible in civic duties. In the same vein, Vasiljevi (2009) asserts that the *Civic and Ethical Education* is given various names in several countries which include civic culture, education for democratic citizenship, civic engagement, civic education, political education and citizenship education. "Citizenship education typically refers to specific civic education programmes; as in many countries, educational curricula include subjects such as 'citizenship studies' or 'history' with explicit political education content" (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011:10). Citizenship or political education is offered as an academic subject in schools in a way that is similar to politics or sociology being offered

as a course of study in higher institutions of learning such as the universities. Its curriculum may be planned in various manners with different nomenclatures in different countries.

The general goal of political education is to equip the learners with the sense of civic responsibilities and ultimately grow their interest in taking active part in the political activities of the state. More importantly, learners have to learn about their democratic societies so as to develop the interest to participate in them and that way the society can guarantee the survival and further development of its democratic way of life. By implication, political education as suggested by Leung and Yuen (2009) is intended to serve various needs of government and citizens in various political systems. For democracy, it is taught and learnt as a form of knowledge to provide developmental support for a representative government and adherence to rule of law including respect for human rights. It therefore implies that, the aims and objectives of political education would include allowing students to develop political awareness, political interest and independent capacities to make informed judgment about political issues of local, national and international concerns. Galston (cited in O'Neill, 2007) explains the relationship between political education and political participation by stating clearly that, the more individuals are politically educated the more the likelihood that they would participate in political activities. In another study, Howe (cited in O'Neill, 2007) found that people who were born during and post 1960s were not well-informed about politics and there is no hope that the perceived gap in political knowledge would ever be closed up with their older generations. However, it is not disputable that the increased levels of education have actually led to greater competencies and skills with a direct consequence of increased participation in politics. It is therefore worrisome to note that the increased level of education has only led to increase in the level of political interest but not in voting and other electoral participation (O'Neill, 2007).

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Previous studies have found that there are three main agents of political education exerting a lot of influence on the participation of youth in politics and democratic

engagement. First is the family, of which, parents are regarded as political role models to their children; second is the exposure to media and use of political information through the television programmes and news broadcasts, and reading of the newspapers; and the third one is the school which provides the learning experiences about politics and democracy (Print, 2007). The media exposure is therefore one influential agent of political education and a determinant of the youth participation in politics. Some scholars are of the opinion that individuals who indulge in watching the television news, surfing the internet and reading the newspapers for political information and updates on happenings around have the propensity of having more political knowledge and participate more in political activities than others who barely or probably pay less attention to the political updates through the various mass media. This is to emphasize the influential contribution of the mass media towards encouraging and cognitively mobilizing people for participation in politics (O'Neill, 2007).

Similarly, Saunders (2007) calls for the understanding of youth participation in formal political activities and more importantly the need to have a greater understanding of the media influence (both the traditional and new media) on shaping the youth's levels of political awareness, political interest and participation in politics. Apart from the media role in the promotion of youth political education and consequently increasing their participation in politics, this study is also interested in the family role and its contribution towards educating the younger generation politically and fostering their participation in political life. Turcotte (2007) argues that the mere listening to one's parent discuss political issues and public affairs, has the resultant effects on the children's political knowledge, political interest and cognitive mobilization for political participation. This study therefore attempts to investigate political education as a determinant of university students' political participation in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. The next section focuses on the background to the study.

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1.2 Background to the Study

Internationally, studies on political education in educational institutions are largely restricted to the analyses of the curriculum and course materials (Børhaug, 2008). Political education has however been criticized from the international perspective over the approach to its study. Biesta and Lawy (2006) contend that international approach to the political education research has been concentrated on the content which has to be learned by the students as against its context and practice. These authors argue that learning about political education is not enough, but also the content and lessons have to be put into practical use in a way that is beneficial to the individual students' active involvement in the nation's democracy and participation in the global politics. They therefore advocate for change in the international approach to the study of political education by shifting the research attention away from the content to the practicability of the political education lessons. In other words, it is more important to study how the knowledge of political education is fostering or not fostering the participation of students in the democratic governance at all levels, be it in the schools, colleges, universities, provincial or national levels of politics (Biesta & Lawy, 2006).

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Political education teaching is intended to arouse the political consciousness of the students in a way that they may become politically interested in the affairs of the state and be encouraged to contribute meaningfully towards the stability of their country's democratic governance and political system (Børhaug, 2008). To this end, political education has gained some international recognition in a number of countries across the globe (Frazer, 2010). Most of the European countries have long been facing problems of declines in political participation due to increased and continued political apathy causing decreased voter turnouts. Political education has received so much attention as an antidote to the problems of declining interest and participation in politics. European countries' national curricula have included the citizenship education which is taught either as a distinct and separate school subject or as an integral part of another school subject/learning area, or in most cases as a general theme cutting across various school curricula and programmes. Political education is taught as a separate

mandatory school subject in not less than twenty European countries beginning from the primary level and more importantly at the secondary school level (De Coster, Borodankova, De Almeida Coutinho & Paolini, 2012).

Interestingly, most of these countries in Europe devote a considerable amount of time to the teaching and learning of political education. For instance, citizenship education is taught for a period of 12 years in France while Bulgaria and Turkey have devoted duration of 12 months to the teaching and learning of citizenship education. The multi-dimensional diversity of the nature of citizenship in Europe is well considered and articulated in their school curricula in such a way that their educational objectives are theoretically defined in terms of the knowledge acquisition, development of skills, attitudes and values including the encouragement of active participation of students in activities within and outside of schools.

The curricula of the European countries' citizenship education are indeed very broad covering a wide range of issues such as the well-established principles and characteristics of democracies, cultural identities and diversities, sustainability of societal development and understanding of European and international politics (De Coster et al., 2012).

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Germany: Political education in the Federal Republic of Germany was introduced as a post-war initiative with a view to inculcating values of democracy, pluralism, solidarity and tolerance into the citizens' social practices (Cremer, n.d). Political education programmes are provided for all citizens in Germany but much more attention is given to the young ones. The German political education aims at imparting knowledge of politics and society into citizens, enabling citizens' judgement and encouraging them to participate in political processes. These are the goals declared by the German government believing that democracy can only thrive when citizens responsibly and actively participate in the democratic processes. The official declaration reads as follows:

> *"Political education shall impart people's knowledge about society, state, European and international politics and socially important developments in the fields of economy, culture, technology and science. It shall enable forming judgement on social and political events, enable one to claim one's rights as well to discharge one's tasks, assume responsibility towards fellow citizens, society and nature and encourage participation in the creation of free and democratic social and state order"* (Cremer, n.d:1).

Children and youth receive political education as an integral component of the official curriculum in schools. The schools also serve as an avenue for the learning and practice of democratic participation as the students are allowed to choose their own leaders through election. Student leaders also serve on various school committees in order to participate in the decision-making processes concerning their own affairs. In addition, there are a number of agencies of government and non-governmental institutions that provide all Germans some sort of citizenship education. These organizations include German Federal Agency for Political Education, Trade Unions, Youth Organizations of the bigger Parties, political Foundations e.t.c. They are all working for the promotion of effective understanding of issues relating to politics and citizenship, fostering political awareness and increasing citizens' interest in political participation in Germany (Cremer, n.d).

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England: The subject of citizenship education became a mandatory part of the National Curriculum in September 2002 as recommended by the 1998 Report (famously known as the Crick Report) submitted by the Citizenship Advisory Group (CAG) ably led by Professor Bernard Crick to the authorities prompted by the perceived deficient youth participation in election and political engagement in England (Keating, Kerr, Benton, Mundy, & Lopes, 2010). To confront this situation headlong, political education is offered to all learners who fall between the ages of 11 and 16 years old in England (11-16 years). Undoubtedly, the Citizenship Education at the national level in England is making a lot of contributions to the general aims of the public education. All learners are expected to grow and become successful, courageous and responsible nationals

capable of contributing positively towards the societal growth and development. The national curriculum is built around important issues and themes which include among others; concept of democracy, justice, human rights and civic duties, identities and diversity, to mention but a few, necessary for the learners to develop an understanding of the democratic processes, critical thinking skills and enquiry, and abilities to take well-informed decisions. The curriculum therefore is aimed at developing learner's cognitive skills that would enhance participation in communities as socially and politically responsible individual citizens (Hamdan, 2017).

Ireland: In the 1990s, political education was introduced in the form of citizenship studies in the Irish Republic. It is simply regarded as 'Civic, Social and Political Education' (CSPE) and is offered to learners between 12 and 16 years old. However, a new subject named "Society and Politics" was introduced in 2009 and was meant to be taught as an additional school subject to learners aged 16-18 years in the Irish Secondary Schools (Hamdan, 2017). Faas and Ross (2012) in their study noted that there was a disconnection between the Irish political education goal and the material contents of the political education curriculum and the available textbooks for the teaching and learning of political education in Ireland. The general aims of the Irish political education include preparing the young ones to become personally and socially confident and responsible, be able to develop morally, participate actively in the political life, and acquire skills, knowledge and capacity for making judgmental decisions as citizens (Bruen, 2014). Previous research shows that the Irish political education programme has not yielded any success in positively affecting increased political interest and participation in the democratic governance in the country (Bruen, 2014).

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France: In France, political education is simply called as Education Civique, Juridique et Sociale (ECJS) in the high school and "education civique" in the middle school and primary school. Following the terror attacks in Paris that occurred between 7th and 9th January, 2015, the French government made the decision to reintegrate political education into the country's education system with the view to making students become

responsible and right thinking citizens. By implication, the decision of the government is expected to return teachers' authority, strengthen the values and ideals of the country; ensure the promotion of societal values and principles through the community services. This new educational plan involves training of teachers, signing of an annual agreement by students and their parents or guardians for students to engage in community service, undertakings as punishments for their wrong doings and to also observe a day of *laïcité*, or secularism on 9th of December every year (Hamdan, 2017).

A study conducted on students in college by Almond, Powell, Strom and Daltons (cited in Amoateng, 2015) found that the students became disinterested in politics for lack of trust and confidence in the political actors and the system of government in France. The young ones had negative feelings towards the governance and the political leaders who ran the system in a suspicious manner. This attitude of the youth had adverse effect on their participation in the political processes in France.

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Germany: Political education in Germany has the goal of inculcating relevant knowledge of politics in the learners for the purpose of increasing their interest and participation in the democratic processes. The German society relies on its system of political education to facilitate the development of a citizen that is mature, responsible and interested in political activities. This helps to have a sound capacity to exercise some influential judgment on public policies and actively participating in all forms of political engagement (Bruen, 2014). In addition, German political education is designed to foster and develop skills, knowledge and capabilities in individual learners to be able to come to terms with their civic rights and obligations under the constitution of the country as responsible and participatory citizens. Previous studies, however, demonstrated that German political education programmes in schools have not successfully led to increased political interest and adequate participation in politics (Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Bruen, 2014).

Poland: In Poland, political education is simply referred to as Wiedza o Społeczeństwie (WoS) which literally means “Knowledge of Society” and it is studied as one of the secondary school (*matura)* subjects. *Matura* (meaning mature) is a Latin name for the high school final examination in polish system of education which is similar to *baccalaureat* in France (Pacewicz, 2004) or “maturity diploma” in various other nations such as Albania, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria; among others. This is a matriculation examination taken at the end the secondary school education by students whose age is between 17 and 20 years old. It is mandatory for them to pass the examination before applying for admission to a university or any other higher institution for their tertiary education. In other words, the subject of ‘Knowledge of Society’ is a form political education or education for democratic citizenship to which young citizens of Poland are exposed for them to be equipped with the knowledge of their society in terms of systems of government, economy, and history etc. As at the time of independence in 1989, civic education was never taught in the Polish schools. This was because the school was used for the state propaganda under the communist regime.

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Eventually, civic education programs became an integral part of the formal school curricular for all grades in the polish schools largely made possible due to the joint efforts of both the national education authorities and non-governmental organizations. Interestingly, civic education has now been given a place in the national school curriculum at the level of primary school having its components in the subject of (history and society). In addition, it has been introduced at the middle school and high school levels- subject-matter concerning knowledge about society which students must choose to write and pass while sitting for the *Matura* examination as earlier explained. However, there is evidence that civic education is never regarded as being equally important like other school subjects by a lot of students, parents and even their teachers (Pacewicz, 2004).

According to the Polish Ministry of National Education and Sports Decree of 26th February, 2002, political education became obligatory at all levels of education from primary to high school. In the first three years (lower classes) of primary school, children are taught about positive relations with others, attachment to local community, region, country and their primary duties and rights as citizens while in their upper (fourth-sixth) primary classes, children are exposed to topics and disciplines in connection with civic or political education. They are taught topics which include among others upbringing in family, regional education, patriotic and civic upbringing. The subject of 'Knowledge of Society' is introduced at the level of the high school as earlier mentioned. It is taught to secondary school students to acquire knowledge about activities in an economy, society, local community and family and civic attitudes and abilities (Radiukiewicz & Grabowska-Lusinska, 2007). Polish students are expected to learn about exercising their rights as young citizens in a democratic system; internalise the rules about their democratic society and its civic culture. "Civic culture and democracy intertwine in a symbiotic relation" (quoted in Radiukiewicz & Grabowska-Lusinska, 2007:21-22). This implies that both democracy and development of civic culture depend on each other. Democracy may even take place under any kind of civic culture but there can never be the development of civic culture without a democracy or democratic system being in place.

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Spain: the Spanish administration led by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero recently introduced a law which made a provision for Education for citizenship and Human Rights as a school subject for learners at the primary and secondary education levels. The subject came into being as a result of the Council of Europe's recommendation that favourably argued for the introduction of political education expected to foster and encourage the promotion of civic and human values (ELPAÍS.com). Although, conservative leaders of the Catholic Church in Spain have been against it; labelling it as totalitarian (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/citizenship). The Spanish Organic Education Law of 2006 made provisions for the inclusion of the citizenship education as a distinct

but separate school subject for children to be taught; and as a cross-curricular topic in other school subjects at the primary school level.

More importantly, citizenship education and human rights was made available at the lower high school level and was offered by the children at Grade four (4) while at the Upper high school level, citizenship education was part of the subject of History in the Spanish schools. As a result, high school students had to learn about the historical knowledge of the past which was aimed at creating critically conscious minds about the world they live in; and allow them the freedom of participation in their democratic society. Subsequently, the Spanish Supreme Court also ruled in January 2009 that attendance for citizenship education course would be compulsory for all the learners. Surprisingly, the school subject of citizenship education had to disappear from the school curriculum following the introduction and successful implementation of the new Organic Improving Quality of Education Law (2013) (Navarro-Medina & de-Alba-Fernández, 2015).

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Australia: Political education was made a national priority in 1993 by the government of the Prime Minister Paul Keating having felt the need to educate the Australian to become much more informed and capable of making meaningful contributions towards the independent and solidified identity of their country (Lewis, 2009). The situation in Australia in terms of the youth apathy was not different from the challenges confronting other western democracies some two decades back. Voting during elections is a mandatory civic duty with a heavy sanction on defaulters for non-compliance in Australia. Yet, this country is bedevilled with the youth disengagement from voting and electoral obligations expected of the citizens (Print, 2007). This perceived participation conundrum was called 'civics deficit' by Manning and Edwards (2014). Political education in Australia is offered in the form of 'Civics and Citizenship Education- (CCE)'. The CCE can be described as a learning experience aiming at equipping the students with the knowledge of the country's political system and governance structures, human rights and the rule of law, citizenship rights and responsibilities, and other relevant

knowledge and skills required for the making of responsible and participatory citizens (Print, 2007).

China: There is a strange kind of citizenship education in China popularly known as the "Peopleship" education (Xiao, 2013). By implication, 'Peopleship' education regards and considers political education as a fundamental foundation for the socialization of young people (Chinese citizens) into the main doctrines of the People's Republic. The political education in China deals with the people's moral education; that is, education required for good governance in China for the purpose of ensuring stability and social order in the state. The Chinese state aims to instil in young people the values and legitimacy of its system of political-cultural paternalistic governance that tends to impose duties, obligations and Confucian customs and culture (Kennedy, Fairbrother & Zhao, 2014). Political/civic education in China was conceived as a reaction against the threatening influence of the western democracy and modernity and as a response the desire to develop a national character in the young Chinese people against the Western domination was fulfilled. Put differently, Peopleship education is a system of political education which is a process of nation-building and modernisation aimed at inculcating western concepts of "the people", "the nation" and "the citizens". This is an attempt to ensure the preservation of the tradition of developing civic qualities and shaping modern citizens with virtues and awareness of their responsibilities and obligations to the Chinese state (Kennedy, Fairbrother & Zhenzhou, 2014).

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In Confucian tradition, rights of the people were not given much attention but rather emphasis was on their duties and obligations to society, obedience and loyalty to the authority as it was in the ancient Athens and Rome. Eventually, democracy as a system of government was embraced in China in the 20th Century. Consequently, the People's Republic of China was formed in 1949. Political education under the regime led by Mao Tse-tung focused on loyalty to Mao until 1978 when Chinese leadership came to realise that a market economy needs a democratic and rule of law-based education. Then, the

objectives of Chinese schools had to be revisited to ensure that students were taught some moral education (Xiao, 2013; Hamdan, 2017).

United States of America: Political education in the United States of America is also known as the citizenship education or simply as civic education. The term 'political education' is not usually used outside the US academia because it is believed to suggest an act of political indoctrination (Nucci, Narvaez & Krettenauer, 2014). Political education often takes place formally in schools through the study of government course on the US political system and governance as well as through the exposure of students to the activities of the Student Representative Council (SRC), participation in the SRC elections and the act of reciting the US Pledge of Allegiance. Political education is also well delivered through the teaching and learning of a course on history in the US schools. In 1968, a study conducted by Langton and Jennings found that students' exposure to citizenship education in classrooms was not significantly correlated with their civic knowledge or political behaviours. Unfortunately, the findings of this study had led to the death of the citizenship education course in the US schools for about three decades between the 1960s and 1990s. In 1998, another study by Niemi and Junn came to limelight with the presentation of finding which was quite different from that previously reported by Langton and Jennings' study. Niemi and Junn found that there was a correlation between student's political knowledge and civic education courses. In other words, the greater the exposure of students to civic courses the greater their knowledge of politics. This finding saw to the return of civic education courses to the classrooms in high schools. Not only that, it also ignited and renewed the research interest in and scholars' attention on the study of citizenship education in the United States (Nucci, Narvaez & Krettenauer, 2014).

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Africa: In African context, political education is aimed at inducting new and young members of the African societies into the process of acquisition of the knowledge and pride of their cultures (Mhlauli, 2012). The nature of the African citizenship education is targeted at the training of the individuals to become useful and acceptable members of

their traditional society. The Africa's colonial masters did away with the programmes on citizenship because their colonial agenda never aimed at building and developing critical thinking in African citizens. Not many of the post-colonial African states were able to consider the need for critical political education because of the long stay of the military in African politics. The military dictators only promoted some sort of public education that demanded loyalty from the learners and citizens. Political education in the post-colonial African states was later refined based on the ideals of the western democracies with the identified characteristics of nation-state, human rights, citizenship obligations and democratic participation in voting exercises (Ali, 2008; Mhlauli, 2012). A lot of efforts have been made by the African nations to reform and make some constitutional improvement for educating their young citizens to actively engage them in the governance of their respective nations (Alutu & Ifedili, 2012). It was reported by Alutu et al. (2012) that sub-Saharan African nations' policies of education and school curricula have not adequately addressed the need from the development of critical thinking in their citizens. Most African countries at the time of their independence had educational policies that retarded growth, development, equality and democratic principles necessary for their citizens' participation and involvement. However, increased educational access to the young Africans is intended to empower them with the requisite skills and knowledge to be able to perform their civic responsibilities and facilitate their participation in the global knowledge economy.

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It is on records that universities have played various roles in their contribution to political, social and economic development. The functions have historically been additive; higher institutions of learning in particular are expected to play multiple roles, which all involve elements of political socialization. In this, universities have been central in the process of shaping civic values, building a new basis of belonging and citizenship, educating citizen leaders (Pascarella & Terenzini cited in Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2015), as well as 'making possible equal opportunities for people', even in the socio-political realm (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2015). The student surveys conducted in the four African flagship universities namely the University of

Botswana (UB) in Botswana, the University of Cape Town (UCT) in South Africa, University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) in Tanzania and University of Nairobi, Kenya supported both an interpretation of the African university as 'political hothouse' as well as its potential of serving as effective 'training ground' for political education and citizenship competences (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011). It is also evident from the study conducted by Kuenzi (2006) that non-formal type of education has the tendency more than the formal type of education to increase participation in politics.

Nigeria: Citizenship education has been undertaken formally and informally in Nigeria. It was formally introduced into the teacher education and preparation curriculum in 1990. Moreover, the subject of Social Studies was made a compulsory part of the Nigerian education at both the primary level and the first three years of the secondary education with a view to inculcate the knowledge and practice of citizenship education into the young Nigerians (Alutu, 2012). Civic education has been introduced as one of the compulsory school subjects for the senior secondary schools (SSS 1-3) curriculum and it is one of the mandatory school subjects the students have to write and pass at the level of the Senior School Certificate Examination (SSCE) in Nigeria. At the tertiary level, political education is introduced as a general course of study in different names. For instance, it is simply called citizenship education at the colleges of education and polytechnics while it bears other names at the Nigerian universities. A survey conducted by Adelabu and Akinsolu (2009) reveals that the university is capable of inculcating political education and awareness in the students. Their findings confirm that the university's sources of political education are good platforms that bring about increased levels of political awareness to engender increased students' participation in the political processes. They found that the university played an influential role in the political behaviour of the students.

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Ghana: Traditionally, the family consisting of parents and other relatives were responsible for the preparation and training of the young Ghanaians for participation in the community life. Citizenship education in Ghana is both informal and formal. The

formal school system is charged with the responsibilities to inculcate the knowledge about rights, civic duties, traditions and norms of the societies into the young ones through the teaching and learning of citizenship education. In 1992, Ghana's National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE) was created with the objectives of inculcating in the younger ones the awareness of their rights, responsibilities and freedom to participate in the political life of their country. For the citizens who may not be privileged to acquire knowledge of citizenship education through the school experience, the NCCE has initiated a lot of programmes through the media organizations for the purpose of building the culture of democracy among the citizens (Kankam, 2016).

South Africa: In South African context, it is on record that the national government and the ruling party-African National Congress (ANC) did institute programmes aimed at inculcating political education in South African citizens (Thebe, 2017). Prior to 1994, in South Africa, the apartheid regime only permitted an indirect teaching and learning of political education as an integral part of the school subjects such as History, Right Living, Inkatha Studies and Youth Preparedness. South African students were exposed to the learning experiences and political knowledge that would not provoke critical thinking and raising their consciousness and awareness about their material conditions and political rights. They were prepared and taught to be subservient and obedient citizens who would not rise against the authorities (Schoeman, 2006). This nature of the citizenship education denied the young South Africans a chance of having an understanding of the human rights and democratic responsibilities. As a result, the South African youth of today are still very much oblivious and ignorant of the type and structures of governance in their country. They simply do not have the requisite knowledge, awareness and skills with which to really engage in the democratic governance as their civic rights and obligations (Schoeman, 2006).

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Despite the descriptions provided above, there is lack of information or research on the level of youth political participation and the sufficiency of the level of political education offered at the university level that is capable of raising South African youth's level of

political awareness, sense of political judgment, extent of interest in politics and participation in democratic governance. While there appears to be an element of dissatisfaction with participation levels, only a few scholars have researched beyond voter turnout to determine involvement in civil society, protests and demonstrations, or the likelihood of targeting policy makers through letters or petitions (Weinstein, 2014). Overall, the voter turnout numbers have dropped significantly over the years. Within the first ten years of democracy in South Africa, turnout at elections fell from 86% in 1994 to only 56% in 2004 a thirty percent (30%) decline (Mpulo, 2012). Among these voters, the youth are quickly becoming the least represented. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) of South Africa, with the assistance of Statistics South Africa, completed a study following the 2011 census to analyze the distribution of the roughly 31.4 million eligible voters in the country. It was found that only 10% of 18 and 19 year olds were registered with the lowest percentage of 4% registered in the Western Cape (Weinstein, 2014).

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Furthermore, the South African Social Cohesion Barometer, released by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in 2011, showed that young South Africans between the ages of 16 and 19 are significantly less civically cohesive than their older counterparts. According to their measures, this basically means that they are unlikely to perform their perceived civic duties such as voting (Roberts, Davids, Mokhele, Sithole, Weir-Smith & Struwig 2011). Admittedly, these statistics compare youth to the older generation rather than to the youth of this past, which may be more telling. Such results are not surprising considering the international trend of politically apathetic youth. Where they stray from international trends, however, is in their lack of support for democracy as an institution. The South African youth are fast losing interest in the conventional political participation that is crucial for the survival and continued growth of the nation's nascent democratic rule.

Another significant work by Mattes, Denemark and Niemi (2012: 1-50), titled "Learning Democracy? Civic Education in South Africa's First Post-Apartheid Generation," takes a

deeper look at high school learners' demand for democracy within 45 metropolitan schools in Cape Town. The findings of their study revealed that learners' political knowledge and democratic understanding were greatly associated with their demand for democratic governance. Surprisingly, it was also found that participation in extra-curricular events based on the citizenship education curriculum was really correlated with reduction in the levels of their commitment to democracy. The authors, therefore, called for more exploration on this finding. All of these suggest that, perhaps the new democratic curriculum has yet to impart its desired civic commitments on a significant proportion of South African students and has therefore not been as effective as anticipated.

Factors relating to the transmission of political knowledge and, to a lesser extent, school characteristics such as the classroom environment had been found to be scientifically significant in some studies (Mattes, Denemark & Niemi, 2012). Similarly, other studies indicated that donor-sponsored programmes providing less conventional educational opportunities correlated with increased political knowledge and local-level participation, but showed mixed associations with behavioural outcomes like voting (Finkel, Horowitz & Rojo-Mendoza, 2012). In addition, there are cross-national correlations suggesting that public schooling increases turnout, voter registration, and protest and contacting political leaders (Campante & Chor 2012; MacLean, 2011).

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In view of the above background, the need for this current study is then justified. It is clear that previous research has focused more on the efforts made by the various countries to reverse the problems of the youth political party by introducing political or citizenship education curriculum. It is also clearly seen that the countries' political education curricula and other informal civic education programmes have targeted the young learners at the primary and secondary education levels. There are two key research gaps identified here and which this study aims to fill.

First, there is little or no attention given to the political education of the young people at the tertiary level. Secondly, there are few studies focusing on the political participation of the students at the tertiary education level. This study is therefore set out to investigate political education as a determinant of university students' political participation. To achieve the overall aim of this study, university students' political education is measured in terms of its dimensions or elements which include the political awareness, sense of political judgment and political interest of the students and how all these elements of political education have positively or negatively fostered or hindered their participation in campus politics and national/off-campus politics. One university was selected from among the historically disadvantaged universities in South Africa-specifically from the Province of the Eastern Cape. To the best of knowledge of the present researcher, this study is the first to investigate the relationship between political education and university students' participation in politics in South Africa and particularly in the Eastern Cape Province.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

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South Africa's twenty-four years of democracy (1994-2018) has witnessed not so much change in terms of key indicators of political culture and democratic participation between the citizens who lived and experienced the apartheid regime and the 'born frees' who are raised, educated and socialized under a democratically elected government (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007). Research has shown that South Africans have a minimal support for democracy resulting from their understanding of democratic governance. Similarly, South African citizens have also been reportedly exhibiting low levels of political efficacy and actual participation in the political processes, and report of 'the lowest levels of conventional political participation in Africa' (Mattes & Richmond, 2015:2). Put differently, some forms of political participation have actually decreased over the past twenty years of democracy, with voter turnout falling by 35% between the 1994 and 2014 elections (Mattes et al., 2015). No wonder, Tracey (2013) describes South African young ones as a 'lost generation' because they have not had much involvement in their country's political processes. More importantly, Tracey's worries

could be traced to the belief that South African youth are regarded as being apathetic towards democratic processes including election and political affairs in general.

Interestingly, there are claims that the youth constitute the majority of South African voters (Tracey, 2013). Statistically speaking, 73% of South African populace is below age of 40 years. It is further disclosed that the young South Africans aged between 18 and 19 years were estimated to be 1.5 million in 2014. In the same year, not less than 4 million eligible young prospective voters had refused to register to vote in the few months preceding 2014 national elections. In the same vein, South Africa's Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) boss Mr. Mosotho Moepya reportedly disclosed then in August 2013 that 77% (5,094, 446) of young South African citizens in the age group (18-29) among the eligible voters actually registered to vote during the 2014 national elections. Retrospectively, there were concerns also about the small proportion of the young South Africans being elected as members of the parliament (MPs). The country's national assembly has 400 members. Out of which only 59 members representing 15% were reported to be under the age of 30 years as at the time they were elected into the parliament in 2009 (Tracey, 2013).

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Despite the provision of policy documents indicating commitment to citizenship education, Godinho (2016) still contends that there is little evidence that a supportive democratic political culture has ever evolved and this currently underscores causes for concern over the political attitudes and behaviour of South African youth. Nonetheless, there is a reason to believe that political education can positively influence the likelihood that young South Africans will become politically engaged and participative. On the one hand, improving educational outcomes, such as cognitive capacity and political knowledge, has been shown to positively influence attitudes to democracy among the South African youth (Mattes, Denemark & Niemi, 2012). On the other hand, research from the broader literature has increasingly pointed to the potential role of the school, not only in influencing cognitive outcomes, but also in the role it plays in political socialization (Campbell, 2006). In whatever circumstance, the need for political

education in schools, colleges and universities was accentuated by a recent cross-national investigation into the relationship between political behaviour and attitudes and it was found that citizens in young democracies 'learn by doing' (Bratton, 2009:15).

Due to dearth of empirical studies in the area of political education as it affects political participation of university students in the Eastern Cape specifically and in South Africa in general, this study therefore set out to investigate whether or not political education could be considered a determinant of students' political participation in one selected university in the Province of the Eastern Cape of South Africa.

1.4 Main Research Question

Research questions have been noted to be a methodological point of departure in any research enterprise. The research questions apparently inform the research design as well as the organization and the structure of the issues on the subject-matter under investigation (Monicah, 2018).

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The main research question pursued in this study therefore is stated as follows:

To what extent, is political education a determinant of university students' participation in politics?

1.4.1 Sub-Research Questions

This study is guided by the following sub-research questions:

- In what way is the students' political awareness, resulting from political education, associated with their participation in politics?
- In what way do the students' political judgements, arising from political education, influence their political participation?
- What effects do the students' political interests, resulting from political education; have on their participation in politics?

- To what extent do students' family political involvements determine their level of political participation?
- To what extent does the mass media's political awareness influence students' political participation?
- What curriculum framework can be adopted for South African Political Education towards improving students' political participation?

1.5 Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is to investigate whether or not political education is a determinant of students' political participation in one selected university in Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. To achieve this, the following objectives were set out for the study.

1.6 Research Objectives

- To determine whether or not the students' political awareness, resulting from political education, is associated with their participation in politics;
- To find out whether or not students' political judgements, arising from political education, influence their political participation;
- To ascertain the effects that the students' political interests, resulting from political education, have on their participation in politics;
- To find out the extent to which students' family political involvements determine their level of political participation;
- To determine the extent to which the mass media's political awareness influences students' political participation; and
- To propose a curriculum framework that can be adopted for South African Political Education towards improving undergraduate students' political participation.

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1.7 Assumptions of the Study

The study assumed that South African universities were not doing enough in the area of pedagogical provisions of political education to enrich their knowledge of politics. It was also assumed in this study that sufficient political education would be needed to stimulate students' level of political awareness. It would equally enhance their sense of political judgment and activate their political interests to actively engage in campus and national politics. It is therefore imperative for students to be politically educated in order to become responsible and active citizens. It was further assumed that politically educated citizens would make meaningful contributions towards the sustenance and survival of the rainbow nation's democracy. Lastly, there was an assumption that lack of political education or inadequacy of political literacy in the universities' curricula might be responsible for the identified problem of 'civic deficit' among the young South African citizens especially those who were born in the post-apartheid era.

1.8 Significance of the study

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This study is of importance in the field of political education and participation. First of all, the study provides empirical findings on the university students' level of political education in terms of their political awareness, political judgment and political interest as determinants of their participation in campus and national politics. The study is an eye opener for the students to understand why they have to participate in politics within and outside the university system if they must contribute meaningfully towards the democratic development and sustainability of South African society.

Similarly, the findings of this study are of great importance by providing insights into the influence of students' political awareness, political judgment and political interest on their political participation as young adult citizens in the university system within the Eastern Cape Province in particular and in South Africa as a whole. It is hoped that university management, curriculum planners, policy makers, educators, other

education stakeholders, individual citizens and government of South Africa would find the study highly beneficial as they would become more aware of the necessity of political education and its implications in fostering active political participation and civic engagement in such a democratic society as South Africa.

Furthermore, the study would be useful for scholars and students of South African educational system, politics and more importantly political education who are interested in the study of political education/civic /citizenship education or political literacy. This is because this study has yielded a comprehensive documentation regarding the implications of the findings of this study for political education as it influences political participation of students in South African university system.

Finally, the recommendations offered will be significantly useful to help improve the need to consciously teach political education as a separate course of study or a module that could be taught in other courses as a desideratum for the university students' active involvement and participation in campus and national politics. It would therefore help in solving the problems of low level of political education and civic deficit or decline in civic participation among South African youths.

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1.9 Research Methodology

The overview of the study methodology is provided under the relevant section while the comprehensive discussions and descriptions of the methodology are robustly developed in chapter three of the study.

1.9.1 Research Paradigm (Pragmatism)

Pragmatism is a research paradigm that uses the combination of the qualitative and quantitative approaches during the different stages of the research process (Terrell, 2012) making it suitable for this study. The pragmatic paradigm is considered

appropriate for this study because it has the capability of complementing the weaknesses of research approach with the strengths of the other approach.

1.9.2 Research Approach (Mixed Methods)

This study adopted the mixed methods research (MMR) design which creates an opportunity to assess whether or not political education can be a determinant of political participation of university students from various data sources. Johnson (2014) defines mixed methods research as a kind of research which a scholar would have to combine qualitative and quantitative research paradigms or philosophies, methodologies, methods, techniques, approaches, concepts, or language into a single research study or a set of related studies.

1.9.3 Research Design (Concurrent Triangulation)

Concurrent triangulation design , this is whereby the researcher concurrently and separately collects and analyses both the quantitative and qualitative data so as to determine whether results are similar or different (Creswell, 2017). The main focus of this design is to comprehensively understand the research problem by collecting different but complementary data that validate findings. With this type of design, collection of survey data using a questionnaire is done concurrently along side with interviews and documentary data.

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1.9.4 Population and Sampling Procedure

For this study, the entire student population across the six faculties in the selected university constituted the population. The sampling technique that was used for this study was purposive and random sampling. A sample of 375 participants was randomly selected for the quantitative strand, while 5 other participants from the members of the SRC were purposively selected for the qualitative strand/interview.

1.9.5 Data Collection Instruments

The study, being a mixed methods research, used a combination of instruments for data collection. These included a structured questionnaire, semi-structured interview and relevant official documents from the university under study.

1.9.6 Validity and Reliability of Data

Experts' opinions were sought to enhance validity of the instruments. Content validity of the data collection instruments was ensured by pilot testing the research instruments to ascertain that question items were derivatives of sub-research questions. This was conscientiously done before the actual research was conducted. The researcher also ensured reliability of the data collection instruments through the employment of Cronbach alpha coefficient value of 0.78.

1.9.7 Data Trustworthiness

By trustworthiness, it implies outcomes or findings of research can be considered "worthy" of receiving attention (Graff, 2014). Trustworthiness criteria such as credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability as articulated in Loh (2013) are put into consideration to ensure the trustworthiness of the data used in this study. By credibility, the findings of the study have to be credible interpretations of the participants' views, ideas, and perceptions. Credibility is not different from the internal validity in the quantitative study. Dependability refers to the reliability of the study with respect to data collection instruments, methods of data analysis and the study conclusion. Transferability implies the external validity which is the degree to which research outcomes can be transferred or applied to other contexts and situations different from those investigated in the study (Graff, 2014). Each of these criteria is comprehensively dwelled on in Chapter three of this study.

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1.9.8 Data Analysis Methods

Data generated through the questionnaires was coded and captured into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 20. Frequency distributions then were run

for all variables and the results were used to clean the data from all data entry errors. Simple descriptive statistics such as frequency counts and percentages were used to summarize all categories of variables; while the mean and the standard deviation were computed for the continuous variables. To examine the association between dependent variables and independent variables, Pearson correlation statistics, Chi-square and Ordinary least square regression were utilized at a 95% confidence interval. Alpha values less than 0.05 were considered to be statistically significant.

The qualitative data was gathered through the in-depth interviews with the SRC members of the university under study. Thereafter, the researcher then did the verbatim transcription of the audiotapes. Coding was done using the Atlas 6.2 application software. With the adoption of the thematic content analysis approach, participants' views and opinions were sorted, organized and categorized into themes and sub-themes in consonance with the study's objectives. Furthermore, content and narrative analyses were carried out on the organized themes and sub-themes to ensure that the participants' narratives were aligned with the focus of the study which was to assess political education as a determinant of university students' political participation. Finally, quantitative and qualitative data were then compared and merged during the interpretation stage to culminate into consolidated results for this study.

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1.9.9 Research Ethical Considerations

The University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) granted approval to conduct this study. Equally, permission to conduct the research was sought and granted by the relevant authorities of the university under investigation. The participants' informed consent was obtained through a form which was filled and signed by each of them. They were also granted rights to voluntary participation and withdrawal at any point in time when necessary. Their rights to confidentiality and anonymity were strictly adhered to as they were assured of the fact that the study's findings were for mere academic exercise and would in no way affect their continuous assessment or

examination scores. The study did not in any way constitute any harm to the participants as it was strictly conducted in consonance with the university's research ethics policy. Details of the research ethics as observed in this study are discussed comprehensively in chapter three.

1.10 Delimitation of the Study

Specifically, the study is limited to one selected university within the Province of the Eastern Cape in South Africa. It is important to note that the Eastern Cape Province has four different universities namely the University of Fort Hare (UFH), Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU), Rhodes University (RU) and Walter Sisulu University (WSU) and one of them was selected for this study. In the selected university, the study focused on students studying political science as a course of study and non-political science students across the six faculties of the university. The study was conducted with this sample for the quantitative strand as well as members of the Student Representative Council (SRC) who were selected and interviewed for the qualitative strand. These students were selected because they were thought to have been influenced in one way or the other to participate in politics by formal and informal factors in learning of political education in and outside of the university.

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1.11 Definition of Key Terms

For the purpose of clarity, the following key terms will be conceptualized and operationalized to bring out their intended meanings.

❖ **Political Education**: This refers to the process involving knowledge acquisition that aids the learners to understand political issues, political affairs and other related events; thereby help individuals to effectively carry out their civic duties, responsibilities and obligations as expected of them (Onuigbo, Eme & Asadu, 2018). This study however defines it as any subject or course of study in a school, college or university with the learning experiences on politics, people's history, national affairs, economies, citizenship education, civics, environmental studies and similar subject-matter. The

function of such disciplines or courses is to initiate individuals into “the skills and concepts required for active participation in political affairs of citizenship”.

❖ **Political Awareness**: Political awareness is characterized by access to information regarding political activities, participation in politics, being exposed to media use, keen interest in political information and other related activities and political education in general (Kuotsu, 2016). In this study, political awareness is examined as one of the dimensions or elements of political education which means the level of attention that individual students pay to political information and political activities around them and the extent of their cognitive engagement with the public affairs which may include knowledge about political activities such as political rallies, party primaries, provincial and national elections and other issues considered to be germane to national and international entities.

❖ **Political Judgment:** Kim (2011) sees political judgment as basically involving the evaluation made by individual citizens by forming opinions, perceptions and beliefs about political entities such as the state, institutions of state, government officials, political parties and their candidates, elections, system of governance, non-governmental organizations and agencies as well as issues of national and international concerns. For the purpose of this study, political judgment is another element or dimension of political education which connotes the practice of students forming opinions and beliefs about candidates, political parties, elections (whether they are free, fair and credible), issues of national and international concerns and the state of political affairs in general which they have experienced or encountered as citizens.

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❖ **Political Interest:** Political interest has been defined as the desire of a citizen to keenly give attention to political affairs and possibly at the expense of other things (Galaise, Blaise & Bowler, 2014). In this study, the term *Political Interest* is used to mean the rate or level at which individual student gives attention to political activities

within and outside the campus. It is one of the elements or dimensions of political education that is crucially considered in this study.

❖ **Political Participation**: It is defined as "action by ordinary citizens directed toward influencing some political outcomes" (Teorell, Torcal & Montero, 2007). In this study, political participation means the citizen's actions aimed at influencing the outcome of a political decision which may include voting, protesting, public consultations, signing a petition, participating in political campaigns, becoming a member of any interest groups, donating money to a cause, and blogging about political issues, etc.

❖ **Citizenship Education**: It is a body of knowledge that is aimed at equipping the citizens with the knowledge of their rights and obligations to the state (Abdi, Shizha, & Bwalya, 2006; Quaynor, 2012). In this study, it is used to refer to an aspect of political education dealing with the legal status which bestows rights and obligations upon the citizens. In other words, the citizens are equipped with the knowledge of their rights and duties they owe to the state and skills required of the citizens to effectively engage and participate in the democratic governance of the state.

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❖ **Political Socialization**: It may be described as the process involving acquisition of the political beliefs, political attitudes and values with respect to the political culture required of the individuals as responsible and participatory citizens of a democratic society (Greenberg, 2009). Specifically, this study uses political socialization to refer to the process through which knowledge is acquired about the system of government and its workings by the students and subsequently get initiated into becoming active participants in or becoming contributors to the political system of their country.

❖ **Civic Education**: This may be described as an organized knowledge which deals with the process of acquiring the citizenship of a state, the citizens' rights, obligations, the norms and institutional practices associated with the national citizenship

(Gelaneh, 2012). Based on the traditional objective of civic education, this study considers it as an aspect of the general education which provides knowledge about political institutions, traditions and principles for engaging in the democratic governance of a country. Therefore, it is used interchangeably as political education/literacy, citizenship education, democratic education or education for democratic citizenship in this study.

1.12 Chapter Outline

Chapter one provides an introduction to the study, background of the study, problem statement, the research questions, the purpose and the objectives of the study, the significance of the study, delimitations of the study and definition of key terms.

Chapter two presents the critical discussions of the theoretical framework underpinning the study, relevant literature that highlight concepts, ideas and practices relevant to the study. The theoretical framework provides the basis for the reviewed literature.

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Chapter three extensively deals with the description and justifications of the research methodology used in the study. The research paradigm, research approach, research design, data gathering instruments, data analysis methods and the ethical considerations constitute the central issues discussed in the chapter.

Chapter four consists of the data presentation and the analysis using descriptive statistics, frequency counts, tables, graphs, as well as the Pearson correlation statistics and the discussion of the findings.

Chapter five concludes the study by highlighting the key findings; drawing conclusions and recommendations are made.

1.13 Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, the researcher featured the background to the study by reflecting on the nexus between education and politics, influence of political education on political participation from an international perspective to the African, national and South African perspectives. Further, other sections focused on the research problem, the research questions, purpose and significance, the overview of the study methodology, delimitation as well as the operational definitions of certain key terms used in the development of the study.

The next chapter of the study will deal with the theoretical framework and review of the relevant literature.

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CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the existing body of knowledge on the subject matter of this study. Essentially, the chapter is sub-divided into the following sections:

- Theoretical Framework;
- Conceptual clarifications of political education and political participation;
- Exploring the interrelationships among political awareness, political judgement, political interest and political participation;
- Political education in South African context;
- Influence of the University's political education on students' political participation;
- Agents of students' political education influencing their political participation;
- Exploring students' political participation;
- Empirical studies on nexus between political education and political participation;
- Critique of the literature review; and
- Gaps in the literature to be filled by this study.
- Summary.

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2.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is the soul of every research endeavour. Imenda (2014) asserts that theoretical framework determines how a given researcher formulates and investigates his/her research problem; and how he/she attaches meaning to the data accruing from such an investigation. Maxwell (2005) puts it in another perspective when

he states that theoretical framework is used to achieve two purposes. First, it shows how one's research relates to the existing theories and other studies; second, it shows how one's research contributes intellectually to the topic in a particular field of study. In addition, theoretical framework forms the basis of one's research questions and methodology and makes justification for the research problem in terms of significance of one's research.

2.2.1 Theoretical Framework for the Study

Most political behaviour researchers have established the fact that there is a relationship between education and political participation. In this regard, education is considered to be a 'universal solvent' that is capable of solving a myriad of human problems including politics. The assumption is that the higher the education the better solutions to the socio-political problems. All factors held constant, an educated individual has the tendency to have higher levels of political awareness, political judgment, political interest and participation in all forms of political activities such as voting in elections, vying for political office, taking part in political campaigns, demonstrations and protests against government policies, participating in political meetings, and many more.

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For instance, Schlozman, Verba and Brady (2012) aver that political participation is enhanced and increased by education because it helps to directly or indirectly develop relevant skills and abilities in individuals for effective political actions. Hence, a well-educated citizen can speak and write very well and make useful contributions towards direct influence of the government policies and selection process for leadership change in a democratic setting, while an uneducated citizen may not be able to do so. Similarly, Lewis-Beck, Jacoby, Norpoth and Weisberg (2008) assert that a higher level of education leads to stronger political interest which invariably triggers individual's increased concern for participation in political activities including elections, confidence level and commitment to carrying out citizenship obligations. In other words, education

is a tool for advancing citizen's political knowledge/awareness, political efficacy and others that would trigger participation in politics. Some of the academic proponents of education as a causal factor of or a proxy for political participation are Nie, Jun and Stehlik-Barry collectively known as NJS-B (cited in Journell, 2011), Kam and Palmer (2008), Burden (2009), Hylligus (2005), Highton (2009), Sondheimer and Green (2010), and Berinsky and Lenz (2011).

This study investigated political education as a determinant of university students' political participation and was therefore guided by the Absolute Education Model (AEM) and the cognitive mobilization theory of political literacy. There are three models which actually dominate the academic debates on the relationships between education and political participation (Persson, 2013) in the literature. These are: the Absolute Education Model (AEM), the Pre-Adult Socialization Model (PSM) and the Relative Education Model (REM).

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2.2.1.1 Absolute Education Model (AEM)

In the literature, the debates on the relationship between education and political participation have been hinged on the three related but distinct models namely the Absolute Education Model (AEM), the Pre-Adult Socialization Model (PSM) and the Relative Education Model (REM). In this study, however, the focus was on political education as a determinant of the university students' political participation the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. An attempt was then made to critically look into the arguments of these models as well as the cognitive mobilization theory of political education/literacy as the theoretical foundations for this study. Absolute Education Model argues that education is capable of increasing political knowledge, political awareness and other civic skills in individuals causing them to become politically conscious, active and choose to participate effectively in all sorts of political activities such as voting in elections, taking part in protests or demonstrations, political campaigns and party meetings (Persson, 2013). In an earlier study, Hylligus (2005)

made a reference to the Absolute Education Model, but described it as the civic education theory where he provided explanation on the relationship between education and political participation. According to Hillygus' civic education theory, education inculcates the skills, knowledge and understanding of politics in the citizens with which they develop the capacity to make political choices and preferences and pursue their political interests. The limitation of this model was that it has been criticized for its failure to put into consideration other factors that promote political participation, but are developed in pre-adulthood stage within the family and home environment (Berinsky & Lenz, 2011; Kam & Palmer, 2008; Persson, 2014). Hence, the adoption of the second model became necessary for this study which was the Pre-Adult Socialization Model.

The choice of this theoretical model was motivated by the fact that this study is only concerned with the aspect of the general education that has political contents (Political education) in whatever forms; politics, civics, citizenship etc that could determine the political participation of university students. In this study, this particular model is adopted to explain the relationship between the students' political education vis-à-vis their political awareness, political judgment (opinions and beliefs about politics) as well as political interest and their participation in both campus and national politics.

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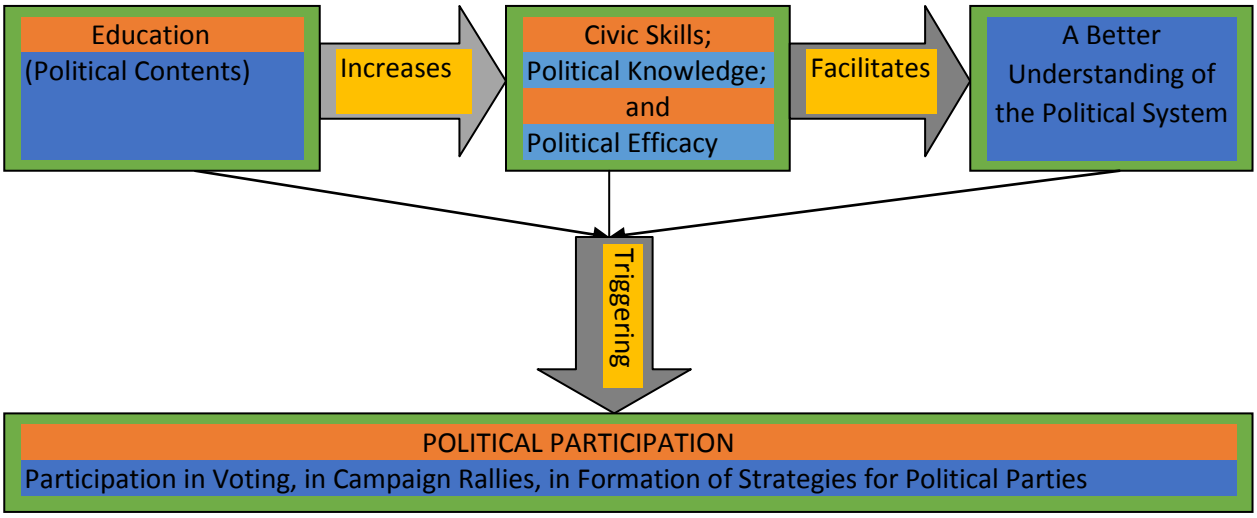

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Map of AEM (Adapted from Persson, 2013)

A number of studies have actually challenged the conventional wisdom of the stimulating impact of education on political participation (Berinsky & Lenz, 2011; Kam & Palmer, 2008; Persson, 2014). These studies have challenged previous research showing an impact of education on political participation over its failure to consider the fact that people who attain higher levels of education differ systematically from others who perhaps do not have in various unobserved manners such as can be seen in the early-life socialization within the family and fundamental psychological traits, for examples, cognitive abilities or personality traits that are partly innate or environmentally conditioned early on in life. When these pre-adult factors are taken into account, these studies argue that the positive relationship between education and participation would disappear. Nevertheless, there are other sophisticated studies which have hitherto shown that causal impact of education on participation has consistently been there even when the unobservable family and personality traits are given consideration in various ways. Be that as it may, the debate has largely been inconclusive (Henderson & Chatfield, 2011; Mayer, 2011; Sondheimer & Green, 2010).

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2.2.1.2 The Pre-Adult Socialization Model (PSM)

Pre-adult Socialization Model (PSM), as an alternative to the absolute education model, argues that the relationship between education and political participation can be explained in terms of pre-adult factors such as the family socio-economic status, political socialization patterns within the home environment and personal attributes of individuals like the cognitive capacity for understanding politics and developing perceptions/opinions about political objects and political interest in political activities. For this model, education of individuals is dependent on the socio-economic status of the family. The more the education a family can afford, the better the political participation of its members and vice versa. In addition, the nature of political socialization within the family is a determinant of its members' level of involvement in political activities as they grow into adults (Persson, 2013; Kam & Palmer, 2008; Mondak & Halperin, 2008). The

family involvement in politics helps to shape and develop cognitive capacity in individuals to explore participation in politics at any level without limitations.

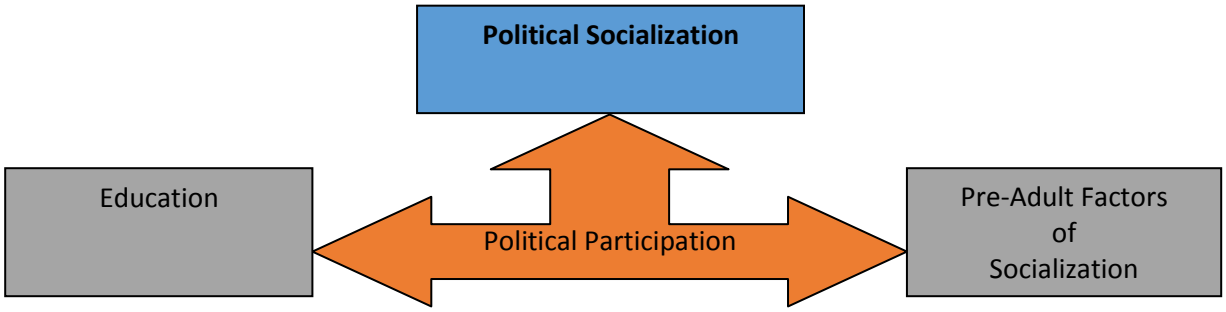

Figure 2.2: Concept Map of PSM (Adapted from Persson, 2013)

2.2.1.3 The Relative Education Model (REM)

The relative education model is also known as “the sorting model”. It is a model that completely has a revisionist view of the arguments of the other two models. Brady and Verba (2012) have argued in their study that an increase in the educational attainment of the people does not automatically translate into a total increase in the level of political participation. For this model, it is argued that education has an indirect influence on political participation through the social networks in the society (Persson, 2013). The attainment of a social status is crucial for political participation. A high social status has been described as the central social network position occupied within the society.

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This model therefore contends that people with a high level of social status have a higher tendency of having exposure to a wide range of networks from which they have a high chance to be recruited into the society’s political caucus that would prompt them to become involved in all forms of political activities. Conversely, people with a low level of education and social status tend to be found outside the social networks that favour political engagement at all levels. In other words, education relatively determines the level of social status of individuals in the society and the social status determines the social network or position that individuals would occupy and thereby sorting people into

different categories of political actors. Those who find themselves within a high social status group decide who participate in, how to participate and at what level to participate in politics. Hence, the model is popularly regarded as the sorting model of political participation. The higher the education level the higher the social status in the society and the higher the level of political participation of individuals, and vice versa.

Figure 2.3: Conceptual Map of REM

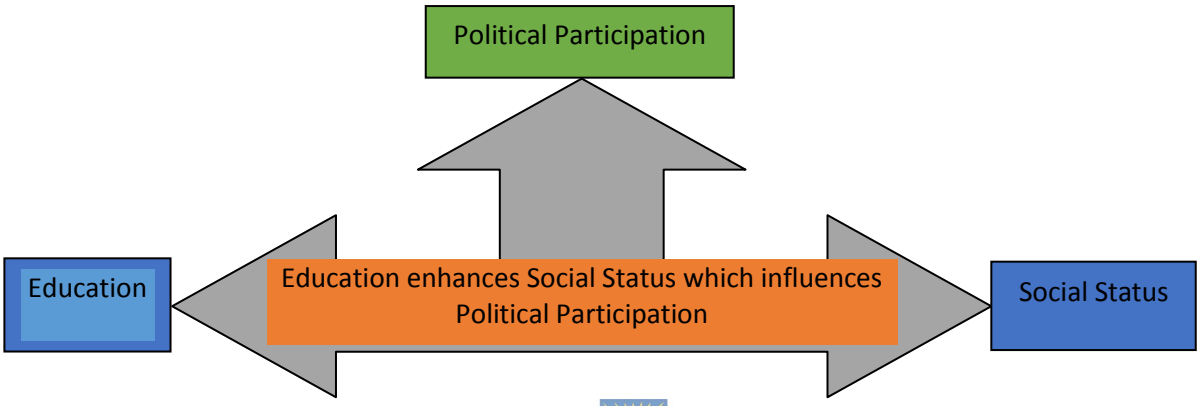

Figure 2.3: Conceptual Map of REM (Adapted from Persson, 2013)

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2.2.1.4 The Cognitive Mobilization Theory of Political Education

Another important theoretical framework for this study is the cognitive mobilization theory of political education and political involvement which was put forward by Dalton (cited in Onuigbo et al, 2018). Generally, there are three strands of propositions of the mobilization theoretical framework which include the cognitive mobilization theory, the social mobilization theory and the resource mobilization theory. However, this study is grounded in the first one. For the cognitive mobilization theoretical explanation of political education in relations to political participation, it is assumed that political education is a causal factor in individuals to mobilize their mental abilities (political knowledge) for their participation in political activities (Onuigbo et al, 2018). In other words, political education instills in individuals political knowledge, skills, understanding and information with which to make informed participation in all forms of political activities including voting.

According to Onuigbo et al (2018), the cognitive mobilization theory of political literacy has the following basic assumptions and tenets, among others:

- Education is a major predictor and determinant of political knowledge and participation in politics by enabling individuals to utilize their cognitive skills and abilities for effective involvement in political activities;
- Having access to political education would in turn increase the citizens' intellectual engagement with politics in such a way that they develop skills and capacities to understand the complexity of any political system and enhancement of their civic responsibilities; and
- Individuals without sufficient political education have the tendency of exhibiting political awareness that is poor or low, lack of political interest, poor political opinions or a poor sense of political judgement about democratic processes, whereas those having sufficient political knowledge and high opinion of political objects (party system, candidates, institutions of the state etc) have better inclinations to actively engage and participate in all forms of political activities.

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Thus, political education is a desideratum that must be taken very seriously as a part of the higher education curriculum of democratic societies with a view of fostering active political participation among the students who will in turn be motivated to become active, responsible and dutiful citizens (Onigbo et al., 2018). This is critical and essential for the survival of the nation's democracy.

2.3 Conceptual Clarifications: Political Education and Political Participation

Politicians and educators were said to believe that they were performing entirely distinct and independent roles. The myth about politics and education was that the two never had anything to do together. Actually, there is no education system that would claim to be apolitical in any part of the world. Put differenty, it is practically not possible to

divorce the nation's educational system from its system of government which is responsible for making educational policies and their implementation (Nwankwo, 2014). Given the societal responsibilities and objectives of education and politics, the argument therefore is that education and politics are said to be inextricably related. Educational policies are those guidelines expedient both for political socialization and for the nation's socio-economic and cultural development (Nwankwo, 2014).

Schools do not only make provisions for the fundamental knowledge and skills required by students for entry into the labour market today, but also the development of the competences they need for improvement in the culture of democracy, and reinforcement of awareness of their rights and responsibilities (Nilgun et al., 2015). The school, be it college or university, is viewed as a microcosm of political life and everyday experiences in leadership and decision-making are utilized both for study and for participation by students. Participation is depending upon possession of a range of skills and thus demanding careful training. Students learn through acting as observers, supporters, advocates and facilitators in group settings. In addition, they learn and apply the skills involved in decision-making, bargaining, and conflict management. Having learned and practised these skills in carefully supervised, non-threatening environments, students then proceed to practise them in various school settings such clubs and associations. Students learn to analyze and participate in politics of the school, which is regarded as a political laboratory, and then move out into the politics of their community. To buttress their viewpoint, Adelabu and Akinsolu (2009) reveal that the higher institutions are known to be havens for ideologies. They also serve as instruments of motivating students. Tertiary education in particular is fundamental to the construction of knowledge and knowledge itself has become a vital factor for political education. This will lead us to the discussion on political education.

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According to Nwankwo (2012), political education is only an aspect and a specialised form of education aimed at inculcating political knowledge, political skills and political values into the learners at all levels education. Generally speaking, it is viewed as a way

of bringing about a better polity into existence by helping citizens becoming active participants in the political activities and thereby sustaining the democratic values and system of the nation. Hamad, Qodrat and Zulham (2001) reveal in their work that education has implanted in the students the seeds of knowledge which continues to germinate as they develop from primary school to the university level. By the time they are in the university, the college becomes a predominant model and the central instrument of their political education which hitherto helps imbues the interest of the polity in the minds of the learners especially the young ones.

Political education is the process in which political attitudes and behaviours are 'germinated and formed'. However, it must be noted that there are various opinions regarding the purposes of political education. For some, political education is preparation to a time when individuals are given opportunities to think about political issues, form their personal decisions, and to materialize them. While others think political education is a process that provides students with great opportunities to learn about the politics of the groups and corporations, they may be involved at various degrees (Nilgun et al., 2015). It is interesting to note that some merge the two opinions and consider political education as a process, whereby individuals at various age groups analyse the political nature of their groups and corporations, makes them politically literate and at the same time tries to ensure that individuals compare the policies of such groups with the political fashion of the adult world and the current political events-the very experience of such analysis and comparison is a means of elevating political awareness and literacy and preparing children for effective political activity in their adulthood (Nilgun et al., 2015). For some educators, the term 'political education' suggests an unclearness that should be avoided by all means. They claim that the term is oxymoronic, and implies a meaning like "education is political" (Frazer, 2010:11).

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This simply implies that education is a good which is supplied and the consumption of which is determined politically. These conceptual and theoretical connections between

education and politics should be kept distinct from the empirical facts of the history of education, that is, the purpose of education in any society has always been for social engineering. Some critics accuse education of being political on grounds mainly on `the hidden curriculum', observing that the organization of classroom furniture, rules governing speech and so on inevitably transmit and recommend certain values and certain interpretations of the world. The point is that such aspects of education are certainly aspects of its political nature, but they would be whether they were ostensibly `hidden' or not. Their concealment may as well be a significant clue to the nature of the political order of which the particular education system and schools are a part. But even if the aims and objectives of these aspects of education were explicitly and truthfully spelled out, that would still not depoliticize them (Nilgun et al., 2015).

Political education could be shaped by what is transmitted through the official curriculum. This may be true especially in primary and secondary schools where civics is taught as a subject in the name of civic education or citizenship education. As pointed out by Adelabu and Akinsolu (2009) there is dearth of literature to support the fact that the curriculum can be a source of political education for university students. They however claim that observations have shown that political education is largely defined by hidden curriculum, values, attitudes, and beliefs that are informally transmitted through the everyday practice of teachers. Teachers and lecturers hold certain political ideologies which reflect in their presentations and explanations of political issues which are capable of shaping political beliefs of students either directly or indirectly. Students internalise most of the things their teachers tell them in schools (Adelabu & Akinsolu, 2009).

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Indeed, it seems reasonable to suggest that, following the Athenians of the Classical Age, a sound and effective civic education will coordinate if not integrate these formal and informal settings (Crittenden, 2018). At the same time that civic educators seek to import skills, knowledge and participatory virtues, they also seek to engrain in youth a felt connection to, if not an identity with, that country or society. As far back as evidence

can be found and virtually without exception, young adults seem to have been less attached to civic life than their parents and grandparents. Hence, there is a need to educate youth to be civic minded; that is, to think and care about the welfare of the community and not simply about their own individual well-being. Democratic education is a subset of civic education. For philosophers, it is the most important-indeed, the predominant subset. Civic education in a democracy, though not in every kind of regime, must prepare citizens to participate in and thereby perpetuate the system and at the same time prepare them to challenge what they see as inequities and justice within that system (Crittenden, 2018).

Regarding the concept of political education, Nwankwo (2012) submits as follows:

> "*Some of us had the privilege of passing through the old school system that had in its curriculum a subject called "Civics". We recalled that it talked about citizenship or knowledge and engagement as a citizen. It is the same idea and more that is embodied in political education. Yet, the concept of political education is very apt and more encompassing"* (Nwankwo, 2012:395).

Nwankwo was talking about his own days in Nigerian schools when students had the privilege to learn about citizenship; that is, rights, duties and obligations of a citizen. For Nwankwo, political education is concerned with the same subject-matter as taught in the subject of Civics. Political education, in this sense, is considered more appropriate and broader to describe the teaching and learning about citizenship and political awareness required of every citizen to contribute meaningfully to the survival and functioning of the nation's democracy.

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Furthermore, on the content and goal of political education, Nwankwo (2012) says as follows:

> *"Apart from stating explicitly that a preparation of the young ones for life in the society must deal in content with political matters, it also encapsulates non-formal ways of orienting or even re-orienting the citizenry for a better polity through more and better involvement in the nation's life. Above all, political education need not even be a separate discipline. This is because any course or discipline can be given political flavour, political content"* (Nwankwo, 2012:396).

Nwankwo's assertion above is very instructive in the sense that every young one is born into one political community or the other. It is therefore imperative for such young one to

be prepared for his role, rights and obligations to the society in which he is expected to grow and spends his adulthood.

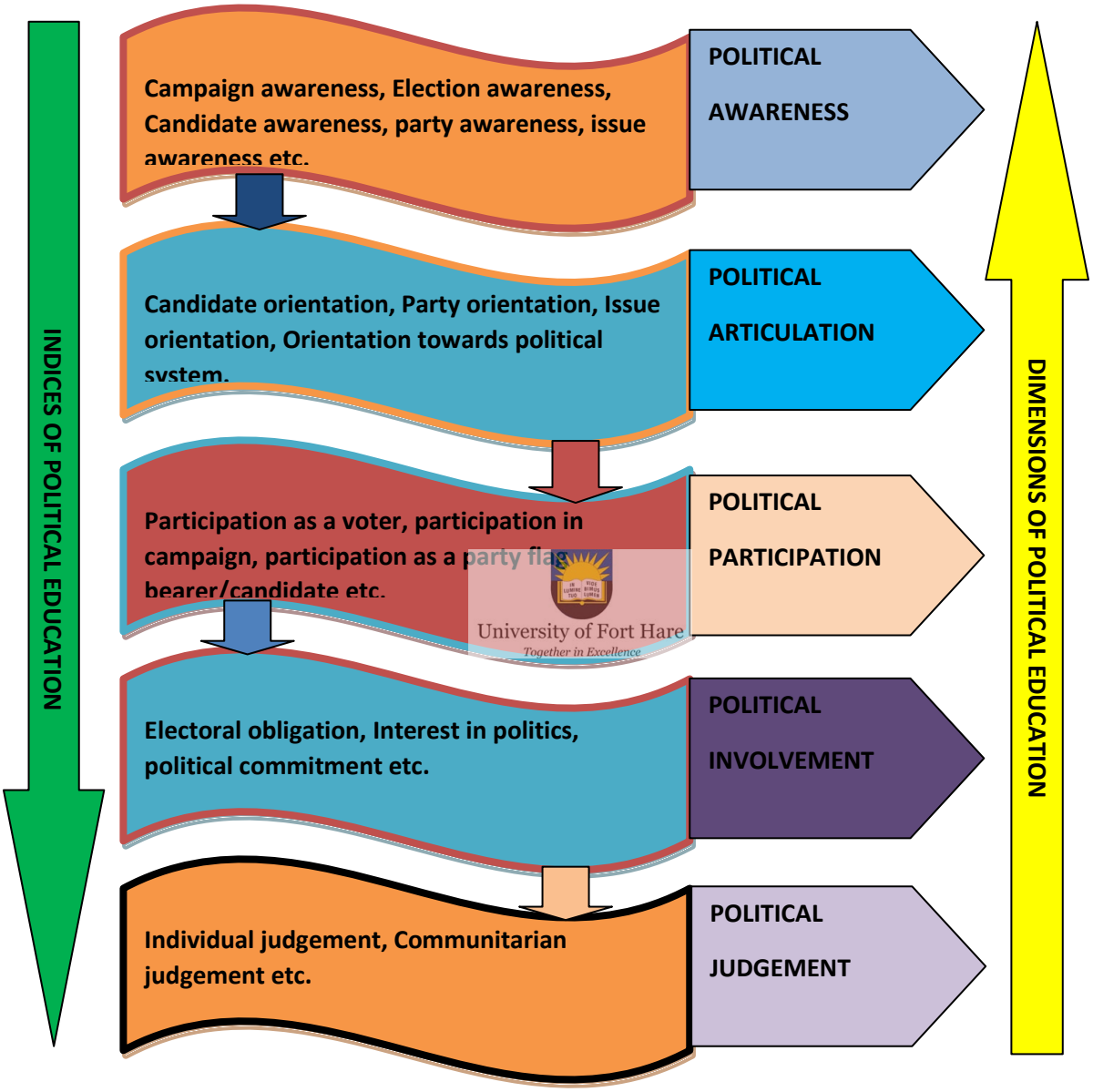

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Figure 2.4: Indices and Dimensions of Political Education (Adapted from Nilgun et al., 2015)

Hence, the citizenship training and education can be formal when it takes place in schools through the teaching and learning of subjects dealing with the political affairs of

the society and can also be informal through imitation of and learning from the adults in the society. However, this present researcher thinks that packaging the curriculum of political education as a separate and distinct subject will not be a bad idea too. For Nilgun, et al (2015), political education is characterised by certain indices and dimensions as represented in Figure 2.4.

The dimensions of political education, as identified in the diagram above, are political awareness, political articulation, political participation, political involvement and political judgment. Each of these dimensions has certain indices by which it can be assessed in the political behaviour and level of participation of individuals. This study so much relies on these dimensions and indices in the making of its instruments for data collection on the political education constructs.

Political Awareness: The word *awareness* is originally Latin, which means *to know things on an ongoing basis.* The word was first used by Francis Bacon in the year 1600. It was also used in John Locke's *Philosophical Disputes.* The term *awareness* has been interpreted to imply those ideas that pass in the human mind, and in the early 19th century, and in psychology, it has emerged into existence, which was identified as the *science of consciousness.* Therefore, this term was used to presuppose all the sensations and mental images, thoughts, desires and emotions. Political awareness results from the social development due to the human need to prepare the tools to interact with nature, so that man was able to distinguish between what is essential and non-essential and demonstrate causes of the phenomena, being aware of the relationship with the environment (Majid cited in Althubetat & Jarrar, 2013). Political awareness is helpful to an individual in analyzing the political reality away from emotional perceptions. Citizens who are politically aware will see issues differently and perhaps in the national interest devoid of sentiments in whatever forms.

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Political awareness is considered to be significantly important to engender a true democracy that is built on accountability and transparency in governance. Citizens help

in building and sustaining democracy when they become politically aware of the actions, policies and programmes of the politicians and government. Being politically aware empowers the citizens to be able to hold their elected officials accountable in the way and manner they run the socio-economic and political affairs of the state (Ahmed et al., 2015). In the same vein, political awareness has been considered as a function of three constituents namely; the level of exposure to political information, the intellectual capability to retain and organize political information and the desire to acquire and understand the political information. In other words, political awareness implies having access to political information, political participation, media especially in terms of political contents that stimulate interest in politics and public affairs (Kuotsu, 2016).

Explaining further, the author notes that the higher the level of political awareness, the higher the interest and participation in political activities would be, most importantly in the electoral process. This is true because there is certain level of political awareness that is required for participation in voting activities. The electorate is expected to keep themselves politically aware of issues, role of political institutions, citizenship rights, duties and political obligations. The overall effect of being politically aware or conscious is that the electorate becomes informed to make reasonable voting decisions.

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Political Articulation: This implies the degree to which individuals and groups can influence policies, actions and programmes of government through democratic institutions. Chhatre (2008:13) notes as follows, “rather than being a static property of a political system, political articulation is determined by the institutional architecture governing representation at multiple levels, as well as the degree of competition between political actors for the privilege of representing social interests”. Political articulation is considered to be a dynamic outcome of interaction between the structure of electoral institutions, the competition between political parties and patterns of political participation and mobilization. Disarticulated political systems are systems in which the elected representatives are alienated from their constituents following a lack of motivations to positively respond to demands from below (Chhatre, 2008).

Political Judgements: These are concerned with how citizens mould their beliefs and opinions about political objects, candidates, parties, groups and other issues of national and international concerns (Kim, 2011). The ability of individuals to judge politically develops as their interest in politics grows. Giving judgment about political objects is a practice that is not taught. As Immanuel Kant puts it, “The power of judgement of is a special talent that cannot be taught but only practice” (Norval, 2008:59). In the same vein, Dunn (2009:40) describes political judgement as a judgement made regarding a specific worldview, political affairs of a state as well as power relations. Meanwhile, Beiner (2013:15) copiously states that, “political judgement is the comprehensive faculty by which we come to terms with particulars in the political world”. Beiner’s idea of political judgement suggests that when we reason about what we hear, see and discuss about politics we are actually making political judgment. Simply put, political judgment is basically concerned with the capacities of individuals to clearly cultivate and practice political responsibilities that can be identified with the rule of law and processes of good governance (Perri, 2011).

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Put differently, political judgement is a body of knowledge that is based on an individual’s understanding and ability to see the uniqueness involved in the attributes possessed by a particular person, object, and situation, state of affairs or event. In other words, it involves the use of an individual’s instinct and sense of judgment to differentiate the truth from the untruth, what is important and relevant from unimportant and irrelevant, what can be changed from the unchangeable, what can be effective from the ineffective (Cherniss & Hardy, 2004). From another perspective, Peter Filzmaier (cited in Yoldaş, 2015) highlights three distinguished dimensions of civic or political education. Political education leads to the impartation of political knowledge, fosters a freedom of expression and political participation, and develops citizens’ social competence and skills.

Civic or political education has been an area of global academic learning and research interest due to growing classroom implementation in the school system of developing and transitional democracies (Idowu, 2017). Political education is a tool with which citizens are equipped for the defense and development of democracy (Yoldaş, 2015). It is implemented globally by countries to initiate, sustain and/or reform learners' knowledge and skills to exhibit loyalty and patriotism, obedience and/or critical citizenship vital to engaging in local, national and global activities. Traditional civic education uses commonsense, knowledge and relies heavily on history, while perceiving 'good citizenship' as a set of specific virtues to be inculcated. At the same time, the informed voter is idealized as the most desirable model of political participation.

Etymologically, Civic education, initially known as 'civics' originated from 'civic' and 'civitas' meaning 'a citizen' and 'city-state'. It is an altruistic and moralistic term which initiates discussions of citizenship (socio-political) issues within the public (polis) domains of the state (Idowu, 2017). He states further that from the classical Greek period, civic education was a tool to inculcate socio-political culture by infusing loyalty to collective interests and participation in state matters as hallmarks of effective citizenship. The term *Civics* is used to mean the discipline of knowledge dealing with the day-to-day affairs of the state and its citizens (Meron, 2006 cited in Bayeh, 2016). Again, civic education is traditionally used to provide insights into political traditions, principles, institutions and engaging in the political system of the state (Burkingham, 2006 cited in Idowu, 2017). Furthermore, Aroge (2012) notes that it has been used to construct and exercise knowledge and skills regarding rights and obligations in order to participate in the public life of the society.

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Gelaneh (2012) sees civic education as an organized body of human knowledge involving individual and group membership rights, duties, institutions, practices and actions linked to the citizenship of a state. UNDP (as cited in Bayeh, 2016) describes civic education as:

> *"The learning for effective participation in democratic and development processes at both local and national levels. It is an important means for capacity development in the society by empowering people for effective civic engagement. It is an essential dimension in strengthening a society's ability to manage its own affairs and is complementary to capacity development at the individual and institutional levels"* (Bayeh, 2016:32).

Civic education is the process of creating awareness and provision of information and learning experiences to equip and empower citizens to participate positively in the democratic processes of their community, country and the outside world (UPIMAC cited in Bayeh, 2016). This implies that the demonstration of the tremendous role of civic education can play in the democratization process of a given country by actively involving citizens in the political affairs at different levels of their country, and even beyond. Palati (2014) lends his voice to the conceptualization of civic education. He contends that "in the context of social relationship, there are many duties to be performed and correspondingly many rights to be respected. It is with them that civics is concerned". Therefore, Civic education is a subject which basically addresses the rights and duties of citizens.

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Crick (2008:126) argues that the type of citizen who is valued by society is defined in terms of the nature of his/her relationship with the government. In other words, citizenship is a symbiotic relationship between the state and citizen. Staeheli and Hammett (2010:671) posit that citizenship should not just be seen as status constructed to reflect universal ideals, but it should also be seen in relation to political, economic and social processes that operate within particular temporal and geographical contents.

As UNESCO (2013:1) put it:

> *"All forms of citizenship education inculcate (or aim at inculcating) respect for others and recognition of the equality of all human beings; and at combating all forms of discrimination (racist, gender-based, religious, etc.) by fostering a spirit of tolerance and peace among human beings. Thus, when we speak of the purposes to be ascribed to either citizenship education (producing citizens with moral qualities) or human rights education (comprising knowledge of the social and political rights of all human beings, and their recognition) we inevitably end up with the complementarities between citizenship and human rights"* (UNESCO, 2013:1).

Citizenship education is an essential part of contextually relevant education in democracies. It is premised on the complementarities of the notions that all individuals are entitled to human rights and all citizens are entitled to civil and political rights equally. The purpose of citizenship education is therefore to further democracy by educating people about their rights and the principles and institutions that govern them; in exercising critical judgement; and in their sense of self and responsibility towards others and their community (UNESCO, 2013). This is meant to apply at all levels of education. Thus, citizenship education is more widely studied as a role of general education than specifically in relation to higher education. It can be argued that universities have the responsibilities of generally educating their students to develop the critical thinking skills, intutitive abilities to develop passion for politics and interest to participate in the democratic processes as responsible and active citizens. It is therefore imperative for the universities to groom politically interested and participatory young citizens because they are regarded as partners and agencies of government saddled with the onerous task of making contributions towards the political and socio-economic development of the country.

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Ross (2012) defines citizenship education as dealing with the relationship between the individual and political society, between the self and others. More so, it provides learners with a clear picture of the political environment they are placed in. The concept of citizenship education is complex and ambiguous as recently reviewed and debated in the literature. The term *citizenship education* is habitually characterized by the use of various terminologies used to describe social and political education (Seroto, 2012). From a different perspective, Hina, Ajmal, Rahman and Jumani (2011) consider citizenship education as involving a wide range of different elements of learning which include *knowledge and understanding* of certain topics relating to laws and rules, the democratic process, the media, human rights, diversity, money and the economy, sustainable development and world as a global community; about concepts such as democracy, justice, equality, freedom, authority and the rule of law; *skills and aptitudes* in terms of critical thinking, political information analysis, expressing opinions,

participation in political discussions and debates, negotiating, conflict resolution and participating in community action; and *values and dispositions* regarding respect for justice, democracy and the rule of law, openness, tolerance, courage to defend a point of view and willingness to listen to, work with and stand up for others (Hina et al., 2011). The various elements of citizenship education are represented in Figure 2.5.

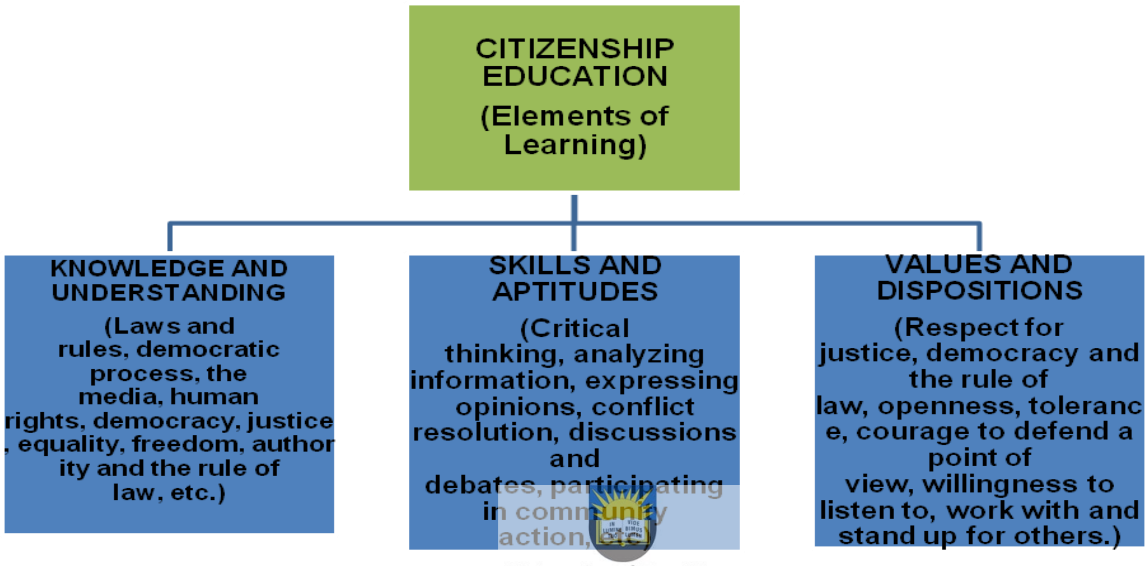

Figure 2.5: Conceptual Map Showing Elements of Learning in Citizenship Education (Adapted from Hina et al., 2011)

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There is an agreement among the various authors on what constitutes political education and its elements such as the knowledge and skills building, building of individuals' confidence to be able to judge and form opinion and beliefs about the democratic processes and governance and performance of government and individuals holding political power in a democracy and molding citizens into responsible and responsive ones who can always make meaningful contributions to the development and sustainability of democracy in a country. Starkey (cited in Seroto, 2012) suggests a holistic approach to defining the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education. The aim of suggesting and adopting a critical approach is to provide the conditions for collective social change through a combined focus on knowledge and participation (DeJaeghere & Tudball, 2007). They opine that including the critical approach in citizenship education will bring in a new perspective in developing students' sense of

subjectivity or the 'self'. In this way, the students' critical thinking skills become alive for the understanding of their rights, duties and critical roles in the scheme of the nation's socio- economic and political affairs.

Castles and Davidson (cited in Hina et al, 2011) also identify four components of citizenship education that are very crucial. Firstly, citizenship education component that enables the citizens to develop a sense of civic responsibility and patriotism as critically required for building an egalitarian society and a democratic system of government (civic sensibility). Secondly, it is pertinent for the citizens to be politically sensitized with respect to their democratic rights, their duties and obligations to their country (political sensitization). Citizens make inputs into the development and survival of their country's democracy by the way they participate and perform their civic responsibilities especially during the electioneering period. Thirdly, citizenship education develops the citizens culturally and morally through the family's way of training and nurturing the children to become acceptable and responsible to their society (cultural and moral development). Lastly, it is an avenue to empower citizens to contribute socially and economically toward the development of their society through decent work, gainful employment, participation in leisure and public service delivery (socio-economic development). These components of citizenship education are represented in Figure 2.6 below:

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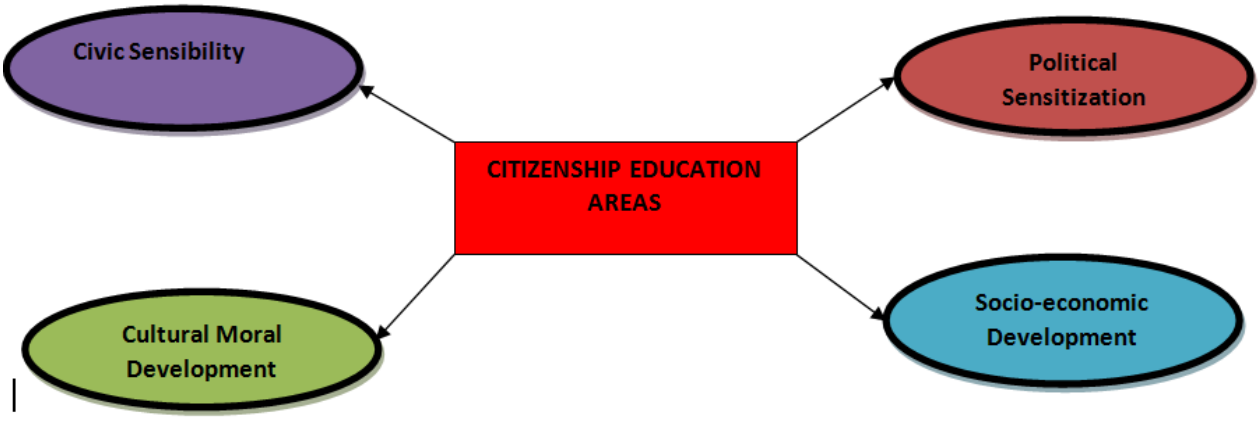

Figure 2.6: Components of Citizenship Education (Adapted from Castles & Davidson cited in Hina et al., 2011)

Expectedly, citizenship education builds and develops in individual learners the requisite knowledge, skills and understanding to effectively function at the local, national and international levels. It helps them to become informed, thoughtful and responsible citizens who are aware of their duties and rights. It also promotes their spiritual, moral, social and cultural development, making them more self-confident and responsible both in and beyond the classroom (Hina et al, 2011). In the same vein, Johnson and Morris (2010) provide four distinguishing elements of critical citizenship education framework. These elements include politics/ideology rather than abstract logic; a collective (social) focus rather than an individualistic one; a context-driven (subjective) rather than context-neutral (objective) frame of reference; and a drive towards praxis (reflection and action) in addition to the development of knowledge and skills. Political education is giving new emphasis and directing renewed attention to the citizenship role of education. There are two strands to this view that political education should lead to a more politically literate citizenry.

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First, one sees it as a way of saving the political order. Alarmed by the persistent findings of alienation; apathy and cynicism, some people hope that the more effective programmes of political education are the better for the political system and can be saved. Clearly this perspective sees political education as valuable for maintaining, and indeed improving the political system, although it may well, include at the same time a concern for the individual citizen. Van der Ploeg (2016) believes some educationalists argue that merely teaching children about the theory of citizenship is ineffective, unless schools themselves reflect democratic practices by giving children the opportunity to have a say in decision-making. They suggest that schools are fundamentally undemocratic institutions, and that such a setting cannot instill in children the commitment and belief in democratic values that is necessary for citizenship education to have a proper impact.

The second strand concentrates on the individual citizen and sees a more broadly based and active political involvement as worthwhile for its own sake. Participation in whatever form is conducive to democracy; it strengthens individual self-esteem, broadens political understanding, and fosters tolerance and respect for political authority. Political scientists, psychologists and others have pointed out that participation is an orientation and a disposition that is learned, and that it is best learned young. Van der Ploeg and Guerin (2016) believe some philosophers of education have argued that most governments and mainstream policies stimulate and advocate questionable approaches of citizenship education. They reveal further that these approaches aim to develop specific dispositions in students, dispositions conducive to political participation and solidarity. They however, admit the fact that there are radically different views on the nature of good citizenship and education should involve and develop autonomy and open-mindedness. Therefore, it requires a more critical approach than when political participation and solidarity are conceived of as goals of education.

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Democratic values and participation in adult life correlate with the experience of participation and involvement in school. The argument here is that the greater the students' participation in the democratic activities of the school, the better their involvement in the nation's democratic governance after leaving school. John and Morris' (2010) framework for critical citizenship education is instructive and holistically imperative for consideration as a component of the education curriculum of the young citizens of South Africa and a useful pedagogical method of developing knowledge, skills, values and dispositions required for their participation in the nation's democracy. The success of democracy can be hinged upon the citizens' level of knowledge, skills and values possessed and their dispositions towards its institutional structures and functioning.

2.3.1 A Brief Historical Development of Political Education

The origin and development of political education dates back to the ancient Greek city-state, Athens with the aim of creating active and participating citizens for the then Athenian direct democracy (Birhanu, 2012; Bayeh, 2016). Civic/political education has a parallel development with democracy. Hence, it is apposite to conclude that Athens served as the foundation for modern civic education. Subsequently, the dawn of revolutions in Britain (1688), America (1776) and France (1789) contributed a great deal to the development of civic education (Birhanu, 2012; Bayeh, 2016), in that those revolutions brought forth new democratic concepts and principles which, in turn, paved the way for the advancement of Civic/Political education in Europe and the rest of the world.

However, civic/political education became very popular in the 1990s as an instrument for promoting democracy (Browne, 2013). A number of factors necessitated the delivery of civic education such as the emergence of democratic states and multi-cultural societies, global injustice and inequality, concern about civic and political engagement, and the anti-democratic and racist movements (Birhanu, 2012). Modern Civic education was first practiced in the educational system of the United States at the beginning of the 20th century (Vasiljevi, 2009). Today, it has been expanded throughout the world including African countries.

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2.3.2 Relevance of Political Education to Political Participation

Undoubtedly, political education equips the citizens with the political knowledge, skills and understanding to identify their political interest both as individuals and members of any group or corporation. Moreover, citizens learn a lot about the political processes in a democracy. This forms the basis of the citizens' knowledge about politics that enables them to have an understanding of the political phenomena at the local, national and international levels. The political knowledge gained from political education facilitates

and serves as an impetus for political participation. It is expected that the more the knowledgeable individuals are politically, the higher the tendency to participate in all forms of political activities (Onuigbo et al, 2018).

2.3.3 Conceptualizing Political Participation

There is the need for the term 'political or citizen participation' to be properly conceptualized before moving on to the next step of the present analysis. Political participation is often being referred to as "political engagement" or "public involvement in decision making". Over the years, a number of terms have emerged describing very similar phenomena as civic engagement and sometimes used interchangeably with it. Examples of such terms include socio-political action, civic competence, civic engagement and socio-political development (Watkins, 2009).

Watkins (2009) posits that civic engagement (participation) has been used to refer to a range of civic and/or political activities (volunteering, voting) that occur at a variety of levels (individual, community, institutional) that may be supported by multiple contexts (schools, communities) and that lead to various individual and/or group outcomes (gains in knowledge, behavioural skills, empowerment). In other words, civic engagement involves all kinds of political activities at different levels which can be promoted in the schools and community at large aimed at empowering individuals with skills and knowledge. Watkins is actually talking about political participation in the context of civic engagement.

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Lamprianou (2013) argues that defining political participation is not an easy task, especially if one employs both teleological (i.e. focusing on goal-oriented political behaviour; derived from the Greek word *telos*) as well as praxialist arguments or procedural engagement (i.e. focusing on the relevant procedures involved; derived from the Greek work, *praxis*). Comprehensively, political participation can be considered from the perspectives of both conventional and unconventional. Conventional participation is

in conformity with the standard rules and rule of law e.g. voting, joining political parties while unconventional form of participation does not conform to the rule of law e.g. rioting and civil disobedience.

Therefore, there is no universally acceptable meaning of the concept of political participation (Lamprianou, 2013). Political participation is often being referred to as "political engagement" or "public involvement in decision making". For Riley, Griffin, and Morey (2010) political engagement has traditionally been thought of as "a set of rights and duties that involve formally organized civic and political activities (e.g., voting or joining a political party)". Diemer (2012) sees political participation as an "engagement with traditional mechanisms in the political system, such as voting in elections and joining political organizations". Political participation is understood as "actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or support government and politics" or as "all voluntary activities by individual citizens intended to influence either directly or indirectly political choices at various levels of the political system" (Ekman & Amna, 2012).

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Munroe (2002) has considered political participation in terms of the degree to which citizens are exercising their right to engage in political activities. For example, to protest, to speak freely, to vote, influence or to get more energetically involved in discussion of public affairs. Many of these scholarly descriptions of political participation have been considered in line with the lawful nature of political praxis. In other words, they clearly establish a frame of reference with the available repertoire of political praxis within the conventional political norms, although these norms are not necessarily uniform across countries or across time. In a political system, Falade (2014) contends that the citizens can be involved in the political process and decision making by joining political party, voting during election, participating in electoral campaign, community affairs and other political activities. The success of the political system, to some extent, is being determined by the level and pattern of political participation of the citizens. Political participation is the involvement of the citizens in the political system in which the affairs of the state are steered by a group of people elected into office as government. The

citizens must participate well in the electoral processes leading to the emergence of the government in any democratic societies (Falade, 2014).

Adelekan (2010) explains political participation as the process through which the individual plays a role in the political life of his society and has the opportunity to take part in deciding what common goals of the society are and the best way of achieving these goals. Political participation is an aspect of political behavior and it focuses on the way in which individuals take part in politics. It is a voluntary activity and one may participate directly or indirectly. The various ways by which people can be involved in the political system include selection or election of political leaders, formulation of policies, community activities and other civic engagements (Falade, 2014).

In the same vein, Arowolo and Aluko (2010) argue that the essence of political participation in any society, either civilized or primitive is to seek control of power, acquisition of power and to influence decision making. Political participation is one of the fundamental requirements of democratic governance. It is a means of contributing one's quota to the political system and the overall development of the nation. According to Falade (2008), there are six identified types of political participants namely; the inactive participants, parochial participants, the communalists, the campaigners, complete activists, and voting specialists. These six types of political participation are represented in Figure 2.7 below:

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Figure 2.7: Concept Map Showing Types of Political Participants (Adapted from Falade (2008)

Each of the six types of participants as identified by Falade (2008) is explained as follows:

1. The Inactive: Inactive participants are the individuals who choose not to participate in the political processes.
2. Parochial Participants: The parochial participants are the individuals who participate occasionally in politics. They may choose to participate in the political processes such as voting during elections to protect their own interests.
3. The Communalists: The communalists are the individuals who regularly participate in the voting exercise and other community's affairs but may not necessarily participate in other political activities such as campaign rallies.
4. The Campaigners: The campaigners are individuals who actively participate in political campaigns but not in other community's activities.
5. Complete Activists: The complete activists the individuals who participate actively in all forms of political activities such as voting in an election, campaign rallies, community's affairs and contacting public officials.
6. Voting Specialists: The voting specialists are the individuals who anxiously participate only in voting exercise. They are participants who show no concern about other political activities aside voting during elections.

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Democracy supposedly implies the participation of everyone to get involved in the decision-making process that would affect their lives as the citizenry (Adelekan, 2010). In a democratic system, it is a matter of necessity for the citizenry to be fully involved in the democratic procedures such as the choice of leaders and the making of effective public policies and decisions. Any claim to democratic regime or state must essentially embrace a high degree of competitive choice, openness, and enjoyment of civic and political liberties and political participation that involves all groups of the society (Arowolo & Aluko, 2010). Participation of the citizenry is critical and essential for the development and sustenance of any democratic system of government. Individuals and groups are expected to exercise their rights to freedom and liberties by contributing to

the political and electoral processes of their societies. The rights to vote and be voted is one fundamental elements of a democratic society. These rights are also regarded as part of the civic responsibilities of patriotic and responsible citizens. These democratic and political rights are aimed at ensuring that individual citizens are involved in the decisions that would affect their lives.

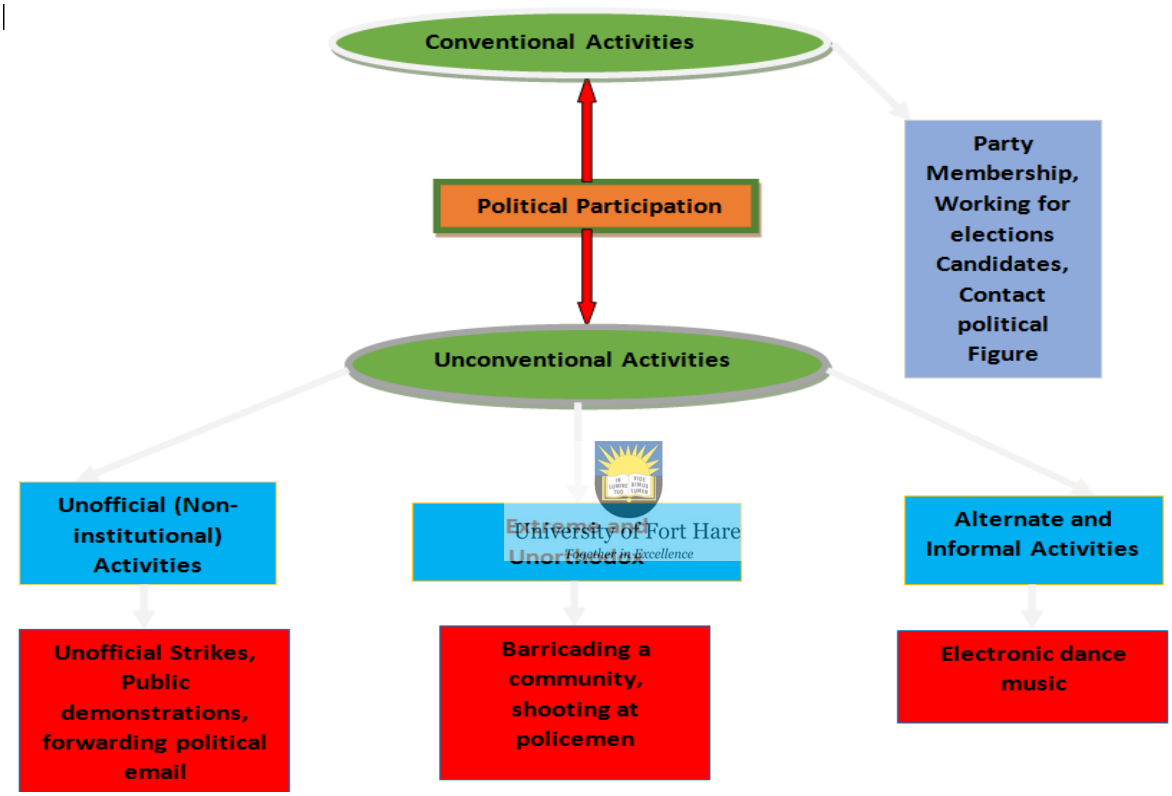

Figure 2.8: Conceptualization of Political Participation (Adapted from Lamprianou, 2013)

Researchers have argued that the frequent distinction drawn between conventional and unconventional participation is, nevertheless often contested on pragmatic grounds. For instance, Linssen, Schmeets, Scheepers and Grotenhuis (2011) argue that the distinction between certain acts as unconventional or conventional remains a controversial issue because some unconventional acts such as petitioning or demonstrating are getting more and more generally accepted and differently conceived in the public sphere as time passes.

In addition, Lamprianou (2013) contends that it would be incorrect to classify such acts as participating in demonstrations or signing a petition as modes of unconventional political engagement as they have increasingly become acceptable and definitely much more widespread across the political spectrum. There is evidence of variety of examples of mass participation in protests, especially of young people in the United States where political participation follows a pattern of general decline. About two million people were reported to have demonstrated in other larger cities across Europe (Gonzales, 2008). Consequent upon these facts, the distinction between conventional and unconventional participation, on the basis of the new trends and forms of political engagement, to some extent as it subsists in contemporary research agenda- is probably outdated and requires that it should be critically redefined.

Teorell, Torcal and Montero (2007) have recently developed what is perhaps the most comprehensive definition of political participation to date, encompassing actions or activities by ordinary citizens that in some way are directed toward influencing political outcomes in society. Verba and Nie (as cited in Ekman and Amna, 2012) presents four dimensions of participation in their popular typology: Voting; Campaign activity (including membership in or work for political parties and organizations as well as donating money to such parties or groups); contacting public officials; and cooperative or communal activities (basically understood by Verba and other authors as all forms of engagement that focused on issues in the local community).

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Figure 2.9: Illustrating Verba and Nie's Dimensions of Political Participation (Researcher's Compilation, 2018)

Conversely, Teorell et al. (2007) suggest a more extensive typology, encompassing five dimensions. These include electoral participation; consumer participation (donating money to charity, boycotting, political consumption and signing petitions); political activity (to be a member of, active within, do voluntary work for or donating money to a political party; protest activity (taking part in demonstrations, strikes and other protest activities, contacting organizations, politicians or civil servants constitute the fifth dimension, which is the contact activity. The political dimensions according Teorell et al. (2007) are represented in Figure 2.10 below:

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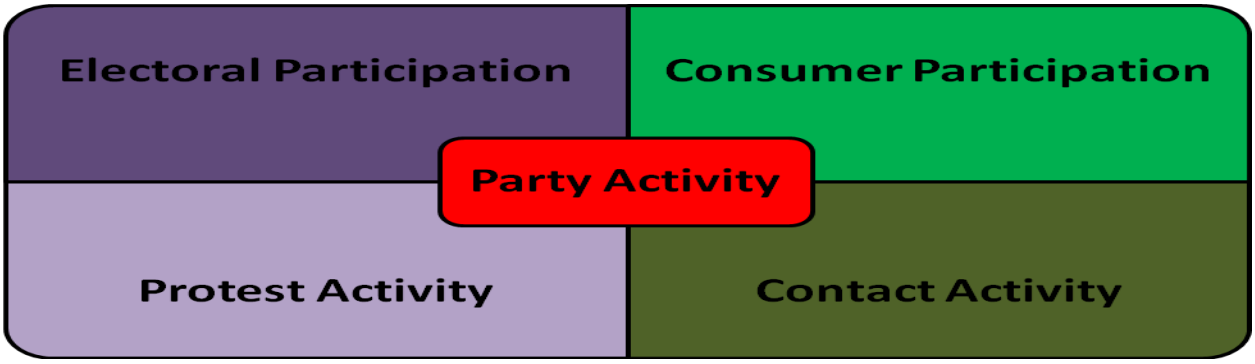

Figure 2.10: Dimensions of Political Participation (Adapted from Teorell et al., 2007)

From another angle, it has been argued that political participation can occur at various levels. Not all persons are able to participate in politics to the same degree. In other words, citizens do not participate in the same degree in political activities. While some citizens only participate in voting; others get involved in campaigns by supporting their favourite candidates even with funds to ensure victory at the polls. Also, there are few individuals who put their resources into running for an election as candidates on the platform of their chosen political parties. Therefore, participation of some people in politics can be more holistic than others. Lester Malbraith (as cited in Eesuola, 2013) classifies political participation into three namely; political participation at the spectator level, political participation at the transitional level and the gladiatorial level of political participation. The Figure 2.11 represents the Lester Malbraith's classification of political participation.

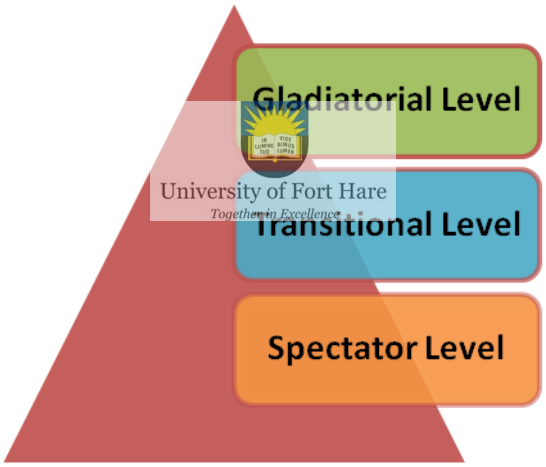

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Figure 2.11: Lester Malbraith's Levels of Political Participation (Adapted from Eesuola, 2013)

Gladiatorial Level of Political Participation

This is the highest level of political participation that a citizen can attain in a society. Citizens who participate at this level engage in activities such as presenting themselves as candidates for political offices, or holding the offices at particular times, getting financial grants from political parties for the purpose of elections, and politicking through

caucus formations, faction formation or kitchen cabinet. At this level, political participation requires a lot more of resources and time that the participants hardly engage in other activities apart from politics. Examples are presidents/prime ministers, governors/premiers, senators, congressmen, councilors, mayors and local government chairmen. The participants at this level can be regarded as members of the political class or the political elites. They constitute about 5 percent of the population of any political community (Eesuola, 2013).

Transitional Level of Political Participation

Transitional level of political participation is next in hierarchy to the gladiatorial level. Participants at this level are usually involved in activities that mostly facilitate ground for gladiatorial participants most likely with the hope of getting political appointments after their candidates have been successfully elected into offices. People who participate at transitional level are usually very charismatic as much as gladiatorial participants, but due to lack of other political logistics such as money, zoning policies of the party, and godfather's preferences, such people may choose to work behind the scene. Major activities at this level of participation include attendance at meetings or organizing political meetings, communication, advocacy and campaigns, liaising with incumbent power, as well as making of monetary donations to candidates at the gladiatorial level (Eesuola, 2013).

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Spectator Level of Political Participation

Activities at this level of political participation are but not restricted to voting, attending campaign rallies, displaying party symbols and influencing friends and family to vote in certain direction. These are activities that every citizen is expected to engage in as their civic responsibilities. This type of participation is quite common among people. It is relatively less expensive in terms of time and resources. It is a kind of political participation involving the majority of citizens who are interested in being part of their

country's political process (Eesuola, 2013). The downtrodden, poor masses are usually mobilized into participating at this level. They are the ones used by the political gladiators and their parties to carry out electioneering campaigns and canvassing for votes on behalf of the political parties and their candidates. Usually, people who do not have the required resources to participate in politics at the gladiatorial and transitional levels are found active and participating at the spectator level.

2.3.4 Exploring the interrelationships of political awareness, political judgement, political interest and political participation: Empirical Studies

Political education is a body of knowledge that is capable of building and increasing individuals' levels of political awareness, political judgment, political interest and participation in politics. Previous research has established the relationships among the various elements or dimensions of political education. Kuotsu's (2016) study on political awareness and its impact on political participation was carried out to find whether or not the respondents' (aged 18 years and more) political participation was influenced by their level of political awareness. This study was a mixed design with a sample size of 402 participants selected from the rural and urban districts of Nagaland in India. The author found that there was a relationship between political awareness and participation in electoral activities among the respondents. It was also found that mass media exposure was a determinant factor influencing citizens' political interest and participation in all forms of political activities.

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In another study conducted by Ahmed, Javaid, Muzaffar, Fatima, Hussain and Attock (2015), the authors set out to determine the level of political awareness among students in a public university of Pakistan. It was a survey design consisting of a sample of 200 students (100 males and 100 females) drawn from selected departments in the Social Sciences and the Natural Sciences. The study findings show that the students generally exhibited a poor level of political awareness. It also found that the Social Sciences' students demonstrated a better level of political awareness than their counterparts in

the Natural Sciences. The authors then recommended the inclusion of political education in the university curricula at the undergraduate levels in Pakistan.

In a cross-national survey conducted by Shapland (2015), explanations were provided for variations in political interest and participation among countries using the World Values Survey (WVS) for the study analysis. She found that political interest had a positive correlation with political participation. One of her conclusions was that there was a robust relationship between political interest and the citizens' desire to participate in political action at the country level. In the same vein, Shani (cited in Shapland, 2015) investigated the development of individuals' political interest during their formative years. The author found that political interest developed in every individual during the pre-adulthood stage. She concluded that individual variables which include parental education, participation in group and community activities and an interest in the subject of social studies (political education) were the most important indicators of political participation.

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In a quantitative study conducted by Mhlomi and Osunkunle (2017), the authors collected data from 200 students of the University of Fort Hare on the social media influence on their participation in South Africa's 2014 national election. The study found that the students demonstrated a high political interest and most of them had to be influenced to cast their votes for their preferred political parties and candidates due to the enormous awareness and exposure to the political campaigns and other related information made possible through the platforms of the social media. In a similar vein, Amoateng's (2015) study highlighted the significance of the family/parents in the process of politically socializing the university students for participation in the democratic governance. The study was a qualitative design and interviews were conducted with 1,214 undergraduates of the University of Johannesburg in South Africa. The study found that parents' political socialization and participation are important determinants of the students' political participation. It was also found that the students

exhibited a high level of political awareness which is positively correlated with their participation in the political activities.

In Nairobi, Wagakilndiritu (2007) investigated the critical role of the television debate programmes in the creation of political awareness among the young Kenyans. The author asserted that the youth's political participation had become a source of concern to leaders of thought and political stakeholders in the country. She therefore employed the purposive and snowballing methods of data collection to explore the extent to which the youth's political knowledge, their beliefs about politicians and participation in politics had been influenced by the television political debate shows. She found that television political programmes had enormous impact on the political awareness of the youth. She affirmed that the youth had benefited immensely from the television political discussions increasing their understanding of the political processes. It was also revealed that the youth had got to have changed perceptions about politics and the country's political actors through the mentoring opportunities and leadership training provided by the television political discussions. The conclusion of this study, therefore, was that the television political discussions were effective in fostering and raising the youth's political awareness in Nairobi. This study significantly showed the positive contributions of the television political debates and discussions in raising political awareness among the Kenyan youth, activating their interest in politics and motivating them to participate in the political processes.

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Similarly, one study conducted in the University of Karachi, Pakistan by Yaseen, Mamdani and Siddiqui (2018) investigated the essential role of political talk programmes through the television and radio in fostering political awareness among university students. The study was a quantitative design and 196 participants were randomly drawn from two different faculties namely the faculty of the Social Science and Humanities as well as the faculty of sciences. The study found that political talk shows were significantly correlated with the participants' level of political awareness. The study further showed that political awareness was capable of encouraging political knowledge

and discussion of political issues which hitherto would lead to increased political participation among the university students. The study therefore concluded that the mass media, especially the electronic ones, were veritable platforms through which the university students' political knowledge could be shaped, their sense of judgment about politics would be sharpened, their interest and participation in politics would be greatly encouraged and increased. The interesting thing about this study was that it demonstrated the influential role of the electronic media in raising political awareness among the youth and increasing their participation in the political activities. However, the apparent shortcoming of this study was that it used only the quantitative method of data collection. Its findings could have been more strengthened if the authors had considered the use of the mixed method so that qualitative data was also collected from the participants through semi-structured interviews.

A case study of students at the University of Gujrat, Pakistan contributed to research on the mass media influence and political awareness with respect to participation of youth in politics (Ali, Sohail & Hassan, 2013). In this study, the authors described the mass media as the conscience of the society. The media organizations are said to be responsible for agenda setting for political discussions and moulding of public opinion on issues of governance and government policies. They play a critical role in moulding the judgemental power of the youngsters about democracy and contributions towards its survival and further development. This study found that the print and electronic media through their viewership and readership exerted influence on the youngsters' political awareness, how they judge political issues, their interest and participation in politics. It further confirmed other studies that television was mostly influential in the dissemination of political information and creation of political awareness among the university students.

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2.4 Nature of Students' Political Education

This theme will be split into two sub-themes namely; Political education of students in South African High Schools and Political education of students in the university. This is important for the researcher to capture the process of political education of the students particularly in South Africa.

2.4.1 Role of Schools in a Political System

Schools have been described as social systems in which two or more individuals relate and work together in a concerted way for the purpose of achieving common goals (Norlin, 2009). By this definition, schools consist of individuals- students, teachers, administrators, etc; they are set up in pursuit of specific goals; they achieve their goals through the concerted efforts of all; and they relate with other individuals within and outside their environment (Lunenburg, 2010).

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Schools consist of teaching, non-teaching staff and the students. They are designed to pursue specific educational goals tied to the societal needs and aspirations. They make concerted efforts and commitment towards the attainment of the educational goals. They relate with the community around them and broader society in general. Lunenburg (2010) further submits that the above definition is not elaborate enough to capture one important feature of schools deserving special attention which is the fact that all schools are open systems, although the degree of interaction with their environment may vary. According to Scott (2008), open systems view schools as constantly interacting with their environments and that they need to structure themselves to deal with forces in the world around them. Conversely, a closed-system theory views schools as sufficiently independent to solve most of their problems through their internal forces, without taking into account forces in the external environment. Systems theory works on the inside and outside of the organization, as a way of understanding and anticipating the consequences of any decision (Ahrweiler, 2011).

For Senge (2006), a system can be defined as an interrelated set of elements functioning as an operating unit. In this context, school is a structure within polity which produces politics, examines political systems in effect, and shows their consistencies and inconsistencies (Sönmez, 2012 cited in Nilgun et al., 2015). There are at least four ways in which the school may relate to the political system namely; through the political socialization of children and youth; through the selection, recruitment, and training of political leaders; through politically integrating a community of society; and through the organization of special interest groups which attempts to influence political decisions. Nilgun et al. (2015) are of the view that politics does not involve humans only, but also corporation, establishments, societies and communities.

Political concepts are introduced to children via education and school, either directly or indirectly, starting from early ages. School is both a surety of formation of socially qualified political culture, and a means to political socialization (Türköne, 2005 cited in Nilgun et al. 2015). School not only directly supports socialization and political participation via formal curriculum but also encourages the same indirectly through the school atmosphere, the sense of togetherness among teachers and students, its form of communication and interaction and the order of seating in classrooms etc. In addition, school reduces social matters to student level, makes them rationally and collectively debatable to serve formation by students of political foresight or awareness, and their achieving the set of skills required for political participation. Put differently, both school and the educational service in schools have a political content and function and expectedly influence the political behaviour of learners in one way or the other (Nilgun et al. 2015).

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Schools as organizations are best recognized as political systems both internally and in their external relationships. Participants can be conceived as “political actors with their own needs, objectives, and strategies to achieve these objectives” (Bacharach cited in Brosky, 2011). Owen (2006) argues that power, conflict, coalitions and policy are alive and well in schools and make up the fabric of educational politics. Schools have been

found to display their own lives, social climate, organizational culture, and subsystems in pursuit of their own interests. In schools, intra-organizational politics are a daily occurrence. There are political forces within schools that dictate how things have been done, how things are done, and how things will be done. This is called micro-politics. The micro-politics of education-human behaviour, power and how people use it to influence others and to protect themselves, and how people compete with each other to get what they want to shape the tone of the organization. Micro-politics encompasses the daily interactions, negotiations and bargains of any school (Bosky, 2011).

2.4.1.1 Overview of the South African School Curriculum

The post-apartheid South African government had used the school curriculum in its transformation agenda to ensure that the legacies of the apartheid regime were totally erased from the societies and to inspire the South Africans to embrace the culture and traditions of democratic societies.

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The Department of Basic Education (2011) declares as follows:

> *"Our national curriculum is the culmination of our efforts over a period of seventeen years to transform the curriculum bequeathed to us by apartheid. From the start of democracy, we have built our curriculum on the values that inspired our constitution"* (Act 108 of 1996).

The preamble to the constitution therefore states that the aims of the constitution are to:

> *"…heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; and build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations"* (DBE, 2011).

Education and the curriculum have an important role to play in realizing these aims (DBE, 2011). The National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12 gives expression to the knowledge, skills and values worth learning in South African schools. This curriculum aims to ensure that children acquire and apply knowledge and skills in ways that are

meaningful to their own lives. In this regard, the curriculum promotes knowledge in local contexts, while being sensitive to global imperatives.

The National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12 serves the purpose of:

- ❖ Equipping learners, irrespective of their socio-economic background, race gender, physical ability or intellectual ability, with the knowledge, skills and values necessary for self-fulfillment, and meaningful participation in society as citizens of a free country;
- ❖ Providing access to higher education;
- ❖ Facilitating the transition of learners from education institutions to the workplace; and
- ❖ Providing employers with a sufficient profile of a learner's competences (DBE, 2011).

The National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12 is based on the following principles:

- ❖ Social transformation: ensuring that the educational imbalances of the past are redressed, and that equal educational opportunities are provided for all sections of the populations;
- ❖ Active and critical learning: encouraging an active and critical approach to learning, rather than rote and uncritical learning of given truths;
- ❖ High knowledge and high skills: the minimum standards of knowledge and skills to be achieved at each grade are specified and set high, achievable standards in all subjects;
- ❖ Progression: content and context of each grade shows progression from simple to complex;
- ❖ Human rights, inclusivity, environmental and social justice: infusing the principles and practices of social and environmental justice and human rights as defined in the Constitution of the republic of South Africa. The National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12 is sensitive to issues of diversity such as poverty, inequality, race, gender, language, age, disability and other factors;

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- ❖ Valuing indigenous knowledge systems: acknowledging the rich history and heritage of this country as important contributors to nurturing the values contained in the Constitution; and
- ❖ Credibility, quality and efficiency: providing an education that is comparable in quality, breadth and depth to those of other countries (DBE, 2011).

The National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12 aims to produce learners that are able to:

- ❖ Identify and solve problems and make decisions using critical and creative thinking;
- ❖ Work effectively as individuals and with others as members of a team;
- ❖ Organize and manage themselves and their activities responsibly and effectively;
- ❖ Collect, analyze, organize and critically evaluate information;
- ❖ Communicate effectively using visual, symbolic and/or language skills in various modes;
- ❖ Use science and technology effectively and critically showing responsibility towards the environment and the health of others; and
- ❖ Demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems by recognizing that problem solving contexts do not exist in isolation.

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It is further noted that inclusivity should be a central part of the organization, planning and teaching at each school. This can only happen if all teachers have a sound understanding of how to organize and address barriers to learning, and how to plan for diversity (DBE, 2011).

When the new democratic government took office in 1994, they inherited a crippled education system and structurally unequal society. Education under the era of apartheid was marked by high levels of illiteracy, discredited curricula, and dysfunctional schools. However, the legacy of apartheid stretched far beyond the vast discrepancies and low level of infrastructure. It further served to reinforce social inequalities, racial injustice,

and intolerance (Chisholm cited in Weinstein, 2014). Consequent upon these, the African National Congress (ANC) was identified as a primary leveler of socio-economic transformation and democratization. The ANC led Government of National Unity (GNU) introduced sweeping education reforms. The expectation was that the successful provision of equal, quality and democratic education would contribute to remedying systemic inequality and counteracting the authoritarianism of the past-inculcating in the first generation of 'born free' South Africans the modern and democratic attitudes, values and behaviour needed for democratic consolidation and economic development (Harber & Mncube, 2012).

Weinstein (2014) affirms that the new education system perpetuated highly affected learning environments, both structurally and ideologically. Structurally, the under-resourcing of non-white schools propagated dysfunctional management structures and apathetic educators and administrators. There was substantially less funding for black and coloured schools. By the 1970s the per capita spending on black schools was only one-tenth of that for white schools. This affected the quality and quantity of learning materials, facilities, and educators. Ideologically, classroom environments were highly affected by the apartheid curriculum content. The curriculum was utilized to justify and promote the apartheid ideology and was rife with sexism, racism, and classism. It acted as a reproductive force in an unequal society (Engelbrecht, 2006).

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The aims of education were explicitly to maintain white superiority and dominance in the economy and state (Chisholm, 2012). Schools became one of the means through which racial segregation and socio-economic repression of non-white groups was perpetrated, and provided the foundation for an authoritarian political culture. Apartheid schools were segregated according to race, in terms of who could attend or teach at the school, the 'group area' in which the school was located, and the way in which the school was funded by government (Carrim, 2007). Through schools, a system of values which amongst other things promoted racial fears, hatred and conflict was instilled, not only

through segregation and the curriculum, but also through a culture of institutional violence and oppression.

The apartheid education system proved capable of producing profound educational inequalities and a value system of discrimination through overt racist policies. However, just as the education system propagated apartheid ideology, it also worked to dismantle it in the nation's transition to democracy. South African education was seen as an instrument for generational change to overcome decades of the apartheid legacy. Upon the establishment of a democratic South Africa, the nation faced the burden of transforming education in order to propagate a new system of values which would both rectify and serve to redress past injustices. This included the tasks of reunification of the education departments, de-racialization of schools, and establishing a new curriculum (Van der Berg, 2007).

The curriculum had to undergo reforms in two stages. In the first stage, the multiple curriculums in use (by different departments) were condensed into one common curriculum. This curriculum was purged of racist, sexist, and other offensive contents in line with the new democratic regime and constitution. In addition, Continuous Assessment (CASS) was introduced to measure students' progress throughout the school year as opposed to bi-annual examinations. In the second stage, the new national curriculum, Curriculum 2005 (C2005), was designed. In 1997, C2005 was launched with a view to fully implementing it by 2005. In the design of C2005, the Department of Education opted for an Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) approach (Godinho, 2016). In this approach, outcomes, such as general knowledge, skills and values that learners should acquire, are nationally determined in the curriculum, and then schools and teachers are expected to choose specific content, learning activities and strategies, and assessment methods depending on the teaching environment and students' needs (Godinho, 2016).

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Schools were also charged with the responsibility of nurturing a culture of communication and participation in their learners, infusing classrooms with a culture of human rights, making education multilingual and multicultural, promoting anti-racism and anti-sexism, nurturing new patriotism and affirming common citizenship, and inculcating democratic values in the next generation (Department of Basic Education 2001 cited in Godinho, 2016). In addition, democratic values and principles as well as other tenets of democracy were introduced as learning 'outcomes' for History which was made compulsory from Grade level 4 to Grade level 9 since 2001 and Life Orientation which was a newly introduced school subject. This subject was made compulsory for Grade 10 to 12 since 2001 following the review of C2005 in 2001 (Mattes, Denemark & Niemi, 2012).

2.4.1.2 Nature of Political Education in South African Schools under the Apartheid Regime

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Seroto (2012), in her critical discourse on citizenship education in South Africa in the period between 1948 and 1994, reveals that the principal objective of citizenship or civics education was designed in such a way that it aimed at the inculcation of personal moral virtues which had Christian Protestantism as its underlying philosophy. In 1910, the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and the Free State were united to form the Union of South Africa. Under this union, the idea of citizenship education that prevailed then was one that encouraged adapting types of citizens who had good manners, were obedient and could act responsibly. In actual practice, citizens did not participate in the political system in any meaningful way (Banks 2008:136). This was as a result of the series of segregation policies in the form of a legislative act, which removed and restricted the rights of certain cultural groups in every possible way–politically, economically, socially and geographically. Africans were to become geographically and socially segregated by the ruling colonial group.

According to Seroto (2012), Social studies and history were introduced in 1957 by the Department of Bantu Education as compulsory and examinable subjects at lower and upper primary school level for African students. As integrated subjects, they included elements of geography, history, economics and politics focusing on local, regional, national, and to a limited extent, international issues. Johnson and Morris (2010) argue that students should be able to actively engage in political discourse and seek clarity on injustices that occur in society. On the contrary, the Grades 1-7 history and social science curriculum only dealt with the political ideology underpinned by the government separate from development theory and there was no section in the curriculum dealing with injustices or oppressions as experienced by South Africans. The curriculum failed to open a space or create possibilities for teachers neither to explore the government's political ideology of separate development nor to question oppressive laws that might have been in place or justification for injustices that prevailed in South Africa then.

Knowledge of South African society and its structures as a whole was not prioritized. The exposure of learners to the knowledge and understanding of macrostructures that existed globally was limited as focus was on local government structures. Take for instance, Grades 3-6 citizenship education dealt with the home, town and village. While local structures such as tribal organizations and government, local government and Bantu Authorities (homelands) were introduced from Grades 3-4 (Seroto, 2012). There was no academic space created for teachers and learners to explore and debate elements of the establishment of government structures, respect for government institutions, loyalty, independence, open-mindedness and work ethic. Engagement with ideological principles in the curriculum for citizenship education was distorted and ambiguous. A few ideological issues were raised but the curriculum was designed to direct students and teachers' thinking in a particular direction. Ideally, responsible citizenship requires the capacity to discern and respect the rights of others; and to evaluate the performance of those in office and the willingness to engage in public discourse. Critical thinking was not regarded as a core element of citizenship education at this time. Through its citizenship education, government propagated knowledge and

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understanding of only immediate communities without the knowledge of the global communities (Seroto, 2012).

Moreover, Fisher (2008) argues that collectivism and a 'community of enquiry' help students to build their capacity to become active and effective citizens. Citizenship education for Africans during apartheid regime was anchored on the ideas of the state's segregationist and racial policy, which in one way or the other discouraged the notion of the 'collective'. There was little room for the curriculum for citizenship to promote a diversity of views. The only voice, which was vocal, was that of the dominant communities in relation to the ethnic groups (Seroto, 2012). In addition, citizenship education in South Africa was deficient in promoting dialogue and discouraged deviation of opinions. The Social Studies curriculum (1956) stated that the social studies syllabus was oriented economically and socially with the aim to develop social consciousness and a feeling of responsibility in the African child. It stated further that the factual knowledge of the content, that is social science, would have value only when connected to the realization that the African child is a member of a particular community and he/she should not have other factual knowledge. The state did not encourage open dialogue with other knowledge. Citizenship education during this period of apartheid did not allow for dialogue in terms of challenging and engaging ideologies, such as colonialism, apartheid and egalitarianism. Citizenship education failed to promote tolerance, respect for others and the combating of all forms of discrimination (Shoeman. 2006; Seroto, 2012).

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Another important perspective expressed by Seroto (2012) was the fact that citizenship education as included in the history curriculum did not reflect on the students' ability to understand their multiple and complex identities and how they were affected by the outside world. Rather, the curriculum was said to have focused on a narrow notion of narrow identities which were confined to a particular ethnic environment. In the view of Ajegbo, Kiwan & Sharma (2007), issues of identity and diversity are more often than not neglected in citizenship education. When crictically examing these issues, coverage is

often unsatisfactory and lacks contextual depth. Also, the history or social science curriculum in all Grades did not demonstrate emotive language. The curriculum did not engage learners in human rights issues, which are crucial for young people to relate to their own emotional identities. Aguilera (2010) submits that one important field of the citizenship curriculum is the development of attitudes that underpin students' emotional dispositions and motivations for social responsibility and active participation.

The citizenship education provided by the apartheid government only focused on theory. Ideally, active engagement and participation require a coalition between theory and practice and not a situation in which one is absorbed by the other (Seroto, 2012; Johnson & Morris, 2010). The opening statement in the citizenship education curriculum for higher primary school learners indicates an emphasis on the theory or the existing principles. The entire curriculum of the history and social science in both the lower and higher primary schools did not state how knowledge and values of citizenship education would be put into practice in South Africa (Seroto, 2012). The curriculum did allow for learners to reflect on issues, such as the formation of good habits of courtesy and character. The 'how' part was not adequately addressed in the curriculum documents. Banks (2008:136) argues that citizenship education (which is transformative in nature) should improve civic actions designed to actualize values and moral principles and ideals beyond those of existing laws and conventions. He explains further that citizenship should promote social justice even when the actions of the citizens violate, challenge, or dismantle existing laws or structures.

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This section has presented the nature of political education during the apartheid regime in South Africa. It is clear that the kind of political education of this era was not meant to make black South Africans active democratic participants but rather submissive to the system that oppressed, discriminated, exploited and alienated them from their society. It was a kind of education that imposed injustice and discrimination on the learners and also made them to accept the practices as traditions and ways of life. The black South Africans received political education that made them become passive citizens and they

were unable to engage the system for dialogue and participation. They were made to be second class citizens in their own land with no democratic rights to freedoms of participation and expression.

In the next section, the study focuses on the new South African democratic regime, its reform of the education curriculum, adoption of the new curriculum (C2005) for the inculcation of political education through the teaching and learning of History and Life Orientation (LO).

2.4.1.3 The Teaching of History as a form of Political Education in South African Schools

In both pre and post-apartheid eras of South Africa, the teaching of history was used as a means of inculcating political education in young South Africans but with different intentions. Following the enthronement of South Africa's democratic rule in 1994, the ANC-led national government undertook a total reform of the country's education sector. It was a commitment to a more racially balanced system of education without segregation. History is a school subject that creates self-awareness about the people's races and to see how such races are similar to and different from others (Union, 2014). Through the history, students are introduced to the critical dimensions involved in the life of their society. They are also inducted into the processes and aspects of education, history and culture that form the bedrocks of their society. It is also expected that through history, South African students should become familiarized with the patterns and dynamics of the past experiences that shape their society into what it is today (Union, 2014).

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History has always been a compulsory subject in primary and junior secondary school levels in South Africa. It is only at the senior secondary level, that is, Grades 10-12, that the subject has had an optional status. Before 1997, the content was divided into general history and South African history. The general history syllabus was heavily

Eurocentric and covered topics such as the unification of Italy, the United Nations, the Cold War, the First and Second World Wars, Nationalism in the Middle East, and one of the third world countries. There was very little on the history of Africa. Sections of the syllabus dealing with South African history covered overwhelmingly the history made by the whites. Though the history of blacks was not totally omitted, it was presented in a manner that projected them as one of the problems that the whites faced in their exploits on the land (Ebot, 2008). Under apartheid education, history was taught in support of apartheid, and now it seems to be taught in support for democratic constitution of South Africa. It was also argued that the learning of history in school during the apartheid era was usually associated with rote learning and indoctrination (Kallaway, 2010).

The history class is now used to politically inculcate contemporary values. According to Counsell (2012), the purpose of teaching and learning history in the classroom is to bring the epistemic tradition of history to the pedagogical site so that pupils can understand the grounds on which valid claims about the past can be made. She opines further that this is not an easy task, but that it is a worthwhile educational challenge and an important objective if an adequate educational legacy is to be provided to students that will prepare them for the challenges and difficulties of life in a democracy. This is not about teaching “objective history” as was sometimes taught in the past; it is about teaching history as a set of intellectual skills and abilities that enable students to think independently within the framework of a set of practices and methods of inquiry. As such, these skills are vital to the civic understanding of citizens in a democracy (Kallaway, 2012).

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The completion of the interim curriculum for schools after the 1994 elections, paved the way for the development of the first post-apartheid national curriculum for South Africa, which came to be known as C2005. With the introduction of the integrated human and social sciences, history was collapsed into a broader category of social sciences, in which, it was merged with Geography and striped of its traditional content-driven

approach. The content of this learning area comprised the following disciplines, put together as a single entity; History, Geography, Democratic Education, Environmental Studies, World Ethical and Belief systems, Utility and Social Services (Ebot, 2008). He explains further that the arrangement was to be applied from Grades R-9 which has always been the compulsory phase for education in South Africa. For the Further Education Training level (FET) or Grades 10-12, which was not compulsory, it was envisaged that, there would be specialization in independent subjects. The focus areas could be called in their traditional names such as History, Geography, though still within the general rubric of Human and Social Sciences (Ebot, 2008).

Kallaway (2010) makes us understand that 'if we are to be able to effectively assess the engagement of students with this field of study (history), we must be able to understand precisely what effective learning would amount to, that is, to understand precisely how assessment would work and what the relationship is between history education and civic education. The CAPS Grades 10-12 history document makes a commitment to promoting "history as a process of enquiry" but it seems that the process of content selection is strongly influenced by another stated goal-the commitment to the study of history as a means of 'support for citizenship within a democracy' (Kallaway, 2012). Specifically, citizenship education is mentioned; upholding the values of the South African constitution and helping people to understand those values, reflecting the perspective of a broad social spectrum so that race, class, gender and the voices of ordinary people are represented; encouraging civic responsibility and responsible leadership, including raising current social and environmental concerns, promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices that involve race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia, and preparing young people for local, regional, national, continental and global responsibility (Kallaway, 2012).

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According to Ebot (2008), the learning area for the Human and Social Sciences did identify three broad themes to be studied, among which was the focus on 'participatory citizenship and civic education'. It was envisioned that this would contribute to the

development of responsible citizens who would participate in a culturally diverse and democratic society within an interdependent world. It would contribute to the development of a critical understanding of, and participation in the socio-political environment within the globe, the continent and the national contexts.

2.4.1.4 The teaching of Life Orientation (LO) as a School Subject for Political Education in South African Schools

A part from the teaching and learning of history as a means of inculcating political education in South African young learners, as it was discussed in the previous section, Life Orientation is another school subject that has the political contents aimed at inculcating political education in South African schools. Life Orientation is a compulsory subject for all learners and is made up of learning areas that promote the teaching of life skills, citizenship education including democracy and human rights. Life Orientation enhances the constitutional values of citizenship (Naido, 2013). This author states categorically that 'an outcome in these learning areas is that learners will be helped to exercise their rights and responsibility as well as active participation in the promotion of a democratic, equitable and just society'.

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The introduction of the subject on LO was an effort by the Department of Education to intervene and make a difference in learners' lives (Prinsloo, 2007). LO is compulsory for all learners in the Senior and Further Education and Training (FET) phases of Basic Education. It offers opportunities for equipping South African learners with the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that cultivate confidence in them and lead them toward becoming responsible citizens (Gama, 2015). Life Orientation is central to the holistic development of learners. The focus of LO is the development of self-in-society.
The subject has five (5) topics in Grades 7 to 9 focusing on development of the self in society; health, social and environmental responsibility; constitutional rights and responsibilities; physical education; and world of work.

Owing to the interrelated and holistic nature of the subject, the five topics of LO function interdependently and are considered to be of equal importance (DBE, 2011). The topic, 'the constitutional rights and responsibilities', is relevant to the inculcation of political education at the senior phase (Grades 7-9). The Table 2.1 presents the detail.

Table 2.1: Constitutional Rights and Responsibilities' Theme in Grades 7-9 LO

Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9
Human rights as stipulated in the South African Constitution.	Nation building.	Issues relating to citizens' rights and responsibilities.
Fair play in a variety of sport activities.	Concept: gender equity.	Constitutional values.
Dealing with abuse.	Concept: cultural diversity in South Africa.	Contributions of various religions in promoting peace.
Role of oral traditions and scriptures of major religions.	Contributions of organizations from various religions to social development.	Sport ethics.

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Source: Adapted from CAPS GR 7-9 LO (DBE, 2011).

This researcher believes that the key idea being portrayed by this curriculum in Grades 7-9 LO, as far as the theme represented in the Table 2.1 is concerned, is the inculcation of the civic values that would lead to responsible citizens in a democratic South African society. The learners will be made to learn about their fundamental citizens' rights as enshrined in the constitution of the republic as well as exposing to the issues of citizenship responsibilities to empower them to make their contribution to the building of democratic and egalitarian South African society.

According to Gama (2015), LO is one of the four central subjects which is the prerequisite for the National Senior Certificate, which means that it is mandatory for all learners in Grades 10, 11 and 12. The LO curriculum inspires the development of a

composed and assertive learner who can contribute not only to him or herself but also to the democratic society, a productive economy and an improved life for all. LO as a school subject has six topics for Grades 10, 11 and 12 learners. The topics include development of self in the society; social and environmental responsibility; democracy and human rights; careers and career choices; study skills; and physical education.

Again, owing to the interrelated and holistic nature of the subject, the six topics of LO function interdependently and are considered to be of equal importance (DBE, 2012). The attention of this research is specifically on the third topic in the list above that has to do with political education (democracy and human rights). This is further broken down into teachable topics for students in Grades 10-12 as presented respectively in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Democracy and Human Rights' Theme in Grades 10-12 LO

Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
Diversity, discrimination, human rights violations.	Democratic structures and democratic participation.	Contemporary moral and spiritual issues within the context of at least three major religions studied in Grade 10.
Ethical traditions and/or religious laws and indigenous belief systems of major religions.	Contributions of South Africa's diverse religions and belief systems to a harmonious society.	The role of the media in a democratic society.
Biases and unfair practices in sport.	Participant and spectator behaviour in sport and the role of sport in nation building.	Ideologies, beliefs and worldviews on construction of recreation and physical activity across cultures and genders.

Source: Adapted from Grades 10 – 12 Life Orientation CAPS DBE (2012)

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The Life Orientation curriculum in the NSC has the following purposes:

- Life Orientation addresses skills, knowledge, and values about the self, the environment, responsible citizenship, a healthy and productive life, social

engagement, recreation and physical activity, careers and career choices. These include opportunities to engage in the development and practice of a variety of life skills to solve problems, to make informed decisions and choices and to take appropriate actions to live meaningfully and successfully in a rapidly changing society. It not only focuses on knowledge, but also emphasizes the importance of the application of skills and values in real-life situations, participation in physical activity, community organizations and initiatives (Matshoba & Rooth, 2014).

- ❖ It is a unique subject as it applies a holistic approach to the personal, social, intellectual, emotional, spiritual, motor and physical growth and development of learners. This encourages the development of a balanced and confident learner who can contribute to just and democratic society, a productive economy and an improved quality of life for all (Matshoba & Rooth, 2014).

As shown in the Table 2.2, political education is inculcated into the learners in Grades 10-12 to equip them with knowledge of human rights as citizens, with knowledge of democratic structures of South Africa as well as making them democratic citizens who will be motivated to participate in the political activities of their communities and in South African governance. This particular theme establishes the link between political education and Life Orientation as one of the compulsory school subjects in South African high schools.

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2.4.1.5 An Overview of South African Political System

All countries of the world operate their own governments with distinct structures that allow them properly perform their constitutional roles. It is important that every person living in a country familiarizes themselves with the government in that country and how each of the components or structures within the government contributes in its overall functions. This is the essence of providing political education in schools for the young

learners to become acquainted with the nation's political system [emphasis added] (Department of Public Service and Administration, 2003).

The Republic of South Africa operates a system of government known as a parliamentary representative democracy. It is therefore a parliamentary representative democratic republic. In South Africa, the Constitution serves as the supreme law of the country. Any law or conduct inconsistent with it is invalid and the obligations that it imposes must be fulfilled. All laws passed by Parliament or any other legislative body, (provincial or a municipality) have to meet the stringent requirements that are laid down in it. According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996), South Africa is one sovereign, democratic state with the division of power between legislative, executive and judicial authorities (*trias politica principle*). This is represented in Figure 2.12.

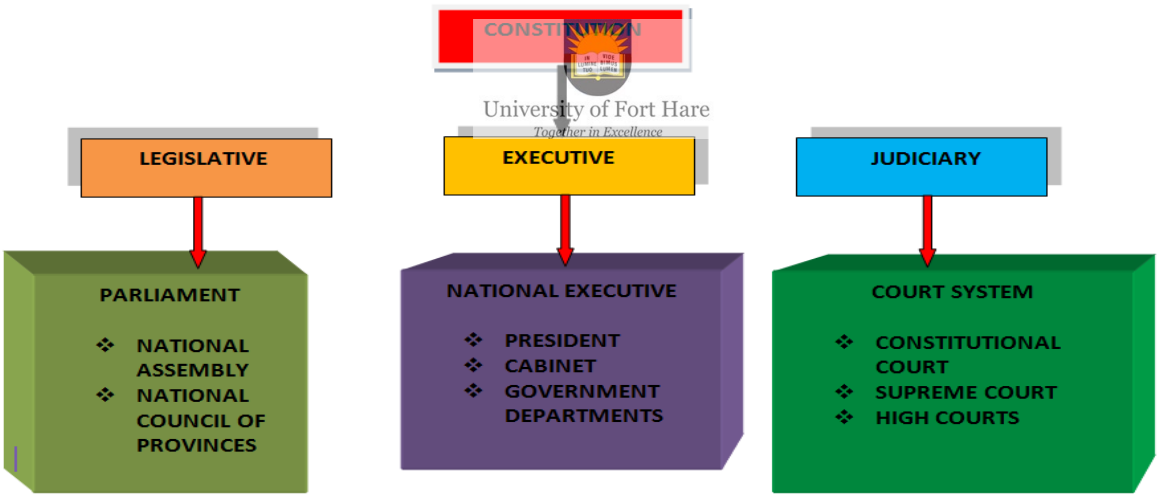

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Figure 2.12: Graphical Representation of South African Political System (Department of Public Service and Administration, 2003)

All the legislative bodies in the three spheres of government, that is, Parliament in the national sphere, the nine provincial legislatures in the provincial sphere and the 284 local government legislatures in the third sphere of government are subject to all

conditions contained within the constitution. The constitution binds the government of South Africa to abide the principles of democracy and transparency and promote the rights and privileges of every citizen in the country by declaring among other things; human dignity; freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion; freedom of expression within particular limits; and freedom of association. Freedom to make political choices including forming a political party, participating in its activities, campaigning for a political party or cause and having free, fair and regular elections (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

The government of the Republic of South Africa is divided into the national, provincial and local spheres. National government is responsible for policy formulation and making, developing national standards and norms, and rules and regulations. Exclusive functional areas for provincial governments include abattoirs, ambulance services, provincial planning, provincial cultural matters, provincial roads and traffic. Local governments take care of local government matters which include local amenities, markets, municipal abattoirs, municipal roads, noise pollution and street trading (Department of Public Service and Administration, 2003).

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2.4.1.6 Perspectives on Political Education in South African Schools

Education for democratic citizenship in South African schools entails:

> *"The explicit and continuing study of the basic concepts and values underlying…democratic political community and constitutional order and consists of learning activities, curriculum, and/or educational programmes…concerned with rights and responsibilities of citizens; the purpose is to promote knowledge, skills and attitudes conducive to effective participation in civic life"* (DoE, 2001:23 quoted in Schoeman, 2006).

Socialization processes begin at birth and take place mostly through private functions within homes, at religious meetings, on the street or in front of a television or computer screen (Schoeman, 2010:134). Education, however inadequate, provides a public resource which falls under the national political sphere of influence. While individuals gain an understanding of their social world from many institutions, a nation has a level

of control over schooling which does not exist with other modes of socialization. What learners are taught in the classroom can confirm, complement, or counteract such knowledge. This learning experience may be limited but it is 'the place where we, as a collective, self-conscious public…try to shape our children to live in a democratic world' (Schoeman, 2010:134; Weinstein, 2014).

Weinstein (2014) affirms that South Africa has recognized this use of education therefore states, in its National Development Plan: A vision for 2030; declaring as follows:

> *"School, unlike families, can enable the fostering of common values across language, culture, religion, race, class, and space; it is therefore important that children learn at school to appreciate diversity through respect and tolerance, know how to cope in an ever-changing environment, and help transform the national character of South Africa teaching that rights come with responsibilities"* (pg.425).

As it stands today, the South African education system is grossly inefficient, severely underperforming and egregiously unfair (Spaull, 2013). Weak governance, corruption, and political scandals are common across all levels, from the national education department down to the classroom, and pervasive socio-economic inequality continues to constrain educational opportunities and outcomes for most of the population (Fiske & Ladd, 2004: 173 cited by Godinho (2016). According to Spaull (2013), the majority of South African school students have an inadequate grasp of the curriculum, including basic numeracy and literacy skills, at all grades and ages. In addition to poor performance, schools are regularly found to be 'untransformed' in their governance structures, the roles and characteristics of school organizations, and the relationships of power between different actors within the school (Harber & Mncube, 2012; Mafora, 2013). In many instances, schools are sites 'of cultural politics that serve to reproduce and perpetuate' an undemocratic political culture, with students and teachers experiencing schools as 'fraught with unfairness, inequality, disregard for human rights and intolerance for diversity' (Mafora, 2013).

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In theory, South Africa's citizenship aspirations have been established and reiterated through official documents over the past 20 years. The nation is noted to want to promote active citizenship as a moral concept in which active and informed engagement is necessary to ensure the peace of the nation through civic values of tolerance, equity, and human rights. The first White Paper on education in the democratic South Africa highlights the importance of civic responsibility and propones the use of education to empower citizens to participate confidently and constructively in social and civic life (Weinstein, 2014). The more recent statement in the 2011 Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) on the Social Sciences stating a clear aim to develop lifelong learners who are capable of participation in society as a critical and active citizen (DBE, 2011).

Elaborating on the 'democratic school' perspective, Haber and Mncube (2012) and Godinho (2016) submit that the school is seen as a micro-society within which student become politically engaged, thereby developing democratic political attitudes and values. According to this perspective, education (school) must be democratically organized and possess a culture of democratic relationships, and thus be a microcosm of a wider democratic state and society. From this perspective, democratic citizenship should be extended to students in school, whereby meaningful participation, political debate and discussion, and social responsibility are imbued in the learners through a democratic school culture. A democratic school should have a participative governance and ethos, relationships within the school should be characterized by fairness, care and a sense of community, and an open classroom climate should be cultivated, including the discussion of controversial topics related to politics (Godinho (2016).

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All these characteristics should be formalized through school documentation (vision, code of conduct, manifesto etc.), organizational structures (school governing bodies, student representative bodies, parent-teacher associations etc.), and the curriculum (Harber & Mncube, 2012). The 'educated' citizen will become politically engaged and participatory if they have experienced and become acculturated to the norms of

democratic society through the school, as well as having an understanding of basic issues through learning about democracy and participating in political discussion and debate at school (Campbell, 2008; Lenzi et al., 2014).

In South Africa, education policy explicitly emphasizes the role of the school in fostering a democratic culture, and developing politically engaged and participative attitudes among students. Policy presupposes an effective school in South Africa is one that operates democratically in order to promote democracy in the wider society (Harber & Mncube, 2012). Curriculum reform efforts of the government have been directed at provision of modern, quality and equal education for South African citizens as well as democratizing the education system even at the level of the classrooms.

2.4.2 Political Education in the Universities

Akinboye and Eesuola (2015) disclose that the first attempt at conceptualizing the notion of 'university' was done by John Henry Newman in his 1854 classic work. However, Ker (2011) describes Newman's notion of university as an institution for liberal education and commitment to teaching of universal knowledge. By liberal education, Newman conceives of education that forms and develops the whole mind of man with a philosophical habit characterized with knowledge, wisdom, freedom, equity, equality, calmness, moderation and activeness as against passiveness and teachers' imperialism. The universality of knowledge being taught in the university presupposes the ability of students to learn and acquire certain skills and knowledge in other fields of study and as much as they learn and acquire from their respective chosen study fields. Therefore, it is possible to find students of Economics, Science, Agriculture and the likes to be much interested in politics even more than the political science students.

University, in Newman's view, should offer universal opportunities in terms of what can be learned and achieved by students without any restrictions. This is the reason why universities also permit their students to take general courses in Science, Social

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Science, Agriculture and Humanities, as the case may be outside their own fields of study, to develop the wholeness of the students' minds (Ker, 2011).

For Newman, the primary objective of university is generational transmission and increase of skills, values and dispositions for the cultivation of intellect and ability to think clearly and logically as well as make normative judgement and assessment of the process of education (Ker, 2011). Thus, a university is one institution that must be made open and accessible to accommodate all forms of human knowledge aimed at growing and producing a functional and not merely educated man. By implication, a student who passes through the university should have freedom to participate in all areas of learning (be it, academic, social, political life) within the system during the course of his studies. Newman's notion of university states that this is the means by which student will gain 'liberal education' and there will be avoidance of teachers being academic imperialists (Ker, 2011). To this end, university education is concerned with the civic responsibility to ensure that societal shared values are perpetually transmitted and citizens are ultimately prepared for political participation (Boyle cited in Akinboye & Eesuola, 2015). As SASCO puts it:

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> *"…a university by its very origins and nature is a social institution comprised of social human beings who are engaged in an educational and intellectual inquiry to find suitable solutions to challenges facing humankind including the freedom to reason about the very nature of these challenges. Education acquired for the sake of it, is like education never received because; it is inactive and therefore useless. It is a waste to study to do nothing, rather do nothing at all or choose to study nothing as a discipline, if that is practically possible"* (SASCO, 2006:20).

Much of the concern in the above quote, as credited to SASCO, regarding the responsibility of the university is in line with the thought of Newman as rightly discussed. The attention is on the need for freedom of individuals to be able to think as clearly as possible towards solving their challenges as well as the need to relate socially with one another. Again, the essence of education is being pointed out too. Education is meant to make citizens to become actively involved in the civic or political activities so as to ensure the sustainability of the country's democracy that would help solve a myriad of

socio-political and economic problems confronting the country. Hence, the researcher's interest in political science undergraduate students as the participants in this study gives a clear picture of how ready they are; and to what extent they have been influenced by the university's political education for engagement in political activities in and off campus. In this way, the study is able to assess the extent to which the university students can bring their theoretical knowledge into practice as far as political participation is concerned.

Under this section, discussion focuses on efforts and roles of the universities in the promotion of citizenship education, democratic leadership and political participation of undergraduate students on and off campus.

2.4.2.1 Political Education and Universities' Roles in Democratic Participation

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Historically speaking, universities have played various roles in their contribution to political, social and economic development. The university system is expected to play multiple roles which include elements of political socialization. Universities play crucial role of high-level skills training needed to run the complex institutions of modern society such as the institutions of modern democracy, other state institutions and civil society organizations (Castells, 2009). Universities and other higher education institutions have been recognized for the delivery of the knowledge required for the political development of the country, operation and improvement of its essential democratic institutions as a modern system of government. The universities are also relied upon for the supply of the manpower requirements of government for the effective running of the executive, legislature, judiciary and other bureaucratic institutions of any democratic society.

To this end, education has a special role to play in political development, democratization and the consolidation and sustainability of democracy. No doubt, universities have been instrumental in the process of shaping civic values, constructing a new basis of belonging and citizenship, educating citizens for leadership

responsibilities (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Political stability and promotion of democratic values are in the best interest of the nation and the role of youth participation in this process is critical. Forbig (2005) suggests that democratic institutions should be open to youth concerns, interests and their participation depends on whether they feel themselves as important actors in the political process. Expectedly, democracy demands an acceptance, comprehension and development of democratic institutions through youth's own participation even if circumstances do not favour interests. Hence, sustained engagement from youth and permanent accessibility from institutions of higher learning especially the universities are imperative for youth political participation.

The post-apartheid policy-based conception of higher education in South Africa illustrates the roles that education for citizenship (political education) can be ascribed to in the transformation and democratization of a society. The South African statutory advisory body to the Minister of Higher Education and Training states that:

> *"Higher education is charged with developing a citizenry capable of participating effectively in democratic processes, and thus enhancing the project of democracy; with producing intellectuals who can engage with the most intractable problems of society and so develop more generally the ability of citizens to participate politically, economically and socially; and with producing high-level skilled graduates and of knowledge to drive economic and social development, and to enhance the overall levels of intellectual and cultural development"* (CHE 2004:14)

University of Pretoria

In other words, universities and other higher education institutions in South Africa have the academic responsibilities of producing graduates in terms upbringing of citizens who can be able to participate actively and politically by engaging in the democratic processes of the country. However, the question stands; how well have the universities been discharging these responsibilities in South Africa?

Similarly, Badat (2009) emphasizes the university's role in democracy and democratic citizenship as follows:

> *"…our societies require graduates who are not just capable professionals, but also sensitive intellectuals and critical citizens. Our academic programmes together with our institutional culture and practices must therefore ensure that we keep ethical questions in sharp focus, and that we advance a democratic ethos and a culture of human rights conducive to critical discourse, cultural tolerance, and a common commitment to a humane, just non-racist and non-sexist social order"* (Badat, 2009:8).

Accordingly, our universities have the statutory duties not to produce half-baked or ill-trained graduates and professionals that will be too timid and feeble to engage the democratic structures and institutions of government for the purpose of helping the society achieve the overall aims of its education. Also, our universities should be institutions with such practices and culture that will instill the sense of human rights and commitment to living in a society that will be just and fair in terms of social order without any form of discrimination. To this end, academic programmes of the universities must accommodate curriculum including political education and other related disciplines having political contents in nature. The authors of the student governance study conducted in the universities of Botswana, Cape Town, Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, affirm that African university is an important training centre where students' political knowledge, skills and competences are nurtured and developed for them to be able to make meaningful contributions to the nation's democratic processes (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011).

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2.4.2.2 Nature of Political Education in Higher Institutions (Universities)

Previous research has demonstrated how education is theoretically and practically connected to youth political participation (CIRCLE, 2010). More so, many studies have provided justifications on how higher education is associated with the civic participation (Brand, 2010; Gesthuizen et al., 2008; Huang et al., 2009). It has been noted that the more the young individuals further in education after the secondary school, the greater their political interest becomes (Finlay & Flanagan, 2009). This would also motivate them to engage more in community's activities by volunteering for services in the overall

interest of their community. Education stakeholders have agreed that institutions of higher learning play vital and crucial roles to encourage political participation among students (McBride, 2008; Colby et al., 2010). Academically, higher education institutions influence their students to become more politically active and responsible citizenry through civic instruction, deliberative course-based discussion, community service, and service learning (Einfeld & Collins, 2008; Finlay & Flanagan, 2009). According to Colby et al, 2010), courses with political contents and other extracurricular programmes having the objectives of political education have been able to increase political participation even amomg the students with no active interest in politics before.

2.4.2.2.1 Civic Instruction

This has to do with acquisition of knowledge about the political systems, governmental functions, structures and democratic processes through courses on politics. Nonetheless, there are still controversies regarding the extent to which political education received formally at the level of higher institutions has been able to influence students' interest in politics and their political participation (Galston, 2007). Students' understanding of politics is crucial for the inculcation of the principles of being truthful and faithful in them. Pacho (2014) contends that there is morality in politics and it is important to emphasize this as far as the students' understanding of politics is concerned. He argues that knowledge of politics is essential for curbing the growing monster of corruption which has become pervasive in the governance of several nations of the world especially in Africa. Students have to be taught about the principles, culture and tenets of genuine democracy in order to return African democratic institutions to sanity.

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Political education would inculcate in the students the democratic practice of voting and not fighting; and as such there would be a reduction in political thuggery and violence during the electioneering periods. The civic instruction through political education at the level of the university would also help in addressing the erroneous belief and negative

perception about politics especially in those students who might think that politics is a ‘dirty game’. Students would be made to understand that politics can only remain dirty and violent when dirty and violent people are left to play the game. They would be encouraged and inspired to go into politics as the future leaders and also perform their civic responsibilities as periodically required under the law (Pacho, 2014).

2.4.2.2.2 Deliberative Course-Based Discussion

This is concerned with student directly engaging in political discussions on national and international events. Discussions of political issues allow students to develop their critical thinking skills by making their voices heard and learning how to contribute to discourse on national issues. Regardless of the disciplines of students, political education can enable deliberation on political issues provided that the instructors encourage an open debate on various topics in the classrooms. Through this approach, students learn to have an understanding and tolerance with respect to other people’s views (Pritzker, Springer & McBride; 2012). Compared with counterparts who lack such an experience, students who experience classroom-based deliberative discussion are more likely to exhibit political interest, whether through attention to the news or sharing political opinions in conversation, and to report intent to engage in civic activity (McDevitt & Kiousis, 2006; Pritzker, Springer & McBride; 2012).

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2.4.2.2.2 Community Service Learning

In terms of service-oriented civic influences, community service is typically offered outside of the classroom and is not directly linked to classroom content. Volunteer opportunities may be arranged formally by university staff or student political organizations but also may occur informally with other students. Community service is central to the construction of youth’s civic and moral identity. It increases students’ ties to their communities and is expected to have long-term impacts on their political behaviour (Pritzker, Springer & McBride; 2012). It is expected that students who learn civic duties and obligations through community service would end up being selfless and

volunteer community leaders. Service learning is a form of experiential education where students take something they have learned in class and apply it to a real-world situation. Service learning is defined as “a teaching strategy wherein students learning important curricular objectives by providing service that meets community needs” (Billig, Root & Jesse, 2005:3).

Many studies have provided some evidence of positive effects of service learning courses including effects on political engagement, political efficacy, and political apathy (Evans, 2015). Service learning tends to be based in the classroom. It features structured volunteer service that is linked to educational objectives and systematic reflection on the service experience. Service learning can enable students to transfer knowledge and experiences between the classroom and a real-world setting. Through it, students can develop habits of participating in community life. Compared to their counterparts not involved, undergraduate students involved in long-term service learning exhibit greater participation in such civic activities as raising awareness about social and political issues via the internet, solving community problems, and engaging in consumer political issues (Keen & Hall, 2009; Pritzker, Springer & McBride; 2012). Some studies have found that community service (whether required in a course or completely voluntary) has a positive impact on voter turnout and political engagement (Billig et al., 2005; Levine 2007; Hart, Donnelly, Youniss & Atkins, 2007), while there are other studies that find that service learning does not always promote political engagement (McAdam & Brandt, 2009).

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In the next section, attention will focus on different ways by which university is influencing university students’ political participation.

2.5 Influence of University’s Political Education on Students’ Political Participation

It is common for educationalists to emphasize the importance of pedagogical style and modes of school governance in preparing children for their roles as citizens, or subjects. The latter involves a much broader conception of citizenship education that

encompasses the ideological as well as political orientations and practices in educational institutions overall.

Citizenship education has two important leanrning objectives in higher education institutions:

> *"First, students need to learn how democracy works through participation in student organizations and university decision-making bodies, and by developing a conceptual understanding of democracy. Second, they need to learn that democracy works by experiencing that they can influence events and their own living conditions through participation"* (Bleiklie cited in Luescher-Mamashela, 2011:10).

The university, as one of the educational institutions, expectedly grooms the students in the knowledge and functionality of democracy and its institutions. Students are also expected to utilize their knowledge and democracy and its dynamic institutions in their participation in the activities of various student organizations and the politics of the Student Representative Council (SRC). The university has to provide an enabling democratic climate within the campus to encourage the students in their political involvement. Their participation as student leaders and representatives of the student bodies in the university's decision making should be very encouraging and stimulating to enhance their practical experience about governance. In this way, students' confidence is boosted and is thereby ready for them to influence political issues and happenings around them.

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In this section, attention will focus on various ways through which universities influence students' political participation.

2.5.1 Acquisition of Political Knowledge through the Study of Politics

Higher education institutions play a critical role in influencing students' political participation in various ways. Unfortunately, these institutions have not always prioritized undergraduate political learning (Colby et al., 2007). Political education and volunteer service are capable of increasing political participation among university

students (Flanagan, 2009; Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Wattenberg, 2008). Politics has a way of influencing everyone. Political education therefore deserves to be given attention as a general course of study in higher institutions of learning. The study of political education will avail students of various opportunities for political participation and help them build a positive attitude towards politics. More importantly, students who major in the study of politics will become academically prepared to actively participate in the democratic governance of the state. Once students have become well equipped with the knowledge of politics, it increases the likelihood to show much more interest in political debates, demonstrations, membership in political organizations and trade unions, and voting during elections (Pacho, 2014). Political knowledge is one of the material and cognitive reseources needed for political participation. Individuals who possess sufficient political knowledge are better able to understand their own interests and how to effectively participate in the political process. When students have higher levels of political information, they tend to become more politically efficacious; having the confidence and ability to participate in the marketplace of political ideas (Owen, Soule & Chalif, 2011).

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As Pacho (2014) opines, the study of politics would broaden students' minds about the nitty gritty of politics in general and their country's political system in particular. Politics essentially involves the use of power and authority for decision-making and enforcement of the decisions made by the political office holders. He states further that power and authority are obvious elements in the relationships among the stakeholders within the university community. The study of politics, government, political science, citizenship or political education basically enables students to acquire political knowledge and understanding. Expectedly, students' political behaviour is largely influenced by the amount of political knowledge they have acquired. Presumably, when students have an understanding of the working and functions of the parliament in a political system, there is likelihood that they can become much more interested in the political actvities as well as the political institutions' performance. No doubt, the

students' cognitive abilities can be influenced greatly by the formal instruction received about politics at the level of the classroom in the university (Dassonneville et al., 2012).

Another perspective is the need for an open classroom climate. The literature has highlighted the role of democratic practice and of classroom interaction among students and between students and their lecturers. It has been argued that a democratic civic culture is not primarily a matter of factual knowledge about the functioning of the political system, but depends on the degree to which the basic democratic attitudes and normative expectations are shared by the population. The way in which the university itself functions as a small-scale democratic community is receiving attention in the literature (Flanagan & Stout, 2010). Essentially, it is more important for the university itself to run its internal affairs democratically in such a way that students can learn about the practical demonstration of democracy. This approach is commonly operationalized by the concept of an open classroom climate, a notion which refers to the way in which students are encouraged to develop and express their own views (Campbell, 2006; Pacho, 2014). It is assumed that the presence of an open classroom climate will have some influence on students' political efficacy and desire to participate in politics.

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Political education will influence students' understanding of various political concepts such as sovereignty, state, political obligation, and the relationship between the individual and the political system. Knowledge of political affairs will help students to objectively and critically scrutinize leaders and political structures. Hence, students will be better placed to identify the types of political systems which would be geared towards the promotion of the welfare of the population. Such knowledge will help students to remedy and criticize the flaws of political activities such as rigging in an electoral process and as a result ensure good political performance. Political education will help students to better understand political institutions and how such institutions work so as to contribute to the improvement of their country's political system (Pacho, 2014).

In another study, Fridkin, Kenney and Crittenden (2006) found that opportunities for practicing democratic skills in class were associated with higher levels of political trust among students. Research has also shown that engagement in social activities in associations is associated with higher levels of political participation (McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Quintelier, 2008). Other authors have also shown that service learning; classroom civic learning and after-school activities can have a positive effect on political participation (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). Students' actions such as demonstrations are sometimes aimed to persuade governments to implement or not implement some policies. Thus, political education becomes an even more relevant discipline in educational institutions. For instance, students can demonstrate against oppressive government policies and laws, such as unreasonable hiking of fees, which can subsequently push poor students out of learning institutions. Such actions geared towards the government are generally considered political. Through being familiar with politics, students will be able to learn the best possible ways, attitudes, and dispositions for making such actions more fruitful without undermining human dignity and rights. While a demonstration against oppressive structures can be justified, such actions ought to be peaceful with protestors ensuring they do not infringe on the rights of others. The right to take to the streets must be accompanied by the responsibility to protect life and property. Thus, any form of hooliganism, looting, destruction of life and property during demonstrations is inexcusable.

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2.5.2 Influencing Students to be Alive to their Rights and Duties as Citizens

According to Article 21 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights; "Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his or her country, directly or through freely elected representatives" (United Nations, 1998:5 cited in Pacho, 2014). Pacho believes that an awareness of rights and duties can lead to fulfillment, promotion and protection of such rights and obligations. It could be very difficult to defend such rights if there is no such awareness through the teaching and learning of political education in the university. Also, these rights may not be known when they are not

being consciously taught and understood by students. This is the role of political education in the educational institutions such as the universities. This could influence a lot of students to end up becoming human rights activists or political activists. Most people are ignorant of their basic and fundamental rights and duties. For instance, a particular group of people may recognize that they have a right to strike or to demonstrate, but they may seem unaware of the rights of innocent non-demonstrators whom they may see as objects of violence. Therefore, people ought to be aware of their rights and duties in order to participate actively and responsibly in government. This can be enhanced by providing students with political and civic knowledge at the university level (Pacho, 2014).

The notion of citizenship is related to the idea that, as a member of a state, a person has certain rights and responsibilities (Mintz, Close & Croci, 2012). Moreover, the idea of citizenship is closely related to that of democracy, in that citizenship is first defined in terms of certain political rights like equality before the law, free speech, and voting rights (these are often termed 'first-generation rights'), which enable citizen participation in decision-making. In the struggle for democracy in a country like South Africa, debates around democracy and citizenship often focus on political rights at first, but shift this focus in time. As the South African constitution and South African debates on citizenship show, the focus of the rights-based discourse may rapidly shift towards second-generation rights (that includes rights to basic services such as housing and healthcare) and third-generation citizenship rights (focused amongst others on the rights of cultural minorities) (Von Lieres & Robins, 2008; Luescher-Mamashela, 2011).

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Citizenship is considered beyond the idea of an 'inactive acceptance of state-determined social and political rights and responsibilities whereby citizens remain essentially 'subjects of the sovereign state'. Rather, Von Lieres and Robins (2008) argue that citizenship in the South includes 'a wide range of ideas and practices that may involve participation in a range of political institutions and relationships'. Thus, 'citizenship is defined by highly localized processes of identification and political

mobilization and not only by the claims of the rights-bearing citizen vis-à-vis the state'. From this perspective, student political involvement at the campus level can be considered as an expression of citizenship which can be influenced by the university's political education (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011).

2.5.3 Influencing through Student Representation

Another key influence of the university's political education on students' political participation is through student representation. Student representation refers to the formal structures and processes of elected or appointed student representatives speaking or acting on behalf of the collective student body in higher education governance within a higher education institution or a higher education system. It means making the collective student voice present in decision processes within higher education institutions or public-policy processes led by political authorities responsible for higher education (Luescher, Klemenčíč & Jowi, 2015). Put differently, student representation is a democratic process involving privileges and provisions by the university to allow students have their representation in the governance structures and processes regarding decisions that affect students as a group of stakeholders in the university communities.

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Student representation is premised on three conditions. Firstly, there must be democratic procedures in place which confer collective student powers on student representatives to represent the interests of the collective student body and through which those powers can also be revoked (Luescher, Klemenčíč & Jowi, 2015). Studies on students' governance have shown that Student Representative Councils (SRCs) remain the important stakeholders of academic institutions worldwide; and are responsible for students' governance on campuses (Klemenčíč, 2012). Klemenčíč indicates that that SRCs are the fulltime governing body entrusted with specific matters by their constituency and university management. In South African Higher Institutions (especially the universities), the SRCs are now considered to be statutory structures as

provided for in the terms of section 35 of the Higher Education Act 101, of 1997. Section 35 of this Act provides for the establishment of the SRC which has jurisdiction over students' matters. SRCs represent students on forums such as school boards, Faculty boards, Senate and University Councils. In this case, the SRCs have to exercise authority over students and hear students' cases or issues (Ntsala & Mahlatji, 2016).

Secondly, student representatives must create procedures through which they regularly communicate with the student body to collect student views and inform them about their activities (Luescher, Klemenčíč & Jowi, 2015). It is clear that the SRCs serve as a link between the student body and the university management. To ensure success of student affairs on campuses, SRCs should liaise closely with students in order to understand the needs and challenges facing students they represent. SRCs, through their services, lead various activities and are responsible for coordinating formation of students' organizations, societies and clubs in order to enhance the university environment for students. This suggests that SRCs, as leadership bodies, need to have access to quality information for good governance (Ntsala & Mahlatji, 2016). The student representatives are elected by the student body to act on their behalf and in their interest; they retain the freedom to exercise their own judgment as how best to do so. This could be possible if the SRC serves as the voice for all students by presenting issues as are necessary for smooth academic environment.

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Thirdly, there must be representational structures through which student representative can intermediate student interests into the decision-making processes (Klemenčíč, 2014). The formation of the SRC in various universities is based on these three models, Liberia Democratic Model, Direct Model approach and Representative Democracy Model (RDM) (Bukaliya & Rupande, 2012). The Liberal Democracy Model postulates that a representative democracy is one in which the ability of the elected student representatives to exercise decision-making power is subject to a constitution accepted by the students to guide the operations, a constitution which emphasizes the protection of students rights and freedoms and regulates the actions of leaders against making

unpopular decisions (Ntsala & Mahlatji, 2016). The direct model approach posits that in an organized institution, students participate in the decision-making of the organization personally, contrary to relying on intermediaries or representatives. The direct democracy model gives the voting student population binding orders to its elected representatives, such as recalling them before the expiry of their term in office (Bukaliya & Rupande, 2012). The RMD apparently is of major use today in most institutions of higher learning including the university level. The RMD involves elections and the organization with plurality of the votes becomes student council to represent the wishes and desires of the student body. At the university level on an annual basis, the SRC elections are held whereby different organizations such as South African Students' Congress (SASCO), Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA), Students' Christian Organization (SCO), and Economic Freedom Fighters Students Command (EFFSCO) canvass to be elected as student representatives (Bukaliya & Rupande, 2012; Ntsala & Mahlatji, 2016).

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Universities have been considered as centers of citizenship and civic involvement harnesses the university's potential to consciously cultivate democratic norms, values and practices on campuses. A strong student representation is at the centre of such an objective. Studies have shown that universities stimulate students' cognitive engagement with politics, as well as their interest in and discussion about politics, and increases knowledge of basic facts about the political system, government, and political incumbents. Student representation, if diligently following the principles of democratic governance, is a powerful example of democracy at work, and efficacy of student representatives in university governance can be an important lesson that democracy indeed works. Students lend themselves to life laboratories for active and collaborative learning for the development of competences and critical understanding related to democratic citizenship (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2015; Luescher, Klemenčíč & Jowi, 2015).

2.6 Agents of Political Education

Political education is defined as the process in which political attitudes and behaviours are 'germinated' and formed (Hamad et al. cited in Adelabu & Akinsolu, 2009). In this section, the term *political education* is used interchangeably with the term *political socialization* (as assumed by Entwistle cited in Adelabu & Akinsolu, 2009). Political socialization refers to the process of induction into a political system and remains the engine room of political development and sustenance of democracy in Nigeria when people of all ages are put through the process of teaching and learning about all aspects of the political system (Olasupo, 2015). With a thorough understanding of the political system and possession of relevant political knowledge and attitude, the various factors that hinder appropriate practice of democracy and development of enlightened citizenship are gradually nipped in the bud (Olasupo, 2015). Almond, Powell, Dalton and Strom (2008) describe political socialization as a process that involves the transmission of the political culture to a new generation of citizens in any society. Put differently, it is the process that occurs at both the individual and community level, and it extends beyond the acquisition of political culture to encompass the learning of more sophisticated political ideas and orientations. Political socialization is generally the process of acquiring and changing the culture of one's own political environment. It is measured through the use of indexes, the most important of which are political efficacy, political trust, citizen duty, expectation for political participation, and political knowledge (Almond et al., 2008).

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Political efficacy is a person's ability to understand his government and to feel competent in changing it. The efficacious person feels he has the power to influence political decisions. Political trust refers to the feeling of confidence (or lack of it) one develops toward the government and its officials. One may score high on the index of political trust if one views the government as caring about the personal lives of the citizens. Conversely, one may score low on political trust if one thinks the government officials do not care about and do not listen to the wishes of the people. Citizen duty is the sense of obligation one feels toward his government, usually expressed through

voting in an election. Political participation refers to either expected or actual involvement in political activity such as in discussions or political rallies and meetings. Political knowledge refers to the cognitive understanding that one has of the operation of the political system (both its structure and process) and to the capacity that one has to evaluate critically the system's effectiveness (Almond et al., 2008).

As for Suberu (2007), political socialization is the product of interlocking sets of macro and micro level phenomena. At the macro or political system level, political socialization is the means by which polities and other political societies inculcate appropriate norms and practices in citizens, residents, and members (Wattenberg, 2007). At the micro or individual level, political socialization constitutes 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" (Oddih, 2007). As a result of political socialization, individuals acquire knowledge about the political system and how it works. They internalize the society's political value system and ideology, and come to understand its symbols and rituals. They become informed about the role of active and passive members of the polity, and may participate in political and civic life (Olasupo, 2015). Political socialization is a lifelong process and a variety of individuals and institutions contribute to its shaping effect. Individuals are politically socialized by such groups as their family, peers, and social class. They are equally socialized by existing laws, media, religion, education, their own gender, and more.

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These groups and institutions which contribute to the process of political socialization are known as the agents of socialization. Polities convey established patterns of thought and action, laws and norms, and traditions and folkways through agencies such as the family, educational system, peer groups, mass media, political institutions, community organizations, religious organizations and the military (Marshall cited in Olasupo, 2015). The concept of political socialization is a general term for civic/political education and training. Educating young people to become members of society, who actively participate in the shaping of the political environment is a crucial step in the context of

political socialization (Buhl cited in Yoldaş, 2015). In this context, the effort to bring the growing generation in contact with politics is the main task of civic/political education and training, which is defined as “intended political socialization”. The functional political socialization shapes the political worldview of an individual. The people who raise awareness in young people about political processes include family, neighbours, peer groups, the media, the military, the workplace and school as an institution that imparts knowledge, skills and values. Through the active collaboration in political decision-making processes in schools, such as student newspapers or elections of student council representatives, teenagers gain insight into the basic principles of liberal democracies. This can lead to more motivation and willingness on their part to become engaged in politics in and outside of schools (Detjen, 2007:3; Yoldaş, 2015). Adelabu and Akinsolu (2009), in their own study, identify a number of agents of political education of undergraduate students in the universities which include the curriculum, campus peer and friendship groups, students union and University lecturers. In this section, efforts will be made to discuss each of the important agents of political education or socialization as the case may be.

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2.6.1 Agents of Political Education: Educational Institutions/School Curriculum

The role of educational institutions in transmitting political education cannot be over-emphasized. There is a concern in schools that political education can be an instrument for teaching certain political beliefs to children and youths**.** The school helps one to understand political events, and affects his/her appropriate role opinion as a citizen. Children are introduced to political system, political parties, political leaders etc., concepts and phenomena in the primary school and discuss matters related to politics in courses like History, Geography more often in the secondary/high school (Nilgun et al., 2015). Schools are prime contexts for civic development given that young people spend much of their lives there, they represent microcosms of broader society, and historically their mission was to educate and develop socially responsible citizens (Homana, Barber & Torney-purta, 2006).

Civic or political education has been the primary mode by which schools have attempted to socialize youth for their roles and responsibilities as citizens. Through civic courses, curricular materials, and field trips, schools educate students about the government, political processes, and political leaders. Research suggests that people who are most knowledgeable about politics are more likely to participate in it than those with less knowledge. However, knowledge alone is not a sufficient precondition for civic engagement (Delli Carpini & Keeter, cited in Watkins, 2009). Student leadership and service-learning courses offered at schools provide youth with meaningful opportunities to engage in civic processes. Student leadership positions (on councils or governments) expose youth to the structure, processes, and roles associated with democratic participation and governance. Thus, hierarchical structure, competitive ethos, and neutral/apolitical orientations to civic engagement may delimit the ability of schools to socialize young people toward democratic participation (Watkins, 2009).

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The major political function of the elementary school is to foster compliance with governmental rules and authority. This is also corroborated by (Pandey & Kumar, cited by Nilgun et al, 2015) when they state that the political function of the school and education is to bring up good citizens. This, in fact, is particularly the common and fundamental purpose of political, democratic and citizenship education. The awareness and responsibility of citizenship is gained by people's living it in practice and through the political education process (Nilgun et al, 2015). The formal curriculum and instructional programs generally underemphasize the children's rights to participate in political decisions and overemphasize compliance with the government and uncritical loyalty toward the system. Higher levels of education seem most likely to encourage citizens to participate meaningfully in politics. Education also affects the political skills and resources of the public. Educated people are more aware of the impact of government on their lives and pay more attention to politics. The better educated people have mental skills that improve their ability to manage the world of politics. They also have

more information about political processes and participate in a wider range of political activities (Almond et al., 2008 cited in Olasupo, 2015).

As Plato and Aristotle expressed, politics is a human activity held everywhere, and is imperative in terms of meeting the natural needs of people. Politics does not involve humans only, but also corporations, establishments, societies and communities (Nilgun et al., 2015). In this context, school is a structure within politics which produces politics, examines political systems in effect, and shows their consistencies and inconsistencies (Sönmez, 2012). Political socialization literature suggests that the ages when children start to form political concepts are primary school ages, and several children may be in their most receptive ages to learn at least some socio-political concepts in primary schools (Nilgun et al., 2015). Political concepts are introduced to children via education and school either directly or indirectly starting from early ages. School is both a surety of formation of socially qualified political culture and a means to political socialization (Türköne, cited in Nilgun, et al., 2015).

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The schools not only directly supports socialization and political participation via formal curriculum, but also encourages the same indirectly through the school atmosphere, the sense of togetherness among teachers and students, its form of communication and interaction and the order of seating in classrooms etc. Adelabu and Akinsolu (2009) find that curriculum has the influence on the political education of students. In their further explanation, it is revealed that the school curriculum is important in shaping the students' understanding of the political world. In a country with a strong ideology, textbooks are used to indoctrinate students and they are often selective and contain biases regarding political issues.

Campus socialization provides political knowledge to students. It is hereby confirmed that political education could be shaped by what is transmitted through the official curriculum. The curriculum dictates the knowledge system of each student. It can also widen the cognitive experience of students. Undoubtedly, many agents of political

education would have influenced university students before and by the time they are in the university. Schooling itself has been known to function as an ideological vehicle for political socialization but the more extensive an individual's education is, the more likely he is to have more political information to possess a wide range of opinions on political matters and to engage in political discussion with a wide range of people and to feel a greater ability to influence political affairs (Almond & Verba, cited in Adelabu & Akinsolu, 2009). The university has now been reported to be the dominant model and central instrument of political education, surpassing even the traditional bond of the family (Adelabu & Akinsolu, 2009). In the next section, family will be discussed as an agent of political education.

2.6.2 Agent of Political Education: Family

The family exerts the first and most important influence on the formation of individual values. Amoateng (2015) found that family-parents and other relations is a predictor of university students' participation in political activities in South Africa. Almond et al., (2008) assert that the direct and indirect influences of the family, that is, the first socialization source that an individual encounters are normally powerful and lasting. Olasupo (2015) opines that the family shapes future political attitudes by defining a social position for the child; establishing ethnic, linguistic, class, and religious ties, affirming cultural values; and influencing job aspiration. In order to contribute meaningfully to democratic stability, the government should not be indifferent towards the family. In societies where governments support and nurture the family, the level of political awareness and consciousness is high (Olasupo, 2015).

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Literature has supported the fact that the family is the primary agent of political socialization and education through which basic political orientations are transmitted to the children (Neundorf & Smets, 2017). Every child's life experience is first developed and nurtured in his/her family. The child's encounter with parents, siblings and other members of the family has some impactful influences on the child's experience in life.

The family has been known to play a role in the formation of attitudes and values of their children. For a child, it is easy for the family to be the agent of political education through indoctrination and imitation. The family also provides an environment which is conducive to the acquisition of certain knowledge, values and attitudes which are commonly held by that family (Rush & Althoff, cited in Adelabu & Akinsolu, 2009).

Within the family, parents play an important role in the political socialization of their children. Parents transmit political knowledge, awareness, interest, norms and values to their children. While in some families, political discussion will occur quite frequently, in other families political topics tend to be avoided. Parents clearly stimulate the willingness and ability to acquire information (Quintelier, Hooghe & Badescu, 2007). Families play a significant foundational role in the civic development of young people. It is within the family context that young people first become aware of civic life and their relation to it. Family member, specifically parents, transmit knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours regarding civic life to children through consumption of particular media, discussion of civic affairs, and participation (or not) in civic life. Early theories of parents' political socialization efforts positioned children as passive recipients of civic affections and understandings (Watkins, 2009). Recent theories however clarify that political values are not deposited into youth; but rather youth play an active role in making sense of their social worlds and exercise choice in the values they subscribe to at any given point in time (Flanagan, 2009). Parents' socialization messages do not reflect clear, authoritative perspectives on civic life that are easily transmitted to children and the familial context is aided by schools and other community institutions in socializing youth about civic life (Watkins, 2009).

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Research has provided examples of how the politicization of parents affects the political development of children. When parents are more politically sophisticated, more politically consistent, and politically unambiguous, their children are more likely to share the parents' political views (Jennings, stoker & Bowers, 2009). When parents' political views are not clear, the children's attachment to any political party is weak. In fact,

politically unaware parents seem to lead to politically unaware children (Dawson & Prewitt, cited by Armstrong, 2015). Furthermore, parents have significant influence over their children's political involvement and civic participation. Politically-involved parents usually translate into politically-involved children. Without parental political communication and political signaling, children are more susceptible to outside influences (Armstrong, 2015).

The politically richer the home environment, the more likely an adult is to undertake some political activity other than voting. With regard to behaviour too, it is possible to distinguish direct and indirect causal mechanisms (Fridkin, Kenny & Crittenden, 2006). Direct influence can occur as a result of parents providing information to their children, of talking in a positive and encouraging manner about politics with their children, or by explicitly stimulating them to participate politically. Indirect influences have also been documented in the literature. Children will be more likely to participate in civic and political life if their parents tend to participate in elections (Martikainen, Martikainen & Wass, 2005), in electoral campaigns, participate in politics in general (McFarland & Thomas, 2006); or if they are actively engaged in voluntary activities. We can refer to this as an indirect effect since the participation of the parents self-evidently does not have the intention to influence the behaviour pattern of their children. A more likely explanation is that parents function as a political or social role model for their children, who pick up the habit of playing an active social role. Put differently, parents socialize children into a civic culture and encourage participation in youth groups through their own involvement (Quintelier, Hooghe & Badescu, 2007).

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Furthermore, children's party identification and political participation have been largely influenced by their parents' political orientations, party preferences and political ideologies (Kroh & Selb, 2009). Studies have clearly shown that children's level of political awareness is determined by their parents' influence which is reflected in the political characteristics within the home environment (Neundorf & Semts, 2017; Jennings et al, 2009). Parents who are highly conscious politically have the tendency of

fostering a positive political orientation capable of stimulating and encouraging political participation. Similarly, parental socio-economic status (SES) is another way through which parental influence on their children's political participation is manifested. The socio-economic status (SES) of parents has a direct influence on children's SES and their participation in political activities. It is assumed that higher parents' SES means that the children would likely have high levels of education. It then follows that the higher the level of children's education, the higher their levels of political awareness, political interest and beliefs about politics (Jennings et al, 2009).

Conversely, Dinas' (2014) study found that children may likely embrace their parents' political ideologies and party preferences as adolescents but may however likely review their political choices and party identification as they grow into adults as a result of having exposure and access to new political orientations in early adulthood. As noted by Quintelier et al. (2007), parents' direct influence on their children's political participation can be through the provision of political information during informal discussion about politics at home in a way that positively encourages and makes politics more appealing and interesting to the children. The indirect influence, on the other hand, may occur as a result of parents participating in voting, election campaigns and other political activities. More so, parents indirectly encourage children's participation in politics through their active involvement in voluntary associations. In this way, parents are therefore regarded as the political role models to their children either consciously or unconsciously (Quintelier et al. 2007). In Pakistan, parents have influence on their children's political choices and decisions as voting are usually influenced by ethnic considerations (Yaseen, et al., 2018). It is also presumed that children mostly acquire their political orientations and understanding from their families. It is understood that the youngsters spend much more of their time with their parents than any other individuals outside their families. Parents are greatly influential in shaping their children's political attitudes and voting behaviours. Hence, family is the most significant agent of political socialization (Yaseen, et al., 2018).

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In the next section, students union is discussed as an agent of political education.

2.6.3 Agent of Political Education: Students' Union

The students union is another identified agent of political education. In fact, Adelabu and Akinsolu (2009) describe it as the second prominent agent of political education of students. Students union is a democratic representation of tertiary education students; having the responsibility of seeing to the social, academic and cultural affairs of students by their elected student leaders. Student unions are put in place to represent the interests of all categories of students. Student unionism came into being for the purpose of ensuring that students are protected and prevented from being treated unfairly either by government or by the university management. The student union usually serves as the first political organization where students practice political roles and engage in active political participation (Adelabu and Akinsolu (2009).

Student unions, being representative bodies of students, take different names or nomenclatures in different countries' higher education institutions. These include student associations at departmental, faculty or hall of residence levels; at the institutional levels, they could be called Student Representative Councils (SRCs), Student Representative Guilds (SRGs), or simply called Student Union (SU) or Student Union Governments (SUGs). Whichever name they are called, they all serve a similar purpose which is to primarily defend and represent the interests of the student body as a whole in matters affecting their affairs on campus. As representatives of student bodies, they are usually involved in the university governance structures like in the university senate committees, faculty or departmental boards, consultative meetings involving student matters or affairs. Some student leaders see this as a platform to develop leadership capacity in terms of opportunities to learn governance processes at the institutional levels while others may see it as a mere opportunity for self-expression and rubbing minds with the university administrators (Klemenčič, Luescher & Mugume, 2016).

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Politically speaking, students have the opportunity to learn, nurture and pursue their political ambitions within their unions or councils for student representatives. It represents a typical government as it has the executive, legislative and (judicial arms, in most institutions) for the smooth conduct of its affairs. The executive council of the student union performs the executive functions which include making and implementing student union policies and programmes; while the legislative arm carries out the legislative duties as the law making body (parliament) of the union. Students' unions offer the training grounds for indoctrination, activism and for aspiring politicians (Adelabu & Akinsolu, 2009). In this way, student union becomes a veritable platform for the students to learn and practice democracy that is akin to that of the state in which they reside as citizens. Students' union leaders are usually afforded the opportunity to relate directly and indirectly with the top members of the university management as they are expected to represent the interest of the student body in policy making and important decisions that may affect students' welfare and academic activities.

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As submitted by Luescher-Mamashela, (2013), that student representation in the university's decision making processes is one of the ways in which university administrations can relate with students, give them a listening ear, and also allow them involvement in the internal affairs of the universities. This kind of opportunity serves as a training ground for political leadership for students (Akinboye & Eesuola, 2015). As a result, most students' union leaders end up becoming politicians after graduation. This is corroborated by Alada (2012) who believes that students' leaders have the opportunity to develop and strengthen their leadership ability which would mould their characters and leadership skills in preparation for higher responsibilities in near future. This is one of the end results of the university's political education. Furthermore, students union is a creation of institutional statute and rules in different countries and it is therefore financed either by authorities that create it or student members themselves through payment of annual levies into the account owned and operated by the student leaders (Akinboye & Eesuola, 2015).

In South Africa, students union is created and enabled by law. Section 35, now substituted by section 13 of Act 23 (2001), of the Higher Education Act 101 (1997) makes provisions that the establishment, composition, manner of election, term of office, functions and privileges of the Students' Representative Council (SRC) of a public higher education institution must be determined by the institutional statutes and the institutional rules (South Africa HE Act 101, 1997). The SRC, members representing the government of the student body, are expected to function and carry out their responsibilities in tune with the SRC constitution as approved by authorities of the parent higher education institution.

Put differently, SRC members must have to execute their duties in accordance with the provisions of the SRC constitution. The institutional statutes are legal tools that seek to promote effective management of the Higher Education Institution in respect of matters not expressly prescribed by the Higher Education Act. However, the minister of education has promulgated standard institutional statutes that will apply to every public higher education institution that has no institutional statute. As implied, this is applied to institutions such as newly merged or newly declared higher education institutions. Below is the model structure of the relationship between the SRC constitution, the South African Constitution and Bill of Rights, the Higher Education Act and institutional statutes and rules in terms of the hierarchy of the legal provisions (Bonakele, Mxenge & Thabakgale, 2003).

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Figure 2.13: The Hierarchical Legal Structure and Legitimacy of the SRC Constitution (Bonakele et al., 2003)

The model, as hierarchically implied, shows that the South African Constitution and Bills of Rights is supreme and no act or law made for other sectors such as the higher education can be in contraventions of the constitutional provisions of the country. The Higher Education Act is provided in pursuit of the provisions of the constitution on education and rights of the citizens. This follows the institutional statutes of the various higher education institutions which must be made in such a way that will not contravene the supreme law of the country. The SRC constitution too must be in compliance and assonance with its institutional statutes while all other student associations or organizations operating as the SRC sub-structures must subject their constitutions to the provisions of the constitution of their institutional SRC that has the overall responsibility to the entire student body. Finally, the SRC by-laws and policies must be in tandem with the institutional statutes. This is the hierarchical relationship among the national constitution, higher education Act, institutional statutes and SRC constitution (Bonakele et al., 2003).

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The inclusion of the representative student associations or councils in the higher education policy of South Africa is to promote a philosophy of cooperative governance among the stakeholders in the country's post-apartheid higher education institutions (cited in Klemenči et al., 2016) with a view to ensuring that student representatives or leaders are involved and allowed participation, across all institutions, in the level of institutional governing bodies and their committee structures which include, among others, the boards of the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) and the Council on Higher Education (CHE). However, there are few studies that have assessed the level of student representation in the governance structures of higher institutions in South Africa.

On the issue of legal provision and institutional acts and statutes which include the university's rules and regulations governing the conduct and participation of student leaders and representatives in the national policy making as well as in higher education

governance structures, it is abundantly made clear that only a few African countries have made such clear-cut provisions available. It is also known that there exist a lot of differences in this legal provision among African countries in terms of the extent of participation of student leaders in institutional and sub-institutional levels of the university governance. The legal framework for student participation in the university governance structures lends credence to its legitimacy. This legitimacy of student union provides the basis for which the student leaders make their insistence and claim that their formal participation in higher education governance is not a mere attempt to co-opt and silence into being subordinates to the university management but it is an opportunity for them to express their power as student representatives (Taft & Gordon, 2013; Brooks, Byford & Sela, 2015 as cited in Klemenčič et al., 2016).

2.6.4 Agents of Political Education: Lecturers

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Lecturers in higher institutions of learning as well as teachers in the basic education schools equally perform and function as agents of political education. They serve as agents of political education directly by providing information and contextual analysis of political issues and governance structures either through the teaching and content analysis of the subject matters they teach in civic studies/education, history, politics/political science/government, or social studies education or by making referential analysis of current/social events unfolding within the political and social contexts of the society. Put differently, teachers and lecturers are considered to sources of information. This is in tandem with the views expressed by (as cited in Bar-Tal & Harel, 2002). More importantly, lecturers and teachers are regarded as role models to students by demonstrating high sense of political awareness cum active participation in the activities of their educational institutions, communities and society in general.

In addition, teachers and lecturers are said to be determining the nature and kind of the climate at the level of their classrooms. In the literature, there is evidence to show that students, who learn in open climate schools and institutions of higher learning, have the

advantage to develop attitudes and skills which are more compatible to democratic life and democratic societies than other students who are disadvantaged in schools and institutions of higher learning with a climate. This view is consistent with the argument put forward by Armento et al. (cited in Bar-Tal & Harel, 2002). Lecturers and teachers do a lot in exposing their students to various topical issues of life especially those touching on politics. Adelabu and Akinsolu (2009) submit that political education is largely defined by hidden curriculum, values, and belief systems which are said to be informally transmitted through the everyday practice of the university lecturers. University lecturers, that are highly political, have the tendency of influencing their students' political behaviour during their interaction in the classroom and through their lectures.

In the same way, Bar-Tal and Harel (2002) made a finding which reveals the political influence of teachers who teach subjects in social sciences and humanities. They conclude that teachers of history, civic studies or geography usually deal with topics that have direct relevance to politics and such teachers make reference to the society's political problems. This, according to them, contributes to the exerted political influence of teachers; thereby actively shape the political participation of their students.

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2.6.5 Agents of Political Education: Political Parties

Political parties have been described as a special kind of social organization which must not be confused with "associations, federations and social clubs" (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011:11). In the thought of the American political scientist Antony Downs, "a political party is a team of men (people) who seek to control the apparatus of government by gaining office (power) in a duly constituted election" (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011:11). Accordingly, political parties are permanent associations of individual citizens operating on the basis of free membership and having a programme (manifesto) and which are eager to assume political offices and positions of authority in the country through periodic elections for the purpose of bringing about solutions to the nation's socio-

political problems (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011). These authors equally believe that political parties promote the political socialization and participation of citizens by providing a connection between citizens and the nation's political system.

Political parties perform many roles which include recruiting and training of politicians for electoral campaigns and contests as well as government formation, providing civic or political education to the public, articulating and representing societal interests, aggregating policy preferences and demands of the people from all walks of life and developing policy frameworks and tactics to win over voters. Provision of political education to the public is among the important roles of political parties. This is buttressed by Adelabu and Akinsolu (2009) who aver that political parties are political agents outside the university that often influence the thinking and allegiance of university students. This is true because students outside their university campuses belong to the constituencies of many political parties. In South Africa, for instance, this present research observes that Student Representative Council elections are usually contested even on the platforms of the national political parties. This informs the decision of many political parties to have student wings across university campuses. Alfa (2012) argues that political parties usually play crucial roles in political socialization of the citizens. Political parties commonly try to mould issue preferences, arouse the interest of the apolitical citizens and mobilize public support for new issues as they occur in democratic societies (Almond, Powell, Dalton & Strom, 2008).

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"…the macro-political developments of the 1990s and early 2000s across Africa was a period when representative student associations in many African countries had to reposition themselves in relation to liberal-democratic multi-party political system" (Klemenčič et al., 2016:10). This took place either by student unions involving themselves in partisanship politically or by asserting their independence from political parties both at the national level and with their associate branches at higher education institutions or independently at the institutional level, where especially the Student Representative Councils (SRCs) of the African universities of Botswana, Cape town,

Dar es Salaam and Nairobi have continued to have nation-wide political appeal and influence. There is evidence, in some of the African countries, that multiparty political system often wreaks havoc on student unions and their activities causing the prohibition of the expression of partisanship, as the case of the Tanzania's 2005 Universities Act and that of South Africa where changes and amendments had been made in some universities' SRC constitutions (Klemenčič et al., 2016).

Mugume and Luescher (2017) in their case study of student politics at Makerere University discover that relationships between student leaders and political parties are established and reinforced in the period before and during electioneering campaigns for executive positions in the student union; maintained during student leaders' terms of office and usually continued even after their graduation from the universities. Political parties, through their student wings on campuses as well as their involvement in campus politics, provide training (political education) to student leaders; thereby complement the civic function and efforts of universities as political education and training centres in democracy adding and strengthening the training provided by departments of student affairs.

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Lundin, Nordström Skans and Zetterberg (2013) affirm that the political training offered by youth branches in and out of the university campus within political parties is an important stepping stone for development of career in politics to become politicians after graduation especially for student leaders and other students keenly interested in political activities. Similarly, Tracey (2013) notes that a vast majority of South Africa's political parties have put in place structures for the youth within their parties. Through these youth structures, they increasingly engage and encourage youths to become actively involved in the political activities.

2.6.6 Agents of Political Education: The Mass Media

The media, be it electronic or print, are veritable agents of political education. There is a generally held belief in social science disciplines about the important role that media can play in influencing the political education and participation. The media has been described as the sources and transmitters of information to the public platforms where public participation takes place (O'Neill, 2009). Studies have described mass media variables which include watching news on television and reading of newspapers and magazines as vital and essential outcomes and more importantly as determinants of political education (Shahid, 2013; Moeller & de Vreese, 2013; Mbabvu, 2017). It is stated that young people who regularly watch television news, listen to radio news and find newspapers or magazines reading pleasurable would have political knowledge and develop orientation in the political world around them better than others who choose not to have interest in the news provided through the media (Etnel, 2010).It is important to understand the fact that political information is not generated by the mass media but only serve as the conveyors of the political information initiated by other agents of political education such as political organizations, politicians and government agencies.

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The media platforms are usually patronized by labour unions, political parties and government officials for the purpose of disseminating and communicating political messages and other issues of interest to their members or citizens in the case of government agencies (Mbabvu, 2017). In democracies, the media play critical roles as the watchdog on government activities so as to forestall the misuse of political power and corrupt practices by the political office holders such that there can be accountability and transparency in government. However, the media can be used as instruments of propaganda in the hands of autocratic governments for influencing the perceptions of the citizens about their actions in a positive light. Therefore, media can be used both negatively and positively in a political context. Previous studies have emphasized the influential role of the television viewing on political behaviour (O'Neill, 2009; Moeller et al., 2013; Mbabvu, 2017). For instance, it has been found that political information

through the television exposes and stimulates the young people's political participation in Europe (Moeller et al., 2013).

There is no gainsaying the fact that media have contributed to political education and socialization by providing students with perspectives that offer them a foothold in the nation's political system. Students obtain a lot of political information through the news media such as the television, radio, newspapers, magazines and even the internet social networking sites (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, YouTube etc.). Information obtained about political events and happenings around the students enables and empowers them intellectually to discuss politics which serves as the impetus for their interest and participation in partisan politics both in school and after graduation. Evidence, in the literature, points to the fact that the media has contributed to political education and socialization in politics through the provision of understandings that offer them a foothold within the nation's political system. Students are afforded the opportunities to obtain a lot of information through the news media such as the television, radio, newspapers, magazines and even the internet social networking sites (Facebook, twitter, WhatsApp etc.).

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By this, students become intellectually empowered to discuss politics which serves as the impetus for their participation in politics while in school and after graduation. For instance, Andersson (2012) posits that "the social media, being a form of interactive digital media, combining technology, social networking and user-generated content readily made available on the internet, consists of everyday mode of communication and information transformation". He states further that the use of interactive digital media has increased among youth, and it also created demands on educational institutions in training students to manipulate the complex nature of the digital world as well as the kinds of identity work that encapsulates what educators actually require dealing with the students' experiences outside the school environment. In South Africa, social media has been found to have a positive influence on the participation of university students in political activities. In a study conducted by Mhlomi and Osunkunle

(2017), it was reported that an overwhelming majority of the students at the University of Fort Hare were being influenced to vote and participate actively during the South Africa's 2014 national elections.

In their study, Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006) found that the mass media was significantly associated with the youth's political awareness and participation in politics. The media has made it possible for the youth to have access to a lot of political information that positively encouraged them to participate in the democratic processes of their country. Anwar and Jan (2010) also found that there was a slight significant difference between the electronic media such as the television, radio and the print media (newspaper) as the sources of political information. Their study actually reported radio, television and newspapers as the major media platforms through which political information was disseminated to members of the public.

A few scholars have expressed optimism about the democratic values of social media that hitherto could boost the participative and deliberative skills of young people (Jenkins, 2006; Leadbetter, 2008); while there are however others who are deeply concerned about the negative influence of social media on the political actions and behaviour of young people. By this concern, social media platforms are considered as a source of political instability as witnessed in the urban unrest in the UK precisely in August 2011 and it is equally seen as a challenge to ideal participatory political culture through fragmentation and personalization (Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2010; Pariser, 2011). Apparently, the media especially the television and internet have been highly impactful on the lives and political behaviour of young individuals. There is the assumption that students today do stay on internet for the use of social media for at least 8 hours each day (Strasburger, Wilson & Jordan, 2009; Möller et al., 2013). Young people, through the media, learn about political events; thereby become well familiar with the activities of political actors at the national and international levels (Möller et al., 2013).

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Internet has arguably increased the numbers of the politically vibrant, informed and active, particularly in terms of reaching groups of young individuals that are typically inactive or less vibrant in conventional and offline forms of political activities (Gibson, Lusoli & Ward, 2005). Corroborating the use of internet by young people for political purposes, Livingstone (2007:105) opined that:

> *"It seems that the internet supports, and young people prefer to engage with, new civic or life-political issues…particularly, they respond to project-focused, pragmatic, and low-obligation yet high profile activities, which are organized through forums characterized by open and spontaneous, ad hoc, low-commitment, self-reflexive, and strategic communications within flexibly defined, peer-based network"* (cited in Andersson, 2012:100).

Dery and Puopiel (2013), in their study on radio and political education of students in the university, found that radio was the major source of information for most of the students followed by television and the internet. On that note, 81% of the 322 students sampled in the study confirmed that they used their mobile phones regularly as the source of information and as a result, radio became more accessible and readily available to students through their mobile phones. The study also revealed that students learned greatly about political issues from the political education programmes aired on radio and had been motivated to actively participate in activities like political campaigns and political debates.

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Luescher-Mamashela (2011), in their student governance study in three African universities, found that a majority of the respondents (71%) in the University of Cape Town in South Africa listened to radio, 65% used television, 52% read newspapers and an overwhelming majority (86%) used the internet for the purpose of having access to political information; whereas for the respondents sampled in the University of Nairobi, Kenya, the authors report that 86% used radio, 86% used television, 72% read newspapers and 85% used the internet to have access to political information; while in the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania; the report says 93% used radio, 92% watched television, 79% read newspapers and 88% accessed the internet for political information. The media, as the agents of political education, is statistically better and

stronger among students in the latter two universities of Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam respectively than among the students of the former, that is, University of Cape Town in South Africa. This is one of the reasons why this present study should be of interest in that, it is an opportunity to assess university students' political education vis-à-vis their participation in politics in another province of the Eastern Cape in South Africa.

From the foregoing, availability and use of media especially the so-called new media have afforded young people to become actively involved in political activities as they constantly interact with the media through which they learn about political issues locally and internationally. No doubt, the media has greatly done much of political education which has deepened democratic participation especially among the young citizens across the world (O'Neill, 2009; Boulianne, 2009). Political participation has been described as a function of motivation, opportunity, and ability. Therefore, a framework that assists to model the numerous factors that can influence political participation at the individual level is presented in Figure 2.14.

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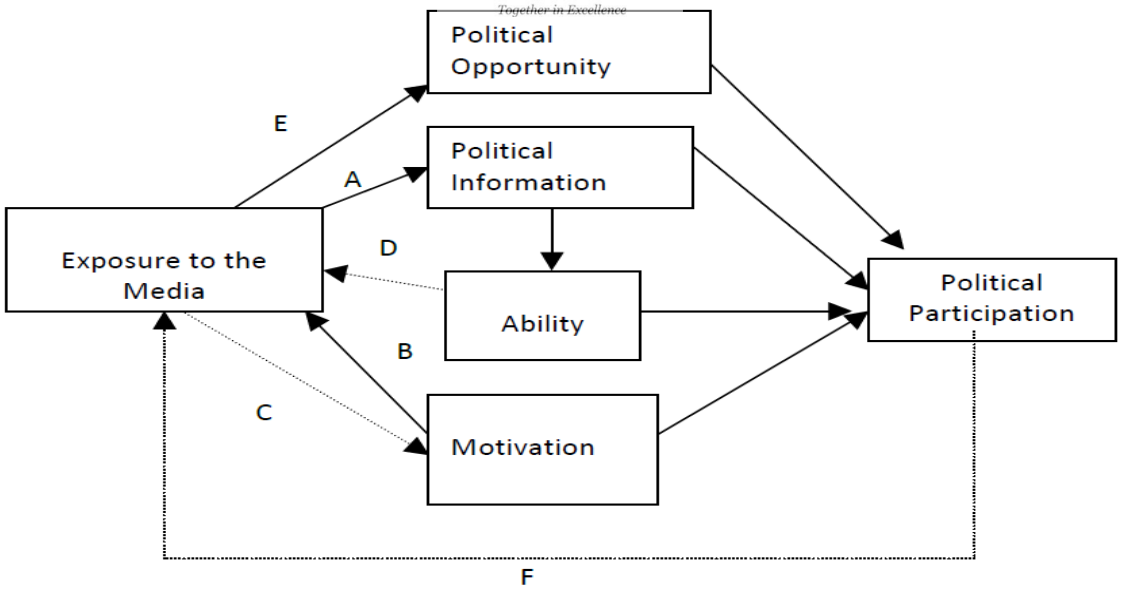

Figure 2.14: The Media and Political Participation (O'Neill, 2009:107)

To explain the model, individual's exposure to the media for political information (arrow A) solely depends on their readiness (ability- arrow D) to access the media which will

serve as the motivation (arrow B) to want to obtain political information through their exposure to the media sources. The greater the exposure to the media the more intense is the individual's willingness to participate (arrow C) politically. The exposure to the media for political information equally affords individuals (political) opportunity (arrow E) for participation (broken arrow F) in political activities because of the quantity of political information (knowledge) available at their disposal. The media therefore influence political participation by providing individuals with opportunity to have knowledge about politics or otherwise considered as political information (O'Neill, 2009).

Another report says young South Africans have been exploring the use of social media platforms to actively engage in political debates about state of affairs in their country. Many of them, as young as 18 years old, have been showing expression of political awareness through the online social media interactive platforms such as the Facebook and the Twitter. In addition, it is equally known that South Africa's political parties equally engage and encourage youth active participation in the democratic processes through the use of the social media sites (Tracey, 2013).

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In the next section, the different ways in which students participate in political activities will be discussed.

2.7 Understanding Students' Political Participation: Theoretical Perspectives

Students' forms of political participation on and off the university campus cannot be discussed in isolation without making reference to the larger politics of the state. The various political activities, engaged in by students while in the university, only serve as a training platform for the participation in the national politics. Therefore, the focus of this section will include participation in election, more importantly, in voting and vying for elective positions and participation in various student organizations. Also, the theories of political participation will be of importance too so as to understand the different reasons accounting for political participation.

2.7.1 Political Participation Theories

Authors, such as Whiteley and Seyd (2002), in their attempt to give theoretical explanations for political participation have identified certain theories, and this study will equally discuss them to provide theoretical understanding of students' political participation on and off their institutional campuses. These include the civic voluntarism model, rational choice theory, the social-psychological model, the general incentives model and social capital theory.

2.7.1.1 The Civic Voluntarism Model of Political Participation

The Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM) was originally called the resources model and originated from the influential research on the United States' political participation conducted by Sidney Verba and Norman Nie in 1972. As a result, it became the most well-known and widely applied model of political participation in the field of political science as other authors have also used the model to explain political participation in other countries including Britain. Essentially, the key idea of the civic voluntarism model of political participation has been summarized as follows:

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> *"Put differently, people tend to become inactive political participants because they lack resources (in terms of time, money and civic skills), because they lack psychological engagement with politics (this has been defined in terms of the individual's sense of political efficacy) or because they are outside of the recruitment networks (at work, in religious organizations or in secular and voluntary organizations) that bring people into politics"* (Verba, Schlozman & Brady cited in Whiteley & Seyd, 2002:37).

In this study, the focus is on university students' political education and those student leaders who are actively involved in the SRC political activities on campus. The assumption of the researcher includes the fact that the students have had the privilege of being exposed to political education via the subjects of History and Life Orientation while in High School before being admitted into the university. Returning to the key idea in the CVM, undergraduate students have time and civic skills among the resources required for participation. They do not also lack the psychological

engagement with politics because they have the privilege to be engaged with politics theoretically at the university level and practically by participating in the SRC politics on campus as well as being involved in the politics of other voluntary organizations in and out of campus and ultimately they have enough political motivation to participate in the national elections (politics).

Explaining further on the resources aspect of political participation, the authors as cited in Whiteley & Seyd (2002) state as follows:

> *"According to CVM, the social status of an individual-his job, education, and income-determines to a large extent how much he participates. It does this through the intervening effects of a variety of "civic attitudes" conducive to participation: attitudes such as a sense of efficacy, of psychological involvement in politics and a feeling of obligation to participate"* (Verba and Nie cited in Whiteley & Seyd, 2002:38).

In the CVM, resources in terms of the socio-economic status are considered important determinants of political participation. Even the authors of this model have seen it as a weak determinant of political participation for the fact that quite a lot of individuals who are rich and have plenty of free time may not necessarily be motivated to participate in politics. The civic attitudes which include a sense of political efficacy are considered more important than the resources aspect of participation. However, this present researcher wants to argue that this model and its assumption will still have to be subjected to empirical investigation because observations have shown that even students who are from well-to-do (wealthy) families; and by virtue of being undergraduate students have shown little or no interest in active political participation. It is therefore imperative for this study to assess how the political education of the university students has been a determinant of their political participation, in case, they participate at all. Mathematically, Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2003) have expressed the CVM as follows:

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$$A = P + R + M + I + E$$

Where:

A= Activism;

P= Efficacy;

R= Resources e.g time, money/income etc

M= Mobilization for political involvement and participation;

I= Party Identification; and

E= Political Engagement (Participation).

2.7.1.2 The Rational Choice Theory of Political Participation

In 1957, the rational choice theory featured in the work of Downs Anthony entitled "An Economic Theory of Democracy". This theory states that:

> *"A rational man is one who behaves as follows: first, he can always make a decision when confronted with a range of options; second, he ranks all the options confronting him in order of his preferences in such a way that each is either preferred to, indifferent to, or inferior to each other; third, his preference ranking is transitive; fourth, he always chooses from among the possible options that which ranks highest in his preference ordering; and he always makes the same decision each time he is confronted with the same options"* (cited in Whiteley & Seyd, 2002:40-41).

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The application of this theory to political participation means that, a rational man is the citizen who is seen to be responsible and rational enough to make worthwhile decision when he has various options or alternatives facing him at any point in time. This may be true in a multiparty system of democracy where more candidates are in for elections. In this case, citizens will have opportunities (options or alternatives) to make decision on the best person among the candidates. However, observations across African countries have shown that the choice made by the majority of the citizens in a democratic election may not actually be the best because such decision may be influenced by certain factors such as ethnicity, financial inducement through the acts of vote trading and others. Rational choice models of political participation, based on the assumption that actors are purely self-interested, typically fail to explain why so much participation occurs. It is further argued that the cost of participation, even if small, typically outweighs the expected personal benefit of participation (as cited in Dawes, Loewen and Fowler, 2011).

In much of the literature on political participation, the rational choice explanation for political participation has been centered on voter turnout. As originally formulated by Downs (cited in Bäck, Teorell and Westholm, 2004), the calculus of voting is the basis on which most proponents of rational choice theory have premised their arguments for explaining political participation. According to (Riker and Ordeshook, cited in Bäck et al., 2004), the basic voting model is represented mathematically as follows:

$$R = P \times B - C$$

Where:

R represents the Rewards that any voter obtains from the act of voting;

B implies the Benefit that a voter obtains from the success of his/her preferred candidate or party;

P stands for the Probability that the citizen, by voting, will affect the outcome of the election; and

C symbolizes the Costs regarding the act of voting.

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It is economically expected that a citizen chooses to vote when R > 0, that is, when the rewards ® obtainable from the act of voting exceed the costs ® associated with the act of voting. In other words, a citizen decides to vote when:

$$P \times B > C$$

Riker et al. (cited in Bäck et al., 2004) consider the calculus of voting as not complete. They argue that the model underestimates the selective rewards of voting and have since added one more term (D) to the original calculus expression as follows:

$$R = P \times B - C + D$$

Where:

D represents certain elements such as psychic gratifications which include the satisfaction from compliance with the ethics of voting and the satisfaction from affirming a partisan preference. The citizen will go to the polls when:

$$P \times B + D > C$$

This simply means when the rewards ® obtainable from voting exceed the Costs ® of voting (Bäck et al., 2004).

According to Olson (cited by Whiteley & Seyd, 2002), the main problem identified with the rational choice theory is the paradox of participation. The paradox results from the idea of the model that people should not participate in collective action, even though in the real world many people do take part in such activities. Consequent upon this, attempts have been made by a number of scholars to proffer solutions to the paradox of political participation. There are two main solutions already made available to solving the problem of the paradox of participation as identified with the rational choice theory. First, there is the need to measure the demand of individual for public goods and perceptions of an individual citizen as well as the group efficacy to determine whether the combination of these collective interest variables yields a non-zero expected benefit or reward from participation. Second, there is also the need to state the private payoffs or selective incentives that are available only to the collective action of participants and hence may produce greater expected benefits to the individual participation than abstention (cited in Bäck et al., 2004).

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Elaborating on the selective incentives influencing the individual's choice of participation, the term 'ethic of voting' which implies conformity with the social norm can be applied to other forms of political participation. Some citizens may choose to become members of a political party or involve themselves in political protests, riots and demonstrations for the fact that they believe that it is their civic duty to participate in political action or activity. Although, some authors have a contrary view that social norms cannot be included in a rational choice theory of political participation while others believe that social norms may both be purposively generated and influence what actions that would be in the interest of individuals to carry out. For instance, they argue individuals who abstain from participating in actions that are regulated by effective norms are liable to the costs of sanctions, either externally or internally. They therefore conclude that social norms fit perfectly into a rational choice account where individuals

weigh the expected costs against the benefits derivable from non-participation (Bäck et al., 2004).

2.7.1.3 The Social-Psychological Model of Political Participation

The social psychological theory is particularly developed to provide explanations for understanding unconventional forms of participation which include demonstration, rioting, protest and rebellious action. According to Muller (cited in Whiteley & Seyd, 2002), one of the numerous variants of the social psychological model is the expectations-values-norms theory which provides the explanation on the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. This theory is applied to establish the nexus between attitudes and political participation. It suggests that individual citizens are investigated to know their attitudes toward different types of demonstrating behaviour and not about their attitudes to unjust laws and political issues precipitating such unconventional behaviour. More importantly, it is noteworthy to assert that the expectations-values-norms theory is based on the work of Fishbein and his collaborators between 1967 and 1969 (Whiteley & Seyd, 2002).

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Fishbein avers that the theory identifies three types of variables that function as the basic determinants of political behaviour. These include attitudes toward the behaviour, normative beliefs- personal and social and motivation to comply with the norms. In addition, the expectations-values-norms theory explains behaviour based on two broad classes of factors namely; expected benefits and social norms. For the expected benefits, individuals are regarded as utilitarians who consider the utilities (values or benefits) of various causes of action. However, the model fails to explicitly distinguish between private and collective benefits involved in any political action. Furthermore, individuals can also be considered as actors involved in networks of social norms and beliefs that provide internal and external motivations to act in certain ways. Essentially, Muller (cited in Whiteley and Seyd, 2002) was reported to have expressed the

expectations-values-norms theory regarding unorthodox political participation in the following ways:

> *"Attitudes about behaviour are defined as the individual's beliefs about the consequences of his behaviour multiplied by their subjective value or utility to him. Normative beliefs refer to an individual's own belief in the justifiability of his behaviour as well as to his perception of significant others' (parents, peers) expectations about it. Motivation to comply with the norms reflects such factors as an individual's personality and his perception of the reasonableness of expectations of others"* (Whiteley & Seyd, 2002:46).

Taking cognizance of the cognitive aspects of participation, the expected benefits of participation are taken into account by the individual's sense of political efficacy. Put differently, individuals will be ready to participate having considered the benefits involved in such participation which expectedly has to be effective. With low political efficacy, individuals may not want to be involved in participation even if the expectation of the inherent rewards is high. Social norms are of two types namely; internal or private norms and external or public norms. Internal/private norms have been described in terms of the internalized values brought into the act of participation by the individual and it is expected that individuals will be ready to participate having been assured that political action is normatively justified.

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Take for instance, an undergraduate student who feels that university's policies and regulations are unjust and unfair, may become interested and motivated in taking part in a protest march or demonstration against such policies and regulations with a view to prevailing on the university administration to rescind its decisions on the perceived obnoxious policies and regulations (Whiteley & Seyd, 2002). Public norms, on the other hand, are determined by the attitudes of other people whose opinions they value. It is assumed that other people whose views and thoughts are considered important to individuals become supportive of participation; this goes a long way in motivating individuals to become politically active for participation. It is therefore, expected that party members motivated by social norms respond to the perceived views and thoughts

of others considered important, whose opinions they consider respectable and valuable (Whiteley & Seyd, 2002).

In conclusion, the social psychological model, like other theoretical models, equally has its own shortcomings. There is the idea of utility which is not theoretically defined; such that no clear distinctions are made between private and public utilities or values (benefits) derivable from political action. Evidently, there seems to be too much gap between subjective and objective political efficacy (Whiteley & Seyd, 2002).

2.7.1.4 The General Incentives Model of Political Participation

This model, according to Whiteley and Seyd (2002), involves a wider range of incentives as part of the decision-making criteria, combining both rational choice and socio-psychological models of political participation. Thus, the model postulates that "participation is a function not only of costs and benefits, but also of people's expressive attachments. Those who feel strongly attached to a group should be more likely to act on its behalf than those who do not share that attachment". Mathematically, this model can be expressed in the following terms:

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$$A= P + B – C + S + SY + SN + EX$$

Where:

A= Activism;

P= Efficacy;

B= collective Benefits;

C= Cost;

S= Selective benefits;

SY=System benefits;

SN= Social Norms (Voting Ethics); and

EX= Expressive motives (Incentives) for participation (Pattie, Seyd & Whiteley, 2003:444).

The authors also affirm that “a sense of duty, otherwise known as ‘system benefits’, serves as a motivational factor for political participation. They went further to break down the selective benefits into three distinct elements as follows:

- Process benefits: These are benefits which the citizens receive for their participation in the political process;
- Outcome benefits: These refer to privatized opportunities resulting from political action which may include attainment of high political office or political position of authority; and
- Group benefits: These are concerned with privatized opportunities accruing to groups whose welfare is looked after by others (Whiteley & Seyd, 2002).

2.7.1.5 Social Capital Theory of Political Participation

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The social capital theory postulates that joining and participating in the activities of voluntary and local organizations would help in fostering and instilling a sense of trust in others (Putnam cited in Pattie et al., 2003). The theory is poised to ascertain the influence of membership and participation in voluntary association on citizens’ sense of trust in government. The proponents of this theory believe that societies where many citizens engage in social and voluntary activities outside their homes are more likely to be trusting, be well-governed, financially well-off and successful than other societies where citizens do not usually participate in the activities of voluntary associations, clubs or organizations.

Simply put, authors like Knack and Keefer; Hall; Whiteley; Claibourn and Martin; (cited in Pattie et al., 2003) agree that “levels of political activism in a society should be positively correlated to levels of both trust and voluntary activities”. Social capital theory can also be considered from another perspective; where people who have established their presence and have been well known as members of their communities through

their social relations which have positively influenced other people within the same neighborhoods stand a better chance politically to build for themselves a stronger social capital than others whose presence is not felt that much. Probably this is because they are relatively new or have social relations of no or little significance and influence on other people within the same communities. Finally, Putnam's social capital theory can be mathematically expressed as follows:

$$A= T + M + N – TV + Y + F$$

Where:

A= Activism;

T= Trust in other people and in political institutions;

M= Membership in groups and voluntary associations;

N= Networks of civic engagement (political participation);

TV= hours spent watching television for political information and socialization;

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Y= Years for which citizen has lived and established his social relations with others in his/her communities; and

F= Family of citizen living nearby (Pattie et al., 2003).

In this study, some of the respondents are undergraduate students in year two and three of their studies. The decision is based on the researcher's assumption that such undergraduate students would have built for themselves social capital as participants in and off campus politics and so would be in the best position to voice their views on the subject-matter being assessed by the study. It is also assumed that it is possible for older undergraduate students to have gained much political education experience than the fresher students who might be transiting from home to the university for the first time.

In the next section, the focus of the study is the exploration of the students' political participation in voluntary organizations.

2.8 Exploring Students' Participation in Campus-Based Political Organizations

Having examined the various theories explaining political participation from different perspectives of scholars in the previous section, this section focuses on students' participation in voluntary organizations. Student organizations serve as the training grounds for participation in campus politics as well as participation at higher levels such as national and provincial politics. Luescher-Mamashela (2011) opine that political experiences acquired by student leaders in formal governance structures and leadership organizations at one level are usually transferred to other higher level and such students have the tendency to involve politically and relate with public offices. Although, there are concerns being raised in the literature where student leaders are being alleged of over-focusing on national politics at the detriment of the interests of the student body they are supposed to serve and protect at the level of campus politics (Moreku, 2014).

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In South African Higher Education institutions, there are a number of student organizations that operate at the institutional campus level and there are others that operate at the national levels. These include, among others:

- National Union of South African Students (NUSAS);
- South African Students Organization (SASO);
- South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO);
- South African Students Congress (SASCO);
- Pan-Africanist Student Organization (PASO);
- Pan-Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA); and
- Azanian Student Congress (AZASCO).

These student political organizations were said to be in alignment with the various national political parties. For instance, NUSAS was aligned to the ruling party, that is,

the African National Congress (ANC). NUSAS has been described as an organization that was multiracial in its ideology and outlook. It is therefore interesting to see student organizations being politically associated with either the ruling party or other national liberation movements in South Africa (Moreku, 2014: 129). Now, each of these student organizations shall be discussed one after the other.

2.8.1 National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)

The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) came into being in the year 1924. Its formation was historic and was largely influenced by the different activities of students at the international level. There were different activities involving a number of students' international organizations. One and prominent of them was the International Confederation of Students which was in existence between 1919 and 1940. The International Confederation of Students was established formally during its congress of Strasbourg in France. It functioned as the international organization for the national unions of students of the League of Nations' State-members. Eventually, its activities had influenced the formation of the national union of students in England as at 1920 and in other member-countries of the Commonwealth of Nations. Through the efforts of Leo Marquard, who was the student leader of University of Cape Town, NUSAS was successfully founded to coordinate mainly the activities of the Student Representatives Council (SRCs) activities in the historically and predominantly white dominated public higher education institutions in South Africa (Moreku, 2014).

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During this period, the policy of apartheid had been denying black students' admission into the public higher institutions and this resulted in the low and poor level of activism and political participation among the black South African students. Following the 1924 NUSAS' inaugural conference held in Bloemfontein which was attended by student representatives from universities of Pretoria, Natal, Witwatersrand, Rhodes, Free State, Potchefstroom and of course Cape Town; the students' parliament (legislative arm) of NUSAS had also been established in the year 1927. By implication, NUSAS became

the first students' political organization in South Africa having both the legislative and legislative arms with the attendant effect on students becoming politically active and motivated.

Nevertheless, it is imperative to mention that the apartheid ideology of South African government of that time equally played out within the politics and activities of NUSAS. For instance, membership of the students' parliament had been restricted only to the white students on the basis of the assumption that the white students were naturally and intellectually more superior, stronger and better than their fellow black students for the purpose of engaging South African government in negotiations on matters affecting and relating to the students' academic and social affairs on campuses This racial discrimination within the union made the black students feel dissatisfied and disinterested that they were being subjected to humiliation and ridicule based on the colour of their skin. They then began to search for alternative political structure for only the black students based on the principle of non-racism, thereby giving them the voice to protect their interests as the university students. They eventually formed an all black students' political organization named SASO (Moreku, 2014). The next discussion will then focus on the South African Student Organization (SASO).

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2.8.2 South African Student Organization (SASO)

The white students' domineering nature in the organizational structure of NUSAS had precipitated the breaking away of the black South Africa students and thereafter the formation of South African Student Organization (SASO) in the year 1968. The literature reveals that SASO came into being and was based on the popular philosophy of Steven Biko's black consciousness (BC) with the intention of promoting black students' self-reliance and changing their mentality that they were never in any way inferior to their white counterparts (Davenport & Saunders, cited in Moreku, 2014). It is also noteworthy to state that Steven Biko was one of the black student leaders who saw to the formation of SASO in pursuance of the black students' aspirations for freedom and political

organization of their own. More importantly, black student leaders' participation in the University Christian Movement (UCM), a non-politically motivated religious organization having the franchise to operate as the students' religious organization on the black university campuses, contributed to the successful establishment of SASO. This was because black student leaders such as Barney Pityane and Stephen Biko had leveraged on their membership of the UCM as the avenue to create awareness and consciousness in the black South African Students.

Barney Pityana was then serving as the SRC president of the University of Fort Hare. Steve Biko then became the first elected president of SASO at its inaugural conference held in July 1969 at the then University of North (now renamed as University of Limpopo), following SASO's adoption in December 1968 at the Marian hill Conference held by the Wentworth University SRC. SASO's membership was exclusively black South African students as well as the coloured and Indian South African students who had opposed the apartheid ideology. Initially, SASO was seen as an ethnically based students' organization by the government as well as the university authorities. SASO later became a formidable opposition challenging the status quo in the historically English speaking white universities. Its members began to arouse the interest of the black students to participate in their own universities. In the 1970s, SASO members were reportedly participating in the series of students' protestations in many of the black universities for various reasons (Moreku, 2014).

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The study focuses on the discussion of SANSCO as the next student political organization in South Africa.

2.8.3 South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO)

The South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO) came into existence in the year 1979 following the proscription of SASO. It became an essential part of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in South Africa. SANSCO had continued with the

ideology of the proscribed SASO's struggle for the emancipation of the black students from the shackles of humiliation and oppression across South African public higher education institutions. SANSCO was later merged with NUSAS for the formation of the South African Student Congress (SASCO) after its successful operation for close to twelve years under the autocratic apartheid regime (Badat, cited in Moreku, 2014).

2.8.4 The South African Student Congress (SASCO)

The South African Student Congress (SASCO) had come into existence in the year 1992 following the amalgamation of both the SANSCO and NUSAS. Their merger was possible because of their affiliation with the African National Congress (ANC) whose main objectives were aimed at achieving a South African society devoid of racism and sexism. To this end, both the black and white students supporting the ANC's ideology were brought together as members of SASCO. SASCO is still in existence operating as a national union of South African students and it has had a great influence on the SRCs' activities and their political participation both on campus and in national politics. Literature has shown that most members of SASCO have always been emerging as SRC leaders in most campuses of higher education institutions (Moreku, 2014).

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Essentially, SASCO has the responsibility of taking care of matters involving the social, political, economic and even academic interests of the student body. It maintains national political structure with branches in major tertiary institutions across South Africa. It also operates both at the provincial and national levels as a national student political organization. Cloete (2011) reportedly affirms that SASCO is in alignment with the ANC (now the ruling party) as well as with the party's youth league known as the ANCYL. Just as the black students felt with the NUSAS, the white students have been constantly on the search for the alternative student organization through which they address their own peculiar issues, simply because most members of SASCO are black students (Cloete, 2011, cited in Moreku, 2014).

2.8.5 The Pan-Africanist Student Organization (PASO) and the Pan-Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA)

The formation of PASO and PASMA was historically linked to the successes recorded by various liberation movements and later turned into political parties following the political freedom of South Africa in 1994 from the authoritarian regime of the apartheid government. The liberation movements such as the ANC and AZAPO had formed the student wings with the intention to involve the students in their struggles for emancipation of the black South Africans from their oppressors (the apartheid government) (Moreku, 2014). The Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) is one of the political parties in the post-apartheid South Africa. It was founded in 1978 and was later proscribed in 1987 for taking part in the armed resistance against the apartheid government and the Soweto Uprisings. It was unbanned in 1990. AZAPO established two student wings namely the Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM) for the high school students and the Azanian Students' Convention (AZASCO) for the students in the tertiary institutions (Cele & Koen, cited in Moreku, 2014).

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All factors being the same, SASCO is an ally of the ANC the ruling party at the national level, while AZAPO has both AZASM and AZASCO as the student organization. The Pan-Africanist Congress never had any student wing until 1998 when it established the Pan-Africanist Student Organization (PASO) for the students in high schools and the Pan-Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA) for students in the tertiary institutions in South Africa. Today, PASMA is one of the formidable student political organizations that have challenged SASCO in the struggles for the control of the SRC's soul and political structures in several campuses of higher institutions in South Africa (Cele & Koen, cited in Moreku, 2014).

For instance, the results of the University of Fort Hare's SRC 2016 elections held on the 21st April, 2016 SASCO had a narrow victory with 43.0% over its closest rival DASO that won 40.0% of the total votes cast. PASMA only won one seat in the Institutional

SRC, while EFFSC was another political organization that participated in the election but was unlucky to secure any seat (UFH SRC election, 2016 retrieved on 5th March, 2018 from www.ufh.ac.za/mediacentre/news). In the SRC 2017 elections of the University of Fort Hare, the results were more interesting as PASMA won for the first time in East London campus, but SASCO again won the Institutional SRC seats. The results were as follows:

SRC election results: SASCO had 51.9% of votes, PASMA got 18.0% of votes, EFFSC got 15.2% of votes and one independent candidate (name withheld) got 14.9% of votes cast respectively. For Alice campus SRC election results: SASCO had 57.5% of votes, EFFSC got 24.0% of votes and PASMA managed to secure 18.5% of votes cast respectively. The East London campus SRC election results showed that PASMA won by 42.3%, SASCO got 31.6% and DASO got 26.1% of the vote cast respectively (retrieved on 5th March, 2018 from www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/2017/04/13).

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2.8.6 Participation in other Youth Political Organizations in South African Universities

The post-apartheid South Africa's democracy is characterized by multi-party system (Naidoo & Uys 2013). The increased number of national political parties has led to the frequent emergence of other youth wings of the emerging national political parties. A few of these are the Freedom Front Plus (FF+) youth, Democratic Alliance Students' Organization (DASO), the Young Communist League (YCL) which has always had a political alliance with the ANCYL and SASO, the Economic Freedom Fighters Students' Command (EFFSC) and many others (Moreku, 2014). These youth organizations affiliated to various national political parties have offered university students very vital political platforms for participation in SRC politics as well as the national politics. It is more interesting to note that students vie for SRC elective seats and positions using these youth political organizations as their platforms. It is also intriguing to find that most student leaders in the SRCs across university campuses have been active members

and leaders in one political organization or another before becoming elected officers of the SRCs (Nyundu et al., 2015).

In the next section, discussion centers on students' participation in the SRC politics.

2.8.7 Students' Participation in the SRC Politics

In the 1980s, Student Representative Councils were regarded as the subordinates to the political student organizations operating in South Africa's public higher institutions. In the recent times, there has been an increasing change in this status of the SRCs as they play very crucial role in the defending and protecting the rights and interests of the student bodies. More importantly, the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 made the provisions for the involvement and participation of the SRCs as the statutory student representatives and important stakeholders in the governance of South Africa's public education institutions. The SRCs then become the mouthpiece of the students in higher institutions of learning as they are usually involved in management and governance at the levels of the faculty boards, senate meetings, university's council meetings, other affairs involving decision-making process regarding the procurement of resources, organization of social and academic programmes and events for students as well as distribution of funds to various registered clubs, societies and other organizations in which students participate on their campuses (Cele & Koen, cited in Moreku, 2014).

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It is also imperative to state that SRCs are the creations of the law and therefore operate a constitutional government or structure as student bodies. By implication, SRCs are then required to emulate and conduct their affairs based on democratic practices, especially in the elections of their executive and parliamentary representatives for a period of one year tenure renewable in some cases for representatives not graduating in the following academic year. It therefore follows that the SRCs' constitutions are clearly binding on all the registered students in both undergraduate and postgraduate studies respectively. Their constitutions are however subordinate to the university's higher authority statutes and regulations which are

hitherto subservient to the constitution of South Africa which is supreme over all the citizens. Students' participation in the university's SRC structure is therefore subject to the provisions of the SRC constitution in the Republic's (RSA) constitution dictates and the electoral law regulating the political participation of the parties and their candidates or other political actors (Klemenčič et al., 2016). The Figure 2.15 represents a typical SRC structure.

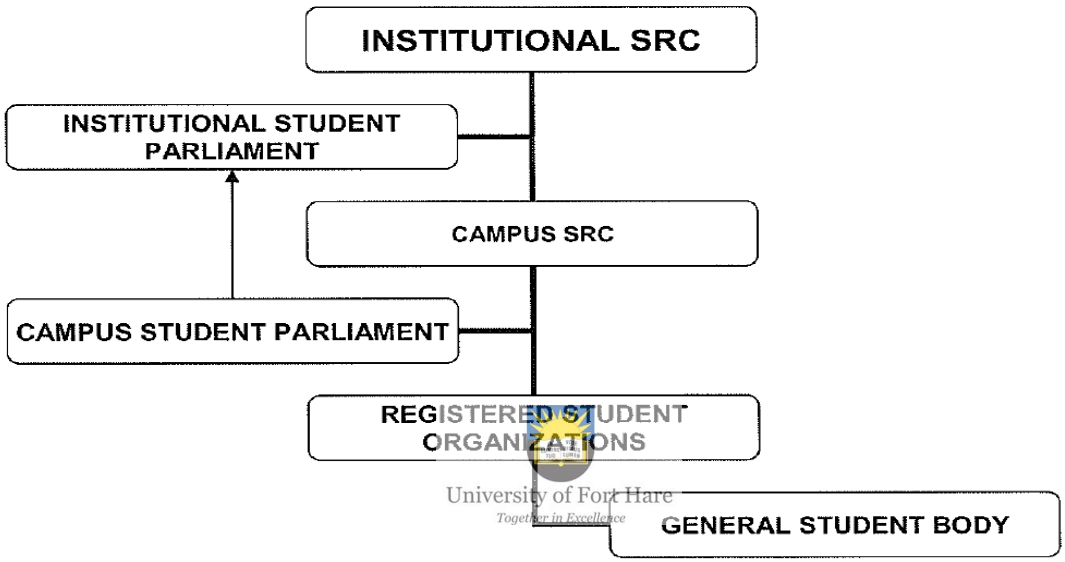

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Figure 2.15: An Organogram of TUT SRC (SRC constitution TUT, 2015:56).

The Institutional Student Representative Council (ISRC) represents the university as a whole. For example, university of Fort Hare runs academic programmes in three campuses namely; Alice Campus, Bisho Campus and East London Campus. In this case, the three campuses are collectively represented by the ISRC headed by the president and his executive cabinet. The Institutional Student Parliament is the central legislative organ for the whole university. The Campus SRC is for campus based and it is led by the Premier and his executive cabinet while the Campus student parliament is the campus legislative organ. In the case of University of Fort Hare, each of the three campuses has its elected SRC executive with an independent campus parliament.

Nyundu et al., (2015) critically examine various factors propelling and inhibiting students' interest and participation in SRC politics at the institutional/campus level.

According to these authors, students may be encouraged to participate in SRC politics with a view to following the footsteps of prominent political figures in the country. Students might fall in love with the political behaviours, attitudes and successes of key politicians such as the late Nelson Mandela, former presidents Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma or the current president Cyril Ramaphosa, the member of parliament- Juius Malema and many others. They also cite Zeilig (2009) who states another factor where students have individual ambitions to associate socially and politically with the larger political programmes considered to be appealing and persuasive to give them a sense of belonging. For Ozymy (2011), it may be incorrectly assumed that students participate in politics in order to fulfill their personal needs especially those from poor or low income households. In addition to this, there are other students who show interest in joining politics because they feel there is the need for a vibrant student representation that can fight for and protect students' interest. This is true for those students who come from politically inclined and human rights conscious homes or families. This view is in tandem with the thought of Mama and Barnes (2007) who emphasize the need for service delivery as another factor propelling students' interest in the SRC politics especially in the South African context. SRC leaders have been faced with the challenges of having confrontation with university authorities to demand for efficient service delivery for their academic and social comfort on their campuses.

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On the contrary, there are some students who choose not to participate at all in the SRC politics or decide to remain politically apathetic on campus for a number of reasons. Poor perception about the student leaders may discourage some students to participate in the SRC politics. Fear of losing studentship, opportunities for scholarship or funding and employment may be responsible for some students' political apathy (Nyundu et al, 2015). There is also the dimension of a gender-based apathy. For instance, some female students may choose not to take part in the SRC politics because they have the mentality or the erroneous belief that such politics is better left for their male counterparts who naturally have the wherewithal and inclination for protests against injustice and oppression vested upon the student body by the university

authorities (Mama & Barnes, 2007). More so, the negative disposition of the university authorities towards students' politics and freedom of association and expression could inhibit students' interest in the SRC politics (Lake, 2010). For example, Nyundu et al. (2015) avers that some universities in South Africa are not favourably disposed to students' participation in campus politics which is believed to be an avenue for students' training for their participation in the national politics.

Dibetle, in his opinion piece published on the 14th June, 2007, describes today's South African University students as having become politically apathetic. He laments that the universities and other higher institutions of learning which were hitherto seen as the 'breeding grounds' where political articulation, consciousness and leadership were nurtured and developed during the struggles against the apartheid political ideology and white minority government's exploitation before the country's democratic enthronement in 1994, have suddenly become less politically active in the training of critically minded and consciously political citizens in the post-apartheid era. He goes further to give an instance of the SRC elections at one of the historically white universities-University of Pretoria. He states that out of the 22,000 registered students (eligible voters), only 2500 students (11.4%) turned up to vote in the elections during a particular academic year. This kind of poor attitude towards politics will not augur well for the future of the nation's democracy. Students are proverbially regarded as "leaders of tomorrow". Today, things have changed. Students should start leading from today by practicing political leadership right from schools and ultimately their universities. This is the only surest way to ensure the survival and sustainability of the nation's democracy.

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2.8.8 Students' Participation in National Elections

There has been a growing concern about the decline in voting and electoral participation among the young ones. Moreover, the focus of the political participation literatures has been on young citizens. The bone of contention is actually that the young people have become less politically inclined compared to the older generation. This may portend a great danger for survival and functioning of democratic institutions (Petrov,

2014). Some scholars are of the view that the younger generation of voters or electorate is considered less interested, less knowledgeable and even more cynical about political participation in general (Tedesco, 2007 & Petrov, 2014) while others have expressed contrary views that young people are still very much interested in politics, but their interest and political participation patterns may have shifted from voting activities to other modes of participation which include online political participation, social networking, creation of political awareness about elections and voting exercise on social media, volunteering in electioneering campaigns and participating in informal political activities such as in protests and demonstrations (Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins & Carpini, 2006; Henn & Foard, 2012; Sloam, 2007 & Petrov, 2014). For instance, a study conducted among some 200 students based in the Alice Campus of the University of Fort Hare found that a majority of the participants (76%) actually voted and participated in the 2014 national election (Mhlomi & Osunkunle, 2017). With respect to the student surveys conducted at the universities of Nairobi, Cape Town and Dar es Salaam, Luescher-Mamashela (2011) report students' participation in the national elections of their respective countries. Their findings show that 79% of the surveyed students participated in the 2007 Kenyan election; 62% of the surveyed students in Tanzania participated in the presidential and parliamentary elections, while 62% of the surveyed UCT students in South Africa agreed to have participated during the April 2005 national elections.

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Similarly, Ndletyana et al. (2014) reported the electoral participation trends in both national and provincial elections for the four consecutive election years from 1999 to 2014 in the Republic of South Africa. In 1999, the eligible population of South Africans stood at 25.4 million, the number of registered voters was 18.1 million, and this represents 71.2% of the eligible population, while only 88% of the registered voters turned up to participate in the 1999 national and provincial elections. For 2004, the eligible population figure was put at 28.0 million, the number of registered voters was put at 20.6 million, and this represents 73.5% of the eligible population of that year, while only 77% of the registered voters participated in the year's national and provincial

elections. In the election year of 2009, the eligible population figure was 30.2 million, out of which 23.1 million were registered to vote. This represents 76.4% of the eligible population and 77% of the registered voters actually turned up to vote in that year's national and provincial elections. Finally, 2014 election year shows a decline in the voting trends of South Africans in general. In that year, 31.4 million South Africans were eligible to vote but, it was only 25.3 million were actually registered to vote. This represents 80.5% of the eligible voters and 73% of the registered voters actually performed their civic duty of voting in the national and provincial elections. This suggests a sharp decline in the voting trends between 1999 and 2014 (Ndletyana, et al 2014).

This kind of trends does not augur well for the Rainbow nation's democracy. Citizens' participation in the electoral process has significant effect on the democratic progress and development and it has to be encouraged through a systematic education that is based on civic responsibilities and obligations in the form of political education in schools and universities. University students, in particular, are regarded as young leaders in their own right. As some of them have keen interest in joining the national politics as soon as they graduate from their institutions of learning. More efforts have to be made by all stakeholders to ensure that students are motivated to participate in the democratic process right from the universities.

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2.9 Empirical Studies on Political Education and Students' Political Participation

There are a few studies on the political education and students' political participation in South Africa. Mattes et al. (2012) utilized the 2012 Afrobarometer South African Survey involving 2,518 Cape Town high school learners in South Africa to find whether or not their level of socialization and education can engender in them being responsible, critical and engaged in democratic practices. They further looked at the attitudes in relation to their encounter with high levels of poverty, joblessness, racial discrimination and chaos. They found that there are certain elements of the educational process that

can increase their demand for democracy. Their finding was however contrary to the finding of previous research stating that the educational level of South Africans has no effect on their demand for democracy. Similarly, Godinho (2016) in her study entitled "School determinants of political engagement and participation among South African 'Born frees'" examines how certain elements within the school including civic education determine post-apartheid young South African (born frees) learners' political engagement and participation. She found that South African schools have the capability of positively influencing their learners' attitudes towards engaging in political activities. Her work is one of the few existing studies on democratic education and students' political participation in South African schools.

Mbabvu (2017) investigated the political socialization with its attendant implications on the political participation of the rural dwellers in Limpopo, South Africa. The author did a qualitative research and interviewed a small sample of 40 respondents. Half of the participants were less than 30 years old and who had completed their education up to high school level. The study found that the respondents' political interest, party preferences, political awareness and participation in politics were positively influenced by a number of agents of political education/socialization such as the media, family, peers, political parties, school, and religious organizations among others. One of the important conclusions made in the study was that the media was the most influential agent of the respondents' political socialization. This study was relevant because it had identified the significance of the media as the source of political information for and among the youth in South Africa.

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In a similar veiw, Mhlomi and Osunkunle (2017) conducted a survey on the influential role of the social media in the participation of the young ones in the South Africa's 2014 national election. These authors adopted the 'uses and gratifications' as well as the 'information society' theories. The study sought its data from the 200 students based in the Alice campus of the university of Fort Hare in Eastern Cape. The study found that the majority of the students (76%) voted during the national elections in 2014. Out of

the 200 students, only 19% of them indicated that they were influenced to cast their votes for their preferred political parties and candidates due to the enormous awareness and exposure to the political campaigns and other related information made available through the platforms of the social media. Another 54% of the students were influenced by the historical antecedents of their preferred political parties, only 10% of them were influenced to vote by families, friends and community members and the remaining 17% of the students refused to vote and participate in the election.

The authors then concluded that the students were not politically apathetic and that their voting patterns were positively influenced by their exposure to political information and campaigns through the active use and engagement with the social media before and during the electioneering periods. The findings of this study were important because they had highlighted the fact that South African university students are interested in politics. They were also found to be ready to participate in the democratic governance provided they are properly engaged through the social media. Again, this study has highlighted the significant roles which the mass media especially the new media can play in encouraging the young South Africans to become politically interested and participatory in the country's democracy.

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On the influence of the family, as an agent of the political education, on university students' political participation in South Africa, Amoateng (2015) conducted a study on 1,214 students of the University of Johannesburg using a qualitative research design. The study aimed at investigating the effects of the agents of political socialization (family/parents and peers) and the students' level of educational attainment as undergraduates on their levels of political awareness and participation in the political activities. The findings of this study indicated that the South African students generally demonstrated a high level of political awareness. Students' discussion of politics with parents and peers was also found to be positively correlated with their participation in political activities. The findings of this study are very instructive as they have

demonstrated the relevance of the family political involvement as a predictor of the university students' political participation in South Africa.

Mathebula (2009) conducted a doctoral study that attempted to do a major critique of citizenship education and curriculum policy in the post-apartheid South African schools. In this study, it is argued that South Africa's post-apartheid citizenship education curriculum appears not to be designed for the promotion of active, critically minded and democratically conscious South African citizens, but rather the policy document on citizenship education places the burden of demands for obedience, submission and loyalty to the South African authorities on the learners. The author therefore concludes that post-apartheid citizenship education policy document lacks clarity, coherence and consistency in terms of conceptualization and forms; contending that South African schools are expected to inculcate the citizenship education in their learners in order to prepare them for their civic duties and participation in the local, national and global affairs. Weinstein (2014) investigates the power of civic education in democratic socialization in selected high schools in Cape Town, South Africa. Specifically, the study examined the impact of the use of specialized pedagogies on the civic responsibilities of selected 134 high school students. The investigation reveals that the specialized pedagogies have no significant correlation with the civic responsibilities of the students. More importantly, the results also show that civic learning opportunities have a positive relationship with the students' increased level of civic efficacy, action and responsibility.

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Luescher (2008) examined issues revolving around student participation in university governance. In this study, the author provides a theoretical and empirical perspective on the relation between university management vis-à-vis the expected outcomes of decision-making processes and student involvement in the university governance structures; specifically focusing on the case study of student politics and democratization policies at the university of Cape Town in South Africa. In a same vein, Moreku (2014) in his doctoral study assessed the student representative councils' (SRCs) involvement and participation in South Africa's higher institutions' cooperative

governance. The study revealed so much about South Africa's university student politics and the student leaders' perceptions about their participation and level of involvement in the democratic governance structures available within the South African university system. The author found that, the student leaders sampled in the study agreed to their involvement and participation in the South African public higher institutional governance and democratic implementation of cooperative governance which is enshrined in the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997.

Luescher-Mamashela (2011), in a report of student governance surveys conducted among the undergraduate students of universities of Nairobi in Kenya, Cape Town in South Africa and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, reveal the fact that the undergraduate students are not necessarily more politically inclined than their mates and other citizens without the university education. The findings further point out the fact that undergraduate students have a greater tendency than their age mates without university education to become leaders of voluntary associations outside the university system. It was also found that a number of the sampled undergraduate students can be regarded as active citizens in the way they participate in both formal and informal forms of student politics in their various campuses. More importantly, the report concluded that the university being both a training ground for political participation and a centre for student politics should avail undergraduate students' ample opportunities to learn and acquire political and leadership skills as student politicians with their level of involvement in both conventional and unconventional forms of political participation on and off the campus.
In the next section, a critique of these studies is done while the justification for conducting this present study is given.

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2.10 Critique of the Reviewed Empirical Literature

In South Africa, the few empirical studies which were reviewed in this work have their focus on the relationship between political education and the high school students' civic participation or responsibilities. Put differently, the studies examine the effects of

political education in high schools on the learners' political socialization (Mattes et al, 2012; Godinho, 2016 & Mathebula, 2009). It is also imperative to mention the fact that these studies have portrayed political education in South African high schools as any school subject that teaches education for democracy, democratic education or civic education or citizenship education (Weinstein, 2014; Mathebula, 2009). However, these studies have failed to find out or establish whether or not the nature of high school political education is adequate or comprehensive enough to propel or provoke the learners' political participation even as they transit from the high school level to the higher education institutions level.

The other studies specifically regarding university students' political participation have their focus on university democratization and governance structures and the level of involvement of undergraduate students in cooperative governance by the university administration; seeking to establish whether or not there is compliance with the provision of cooperative governance in higher education institutions as provided in the South Africa's Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 (Luescher, 2008; Moreku, 2014; Luescher-Mamashela, 2011). Essentially, these studies agree on the fact that public higher education institutions especially universities in South Africa serve as the training ground for political participation where students develop skills and values for active citizenship. However, the studies have failed to find out or ascertain whether or not the universities in South Africa consciously teach political education as one way to create political awareness and propel political participation in their students. The important question that remains unanswered is; are there separate modules for political education or education for democracy or citizenship education in South African universities or not? How effective is the university's political education in relation to students' political participation on and off campus? In what way is the political education in South African university encouraging students' political participation? These are obvious questions not considered in all these studies. The answers yet to be provided by these studies are considered as a gap for this study to fill in the body of literature on political education as well as university students' political participation.

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2.11 Gap in the Literature to be filled by this Present Study

One important gap identified in the literature reviewed in this study is lack of information on the nature and practice of political education in South African universities. By implication, this study will fill this gap by finding out how South Africa's universities provide political education for their students. The researcher intends to do this by conducting interviews to ascertain the fact regarding the teaching and learning about political education. Also, the study through statistical findings would make contributions regarding the relationship between students' political awareness, judgement and interest and the influences they have on their political participation in one selected university in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

Another gap identified is the absence of research regarding university students' political education and their political participation on and off-campus in the Province of Eastern Cape, South Africa. The studies reviewed in this present study were conducted in the Western Cape and specifically in the city of Cape Town e.g. Mattes et al, 2012; Godinho, 2016; Weinstein, 2009). In the Eastern Cape Province, there are four public universities namely Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU), Rhodes University, University of Fort Hare (UFH) and Walter Sisulu University. One major contribution of this study, to the body of literature regarding the political education of undergraduate students and their political participation, is the choice of one among the four universities in the Province of the Eastern Cape as the study location. By this, the students' political awareness, judgement and interest in relations to their political participation would be empirically tested and the implication of the findings for political education in South Africa in general would be disclosed.

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Generally speaking, there is a gap in the literature on how university students' political education determines their political participation on and off campus especially in the Eastern Cape Province of the Republic of South Africa. Largely, the present study is poised to make substantial and empirical contributions to the body of literature

regarding the university students' political education and their participation in campus and national politics.

On a final note, there is the gap with respect to a lack of curriculum framework that recommends for the improvement of university students' political education and their participation in politics generally. In this present study, one of its objectives is to recommend a political education curriculum framework for South African higher education institutions that would enhance students' political participation in the present and possibly in the nearest future.

2.12 Summary of the Literature Review

The discussion in this chapter commenced description of the theoretical framework, emphasizing the importance of theoretical framework in any research enterprise. The researcher went ahead to review the literature within the contexts of the three theoretical models selected for the study namely; the Absolute Education Model (AEM), the Pre-Adult Socialization Model (PASM) and the Relative Education Model (REM). Based on the AEM, it is argued that education is considered as 'a cause view' which theoretically suggests that education has the tendency to increase the civic skills including political knowledge with the ultimate impact on citizens' political participation. Put differently, education is said to have the potential to increase citizens' political knowledge as well as their level of understanding of their country's political system with the attendant effect of prompting their political participation (Persson, 2013). In addition, the chapter discussed the cognitive mobilization theory stating that political education provides individuals with the knowledge with which to mobilize their cognitive skills and capacities in participating effectively in all forms of political activities (Onuigbo et al, 2017).

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More importantly, the researcher critically considers the clarifications of the concepts of political education and political participation. In general terms, scholars agree in their submissions that political education is regarded as the teaching and learning about

political awareness, political articulation, political involvement, political judgement, political participation, citizenship rights, duties and other democratic practices with a view to imparting in citizens knowledge, skills and values making them responsible and functional in their societies (Nwakwo, 2012; Nilgun et al, 2015; Frazer, 2010; Adelabu & Akinsolu, 2009). Political participation, on the other hand, is looked into in a variety of ways that it can be named. It can be referred to as citizen participation, civic engagement, public engagement or public involvement in the decision-making processes (Watkins, 2009; Diemer, 2012; Lamprianou, 2013; Morey, 2010).

Political participation has been described in terms of the extent of citizens' involvement in political activities as much as they are lawfully permitted by the state. Although, there is a debate on whether or not political participation should include those activities such as protests, rioting and many others considered to be outside the conventional norms, scholars, however, agree that activities such as rioting, protest should not be labeled as unconventional methods of political participation. This is because these acts have become acceptable and as part and parcel of democracy in the United States and across the Europe (Lamprianou, 2013; Gonzales, 2008). Consequently, it is no longer fashionable to dwell on the distinction between conventional and unconventional political participation in contemporary research agenda. This implies that both conventional and unconventional modes of political participation have been given attention as critical parts of democratic process.

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Moving forward, the researcher did a critical review of education system and particularly political education in South Africa. The South African school curriculum is aimed at, inter alia, ensuring that learners acquire and apply knowledge and skills in manners that are meaningful to their own lives. The review of the literature reveals how the apartheid white minority government used education and school curriculum to promote its heinous crimes of racial discrimination, hatred, inequality, torture, exploitation and oppression of the black majority in South Africa. Following the enthronement of a democratic government led by the first black South African president and anti-apartheid regime

fighter late Nelson Mandela in 1994, the new government was burdened with the urgent need to transform education for the correction of the past injustices. The new curriculum (C2005) was therefore introduced in 1997 to inculcate in the learners the values of human rights, promote anti-racism, anti-sexism, patriotism, affirmation of common citizenship and instill democratic ethos in the next generation of South Africa (Godinho, 2016).

In the post-1994 school curriculum, South African government introduced the new subject of Life Orientation (LO) to the schools and also made History as a subject mandatory to instill in learners the values, principles and tenets of democracy (Mattes, Denemark & Niemi, 2012). It is also stated that the teaching of History had been used as a means of inculcating political education in young South Africans, but with different objectives both in the Pre and Post-apartheid eras. LO also became compulsory for all learners in the Senior and FET phases of Basic Education to equip learners with the knowledge, skills and values toward becoming responsible and critically minded citizens (Gama, 2015).

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Having done a review of nature of political education in South African schools, the researcher went further to look at the nature of political education in South African universities. It is argued by Ker (2011) that university is an institution for liberal education and where universal knowledge is generally taught. At the undergraduate level, students are expected to know as much as possible about their chosen fields of study while they are also encouraged to learn one or two things from other fields. Hence, universities provide opportunities for their students to offer general courses outside their own fields of study to develop the wholeness of their minds (Ker, 2011).

In the course of the literature review, it was also learnt that post-apartheid policy-based understanding of higher education in South Africa affirms that the important roles of education for citizenship (political education) have been resonating in the transformation and democratization of a society. Universities are therefore regarded as the centers for

citizenship and civic participation where students' leadership skills and abilities are harnessed, developed and cultivated through campus politics and students' governance activities. Furthermore, a critical review of the various agents of political education was comprehensively done. These agents include educational institutions/school curriculum, family, students' union which is simply referred to as the Student Representative Councils (SRCs) in South African context, lecturers/teachers, political parties and the media. There is no gainsaying the fact that these agents of political education play vital roles in influencing political participation of university students as revealed in the review of the literature.

More importantly, the researcher painstakingly examined the various forms of students' political participation. In doing this, the various theories of political participation were first considered in the study. These theories include the civic voluntarism model the rational choice theory the social-psychological model of political participation, the general incentives model of political participation and the social capital theory of political participation. Each of these theories independently advances explanations for political participation and can be contextualized within students' politics and undergraduates' involvement in political activities.

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The literature review is further expanded to consider students' participation in campus-based political organizations. Luescher-Mamashela (2011) contended that student political organizations are veritable training grounds for participation in campus politics and at the higher levels of both the provincial and national politics. Moreku (2014), in his study, presented a number of student political organizations in South Africa's higher education institutions. These include NUSAS, SASO, SANSCO, SASCO, PASO, PASMA and AZASCO. Others are DASO, FF+, and EFFSC. The researcher reviewed the literature on students' participation in the SRC politics in South Africa. The argument here was anchored on the provisions of the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 which state that the SRCs shall be the statutory student representatives and important stakeholders in the governance of South Africa's public education institutions. Students'

participation in national elections also becomes part of the literature in this study because students' active involvement in schools' politics especially at higher institutions' level is a preparation for participation in the national politics. The review of the literature clearly shows that there are declining trends of South Africans' participation in both provincial and national elections from 1999 to 2014. It is therefore argued that these trends of declining participation in the political processes may portend greater dangers for the nascent democracy of the Rainbow nation if not checked and remedied.

In the next chapter, focus centers on the methodology employed to carry out this study.

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CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter of this study dealt with the theoretical framework and review of the relevant literature on political education and political participation. In this chapter, the main focus is the discussion on the methodology employed in this study. Research methodology implies the general method used by the researchers in executing the research plan or proposal (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010; Babbie & Mouton, 2008). Methodologies explain and clarify the types of research problems that deserve to be investigated; what should be regarded as research problems, developing testable hypotheses; formulating a research problem in such a manner that is considered acceptable for investigation through the use of specific designs and procedures; and selection and development of the right methods or approaches for data collection (Creswell & Tashakkori, 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

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In this study, the research methodology essentially refers to the approach adopted to guide the researcher in data collection, data analysis and interpretation for the purpose of answering the research questions. This chapter also discusses the philosophical underpinnings of the study, the research approach, the research design, population and sampling procedure for the study. Efforts are also made to explain in details the data collection instruments and procedures, data reliability and validity, data trustworthiness, methods of data analysis and ethical issues considered as useful and appropriate in conducting this study.

3.2 Research Paradigm

The literature has made it apparently clear that research methodological choices do not exist within a philosophical void because the choice of method(s) has to be driven by some philosophical (ontological, axiological and epistemological) assumptions

constituting the paradigm in research (Brannen, 2005). One of the first tasks a researcher needs to undertake is to position themselves paradigmatically. The word *paradigm* is used to indicate a pattern or model or an outstandingly clear or typical example or archetype of cultural themes, worldviews, ideologies and mindsets. Paradigms play a fundamental role in science. The origin of the term *paradigm* is to be found in Thomas Kuhn's book titled: "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions", first published in 1962 (Mouton, 1996). When Kuhn published the second edition of his book in 1970, the idea of a paradigm was already extant; and it drew a particular attention to the role of paradigms in the history of the natural sciences. Researchers and authors such as Creswell (2007), Collis and Hussey (2009), Babbie (2010; 2011; De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Delport (2011) as well as Neuman (2011), were already using the term; and the supporting theory of paradigms has had a major impact on the philosophy and methodology of the social sciences. The main components of a paradigm are ontology (concerned with the study of beings; how the reality is viewed or looked at); epistemology (is the branch of philosophy concerned with the origins, nature, methods and limits of knowledge) and methodology (Vilioen, n.d).

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- **Ontology**

According to Bryman (2008), the ontological issues have to do with whether the social entities can and should be considered objective entities that have a reality external to social actors, or whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perception and actions of social actors. Ontology assumes that there is a reality that can be apprehended. It addresses and deals with the nature of reality. We can determine 'the way things are' and, often, discover the cause effect relations behind social reality. At the least, we can find meaningful indicators of what is 'really' happening. Objectivism and constructivism are respectively the opposite philosophical standpoints.

Objectivism

Objectivism presupposes that social reality has an autonomous existence outside the knower (i.e., the researcher) (Bryman & Bell, 2007). For instance, an organization can be regarded as an entity having rules and regulations, a system, hierarchy, and from the outside. Its members are then bound to act according to the operations of the organization if they want to survive. In this case, the organization demonstrates a restraint against its members (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008).

Constructivism

This is also known as subjectivism. It is an ontological position asserting that social phenomena and their meaning are continually being accomplished by social actors, and that they are in constant construction and revision (Bryman, 2008). Taking an organization and culture, for example, constructivism infers the continuous change, updating and rejuvenating of the existing social structures (as cited in Bryman, 2008:20). People, individuals and/or groups are definitely able to influence existing structures that at first seem external and alien.

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- **Epistemology**

This is the branch of philosophy that studies knowledge, by attempting to distinguish between 'True' (adequate) knowledge and 'False' (inadequate) knowledge (Erikson & Kovalainen, 2008). The epistemological assumption is that the investigator and the object of investigation are independent of each other and the object can be researched without being influenced by the researcher. Any possible researcher's influence can be anticipated, detected, and accounted for (controlled). It addresses and deals with the nature of true and valid knowledge.

Axiological assumption- Values are excluded from the research process. They are considered confounding variables- phenomena that cloud our view of reality (Erikson & Kovalainen, 2008). Axiology addresses the question of ethics and the important role it plays in the knowledge construction (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

Rhetorical assumption- The research is written from the perspective of the disinterested scientist. Since the report is couched in mathematical terms (Erikson & Kovalainen, 2008).

According to Morgan (2007), paradigms are systems of beliefs and practices that influence how researchers select both the questions they study and methods that they use to study them. Paradigms are not static, unchanging entities that restrict all aspects of the research process. Instead, paradigms offer suggestions for how to address it given certain beliefs about the world. Thus, paradigms are seen as a guide that the researchers can use to ground their research (Shannon-Baker, 2015). A paradigm is a way by which the researchers view the world (Mertens, 2005). It is composed of certain philosophical assumptions that guide and direct the researcher's thinking and action. Neuman (2011:94) refers to it as "a general organizing framework for theory and research that includes basic assumptions, key issues, models of quality research and methods for seeking answers".

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From another perspective, Denzin and Lincoln (2008:22) define paradigm as follows:

> "*The net that contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological , and methodological premises may be termed a paradigm…all research is interpretive; it is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:22).*

The research paradigm is simply the guiding compass for a researcher about his research idea and such an idea can be used for solving problems. However, Shannon-Baker (2015) notes that there is debate among mixed methods researchers on the utility of paradigms for mixed methods researchers. For Maxwell (2011), not all researchers including those in mixed methods have agreed that paradigms are a helpful concept due to their potential to marginalize other beliefs or force researchers to buy into a set of beliefs. Therefore, it is argued by Shannon-Baker (2015) that, the conscious use of paradigms can offer a framework for researchers to help guide their decisions during the inquiry process. This position is corroborated and supported by Johnson (2011) who

posits that paradigms can help the novice researchers align their choices with their values. Also, they can provide a clear indication to those who would like to align themselves with other researchers who follow similar beliefs. Moreover, when a researcher provides information about their beliefs, it gives their audience a better understanding of the potential influences on the research. It is noteworthy to add that the debates surrounding research paradigms have a long history and were particularly active in the 1980s. Some commentaries on the debate contend that the struggle for primacy of one paradigm over others is irrelevant as each paradigm is an alternative offering with its own merits (Guba cited in Cameron, 2011).

In general, a paradigm is described as a whole system of thinking (Neuman, 2011) while Collis and Hussy (2009) posit that a paradigm is a philosophical framework. In essence, a paradigm would include the accepted theories, traditions, approaches, models, frame of reference, body of research and methodologies; and it could be seen as a model or framework for observation and understanding (Creswell, 2007:19; Babbie, 2010; Rubin & Babbie, 2010; Babbie, 2011). Thus, a paradigm is a basic set of beliefs that guide action. Nonetheless, studies show that different authors and researchers assign different meanings to the concept of paradigms (Creswell, 2009). However, Creswell (2009) chooses to use the term as a worldview. Therefore, the use of the concept *paradigm* is metaphorical when applied to the social sciences, as opposed to the natural sciences.

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Today, there are two paradigms which have become popular among the social science researchers namely positivism and post-positivism (Bhattacherjee, 2012). The different research paradigms will be examined in the next sections.

3.2.1 Positivism

One of the central questions in epistemology is the question of whether the social world can, and in fact should be, studied according to the same principles, procedures and

ethos as natural sciences (Bryman, 2008; Meyers, 2010; Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008; Bryman & Bell, 2007). When assuming an epistemological position based on the natural sciences, i.e. the composition of reality from observable material objects, it is known as positivism. Positivism, based on the works of French philosopher Auguste Comte (1798-1857), was the dominant scientific paradigm until the mid-20th century. It holds that science or knowledge creation should be restricted to what can be observed and measured. Positivism tends to rely exclusively on theories that can be directly tested. Positivism led to empiricism or a blind faith in observed data and a rejection of any attempt to extend or reason beyond observable facts (Bhattacherjee, 2012).

According to Bryman (2008), positivism adopts a quantitative approach to investigating phenomena, assuming an epistemological position that advocates the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality, as opposed to post-positivist approaches, which aim to describe and explore in-depth phenomena from a qualitative perspective. Positivism is based on the idea that true knowledge can only be acquired through the use of sense, i.e. through observation and experiment. The use of scientific method stems from the assumption that knowledge or truth is external to the researcher; therefore, the phenomenon can be studied objectively (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). There is also emphasis on the application of logical methodological principles dealing with facts and not values (Babbie, 2010). Positivists assume that human behavior is predictable and explainable, thus all events are determined by one or more causes (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). For positivism, there is an assumption that all aspects of a phenomenon must have precise dimensions. There is heavy reliance on numerical representation of data through graphs, statistical data or tables (Bryman, 2012).

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3.2.1.1 Strengths of Positivism

Positivism deals with the use of numbers which is far more economical than use of words, as one can have a quick look of the general drift of data by scanning through graphs and charts (Maree, 2007). Positivists have the belief that research results can be

applied beyond the confines of the particular context in which the research was conducted (Babbie, 2010).

3.2.1.2 Weaknesses of Positivism

Positivist paradigm is criticized for its stance on value free and objective view of reality which is questionable in social phenomenon. Anti-positivists hold the belief that reality cannot be detached from values and personal experience and thus view positivist views as flawed when studying about people and how they live; how they view the world, how they cope with it, and how they change (Ryan, 2006). Drew, Hardman and Hoop (2008) opine that some of the aspects in education such as experiences, feelings and attitudes may not be directly observable but still are important to research. Babbie and Mouton (2008) also point out another weakness of positivism which is the idea of controlling and predicting relationships within and between variables which ignores the existence of phenomenon where the variables or attributes cannot be clearly defined. In addition, there is the notion that all phenomena can be measured numerically which leaves out those aspects where variables are not quantifiable (Leedy & Omroid, 2005).

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3.2.2 Interpretivism

This paradigm is also known as *post-positivism.* It is a term given to a contrasting epistemology to that of positivism (Bryman, 2008). It is concerned with the theory and method of the interpretation of human action. While positivist's point of departure is to explain human behavior, the social sciences are more concerned about understanding human behavior. Interpretivism is a philosophical position within an epistemological stance that treats reality as being fluid, knowledge is subjective, everyone has a 'common sense thinking' upon which he/she accordingly acts, reacts and interacts with that 'reality'. This phenomenon is subject to the person's beliefs, values, culture, standing, language, shared meaning and consciousness (Bryman, 2008; Grbich, 2012). Interpretivism or interpretive theory as per Charmaz (2006), advocates for the

imaginative understanding of the studied phenomenon. Interpretivism was established as a viable alternative to positivism based on the ideas of German philosophers Wilhelm Dilthey and Husserl (Mertens, 2010).

Essentially, interpretive researchers believe that there is existence of multiple truths (Cohen, Manion & Morison, 2011). Interpretivists stress that social reality is interpreted by the individual based on the ideological inclination that the individual possesses. Reality, according to Muijis (2010), is influenced by personal experiences of the actors in relation to the political and social climate at the time the research is done. Reality is socially constructed, implying that truths differ across contents and places and time for participants in a particular setting (Babbie, 2010). Interpretive researchers often favour meaning as opposed to measurement oriented methods of inquiry, because they argue that it is difficult to generalize how one experiences a phenomenon (Creswell, 2007; Mertens, 2010). The subjective stance in interpretive research allows for the use of an array of qualitative research techniques such as document analysis, interviews and focus group discussions and any form of personal narratives (Babbie, 2010). Interpretivists emphasize on data quality based on trustworthiness using criteria of transferability, credibility, confirmability and dependability. Conversely, positivists use statistical procedures and emphasize on reliability and validity to evaluate the quality of quantitative findings (Silverman, 2011).

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3.2.2.1 Strengths of Interpretive Paradigm

The interpretive paradigm is advantageous for the fact that it is the socially constructed meaning which limits external imposition of reality. The researcher relies upon participants' opinions on the phenomenon under study and recognizes the impact of the research in terms of their own background and experiences (Creswell, 2009; Nieuwenhuis, 2007). More so, the knowledge is time bound and thus provides opportunities for the participants to review their beliefs.

3.2.2.2 Weaknesses of Interpretive Paradigm

Osborne (2008) argues that, 'despite the benefits of interpretive research in providing contextual depth, results are often criticized in terms of validity, reliability and generalizability collectively referred to as research legitimization'. Interpretivist research paradigm is largely criticized for subjectivity and the failure of the approach to generalize its findings beyond the situation studied (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). However, critics argue that the subjective stance adopted in this approach makes it difficult to ascertain whether researchers gain a true account of the respondents' views. Interpretive paradigm also fails to justify factors and conditions that lead to specific interpretations of actions, rules and beliefs.

3.2.3 Positivism Vs Antipositivism: Two Opposing Research Paradigms?

Positivism is a research paradigm that advocates the application of scientific methods of data collection, analysis and explanation (Koshy, 2017). Positivists argue that methods, principles and procedures used in natural sciences can be followed in the study and understanding of the social phenomena.There is also a great emphasis on objectivity rather than subjectivity by the positivist approach to research data collection and evaluation. Positivists therefore gather data that is believed to be more reliable and objective by sampling usually very large numbers of participants through random selection processes and techniques (Ramanathan, 2009). Antipositivism, on the other hand, is also known as the interpretivism. Unlike positivists, antipositivists do not believe in the application of the absolute methods, principles and procedures of science. In actual fact, the antipositivists tend to pay to attention to those factors such as human interests in research which are being ignored or considered as irrelevant by the positivists. Antipositivists gather rich data by sampling small numbers of participants purposively selected for the study (Ramanathan, 2009).

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3.2.4 Paradigm Considered Suitable for this Study

This study is located within the pragmatic philosophical paradigm. A paradigm is a shared understanding of reality or a way of looking at the world (Cameron, 2011). Pragmatism integrates positivist and constructivist perspectives of epistemology and ontology focusing on the 'what' and 'how' of the research problem. Pragmatism combines qualitative and quantitative approaches within different phases of the research process (Terrell, 2012) making it suitable for this study. The paradigm is better equipped than any other approach because of its power of complementarities whereby the weakness of one methodology is complemented by the strengths of the other methodology (Kalolo, 2015). Pragmatism, as a philosophical underpinning for mixed methods studies, conveys its importance for focusing attention on the research problem in social science research and then using pluralistic approaches to derive knowledge about the problem (Morgan, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Pragmatists agree that research always occurs in social, historical, political, and other contexts.

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The study aims at investigating political education as a determinant of university students' political participation in one selected university within the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. Recommendations from this study should have a utility value that would engender improvement in nature and delivery of university students' political education and their political participation as democratic and responsible citizens. Pragmatism aims at creating useful knowledge by addressing the pressing issues, contemporary problems and transferring acquired knowledge into action (Kalolo, 2015). Pragmatism creates the opportunity for practical solutions to problems and is the foundation of mixed methods research (Cameron, 2011; Kalolo, 2015).

The impact of the complementarities approach can be clearly seen in Arnon & Reichel's (2009) discussion of their study using a telephone survey to comparatively analyze perceptions of a "good teacher" across gender and ethnicity among Israeli citizens. They used a concurrent parallel design with a telephone interview that included open-

ended qualitative questions and a qualitative survey (cited in Shannon-Baker, 2015). These data were then analyzed separately and integrated using two methods: “cross-validation” or triangulation and “quantizing” the qualitative codes for statistical analysis. Methodologically, the discussion of their research centers on the importance of having this pragmatic, complementary approach to their data since their quantitative and qualitative data seemed inconsistent with one another. In other words, despite having dissonance at the integration stage, Arnon and Reichel (2009) were able to use their pragmatic perspective to still emphasize the “shared meanings” created as a result of the integration. This reflects the inter-subjectivity that pragmatism offers mixed methods researchers, which emphasizes disrupting the dichotomy between “complete objectivity” and “complete subjectivity (Morgan, 2007).

Pragmatism is outcome-oriented and interested in determining the meaning of things (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006) or focusing on the product of the research. Morgan (2007) considers pragmatism as an alternative to positivism and “metaphysical” (based on critical theory, post-positivism, and participatory approaches) thinking. Pragmatism in its simplest sense is a practical approach to a problem and has strong associations with mixed methods research (MMR). It can be considered as a bridge between paradigm and methodology or what Greene and Caracelli (as cited in Cameron, 2011) refer to as a particular stance at the interface between philosophy and methodology. Historically speaking, pragmatism can be traced to an early period from 1860-1930 and the neo-pragmatic era from 1960 to present (Cameron, 2011). The project of pragmatism has been to find a middle ground between philosophical dogmatism and skepticism and to find a workable solution (sometimes including outright rejection) to many longstanding philosophical dualisms about which agreement has not been historically forthcoming (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006).

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This will then lead us to the discussion of general characteristics and weaknesses of pragmatism in the next section.

3.2.4.1 General Characteristics of Pragmatism

According to Onwuegbuzie & Johnson (2006), some of the general characteristics of pragmatism are as follows:

i. Pragmatism rejects traditional dualisms (e.g. rationalism vs. empiricism, realism vs. antirealism, free will vs. determinism, Platonic appearance vs. reality, facts vs. values, subjectivism vs. objectivism) and generally prefers more moderate and commonsense versions of philosophical dualisms based on how well they work in solving problems.
ii. It recognizes the existence and importance of the natural or physical world that includes language, culture, human institutions, and subjective thoughts.
iii. It places high regard for the reality of and influence of the inner world of human experience in action.
iv. Knowledge is viewed as being both constructed and based on the reality of the world we experience and live in.
v. Theories are viewed instrumentally (they become true and they are true to different degrees on how well they currently work; workability is judged especially on the criteria of predictability and applicability.

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3.2.4.2 Weaknesses of Pragmatism

Again, Onwuegbuzie & Johnson (2006) provide certain weaknesses of pragmatism as a philosophical approach in research endeavor. These are:

i. Basic research may receive less attention than applied research because applied research may appear to produce more immediate and practical results.
ii. Pragmatism may promote incremental change rather that more fundamental, structural, or revolutionary change in society.
iii. Pragmatic theories of truth have difficulty dealing with the cases of useful, but non-true beliefs or propositions and non-useful, but true beliefs or propositions.

iv. What is meant by usefulness or workability can be vague unless explicitly addressed by a researcher.

In the next section, focus will be on the discussion of various research approaches and approach adopted for this study.

3.3 Research Approach

Research approaches are plans and the procedures for research that entail steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation. The three common approaches to conducting research are quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods. The researcher anticipates the type of data needed to respond to the research question which then informs the type of approach to use (Williams, 2007). For instance, researchers typically select the quantitative approach to respond to research questions requiring numerical data, and the qualitative approach for research questions requiring textual data, while the mixed methods approach for research questions requiring both numerical and textual data (Williams, 2007). In this particular study, the mixed methods approach was adopted for the purpose of understanding the research problem from both the quantitative and qualitative perspectives. That is, this study is an effort at investigating whether or not political education is actually a determinant of political participation among students in one selected university in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. The next three sections will discuss various research approaches including the justification for the adoption of the mixed methods in this present study.

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3.3.1 Quantitative Research Approach

As revealed by Williams (2007), quantitative research emerged around 1250 A.D and was driven by investigators who needed to quantify data. Since then, quantitative research has dominated the western culture as the research method to create meaning

and new knowledge. What constitutes a quantitative research method involves a numeric or statistical approach to research design (Williams, 2007). Quantitative research approach views social reality as external, static and value neutral to the researcher. As a result, scientific models are used when investigating social phenomenon (Mertens, 2010; Denscombe, 2008; Johnson & Christensen, 2012).

Quantitative researchers value use of standard procedures, objectivity, validity, reliability, prediction, causality, and generalization (Bryman, 2012). Expectedly, objectivity ensures that the researcher has minimal or no influence on the data and is achieved through use of scientific and standard measurements across the population. Reliability is concerned with ensuring that similar results are produced if the research is applied to a population with the same characteristics. Quantitative researchers ensure reliability of data through pilot testing. Pilot testing involves the selection of a small size of the study population so as to assess suitability of the research methodology, sampling techniques, research instruments and data analysis techniques (Muhuro, 2014). The strategies employed to collect the data can be experiments, quasi-experiments or surveys (Morgan, 2007; Muhuro, 2014). The data is measured numerically and analyzed using statistical models (cited in Muhuro, 2014). In this study, a quantitative approach was used by administering questionnaires to the selected university students; to find out the ways through which they have been influenced to participate in political activities.The results obtained could be applied beyond the selected university where the study was carried out; and produce similar results, which of course, is one typical characteristic of the quantitative research. This has the effect of reducing the researcher's bias. Nonetheless, the quantitative research approach is not without strengths and weaknesses.

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3.3.1.1 Strengths of Quantitative Research Approach

In terms of strengths, the quantitative research approach allows researchers to test and validate existing theories about how (and to a lesser degree, why) phenomena have

taken place. It also allows researchers to test the hypotheses formulated before data collection. It generalizes research findings as data is usually collected from sufficiently sizable samples. It generalizes an outcome of research which has been repeated severally on distinct populations and sub-populations. This approach is very useful for collection of data that would make quantitative predictions possible. It is also required for the assessment of any cause-and-effect relationship (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006).

3.3.1.2 Weaknesses of Quantitative Research Approach

The quantitative research approach has its weaknesses. The nature of quantitative research gives no room for accommodating participants' views on the subject-matter under investigation. This is because research outcomes are produced statistically by applying formulars and assigning numbers. This approach has the weakness of not explaining and describing the 'why' and 'how' of the research phenomena.

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3.3.2 Qualitative Research Approach

The use of qualitative research has a long history in education and the social sciences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Bogdan and Biklen (2007) define qualitative research as an approach to social science research that emphasizes collecting descriptive data in natural settings, uses inductive thinking and emphasizes understanding the subjects' points of view. Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Similarly, Creswell (2009) considers qualitative paradigm as an interpretative approach which is strongly embedded in empathetic understanding of everyday experience of people in specific natural settings. It assumes that reality should be interpreted through the meaning attached by research participants in the phenomenon under study.

Furthermore, Glesne (2011) sees it as a type of research that focuses on qualities such as words, or observations that are difficult to quantify and lend themselves to interpretation or deconstruction. Qualitative research paradigm intends to explore and ascertain issues about the phenomenon at hand due to uncertainty about dimensions about characteristics of the phenomenon (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2012). Noor (2008) views qualitative paradigm as an approach in research that attempts to gather rich descriptive data with the intention of developing an understanding of what is being studied. Also, Salkind (2012) argues that qualitative research approach is designed to enable researchers to understand people's social and cultural aspects in their natural milieu. In addition, Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (2006) submit that qualitative research design provides a rich pool of meaning, interpretation and is good at answering critical proportions of a research problem like what, how and why. Qualitative research approach is associated with interpretivist and constructivist philosophies. It aligns well with rationalism. Qualitative approach regards social reality as constantly shifting based on individuals' creation and deductive interpretation of the phenomenon (Muhuro, 2014). Interpretivist researchers adopt a subjective view during data collection and in data analysis, and the researcher is also a key instrument in the data collection (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Muhuro, 2014).

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Creswell (2007) is of the opinion that qualitative researchers value participants' words, reports based on participants' perspectives or experiences, values and assumptions. The implication is that, interpretation of the same phenomenon may differ from one context to another in spite of using the same research instruments (Babbie, 2010). Denzin and Lincoln (2008), Bogdan and Biklen (2007), Creswell (2007), Richards and Morse (2007), Corbin and Strauss (2008), Merriam (2009) and Stake (2010) identify central characteristics of qualitative research. Some of the more frequently cited attributes include long term face-to-face research conducted in naturalistic settings, a focus on rich description and the understanding of participants' points of view or meanings, the researcher as the primary data collection instrument, inductive data analysis, a concern with process, an emergent and flexible design, nonrandom

purposeful sample selection, and a holistic understanding achieved through collection and analysis of multiple sources of data and perspectives.

According to Muhuro (2014), the strategies or research designs used in qualitative studies include ethnographies, case studies and phenomenological research. To this end, the research findings are unique to that particular context and thus may not be replicated. Qualitative data mainly comprise detailed verbatim transcriptions of interviews and discussions, extracts from documents or artifacts (Muhuro, 2014). The data is analyzed through clustering of themes from the thick descriptions. Credibility and trustworthiness of the data are ensured through triangulation of research instruments and data. Triangulation is a process of confirming evidence gathered through different data collection methods in an attempt to get a true fix on the situation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Silverman, 2010; cited in Muhuro, 2014).

3.3.2.1 Strengths of Qualitative Research Approach

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Polit and Beck (2010) affirm that one of the main strengths of qualitative research paradigm is its richness and depth of explorations and description of the phenomenon under study. Creswell (2009), De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2012), and Salkind (2012) identify certain merits of qualitative research as follows:

- ❖ It is constructivist in nature due to its ability to construct, understand, interpret, describe and develop a theory on a phenomena or settings.
- ❖ It is naturalistic research conducted in a natural milieu.
- ❖ It is interpretive as it depends on the interpretations of the participants under study.
- ❖ It provides new insights into the meaning of the phenomenon; and
- ❖ It enables the researcher to get the information from within.

3.3.2.2 Weaknesses of Qualitative Research Approach

Qualitative research method has been criticized because of certain weaknesses. Knowledge produced may not generalize to other people or other settings (i.e., findings may be unique to the relatively few people included in the research study). It is difficult to make quantitative predictions. It is more difficult to test hypotheses and theories. It may have lower credibility with some administrators and commissioners of programmes. It generally takes more time to collect the data when compared to quantitative research. Data analysis is often time consuming (Johnson & Onwuegbuezie, 2006). The subjectivity of the researcher also allows for a lot of bias and therefore the validity of the data is also questioned (Babbie, 2010).

Taking into cognizance the fact that both quantitative and qualitative research approaches have their peculiar strengths and weaknesses, it is reasonable to argue that a combination of these two approaches would reduce the biases inherent in any single approach. This is possible by taking advantage of the strengths from each of the two approaches. For the purpose of this study, mixed methods research approach was therefore adopted and used accordingly. In mixed methods research approach, the debate between quantitative and qualitative is disregarded and the researcher opts for a combination of the two approaches. Thus, quantitative and qualitative research approaches are regarded as being complementary of each other (Muhuro, 2014).

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3.3.3 Mixed Methods Research (MMR) Approach

This study adopted the mixed methods research (MMR) approach which created an opportunity to assess whether or not political education is a determinant of political participation for university students from multiple data sources. Johnson (2014) defines mixed methods research, also known as mixed research or mixed methodologies, as the type of research in which a researcher or a team of researchers mix or combine qualitative and quantitative research paradigms or philosophies, methodologies, methods, techniques, approaches, concepts, or language into a single research study

or a set of related studies. Hogue (2011) insists that when doing mixed methods research one is taking a pragmatic approach. According to Creswell (2014), pragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions, as well as to different forms of data collection and analysis in the mixed methods research.

Most of the researchers using mixed methods claim that they do so to add strength to their argument (Jonhson, Onwuegbuezie & Turner, 2007), but the value of mixing might also come about through a dialectical initiation of ideas (Greene, 2007). Bazeley (2015) discloses that Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007) arrive at a composite definition after a careful consideration of nineteen (19) definitions of mixed methods as contributed by the leaders in the field. This definition is as follows:

> *"Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration"* (Johnson et al, 2007:123).

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From this definition, mixed methods is clearly seen and described as the research approach that a researcher adopts by engaging the combined elements of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches in the efforts to collect, analyze and make inferences from data with a view to having deeper understanding of the study. Creswell (2008) describes mixed methods research as "both a method and methodology for conducting research that involves collecting, analyzing and integrating quantitative and qualitative research in a single study or a longitudinal programme of inquiry". He states further that the purpose of this form of research is that both qualitative and quantitative research, in combination, provides a better understanding of a research problem or issue than either one of the research approach alone.

According to Greene (2008), mixed methods way of thinking is described as follows:

> *"An orientation toward social inquiry that actively invites us to participate in dialogue about multiple ways of seeing and hearing, multiple way of making sense of the social world, and multiple standpoints on what is important and to be valued and cherished. A mixed methods way of thinking rests on assumptions that there are multiple legitimate approaches to social inquiry and that any given approach to social inquiry is inevitably partial…a mixed methods way of thinking actively engages us with difference and diversity in service of both better understanding and greater equity of voice"* (Greene, 2008:20).

Mixed methods, from Greene's perspective, is a way of thinking and approaching a social inquiry using multiple methods based on the assumptions that engaging in a social inquiry from the perspective of one method or approach may not be complete or holistically viewed for a better understanding involving greater equity of opinions from diverse and different standpoints.

3.3.3.1 Philosophy in Mixed Methods Research (MMR)

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Mixed methods researchers often use dialectal stances that bridge post-positivist and social contructivist, worldviews, pragmatic perspectives, and transformative perspectives (Greene, 2007). For instance, researchers who hold different philosophical positions may find mixed methods research to be challenging because of the tensions created by their different beliefs (Greene, 2007). However, mixed methods research also represents an opportunity to transform these tensions into new knowledge through a dialectical discovery. A pragmatic perspective draws on employing "what works", using diverse approaches, giving primacy to the importance of the research problem and question, and valuing both objective and subjective knowledge (Morgan, 2007). A transformative perspective suggests an orienting framework for a mixed methods study based on creating a more just and democratic society that permeates the entire research process, from the problem to the conclusions, and the use of results (Mertens, 2010).

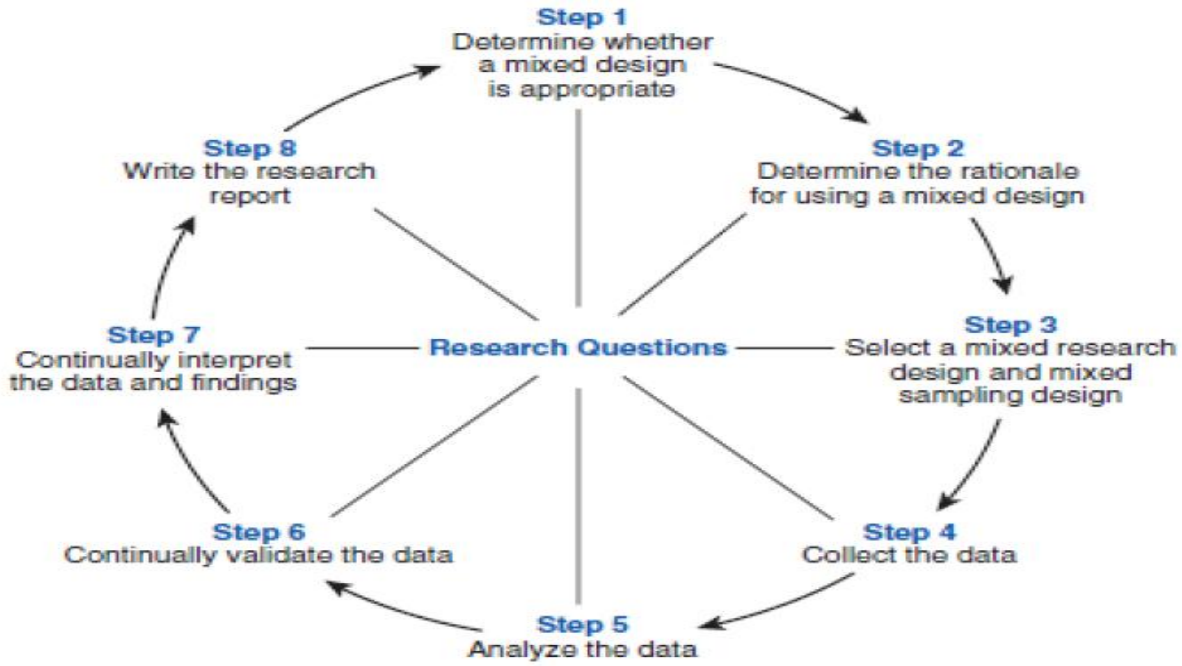

Figure 3.1: Important Steps in a Mixed Research Study (Johnson, 2014)

3.3.3.2 Strengths of Mixed Research Approach

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Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2006) state the strengths of the mixed methods research approach as follows:

- Words, pictures and narrative can be used to add meaning to numbers.
- Numbers can be used to add precision to words, pictures and narrative.
- It can provide quantitative and qualitative research strengths.
- Researcher can generate and test a grounded theory.
- It can answer a broader and more complete range of research questions because the researcher is not confined to a single research method or approach (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2006).

3.3.3.3 Weaknesses of Mixed Methods Research Approach

- It can be difficult for a single researcher to carry out both qualitative and quantitative research, especially if two or more approaches are expected to be used concurrently; it may require a research team.

- ❖ The researcher has to learn about multiple methods and approaches and understand how to mix them appropriately.
- ❖ Methodological purists contend that one should always work within either a qualitative or a quantitative paradigm.
- ❖ It is more expensive than any other research approach.
- ❖ It is more time consuming compared to any other research approach (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2006).

3.3.3.4 Justification for Suitability of Mixed Methods Approach to this Study

Political education is a complex field. This is because it attracts multiple conceptions and facts requiring a deep understanding of how it influences political participation. Such an understanding was facilitated by considering the study from both the qualitative and the quantitative perspectives. Mixed methods research offers a practical approach to address research problems and the potential for increased applicability because these problems and questions are examined in different ways. A mixed methods research study means the use of quantitative and qualitative methods as components of a research design (Caruth, 2013; Creswell, 2009; Greene, 2007).

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Moreover, this study is an educational research. Hence, the use of quantitative and qualitative research is considered to be an important component of any educational research in order to capture the complexity of this field (Phillips, 2009). An educational research is commonly regarded as research into educational matters (Johannigmeier & Richardson, 2008). The quantitative research method becomes the dominant approach to assess individual components of the schools (e.g., student political participation) or the effects of one component into another (e.g., the effect of political education in producing politically conscious and responsible citizens). Similarly, the use of qualitative research methods has been the dominant approach to understand the student's values, cultures and participation in politics. It has further been used to understand political aspects of education that come in the form of educational policies, programmes and curriculum (Ponce & Pagán-Maldonado, 2015).

The use of the two approaches in a mixed methods study can occur at different points in the research process (Caruth, 2013; Creswell, 2011; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009; Greene, 2007) as follows:

- In the planning phase where the research plans is developed. At this point it becomes clear what is investigated and how quantitative and qualitative approaches are used.
- Combining or integrating research questions from quantitative and qualitative approaches to guide the researcher into the complexity of the problem studied.
- Using quantitative measurement instruments with qualitative research techniques to generate quantitative and qualitative data in the analysis of data.
- Combining or integrating quantitative and qualitative data in the presentation of the study findings.

The choice of the mixed methods approach in this study was also based on the following arguments as put forward by Creswell (2008). They include:

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- The insufficient argument; that is, either quantitative or qualitative may be insufficient by itself.
- Multiple angles argument; that is, quantitative and qualitative approaches provide different “pictures”.
- The-more-evidence-the-better argument; that is, combined quantitative and qualitative approaches provides more evidence.
- Community of practice argument; that is, mixed methods may be the preferred approach within a scholarly community; and
- Eager-to-learn argument; that is, it is the latest methodology in research.

In this study, the following research questions would be answered with the data collected both quantitatively and qualitatively.

- In what way is the students’ political awareness, resulting from political education, associated with their participation in politics?

- In what way do the students' political judgments, arising from political education, influence their political participation?
- What effects do the students' political interests, resulting from political education; have on their participation in politics?
- To what extent do students' family political involvements determine their level of political participation?
- To what extent does the mass media's political awareness influence students' political participation?
- What curriculum framework can be adopted for South African Political Education towards improving students' political participation?

To this end, the rationale for using a mixed methods design was that the quantitative data provided a general picture of the research problem, that is, assessing the extent in which political education can be a determinant of undergraduate students' political participation; whereas the qualitative data and its analysis refined and explained these statistical results by exploring the participants' views in-depth (Creswell, 2011; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009).

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Having justified reasons for the choice of mixed methods approach in this study, the discussion now shifts to the research design in the next section.

3.4 Research Design

A research design is 'a blueprint for action,' a plan for answering the research question (Kumar, 2011). A research design focuses on the end-product and all the steps in the process to achieve that outcome. In other words, a research design is viewed as the functional plan in which certain research methods and procedures are linked together to acquire a reliable and valid body of data. Research design is best described as the overall plan, according to which the respondents of a proposed study are selected, as well as the means of data collection or generation (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2009). The research design thus provides the researcher with a clear research framework; it

guides the methods, decisions and sets the basis for interpretation. For Babbie and Mouton (2008), research design is a plan or blueprint for conducting the research. This implies that the research design entails a detailed plan, within which, research is undertaken.

Creswell (2014) asserts that the researcher not only selects a qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods study to conduct; but the inquirer also decides on a type of study within these three choices. He submits further that research designs are types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches that provide specific direction for procedures in a research design. Table 3.1 below shows the alternative research designs that can be undertaken.

Table 3.1: Alternative Research Designs

Quantitative	Qualitative	Mixed Methods
• Experimental Designs • Non-experimental designs such as surveys.	• Narrative research • Phenomenology • Grounded theory • Ethnographies • Case study	• Convergent • Explanatory Sequential • Exploratory Sequential • Transformative, Embedded, or Multiphase

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Source: Creswell (2014)

In view of the assumptions that both the quantitative and qualitative data forms provide different types of information (that is, closed-ended data in the case of quantitative and open-ended data in the case of qualitative) and that each type of the data collection methods has limitations and strengths. It is however imperative to combine the strengths so as to develop a stronger understanding of the research problem or questions and to overcome the limitations of each. Creswell (2014) and Greene (2014) argue that, this “mixing” or blending of data provides a stronger understanding of the

problem or research questions than either by itself. This idea is at the core of a reasonably new method called “mixed methods research”.

A mixed methods design was useful when the researcher realized that quantitative or qualitative approach, each by itself, would be inadequate to best understand the research problem. Thus, the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research (and its data) could provide the best understanding of political education and how it could be a determinant of university students’ political participation in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. In this research design, Creswell (2014) claims that the inquirer first explores generally to learn what variables to study; and then studies those variables with a large sample of individuals. Alternatively, the researcher may first survey a large number of individuals and then follow up with a few participants to obtain their specific views and their voices about the topic. In these situations, collecting both closed-ended quantitative data and open-ended qualitative data proves advantageous (Creswell, 2014).

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3.4.1 Mixed Methods Notation

Mixed methods notations provide shorthand labels and symbols that convey important aspects of mixed methods research. They also provide a way that mixed methods’ researchers can easily communicate their procedures. Morse (1991) was the first person to be associated with the development of the notation. Other writers such as Plano Clark and others cited in Creswell (2014) suggest the following notations:

- QUAL and QUANT capitalization indicates an emphasis or priority on the quantitative or qualitative data, analysis, and interpretation in the study. In a mixed methods study, the qualitative and quantitative data may be equally emphasized, or one may be more emphasized than the other. Capitalization indicates that an approach or method is emphasized. Lowercase indicates lesser priority or emphasis on the method.

- ❖Quan and Qual stand for quantitative and qualitative respectively, and they use the same number of letters to indicate equality between the forms of data.
- ❖A plus sign + indicates a convergent or merging integration of data collection; both quantitative and qualitative data collected at the same time.
- ❖An arrow→ indicates a sequential form of data collection; one form (e.g., qualitative data) builds or connects with the other (e.g., quantitative data).
- ❖Parenthesis ( ) indicates that one form of data collection is embedded within another or embedded within a larger design.
- ❖Double arrows →← imply that the flow of activities can go both ways.

3.4.2 Advantages of Using Mixed Methods Design

According to Okeke and Van Wyk (2015), benefits of using mixed methods design include:

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- ❖ The mixed methods design combines the qualitative and the quantitative methods of data collection. The researcher can use questionnaires (survey design) and focus group interviews for data collection for a single case study.
- ❖ It broadens the mixed methods approach by using two or more data collection tools. For example, this present researcher employed semi-structured interviews as qualitative method to explore the views of participants on political education as a determinant of university students' political participation.
- ❖ It uses one method of data collection and then uses the results to develop another method.
- ❖ It acts as a complementary approach. In this case, the researcher uses quantitative and qualitative methods for collecting data.
- ❖ The researcher employs mixed methods with the advantage of gathering new findings in terms of knowledge and skills or insights about the phenomenon under investigation (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015).

3.4.3 Types of Mixed Methods Research Designs

There have been several typologies for classifying and identifying types of mixed methods strategies that can be used in a mixed methods study. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) identify a number of classification systems drawn from the fields of evaluation, nursing, public health, education policy and research, social and behavioural research. In these classifications, authors used diverse terms for their types of designs, and a substantial amount of overlap of types existed in the typologies. Specifically, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) identify four types of mixed methods designs namely; convergent parallel design, exploratory design, explanatory design and embedded design.

3.4.3.1 Triangulation Mixed Methods Design

Authors such as Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), Maree (2007), and Bergman (2008) posit that triangulation mixed methods design combines qualitative and quantitative data at some stage of the research process within a single study to understand a research problem. The mixing can occur during the data collection, during data presentation or during data analysis. According to Bergman (2008), there is combination of data at two stages such as both during data collection and analysis. In concurrent triangulation design or parallel design, quantitative and qualitative data are collected at the same time and presented separately, then integrated at the time of analysis of each research question (Mertens, 2010).

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Another strategy is to use sequential triangulation. This allows for sequential timing when collecting and analyzing data. It implies collection of quantitative data first followed by the qualitative data collection, then analysis (exploratory design) or vice versa (explanatory design); noted in Maree (2007). Sequential mixed methods procedures involve exploratory and explanatory designs. In mixed methods approach,

the pragmatic or transformative epistemologies are employed (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

In the next section, different types of triangulation mixed methods designs are explained in details.

3.4.3.1.1 Convergent Parallel Mixed Design

In this design, a researcher collects both quantitative and qualitative data, analyzes them separately, and then compares the results to ascertain whether the findings confirm or disconfirm each other (Creswell, 2014). The key assumption of this design is that both qualitative and quantitative data provide different types of information-often detailed views of participants qualitatively and scores on instruments quantitatively-and together they yield results that should be the same. The purpose of this design is to best understand or develop more complete understanding of the research problem by obtaining different but complementary data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). This method is sometimes referred to as the triangulation mixed methods research design. The quantitative and qualitative strands are conducted separately and concurrently, and merged at the point of interpretation. This implies that the researcher keeps the strands independent during analysis and then mixes the results during the overall interpretation. It should also be noted that the point of interface is a point where the two strands of data are mixed.

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According to Creswell & Plano Clark (2011), the possible points of interface are as follows:

- Data collection: It is a point of interface where QUAN and QUAL results build to the subsequent collection of qual or quan data.
- Data analysis: It is a point of interface where the researcher transforms one type of data into other type of data and does the analysis of the combined data.

- ❖ Interpretation: It is a point of interface where the researcher has to do comparison and combination of results from both methods of data collection; that is, QUAN and QUAL forms of data.

The qualitative data can assume any of the forms such as interviews, observations, and documents analysis. The qualitative data can be obtained from observational checklists, or numeric records like census data. The key idea with this design is to collect both forms of data using the same or parallel variables, constructs, or concepts. For example, if the concept of political education is being measured quantitatively, the same concept is investigated during the qualitative data collection process, such as open-ended interview. The data from the qualitative data collection will be smaller than that from the quantitative data collection. The reason being that, the intent of data collection for qualitative data is to locate and obtain information from a small sample but to gather extensive information from this sample; while in quantitative research a large sample size is needed in order to conduct meaningful statistical tests (Creswell, 2014).

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3.4.3.1.2 Explanatory Sequential Mixed Methods Design

The explanatory sequential mixed methods approach is a design in mixed methods that appeals to individuals with a strong quantitative background or from fields relatively new to qualitative approaches. It is a two-phase mixed methods design which employs different stages in the study. For instance, the researcher first used focus group interviews combined with observations, and follow it up with a short survey to explore university students' views on political education as a determinant of their political participation. In this study, the researcher collected data through interviews and survey to explore the extent to which political education determines the university students' political participation. Explanatory design allows for quantitative data to provide a general overview of the phenomenon in the first phase, while it illuminates the qualitative results (Creswell et al, 2007; Maree, 2007).

The researcher collects quantitative data in the first phase, analyzes the results, and then uses the results to plan (or build on to) the second, qualitative phase. The quantitative results typically inform the types of participants to be purposefully selected for the qualitative phase and the types of questions that will be asked from the participants. The overall intent of this design is to have the qualitative data help explain in more detail the initial quantitative results. A typical procedure might involve collecting survey data in the first phase, analyzing the data, and then following up with qualitative interviews to help explain the survey responses (Creswell, 2014). The data collection proceeds in two distinct phases with rigorous quantitative sampling in the first phase and with purposeful sampling in the second qualitative phase.

One challenge in this strategy is to plan adequately what quantitative results to follow up on and what participants to gather qualitative data from in the second phase.The key idea is that the qualitative data collection builds directly on the quantitative results. The quantitative and the qualitative databases are analyzed separately in this approach. The mixed methods researcher interprets the follow up results in a discussion section of the study. Accordingly, in the interpretation section, after the researcher presents the general quantitative and then qualitative results, a discussion should follow that specifies how the qualitative results help to expand the quantitative results (Creswell, 2014).

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3.4.3.1.3 Exploratory Mixed Methods Design

The exploratory design is a complementary method to the explanatory design. In this design, qualitative data is collected and analyzed in the first phase so as to discover the phenomenon, and then the data is collected and analyzed quantitatively in the second phase (Maree, 2007). De Vos et al (2011) aver that the explanatory mixed methods design is used when a researcher first needs to explore a phenomenon using qualitative data, before attempting to measure or test it quantitatively. This implies that the researcher builds a quantitative study on the results of a qualitative study. The

researcher will link results from both strands. The qualitative strand is considered exploratory, to be followed by further testing and verification during the quantitative data analysis phase. Exploratory design is ideal for generating theory, thus it is ideal for studies in which the researcher does not know how to measure variables and where no clear constructs and no framework for analyzing data are available. Theory is generated from the quantitative and qualitative data findings (Creswell, 2009).

The reverse of the explanatory sequential approach is the exploratory sequential mixed methods design. An exploratory sequential mixed method is a design in which the researcher first begins by exploring with qualitative data and analysis and then uses the findings in a second quantitative phase. Like the explanatory sequential approach, the second database builds on the results of the initial database. The intent of the strategy is to develop better measurements with specific samples of populations and to see if data from a few individuals (in qualitative phase) can be generalized to a large sample of a population (in quantitative phase). In this case, there may not be adequate instruments measuring the concepts with the sample that the investigator wishes to study. In fact, the researcher employs a three phase procedure with the first phase as exploratory, the second as instrument development, and the third as administering the instrument to a sample of a population (Creswell, 2014).

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In this strategy, the data collection occurs in two phases with the initial qualitative data collection followed by the second quantitative data collection. The challenge is how to use the information from the initial phase in the second phase. A researcher can analyze the qualitative data to develop new variables, to identify the types of scales that might exist in current instruments or to form categories of information that will be explored further in a quantitative phase. The researcher analyzes the two databases separately and uses the findings from the initial exploratory database to build into quantitative measures. Researcher then interprets the mixed methods results in a discussion section of a study (Creswell, 2014).

3.4.3.1.4 Embedded Mixed Methods Design

In this type of design, one data set provides a secondary, supportive role in a study based primarily on the other data type. The design is premised on the key assumption that different types of questions require different types of data. This type of design allows researchers to embed a type of data into a larger design by using another type of data. Creswell (2014:281) states that “the embedded mixed methods design nests one or more forms of data (quantitative or qualitative or both) within a larger design (e.g., a narrative study, an ethnography, an experiment)”. For example, within an experiment, the researcher can collect qualitative data and collect it during the experiment (convergent) or before the experiment begins (sequentially) or after the experiment ends (sequentially) Creswell (2014).

3.4.3.1.5 Transformative Mixed Methods Design

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A transformative mixed methods design is a strategy that incorporates elements of the convergent, exploratory sequential or explanatory sequential approaches within a social justice framework to help a marginalized group (Creswell, 2014). He explains further that the researcher uses a social justice theory as a framework for a mixed methods study. This theory (such as the feminist, racial) frames many aspects of the mixed methods study, like the research problem, the questions, the data collection and analysis, interpretation, and the call for action. It is popular in studying marginalized groups in various countries, especially third world countries, throughout the world and in the United States (Creswell, 2014). There are two concurrent data collection phases. Priority may be given to either phase or there may be equal priority phase. Data are integrated during analysis or possibly during interpretation phase. Like the sequential model, the purpose is to allow the researcher to employ methods that will best serve theoretical perspectives (e.g., critical theory, advocacy, participatory research or theoretical framework (Terrell, 2012). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) add that all decisions about interaction, priority, timing, and mixing are made within the context of

the transformative framework. Researchers can implement any of four basic mixed methods' designs within the transformative framework.

Terrell (2011) identify certain strengths and weaknesses of the transformative design as follows:

Strengths of Transformative Design

- ❖ It collects both quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously allowing for perspectives from each.
- ❖ It provides advantages of both methods.
- ❖ It is familiar to many researchers.
- ❖ It allows for shorter data collection time when compared to sequential methods.
- ❖ It offsets weaknesses inherent to one design by using both.

Weaknesses of Transformative Design

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Data need to be transformed to allow integration during analysis; this may lead to issues in resolving discrepancies that occur between different data types. It requires a great deal of expertise and effort to study the phenomenon under consideration using two different methods (Terrell, 2012). Researchers need to have expertise in theoretical foundations of the study. There is little guidance in the literature to assist researchers with implementing mixed methods in a transformative way (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

3.4.3.1.6 Multiphase Mixed Methods Design

Creswell (2014) argues that the multiphase mixed methods design is another advanced design in which researchers conduct several mixed methods projects, sometimes including mixed methods convergent or sequential approaches, sometimes including only quantitative or qualitative studies in a longitudinal study with a focus on a common objective for the multiple projects. In the same vein, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) are of the view that multiphase is another example of a mixed methods design that goes

beyond four basic designs. It is a combination of sequential and concurrent aspects; it is most common in large funded or multiyear projects.

3.4.3.2 The Specific Research Design for this Study

A convergent concurrent design also referred to as concurrent triangulation, parallel and convergent parallel design (Creswell, 2014) was used in this study for the purpose of investigating the extent to which political education was a determinant of university students' political participation in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. The design entails collecting both quantitative and qualitative data at the same time (Maree, 2007; Creswell, 2014). The convergent parallel design (convergent or triangulation design) occurs when the researcher uses concurrent timing to implement the quantitative and qualitative studies during the same phase of the research process. The two methods in the design have an equal priority so that both play an equally important role in addressing the research problem. This design keeps the studies independent during the data collection and analysis and then mixes or merges the results during the overall interpretation. The procedure is said to be time-saving compared to the sequential design (Creswell, 2009). The key reason for combining data from various sources is to seek convergence in the data at the time of making inferences so as to validate findings (Mertens, 2010). This validation is achieved by searching for convergence across qualitative and quantitative methods (Mertens, 2010; Johnson & Christensen, 2012; Bryman, 2012).

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The main reason for using this design is to have a comprehensive understanding of the research problem by collecting different but complementary data that validate findings. Collection of survey data using a questionnaire was done concurrently with interview and documentary data. Quantitative and qualitative data were systematically merged for comprehensive analysis of the research problem. Qualitative and quantitative methods have biases and weaknesses and use of mixed methods neutralizes the weaknesses of each method (Creswell, 2014). Greene (2014) affirms that mixed methods research

encourages interactive combination or mixing at various levels i.e. method, methodology, paradigm, data analysis, results, discussion and theoretical understanding or explanation. Data in this study were merged during the interpretation stage. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) opine that it is possible to integrate qualitative and quantitative data. The implication is that, amalgamation or merging can occur during data collection, data analysis and interpretation.

In this study, questionnaire (quantitative data instrument) was used to test the Absolute Education Model and the cognitive mobilization theory of political education which predict that education can be related to political participation; education increases civic skills and political knowledge which function as the causal mechanisms triggering participation of students in politics as in the case of one selected university in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. Concurrent with this data collection method, qualitative data (through in-depth interviews) was collected to explore the political education and how it had or not determined the political participation of the university students in the study area. The reasons for collecting both quantitative and qualitative data were to bring together the strengths of both forms of research to compare, corroborate and validate results.

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3.4.3.3 Strengths of Convergent Parallel Design

It is an efficient design, in which both types of data are collected during one phase of the research at roughly the same time. Each type of data can be collected and analyzed separately and independently, using the techniques traditionally associated with each data type. The design makes intuitive sense. Therefore, the researchers who are new to mixed methods often choose this design and it has become a framework for thinking about mixed methods research (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; O'Cathain, Murphy & Nicholl, 2008; Morse & Niehaus, 2009).

3.4.3.4 Weaknesses of the Convergent Parallel Design

Researchers need to consider the consequences of having different samples and different sample sizes when merging the two data sets. Different sample sizes may occur because the quantitative and qualitative data are usually collected for different purposes. It can be challenging to merge two sets of very different data in a meaningful way. It can be challenging if the quantitative and qualitative results do not agree. Contradictions may provide new insights into the topic, but these differences can be difficult to resolve and may require the collection of additional data. Much effort and expertise is required, particularly because of the concurrent data collection and the fact that equal weight is usually given to each data type. This can be addressed by forming a research team that includes members who have quantitative and qualitative expertise, or by training single researchers in both quantitative and qualitative research (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Song, Sandelowski & Happ, 2010; O'Cathain, 2010).

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3.4.3.5 Justification for the Choice of Convergent Parallel Design in this study

In line with the thoughts of Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), the convergent parallel design was considered suitable in this study for the following reasons:

- ❖ To triangulate the methods by directly comparing and contrasting quantitative results with qualitative findings for corroboration and validation purposes;
- ❖ To illustrate quantitative results with qualitative findings to develop a more complete understanding of a phenomenon; and
- ❖ The need to gather relevant data and individual students' perspectives on political education as a determinant of students' political participation in the selected university in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

3.5 Population and Sampling

This section is concerned with the population and the sampling procedure used in this study. The population for this study was clearly defined and the study sample was vividly described in order to have an understanding of the sources of the quantitative and qualitative data utilized in the study.

3.5.1 The Study Population

A population can be defined as a group of elements or cases, whether individuals, objects, or events, that are in line with certain criteria and to which the researcher intends to generalize the results of the research (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). A population is a gathering of a certain group of individuals or objects, while a sample is a smaller number of population members actually selected to participate in a study or research (Viljoen, 2007). For the purpose of this study, population is described as the total number of university students who meet the selection criteria for a group to be studied and from whom a representative sample (study sample) is taken for a detailed investigation.

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The population, for this study, consisted of all students across the six faculties in the selected university. These faculties included education, health sciences, law, management and commerce, social sciences and humanities, and science and agriculture. The population of the students was estimated to be 16,408 in the 2018 academic year. This population figure was obtained from the voters' register released by the university's (under investigation) student governance officer during the 2018 SRC elections.

3.5.2 Study Sample and Sampling Procedure

A study sample is defined as a group of individuals from whom data are collected and generalized to the study population (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010; McMillan, 2012). The sample is usually a subset or subgroup of the study population. It is a fraction or

small portion of the population from which data will be generated and generalized to the entire population. The process of selecting a portion or fraction called sample from the study population is described as the sampling (Maree, 2009). Sampling is a process involving the selection of specific study participants from the identified population which is done in different manners depending on the type of research undertaking (Moreku, 2014). The nature of the sampling procedure or technique employed in a particular study can be random, stratified or convenience (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010).

In this study, probability random and purposive sampling techniques were used to select the participants. The purposive sampling technique is otherwise known as the judgement sampling (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016). It is so-called because it is used when a researcher intentionally decides to identify and select participants who possess certain kind of knowledge and qualities considered to be relevant to the study. Purposive random sampling is done by randomly selecting a sample of a small number of respondents from the target population group (Graff, 2014). This technique of sampling is considered for use in the selection of individuals or groups of people who have the requisite knowledge, skills, experience and information relating to the research interest.

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More so, the participants are purposively selected because of their availability, desire and interest to willingly participate and give out well-informed opinions or views and thoughts on the phenomena under investigation (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016). The sample consisted of students of political science, public administration and other students in other faculties as well as a few selected members of the Student Representative Council (SRC). The researcher purposively selected departments across the six faculties of the university, approached the students one-on-one or in a group and in the class through their lecturers and class representatives. He explained the purpose of the study and gave the questionnaires to those who became interested in and consented to participate in the study.

The choice of political science students was informed by the fact that they are receiving political science training at tertiary education institution as budding professional political scientists or political educators. The researcher was interested in studying the extent to which they have been participating in politics on campus; thereby bridging the gap between the theoretical knowledge acquired from the classrooms and the practice or application of their political science education within the context of student politics on campus and national politics. The choice of the other students and the SRC members was informed by the researcher's assumption that there are quite a lot of students who study courses that have nothing to do with politics but have been more interested in politics and probably participate more in campus and national politics than their counterparts whose discipline is political science. In terms of general knowledge of politics, all of these participants have been exposed to some political education/literacy programme titled "The Life, Knowledge, and Action: The Grounding Programme (LKA-GP)". "This is a first year 16-credit semester programme being described as a transdisciplinary learning experience based on a just, humanizing and collaborative pedagogy that builds on students' knowledge as a way of developing compassionate, socially-engaged, critical and responsible citizens".

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A sample of 375 students, out of the estimated population of 16408, was selected at the confidence level of 95.00% with the aid of the Creative Research Systems Survey Software for the quantitative strand of the study. 450 copies of the questionnaire were randomly distributed while only 372 copies (82.7%) were completed and returned by the participants for statistical analysis. Figure 3.2 below is the calculation of the sample size.

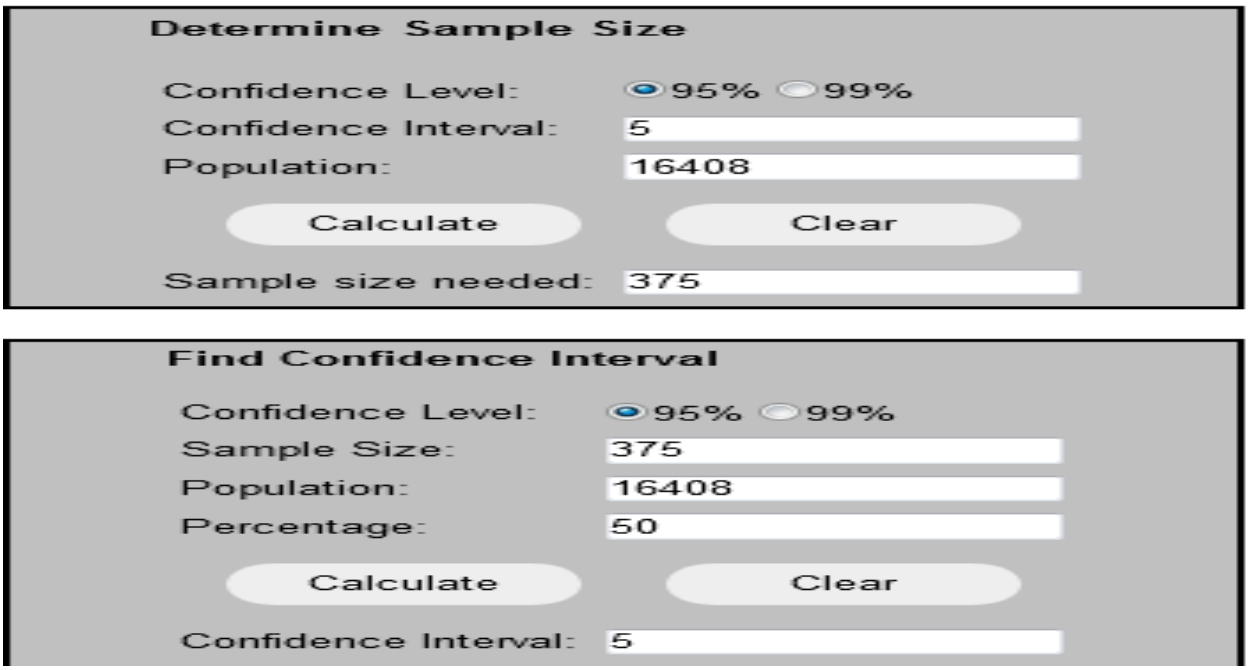

Figure 3.2: Study Sample Size Calculation (https://www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.htm)

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For the qualitative strand/interview, five (5) members of the selected university's Student Representative Council (SRC) were purposively selected. Their views were sought so as to add more explanation (qualitatively) to the data collected through the questionnaire.

3.6 Data collection Methods and Instruments

Data collection instruments such as the questionnaire, interview guides, and observation templates are vital tools which the researcher uses in gathering reliable and valid data on the subject under investigation (Zohrabi, 2013). There are different procedures of data collection. Instruments of data collection are largely determined by the nature of research design. There are three main research designs namely; quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods. Quantitative research usually adopts use of closed-ended questionnaires and tests to collect data; while the qualitative research commonly employs use of interviews, observations, documents and records analysis and open-ended questionnaires to gather the data. The mixed methods research design

which is the combination of both the quantitative and qualitative approaches often use closed-ended questionnaires to generate numerical data, interviews and observations for textual data collection. The mixed methods approach lends credence to the trustworthiness and dependability of the data collection and interpretation processes (Zohrabi, 2013). The present study used a mixed methods design and therefore employed both the questionnaire and the interviews for data collection. The study also relied on available documents and records where necessary to validate the data collected.

3.6.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is simply an instrument for data collection consisting of a set of questions and other prompts capable of eliciting information from the study participants (Abawi, 2013). It can also be defined as a document purposefully designed to obtain specific information from the respondents (Sansoni, 2011). Questionnaires provide an effective method of obtaining information from a survey of a large target population about a wide range of research concerns (McMillan, 2012). Questionnaires serve as primary sources of data for a research project. Nevertheless, it is imperative for researchers to take into cognizance of the validity, reliability and clarity of questionnaires designed for their studies. More importantly, questionnaires are of different types namely; closed-ended/structured questionnaires, open-ended/unstructured questionnaires and a mix of both closed-ended and open-ended questionnaires. Closed-ended questionnaires are used to generate data in numerical forms for quantitative research, while open-ended questionnaires are employed to produce data in textual forms for qualitative research (Zohrabi, 2013). Zohrabi further asserts that closed-ended questionnaires have been considered to be efficiently better for the fact that, its numerical data can be easily analyzed especially with the use of computer-aid software like the SPSS statistical analysis package. In this study, closed-ended questionnaire was designed, validated and used in gathering the quantitative data.

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This study's questionnaire was tagged "University Students' Political Education and Participation Questionnaire (USPEPQ)" (see Appendix A). The political education sections were designed using selected indices and dimensions (political awareness, political judgement and political interest) of political education suggested by Prasad (as cited in Nilgun, Sozer & Burcu, 2015). The political participation section was largely adapted from the student governance survey instrument used for data collection in Luescher-Mamashela's (2011) work entitled "Higher education and democracy: The student governance project". The whole questionnaire for this study had four sections such as A, B, C and D. Section A of the questionnaire was for the university students' demographic data (sex, age, department, year of study and information about their parents); section B collected data relating to students' level of political education. It was divided into three sub-sections; B1 sub-section dealt with the students' level of political awareness with eleven (11) items. This sub-section had a Likert scale of four responses ranging from 'extremely aware' to 'not at all aware'; sub-section B2 dealt with the students' level of political judgement with 8-items and sub-section B3 dealt with the students' level of political interest with 9-items. Section C had nineteen (19) items and collected data relating to the agents of political education namely family (15-items) and the media (4-items) totaling nineteen (19) items. Section D collected data relating to students' participation both in campus politics (13-items) and national politics (15-items). The entire section had 28 questions with different response scales.

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The level of political awareness was measured using eleven (11) items and its Cronbach alpha coefficient yielded a value of 0.89. This shows that the instrument is highly reliable or has a high level of internal consistency. The eleven (11) questions probed the degree of awareness by asking participants to indicate their level of awareness. Participants were asked to choose from a mutually exclusive list of options which included; extremely aware, moderately aware, somewhat aware and not at all aware. The eleven (11) items were scored to generate a composite variable termed political awareness, with higher score indicating higher level of political awareness and lower scores indicating lower level of political awareness. 'Extremely aware' was coded

4, ‘moderately aware’ was coded 3, ‘somewhat aware’ was coded 2 and ‘not at all aware’ was coded 1. A total score of 44 was obtainable for a high level of awareness.

The level of political judgement was measured using eight (8) items which yielded a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.71. This indicated that the instrument was reliable or had a high level of internal consistency. The eight (8) questions examined the participants’ agreement or disagreement with certain political issues regarding South Africa’s democracy and governance. The eight (8) items were therefore coded as follows: Agree (2), Disagree (1) and No opinion (0). A total score of sixteen (16) was available as the highest score that could be obtained for agreeing to the questions. The level of political interest was measured using nine (9) items which yielded Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.84. This indicated that the instrument was reliable or had a high level of internal consistency. The nine (9) questions probed the degree of agreement or disagreement by asking the participants to indicate their level of agreement or otherwise on a 4-point Likert-type of response; that is, whether they agree or disagree to participating in or carrying out certain political activities of interest. The responses were coded from 1 (‘Strongly Disagree’) to 4 (‘strongly Agree’). A total score of 36 was indicating ‘strongly agree’.

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The level of political participation on campus was measured using theirteen (13) items, which yielded Cronbach alpha coefficient value of 0.66. This indicated that the instrument was reliable or had a high level of internal consistency. The level of political participation in national politics was measured using fifteen (15) items, which yielded Cronbach alpha coefficient value of 0.78. This indicated that the instrument was reliable or had a high level of internal consistency. Parents’ political involvement was measured using eleven (11) items, which yielded Cronbach alpha coefficient value of 0.76 indicating that the instrument was reliable or had a high level of internal consistency. Mass media’s political awareness was measured using four (4) items, which yielded Cronbach alpha coefficient value of 0.82 indicating that the instrument was reliable or

had a high level of internal consistency. Table 3.2 shows the summary of the reliability statistics of the research questionnaire.

Table 3.2: Reliability Statistics for the Quantitative Data Collection Instrument

S/N	Elements of Measurement	No of Items	Cronbach alpha Value
1.	Level of Political Awareness (Political Education)	11 items	0.89
2.	Level of Political Judgement (Political Education)	8 items	0.71
3.	Level of Political Interest (Political Education)	9 items	0.84
4.	Level of Political Participation in Campus Politics	13 items	0.66
5.	Level of political participation in national politics	15 items	0.78
6.	Family political involvements	11 items	0.76
7.	Mass media's political awareness	4 items	0.82

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Source: Survey data (2018)

Questionnaires, however, have both strengths and weaknesses. These are discussed in the sub-sections below.

3.6.1.1 The Strengths of the Questionnaire

According to Sansoni (2011), the strengths of the questionnaire include the following among other:

- It is inexpensive to construct and administer.
- It is a type of instrument for data collection that allows researchers to reach a very large number of participants within a limited and shortest time possible.
- It is the only type of instrument that yields data which is impossible to be made available by other means.

- It has high external validity especially when it is properly validated.

Other advantages of the questionnaires are:

- Questionnaires are certainly more objective than the interviews because responses are obtained from respondents in a standard manner.
- It is generally believed that using a questionnaire is relatively quick to collect data (Langa, 2016:96).
- Data collected with open-ended questionnaires are more amenable to easy analysis (Zohrabi, 2013).

3.6.1.2 The Weaknesses of the Questionnaire

- Questionnaires are often criticized for its 'crude' level of measurement (Sansoni, 2011).
- It may not be validated before being used by researchers (Sansoni, 2011).
- It may be fraught with bias unless it is well developed and designed (Sansoni, 2011).
- There may be low response or returns rate especially when administered by post or email (Maree, 2009; Zohrabi, 2013).
- It is often best used with the literate respondents while the researcher will have to read, and explain the items to obtain responses from the illiterate respondents (Sansoni, 2011).
- Respondents may answer the questions without having a proper understanding especially when it takes a long time to complete (Langa, 2016).
- Students may be afraid to answer certain questions as honestly as possible (Langa, 2016).

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Having noted the weaknesses of the questionnaires as instruments of data collection, the present researcher adopted the use of semi-structured interview as the second instrument so that the participants could be met face-to-face in their natural settings. This was important because the information collected from them would be used to complement the quantitative data. Also, the researcher took time to ensure that the

wording of the questionnaire was simplified as much as possible in the course of developing and designing the questionnaire. The students were assured that their responses would not in any way affect or influence their course and continuous assessment grades.

3.6.2 Interview Guide

For authors like Cohen, Manion and Morison (2007), interviewing is "a valuable method for exploring the construction and negotiation of meanings in a natural setting". Interviews are means of collecting data from the informants (interviewees) through questioning and probing by the researcher (interviewer). With interviews, the researcher collects data by listening to and taking note of individual participants' responses to questions, by tape recording or filming the participants as they respond to questions or by doing both as a process of data collection (Abawi, 2013). The researcher who intends to use interview, as an instrument of data collection, is convinced of the need to obtain first-hand information from participants who are believed to have the knowledge and experience under investigation. Therefore, Flick (2006) contends that the purpose of interview is to make known an existing relevant knowledge in a manner that can be explained and accessed in the form of answers to research questions. In a similar way, Alshenqeeti (2014) opines that interviewing is a naturalistic conversation between a researcher and the informants for the purpose of gaining a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the phenomena under investigation. In addition, Maree (2007) is of the view that an interview is a two-way conversation where there is an interaction between the interviewer and the respondents; where the former wants to learn from the ideas, views, thoughts and opinions of the latter by asking relevant questions on the topic under investigation.

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Sources in the literature reveal that interviews can be categorized into four main types namely; structured interview, unstructured interview, semi-structured interview and focus group (Abawi, 2013; Alshenqeeti, 2014; Zohrabi, 2013). The structured interview is a type of interview which presents a set of predetermined questions which usually require responses in the form of 'Yes or No'. It has similar features of the self-

administered questionnaires. Interview of this type does not allow for freedom of the interviewer to probe deeper into the topic under investigation. Also, the respondent is restricted from expressing further opinion or view on the topic of investigation. The unstructured interview, on the other hand, questions naturally flow from the conversation and interaction between the interviewer and the participants. It is a type that allows a great deal of freedom and flexibility to both the interviewer and the informants to express themselves on the topic under investigation. The interviewer feels free to ask follow-up questions and to probe deeper into the discussion while the respondent also feels free to shed more light on follow-up questions. This kind of discussion enhances clarity and deeper understanding of the topic under investigation (Alshenqeeti, 2014).

Semi-structured interview is a type of interview that provides a set of planned questions in tandem with the objective of the study as a guide for the interview but he/she has the freedom to reword, and re-order the questions for an in-depth understanding of the topic under investigation. It is therefore regarded as the in-depth interview or the interview guide approach (Zohrabi, 2013; Alshenqeeti, 2014; Abawi, 2013). However, this type of interview is less structured and less formal. It is mostly used when dealing with a study which requires collection of complex and highly opinion-based data (Abawi, 2013).

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Last but not the least, the focus group is a form of discussion based on the topic under investigation led by the researcher as the facilitator asking questions and allowing the participants to freely express their views and thoughts (Abawi, 2013). Alshenqeeti (2014) believes that focus group is an interviewing method whereby participants are purposively selected to provide information focusing on the topic under investigation. The author however cautions that the selected group may not necessarily have to be representative sampling of the target population, but the group is believed to be knowledgeable about the topic under investigation.

In this study, semi-structured interview was used for collecting qualitative data. It was considered suitable for the study because the researcher needed to ask further questions that the questionnaire was unable to probe into. Therefore, it was used because of its flexibility and adaptability allowing the researcher some level of freedom to further interrogate the respondents or informants, to ask follow-up questions causing the informants to elaborate, clarify and give more detailed answers (Creswell, 2007). Essentially, the semi-structured interviews have been supported as the most preferred in the literature (Zohrabi, 2013). It is a kind of interview that is considered to be most preferred because it is flexible; not too rigid nor too open. By using semi-structured interview, the researcher was able to facilitate direct interactions with members of the SRC on the selected university campus which had helped in gathering very robust and rich information regarding the students' level of political education as well as their political participation within and outside the campus. With the interviews, the voices of the undergraduate students who participated actively in the SRC politics on campus and national politics had been added to the findings of the quantitative data of the study. It was impossible to hear and record their voices on the topic being investigated in the study using only the questionnaire. Hence, the decision was taken to complement the quantitative data with the qualitative one through the convergent parallel mixed methods design.

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Nevertheless, interviews like the questionnaires also have both advantages and disadvantages.

3.6.2.1 The Strengths of Interviews

Interviews are research instruments with the advantage of collecting holistic and complete data with better and deeper understanding of the participants' views, positions, thoughts and perceptions (Berg, 2007:96; Abawi, 2013; Alshenqeeti, 2014). Interviews are more personal (it is expected that interviewer personally goes out there to collect information) and therefore yield higher response rates compared to response rates from the questionnaires. With the interviews, the researcher has more control on the arrangement and sequence of the questions. It is possible to effect changes when

necessary, in the interview schedule guide (Abawi, 2013). Interviews allow for collection of information from all kinds of people including those who cannot read and write. Information collected through interviews seems to be very much reliable because the interviewers employ various tactics to probe and cross examine their participants. It is therefore a powerful tool to extract narrative forms of data through direct explanations and recount of the informants' experiences and actions which the questionnaire can only generate numerically (Alshenqeeti, 2014).

3.6.2.2 The weaknesses of the Interview

Collection of data through the interviews can be very cumbersome and burdensome when interviewing large numbers of informants. There is tendency for bias especially when the interviewer suffers undue fatigue. Also, data from the interviews can be very cumbersome and tiresome to analyze (Abawi, 2013). In the same vein, Alshenqeeti (2014) adds that collecting data through interviews can be time-consuming; it can never guarantee 100% anonymity for the interviewees as they are sometimes pressured to share and disclose very personal information and informants may be reluctant to answer some personal questions. It is most useful for a study that involves a small number of participants (a study on a small scale basis) and it is usually fraught with a lot of inconsistencies. Interviewing may involve high costs in terms of travels to meet the informants and other financial and manpower needs.

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In this study, the researcher made frantic efforts at overcoming the weaknesses of the interviewing method in collecting the data. First, the number of informants was small and purposively selected; making it convenient to access the informants in time and at the various places. Second, the researcher kept to his interview guide and did not probe too deep into the respondents' personal life which was not so relevant to the study objectives. For instance, those questions asked regarding family background of the informants were restricted to what it had to do with students' political education and participation in politics. So, the interviewees were comfortable to answer the questions

without being pressured to do so. The issue of anonymity was dealt with by explaining to the participants what the study intended to find from them and information provided for the study would be treated with utmost confidentiality by signing the “Informed Consent” form before the interview was conducted. The problem of inconsistencies was dealt with by the interviewer by keeping the study objectives in tandem with the interview schedule guide. Further, the informants were not allowed to derail from addressing the actual questions of the interview.

3.6.3 Use of Documents

Documents are also sources of data which are usually in the forms of written communications considered to be relevant to the topic under investigation (Maree, 2007). Documents can be personal and official. Personal documents can be in form of personal diaries, personally written letters, and anecdotal records. These are individual’s narratives describing their personal experiences, actions, beliefs and other activities. These documents can be made available to the researcher by the owners or the informants. Official documents on the other hand, could be staff records, student files, meetings’ proceedings or minutes, statistical records, organizational working papers, internal memos and external communications or correspondence files (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Documents in different forms are helpful in providing insightful meaning, interpretation and unravel critical understanding of the researcher on areas of focus in a study (Flick, Kardorff & Steinkle, 2006).

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Document analysis therefore is the proper scrutiny, examination and probing of the content of relevant documents for the purpose of identifying patterns of change and development in particular issues (Dahberg & McCaig, 2010). From another perspective, Maree (2007) regards document analysis as a practice of focusing on all sorts of textual materials capable of interpreting and adding meaning to phenomena under investigation. In this study, relevant documents such as the university’s student governance constitution, 2018 university prospectus, 2018 SRC election results and the

university's LKA-GP curriculum framework for the political education/literacy programme were meticulously reviewed and analyzed.

3.6.3.1 The Strengths of Document Analysis

Documents have the advantage of low cost and ability to provide authentic information. Researchers rely on the use of documents with a view to answer certain questions on issues that cannot be understood by means of interviewing (Mudyahoto, 2016). Maree (2007) contends that document analysis is advantageous in the sense that it is found useful as a singular method of data collection or as a supplementary method of data collection. Another advantage of document analysis is that it presents data that can never change and can be re-analyzed if necessary; and it is possible to compare recorded events over a period of time (Mudyahoto, 2016).

3.6.2.2 The Weaknesses of Document Analysis

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There is the tendency for the researcher to become selective and biased in his attempt to understand and interpret contents in a given document (Dahberg & McCaig, 2010). For different reasons such as social, political, and economic, authors of documents may choose to record and leave out some information; especially official documents containing historical facts which are prone to interpretative manipulation and selective bias (Mudyahoto, 2016). Therefore, it is imperative for the researchers to be critical and reflexive of the process and social considerations of the construction of documentation in their readings. Hence, the researcher was aware of the limitations in the use of documents and made frantic efforts to minimize the limitations it could impose on the outcomes of the study.

In this study, questionnaires and interviews were the instruments of data collection. The data were concurrently collected using questionnaire and interviews. Given the fact that the study was mixed in design, the interpretation of both the quantitative and qualitative

data were concurrently done. Expectedly, the research questions would be answered by statistically analyzing the quantitative data, while the qualitative data would be analyzed thematically. The Table 3.3 below summarizes the link between data collection instruments, units of analysis and the research questions.

Table 3.3: A Link between Data Collection Instruments, Units of Analysis and Research Questions

S/N	Research Questions	Data Collection Instruments	Units of Analysis
1.	In what way is the students' political awareness, resulting from political education, associated with their participation in politics?	Questionnaire & Interviews	University students
2.	In what way do the students' political judgements, arising from political education, influence their political participation?	Interviews & Questionnaire	University students
3.	What effects do the students' political interests, resulting from political education; have on their political participation?	Questionnaire & Interviews	University students
4.	To what extent do students' family political involvements determine their level of political participation?	Questionnaire & Interviews	University students
5.	To what extent does mass media's political awareness influence students' political participation?	Questionnaire & Interviews	University students

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Source: Author's Compilation (2018)

3.7 Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are essential terms commonly used in a research for the purpose of establishing increased soundness and accuracy of outcomes or results (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). Both terms are defined in different ways under the quantitative and qualitative research designs (Creswell, 2014). The value and the strength of any empirical study is determined and judged by the validity and reliability of its instruments chosen for data collection. Therefore, the validity and reliability as determined in this study are extensively discussed as follows.

3.7.1 Validity

Validity is defined as the degree to which a measuring instrument is capable of measuring what it intends to measure (Thacher, 2010). In a similar view, Heale and Twycross (2015) consider validity as the degree to which a research instrument accurately measures a concept in a quantitative study. An instrument is valid if only it measures accurately what (concept) it intends to measure. For instance, the questionnaire used in this study wanted to measure the students' political education and their political participation. It was therefore considered valid by the research experts and it had been able to measure what it intended to measure in the study. Validity can also be described as the reflective truth or soundness of findings and conclusions in a study. In this study, the following measures of validity were ensured.

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3.7.1.1 Construct Validity

Construct validity is "the extent to which a particular measure relates to other measures consistent with theoretically derived hypotheses concerning the concepts that are being measured" (as cited in Thatcher, 2010). Put differently, validity is described as the degree to which a particular instrument measures the construct it purportedly intends to measure (Heale & Twycross, 2015). Simply put, construct validity is the degree to which

a test measures what it claims to measure. It is expected that a set of question items in a research instrument should validly or accurately elicit the precise answers to the identified research questions.

3.7.1.2 External Validity/Criterion-Related Validity

This type of validity is concerned with the question of generalizability regarding the outcomes or findings of a study. It deals with the measurement of the degree to which the findings or results can be generalized to the population at large and other similar variables. This is otherwise regarded as predictive or criterion-related validity. Predictive or criterion validity, according to (Heale and Twycross, 2015; Thatcher, 2010), refers to the degree to which a given tool can be used to make general predictions about similar situations, instruments, studies, and variables or individuals.

3.7.1.3 Content Validity/Face Validity

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This type of validity deals with the question regarding whether the research instrument sufficiently covers all aspects of the content it ought to address with respect to the variable(s) being measured (Heale & Twycross, 2015). It is otherwise referred to as the face validity by Thatcher (2010). From his perspective, content validity is viewed as the degree to which an empirical research adequately shows the content specifics of a study (Thatcher, 2010). Simply put, when a test has content validity, the items on the test must represent the entire scope of possible items the test should adequately cover.

To ensure the validity of this study, the instrument (questionnaire) used for the quantitative data collection was adapted from a validated survey questionnaire utilized in a student governance project (see Luescher et al.,2011) and the draft copy was further validated by a number of research experts in faculties of education and social science in the researcher's institution. The final copy was certified for use in this study having been confirmed to have adequately covered the study's constructs and content.

This was seen reflecting possible answers to the research questions and addressing the research objectives respectively. The purpose of the exercise was to identify whether the developed instrument or items or test really agreed with the contents of the research questions and where they were not completely well understood, the researcher had to modify such areas before carrying out the main study.

In order to determine the validity of the questionnaire, however, a pilot study was undertaken by the researcher. Before this study was conducted, a draft copy of the questionnaire was distributed to find out whether the questionnaire would actually portray what the researcher had in mind while constructing the questionnaire and then to make amendment where necessary. The researcher administered the draft copy of the questionnaire on 20 respondents identifiable with the proposed sample group, but they were not included in the main study. After the scoring, the researcher assessed by comparing the individual sample group scoring with his scored copy of the questionnaire to notice the similarities. This was done by the researcher taking an ideal copy he scored himself in the way he expected everyone in the pilot sample group to score the questionnaire. Out of the 20 respondents considered for the pilot study, the researcher discovered that the correctly scored copies of the questionnaire were only 17 or 85% (0.85) of the pilot group. This result invariably made the researcher to conclude that the instrument was valid. The researcher had however judged the instrument based on face value.

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3.7.2 Reliability

Reliability implies the consistency, stability and repeatability of the research findings. The findings of a study can be said to be reliable when they are made repeatedly, consistently and constantly given similar conditions, but under different circumstances (Alshenqeeti, 2014; Heale & Twycross, 2015). Simply put, reliability is concerned with the extent to which a particular instrument for data collection produces similar outcomes when administered and analyzed repeatedly. Reliability in quantitative research has

three characteristics namely; internal consistency or homogeneity, equivalence and stability (Heale & Twycross, 2015). According to them, **internal consistency or homogeneity** is the degree to which the questionnaire items measure one construct or variable. The assessment of internal consistency can be done using Cronbach's α. The Cronbach's alpha is mostly used and most popular among quantitative researchers to test the internal consistency of their research tool. The Cronbach's α score can be between 0 and 1. It is also said to be most reliable and acceptable when the score is between 0.7 and 1.

Equivalence is another attribute of reliability in quantitative studies. It is concerned with the level of agreement among researchers utilizing similar instrument of data collection. Assessment of equivalence is done through **inter-rater reliability**. Inter-rater reliability is the degree to which different judges or raters agree in their assessment decisions. It measures the extent to which test outcomes are consistent when measurements are taken by different people utilizing similar instruments or methods of data collection. The comparison of ratings done by two or more researchers can be done by calculating a correlation co-efficient which can be weak, moderate and strong. The correlation co-efficient is said to be weak when the score is less than 0.3; it is moderate when the score obtained is between 0.3 and 0.5 and it is strong when the score is higher than 0.5 (Heale & Twycross, 2015). **Stability** is the third type of reliability. Stability, with respect to reliability of quantitative research instruments, is confirmed when similar findings are obtained from the repeatedly administered instruments of data collection on the same population sample twice over a period of time. This is generally described as **test-retest reliability**. It is simply defined as a measure of reliability obtained by administering the same test twice over a period of time to a group of participants (Heale & Twycross, 2015).

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In testing the reliability of the study's quantitative data collection instrument (questionnaire), the researcher employed the test-retest technique. Thus, the constructed questionnaire was distributed to the same group of people with the same

characteristics but different from the group used in the main study. The researcher then gave each individual element number 1 to 20 so as to enable him identify them. Moreover, the instrument administered on the respondents was also numbered 1 to 20. Thereafter, the researcher collected the distributed copies of the questionnaire which were scored by the respondents.

A week after the collection of the scored copies of the questionnaire, the researcher shared the same instrument to the same group as he did in the previous week by numbering the copies of the questionnaire from 1 to 20. Thus number 1 was given to the respondent that completed copy number 1 in the previous week and this was done accordingly until respondent number 20. The twenty copies of the questionnaire were retrieved for the second time from the respondents. The researcher then compared the first set of the scored questionnaire collected a week before with the second set administered a week after. This comparison was repeated until the entire 20 paired copies of the instrument were exhausted. On the completion of the exercise, the researcher discovered that the responses given by the respondents in the two sets of the questionnaire were consistent or near consistent in short. The researcher took a step further by analyzing the participants' responses with the SPSS software package for reliability test of the research instrument which yielded the Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.78. The instrument was not only reliable but also had a high level of internal consistency. Hence, the researcher concluded that the instrument was reliable for use.

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3.7.3 Qualitative Data Trustworthiness

Guba (1981 as cited in Anney, 2014) and Lincoln and Guba (1985 as cited in Loh, 2013) provide four criteria of trustworthiness of qualitative data as well as the methods of establishing them in a qualitative study. These criteria may be different in names but they are similar in meanings and functions when compared with the process of validity and reliability in quantitative studies. The criteria, as stated by the aforementioned

authors, are credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity), dependability (reliability) and confirmability (objectivity) (Anney, 2014; Loh, 2013). It is imperative to explain each of the criteria in the following sub-sections.

3.7.3.1 Credibility

Credibility, in qualitative studies, has been described as the confidence that is situated in the truth of the outcomes of a study. Credibility is one of the criteria employed in establishing whether or not the results of a study describe reasonably, validly and truthfully information derived from the original data supplied by the participants and that their original opinions and thoughts are not misinterpreted too. Some of the techniques for establishing a study's credibility include prolonged engagement with participants during the field work, triangulation, member checks, peer debriefing, persistent observation (Anney, 2014; McCabe, 2008; Loh, 2013) to mention a few.

Prolonged Engagement

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The researcher can stay in the field for data collection as long as it is considered necessary. It is believed that there is no hard-and-fast rule stating how long is sufficient for the researcher's stay and engagement with participants in the field. The researcher may choose to leave the field as long as he is confident that the required themes and information have been adequately covered and obtained. The researcher will find prolonged engagement useful in gaining insight into the participants' world. The researcher's understanding of pertinent issues that may affect the authenticity of the data will be greatly improved contextually (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007; Mertens, 2014).

Triangulation

This is another strategy used for establishing the credibility of the qualitative study. This is concerned with the researcher's desire to check for the consistency of evidence of information obtained from multiple and varied sources of data which may include review of document, interviews, focus group discussion and observation (Mertens, 2014). Triangulation "involves the use of multiple and different methods, investigators, sources and theories to obtain corroborating evidence" (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007:239**).**

Peer Debriefing

Peer debriefing is another technique used for establishing the credibility of a qualitative research by the researcher engaging colleagues and fellow researchers in a robust discussion of research questions/hypotheses, findings, analysis and conclusions. The peers are expected to help in posing useful questions that greatly improve the quality of the study's findings and conclusions. The researcher uses the perceptions and comments of the peers to improve his findings and conclusions (Pitney & Parker, 2009; Anney, 2014).

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Member Checks

"Member checks" is also an important technique used in ensuring credibility of the qualitative study's findings and conclusion. The researcher allows for members of the study's participating group to check, verify, and confirm if the research draft report or transcribed notes are true reflection, construction and development of their thoughts and opinions expressed during the data collection stage. The researcher is expected to include the participants' voices in the way the original data collected are analyzed and interpreted before the final report of the research is written. This is done by the researcher when he sends the transcripts to the participants to check for possible feedback loopholes, bias and suggest changes if they are not fully satisfied with the

transcribed records of the data. By doing this, the researcher will ensure there is no internal inconsistencies and structural incoherence in the final report that will be produced (Anney, 2014; Mertens, 2014).

Persistent Observation

By this technique, the researcher is expected to be persistent in conducting adequate observations of the participants' world. This implies that the researcher has to do enough observation to identify and understand pertinent issues that will make his study findings and conclusion meaningful and relevant. It is advantageous for the researcher to have an in-depth understanding of the participants' social and environmental contexts by having extensive interactions (Anney, 2014).

3.7.3.2 Transferability

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In quantitative research, transferability is an equivalent of the external validity or generalizability. Transferability, in qualitative study, implies the extent to which study findings can be generalized to other situations with different kinds of participants or respondents. Transferability is facilitated by the researcher through thick description and purposeful sampling. By this, it is required as a duty of the researcher to attempt a critical, detailed, extensive and careful description of the study and purposive selection of the participants. That is, the researcher has to describe comprehensively the research methodology, procedures of data collection, purposive sample of participants, methods of analysis and findings to enable the reader or the prospective users to make such a transferability judgment (Mertens, 2014; Anney, 2014).

3.7.3.3 Dependability

Dependability is identified as the equivalent of reliability in quantitative study. It is concerned with the stability of research results over time (Mertens, 2005). Dependability

requires that participants evaluate the study's results, conclusions and recommendations for the purpose of ensuring that they are derived from the original data generated from the informants (Anney, 2014; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Studies suggest the use of an **audit trail** to establish a study's dependability (Koch, 2006; Anney, 2014; Carcary, 2009). By an audit trail, it implies that the inquirer explicitly accounts for the entire research process of data collection, analysis and interpretation; for an independent researcher of qualitative studies to examine, probe and confirm the study's methodology, data collection instrument and procedures, findings, analysis, conclusion and recommendations are being corroborated with the original data from the fieldwork (Carcary, 2009). This way, the study's dependability is validated. Hence, the inquirer has the responsibility of ensuring that he keeps records of his research activities, data collection procedures and stages involved, data analysis methods, procedures and interpretation for the purpose of facilitating the study's audit trail.

3.7.3.4 Confirmability

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This is considered to be a qualitative equivalent of objectivity in the quantitative studies. By objectivity, it implies that the influence of the inquirer's judgment is minimal. Similarly, confirmability is understood as stating that the data, their analyses and interpretations are not merely produced from the inquirer's imagination without going to the field. It should therefore be confirmed that the qualitative data used in a study can be traced to original sources (informants) who participated in it (Mertens, 2005). Simply put, confirmability "refers to the degree to which the results of an inquirer could be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers" (as cited in Anney, 2014). Just like the dependability, there are authors who contend that confirmability of a qualitative study can be ascertained by conducting an audit trail, keeping a reflexive journal and by triangulation (Mertens, 2005:257; Koch, 2006; Bowen, 2009; Anney, 2014). Describing a reflexive journal, Anney (2014) identifies it as the researcher's personal document in which there are records of research activities especially those that occur during the fieldwork experience and his reflections with respect to the study.

In addition, **coding and re-coding** of data is another strategy that can be used to enhance the data dependability. In this strategy, the researcher codes the data at two different times; allowing for an interval of one or two weeks' period in between the two times of coding. Then, he compares and contrasts the coded results to see if there is an agreement between them. If there is agreement, the inquirer can therefore conclude that he has enhanced data dependability. One advantage of this strategy is that it deepens the researcher's understanding of the data and thus giving room for improvement in the way informants' views (data) are presented and interpreted in a study (Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Anney, 2014).

Peer Examination: It is also a strategy employed to ensure data dependability in a way that is similar to the strategy of member checks as discussed under the data credibility. By peer examination, it implies that the researcher can consult, seek help from his peers or colleagues especially those who are also working on or are knowledgeable about qualitative research to examine the study's methodology, data collection instruments, data collection procedures and findings to identify areas for improvement. With this strategy, the researcher's colleagues contribute in ensuring that the research process is thorough and dependable (Anney, 2014).

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For the qualitative data's credibility, the researcher designed the interview schedule in consonance with the research questions and objectives. The draft was then given to fellow researchers and one other senior colleague in the faculty to critique. Based on the suggestions of other researchers, the interview schedule was refined and the final copy was subjected to pilot testing. The final draft of the interview schedule was utilized during the study's fieldwork to gather the qualitative data. With the consent of the informants (SRC leaders), the data was tape-recorded and filmed. The researcher listened carefully to the recordings and did the verbatim transcriptions of the recordings. To ensure the data's transferability, the researcher had made efforts to do a thick description of the study and the participants for the qualitative strand were purposively

selected from among the SRC leaders who were actively involved in the campus politics as well as in student political organizations. The transcriptions were then delivered back to the informants to confirm if the textual data represented their views and narrations made during the fieldwork. After securing the informants' confirmations of the transcribed data, the confirmed data was then coded and recoded by the researcher. Subsequently, the coded data was grouped into various themes and sub-themes in consonance with the research objectives. This was then subjected to audit trail by allowing completely neutral researchers to review the entire data collection and analysis process to confirm the extent of its dependability.

3.8 Data Collection Procedures

The process of data collection for this study was very interesting but not without some challenges. The data were collected between February and May 2018. It was a period of four (4) months. Having sought permission from the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) and ethical clearance certificate (see Appendix C) was issued, a letter (see Appendix E) was written to seek approval to conduct the research from the registrar of the university (name held for ethical reason) selected for the study and approval (see Appendix F) was granted in February, 2018. Then, the coast became clearer to begin the fieldwork. The researcher first went to the selected university for the familiarization meetings with some students and heads of the various departments. During the meetings, the purpose of the researcher's visit was made clear to the heads of departments (HODs), students and the lecturers. The researcher made efforts to seek the cooperation of each of the HODs and lecturers to facilitate easy access to the students in order to fast track quick completion of the questionnaire.

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In addition, the researcher visited the students' centre where the SRC leaders' offices were located. He was able to meet with a few of the SRC leaders. The purpose of the visit was also explained to them. The researcher then sought their cooperation for the success of the interviews that would be conducted. The familiarization meetings were

carried out in one week. The following week, the researcher resumed at the University to begin the data collection exercise. The lecturers were contacted again to inform them of the researcher's arrival and readiness to administer the questionnaire. Disappointingly, the students were on strike. Most of the offices were not open and there was no way to even meet any student because classes were suspended too. After a week, the students' strike was suspended and full academic activities resumed. The researcher then met with the lecturers again and the arrangements for the administration of the questionnaire were finalized. It was agreed that some copies of the questionnaire be left in their offices for students who probably did not attend classes but came around to submit assignments would be issued with the questionnaire to complete.

It was also arranged that the researcher should hang around during classes and immediately after the classes he would be introduced to the students so that he could provide any clarity and explanation to any questions arising from the questionnaire. Moreover, the researcher was introduced to the class representatives and tutors for them to assist in the administration of the questionnaire. Fortunately, all the arrangements worked out, though not without some disappointments. The researcher met with the class representatives and tutors who then volunteered to take him around the classrooms and halls of residence to meet with their mates for them to complete the questionnaire. The process of questionnaire administration continued through the month February, March and April and was completed in May, 2018.

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As the questionnaire administration was ongoing, the researcher was meeting the SRC leaders available in their offices for the interview schedules. Both interviews and questionnaire administration were carried out concurrently. The interviews were conducted in various places such as the SRC leaders' offices, student leaders' residences and at other convenient place on campus. It was quite challenging to track down each of the leaders. They were too busy running after meetings, lectures, assignments, and group discussions. It would be interesting to note that the researcher

had to participate in the group discussion in which one of the SRC leaders was involved. He had to participate in order to interview the student leader immediately after their discussion. It was even more challenging to get the SRC president for the interview. The researcher had to visit his office several times without finding him at the office. The interviews were tape-recorded with the consent of each of the participants after signing the informed consent form (see appendix D) to participate and allow the researcher to record the proceedings of the interview. The duration of the interviews spanned between 34 minutes and 94 minutes. All the interview schedules were completed on the 17th April, 2018. The next section deals with the data analysis.

3.9 Methods of Data Analysis

The study utilized a mixed methods design. Therefore, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. The quantitative data was analyzed, with the aid of the IBM SPSS statistical package, using both descriptive and Pearson's correlation statistics. Descriptive statistics is used to refer to several features common to the study's whole sample. Examples include the mean, median, mode and standard deviation. Correlation statistics is employed to deal with the strength as well as direction of a relationship between two or more variables. It has three types namely the simple correlation coefficient, coefficient of determination and multiple regressions. The simple correlation coefficient is symbolized with a small letter ® and it is concerned with the description of the strength and direction of a relationship between two variables. The coefficient of determination indicates the amount of variance that is accounted for by the explanatory variable in the response variable. The multiple regressions can be used in a study dealing with many independent (predictor) variables to show the amount of variance explained by all the predictor variables (Mertens, 2005). This study quantitative data was analyzed using the simple Correlation Coefficient. The data was presented to a professional data analyst who then utilized the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) (Version 20) and the researcher was responsible for interpretation and discussion of findings.

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The data generated through the questionnaires was actually coded and captured into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) (Version 20). Frequency distributions were run for all variables and the results were used to clean the data from all data entry errors. Simple descriptive statistics such as frequency counts and percentages were used to summarize all categories of variables; while the mean and the standard deviation were computed for the continuous variables. To examine the association between dependent variables and independent variables, Pearson correlation statistics, Chi-square and Ordinary least square regression were utilized to examine the relationship between dependent and independent variables at a 95% confidence interval. Alpha values less than 0.05 were considered to be statistically significant.

The qualitative data, collected through the interviews, was carefully analyzed by the researcher himself. He did verbatim transcription of the data as narrated by the participants. The data was coded using the ***open coding*** *and* ***axial coding*** approaches. Open coding involves naming and categorizing data by examining them thoroughly. The researcher attempted to break the data into different categories or themes to see their differences and similarities. He also had to do a lot of reflections on the various themes emerging from the data. The axial coding is an integral part of the process of data analysis. The researcher put back the identified and separated data back into whole so as to see the relationship between the various categories or themes emerging from the data (Mertens, 2005).

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In this study, the qualitative data was then grouped and named into categories or themes of political education and political participation that emerged from the data. The categories were further grouped into sub-categories under each of political education and political participation. These sub-themes such as the mass media as agents of political education and relationship with political participation; and family as an agent of political education and relationship with political participation were thoroughly and

closely examined to see their relationships.Such relationships were then analyzed with the aid of the Atlas 6.2 software application and the results were interpreted to answer sub-research questions. The results were then compared and contrasted with the quantitative findings with a view to finding their points of convergence or otherwise.
Details of the findings and discussion are in the next chapter.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

From a moral point of view, an educational researcher is required to follow certain principles and guidelines in conducting his/her study. Ethics generally refer to the beliefs about what is morally considered to be right or wrong. Research ethics therefore connote both morally proper and improper actions that can be engaged in while dealing with participants and attempting to access information in the process of conducting a study (McMillan H., & Schumacher, 2010). This study was ethically undertaken as the researcher had followed the University of Fort Hare's ethical standards stipulated for conducting research. First and foremost, the researcher had to apply for ethical clearance from the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC). In the application for the clearance to conduct this research, a full disclosure was made in the study's proposal regarding the research questions, objectives, significance, study participants, instrument for data collection, and methods of data analysis, as well as the ethical issues that were meant to be considered. It should be noted that the study commenced after approval and clearance had been granted by the UREC. Secondly, the researcher ensured compliance with other ethical considerations such as voluntary participation, informed consent, no harm or risk to participants, confidentiality and avoidance of plagiarism.

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3.10.1 Voluntary Participation

This implies that participation in the study should not be forced, but it has to be voluntary. The participants should only volunteer to be involved in a study as a matter of

willingness and not through coercion by the inquirer. No researcher is expected to impose participation on any respondent in a study. Forced participation is unethical in research (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). In this study, the participants were not forced to participate but they were made to understand the purpose of the study and the reasons why their participation was required to complete the study. In the end, they willingly volunteered to participate. Some of them were even excited to complete the questionnaire or volunteer information during the interview sessions as the period of the study fieldwork coincided with the month in which the 2018 SRC elections were conducted in their university.

3.10.2 Informed Consent

McMillan and Schumacher (2010) contend that, one way to determine the fact that participants have volunteered to be involved in a study is through *informed consent*. This can be a form or a document explaining details of the research to the participants and that they have to volunteer to participate and aware of the rights to discontinue if they so wish without being penalized for doing so. They must be made aware of any risks, if there is any, which is inherent in the study. The informed consent form has to be read, understood and signed by the participants as an indication of voluntary participation informed by their consents. In this study, participants were informed about the details of the study and each of them was given a printed copy of the informed consent form (see appendix D) to read, understand and sign. By signing the form, the participants had agreed to be involved voluntarily in the study.

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3.10.3 No Harm or Risk to Participants

No research, no matter how important or significant its findings are, is required to endanger lives of the participants in whatever form. Further, no study should result in negative consequences or constitute an embarrassment to the participants. If there is the tendency for a study to have some hazards or harms, the researcher has the duty to

ensure such harms are minimized and participants should be aware of such issues before their involvement in the study (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). However, this study did not in any way constitute any harm or embarrassment to the participants. In fact, the researcher even declared and assured the participants that their responses would not in any way influence their examination or assignment grades.

3.10.4 Anonymity and Confidentiality

Anonymity and confidentiality are both issues of participant's privacy. The participant's privacy must be protected by the researcher without releasing personal information disclosed to him to any other third party and such information should only be used in confidentiality for the purpose of the study. Anonymity implies that the participants should not be linked with the data collected. In other words, there should be no link between names and details of participants and data collected for the study (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). In the same vein, confidentiality means that the researcher can only have access to names and other details of participants in relation to the data collected from them. In this study, the participants' privacy in terms of anonymity and confidentiality were assured by the use of open-ended questionnaire without names of participants. The interview data in which the participants made disclosure of their details were kept confidentially in a way that they were only accessible to the researcher.

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3.10.5 Avoidance of Plagiarism

Plagiarism is an unethical act committed by the researchers when they fail to acknowledge authors whose works or ideas have been used in their studies. This unethical act in research can be avoided by recognizing and properly citing the references of other authors' contributions in one's work (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). In this study, efforts were made to avoid act of plagiarism. All the contributions of other authors were properly acknowledged and cited in the body of the study and were properly referenced at the end of the work.

3.11 Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, the researcher methodology has been exhaustively discussed. First and foremost, the researcher opened the discussion with the research paradigm. He argued that the researchers generally have the onerous task of taking a paradigmatic standpoint as far as their studies are concerned. There is an extensive discourse on the types of paradigms namely the positivism, interpretivism and pragmatism. Bryman (2008) submits that positivism uses a quantitative approach by which the social reality is studied from the epistemological standpoint through the application of scientific methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation. Interpretivism, on the other hand, utilizes qualitative approach involving interviews, document analysis, focus group discussion and all forms of narratives from the individual perspectives. This study adopted pragmatism as its underpinning philosophy. Pragmatism is a research paradigm that integrates both positivist and interpretivist views focusing on the 'what' and 'how' of the research problem. The mixed methods approach was also considered appropriate for this study because the researcher intended to collect both quantitative and qualitative data in a way that the strengths of one form of the data could help overcome the challenges of the other. The researcher therefore made frantic efforts to justify the adoption and utilization of the mixed methods in this chapter.

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This study adopted a convergent concurrent mixed methods design in which the researcher collected both quantitative and qualitative data concurrently, did the analysis separately and then compared the findings to establish whether they confirm or disconfirm each other. Furthermore, this chapter included the discussion on the study's population and sampling procedures. The study's population cut across all the five faculties of the selected university where the study was conducted. The sampling techniques, as discussed in this chapter, included the probability and non-probability sampling methods. Specifically, the simple random sampling was used to determine the sample for the quantitative data collection, while the purposive sampling technique was used to determine the sample for the qualitative data collection. The discussion in this

chapter further focused on the data collection instruments which included the questionnaire, interviews and relevant documents. Each of these instruments was clearly and comprehensively described. Finally, the researcher did the elaborate description of the study's validity and reliability, methods of data analysis and issues relating to the ethical considerations.

The next chapter focused on the data presentation, analysis and discussion of findings.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings

4.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, efforts were made to do a robust and comprehensive discussion of the methodology used to conduct this study. This chapter deals with the presentation, analysis and discussion of the empirical data gathered from the field. Meanwhile, the study investigated political education as a determinant of university students' political participation in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. It is imperative to restate that the study adopted a mixed research design. Therefore, quantitative data was collected through the administration of the questionnaire and the qualitative data was collected through the interviews. The results are hereby presented and analyzed in this chapter. The chapter is divided into a number of sub-sections. The research questions for the study serve as a useful guide in the structure and presentation of findings in this chapter. For clarity, the research questions are as follows:

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- In what way is the students' political awareness, resulting from political education, associated with their participation in politics?
- In what way do the students' political judgements, arising from political education, influence their political participation?
- What effects do the students' political interests, resulting from political education; have on their participation in politics?
- To what extent do students' family political involvements determine their level of political participation?
- To what extent does the mass media's political awareness influence students' political participation?
- What curriculum framework can be adopted for South African political education towards improving students' political participation?

The findings are presented in tabular, graphical and narrative forms in an endeavour to make the presentation and interpretation easy to read and understand.

4.1 Quantitative Data: Analysis and Results

The quantitative data analysis and interpretation of results commence by firstly considering the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants and see how these speak to the general aim of the study which is to investigate how political education in terms of political awareness, political judgement and political interest may be a determinant of university students' political participation in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

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Table 4.1: Students' Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Sex		
Male	225	60.5
Female	147	39.5
Age		
16-20years	78	21.0
21-25years	152	41.0
26-30years	127	34.2
31 and above	14	3.8
Faculty/Department		
Education	36	9.7
Political Science/Public Administration	89	21.5
Sciences	135	36.3
Social Sciences and Humanities	45	12.1
Management and Commerce	45	12.1
Law	31	8.3
Year of Study		
Year one	104	28.0
Year two	118	31.7
Year three	150	40.3

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Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

Table 4.1 shows that out of the total 372 university students who participated in this study, 60.5% were male, while 39.5% were female. In addition, 21.0% fell in the age bracket 16-20 years, 41.0% were in the age bracket of 21-25 years, 34.2% were in the age bracket of 26-30 years and only 3.8% were 31 years and above. A majority of the participants (41.0%) were aged between 21 and 25 years. The largest proportion of participants (36.3%) came from the departments in the Faculty of Sciences, followed by

the participants in the department of Political Science/Public Administration (21.5%), participants from both the Faculties of Social Sciences, and Management and Commerce coincidentally had equal proportion of participants (12.1%) and Faculty of law had the least percentage (8.3%). Finally, a majority of the participants (40.3%) were in their third year, while 31.7% were in their second year and only 28.0% were in their first year. The study purposively targeted more students in the second and third years presuming that they would have been part of the campus politics for the past two years at least.

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Table 4.2: Students' Family Background

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Father's Career		
Civil servant	102	27.4
Self-employed	91	24.5
Politician	97	26.1
Unemployed	82	22.0
Mother's Career		
Civil servant	138	37.1
Self-employed	50	13.4
Politician	94	25.3
Unemployed	90	24.2
Father's Educational Qualification		
No formal education	123	33.1
Matric	66	17.7
Diploma	90	24.2
University degree	93	25.0
Mother's Educational Qualification		
No formal Education	131	35.2
Matric Certificate	91	24.5
Diploma	58	15.6
University Degree	92	24.7
Parents' Annual Income		
R200,001 and above	45	12.1
R100,001 – R200,000	51	13.7
R50,001 – R100,000	136	36.6
Up to R50,000	140	37.6

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

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Table 4.2 presents the university students' family background. The analysis shows that, it was only 26.1% of the participants whose fathers were politicians; 24.5% had self-employed fathers, 27.4% had fathers who were civil servants and the remaining 22.0% had fathers who were unemployed. Similarly, a majority of the participants (37.1%) had mothers who were civil servants, 25.3% had mothers who were politicians, 13.4% had self-employed mothers and the remaining 24.2% had mothers who were unemployed.

In terms of educational attainment, 25.0% of the participants had fathers whose qualification was a university degree, 24.2% had fathers with diploma, 17.7% had fathers with matriculation certificate and the remaining 33.1% had fathers with no formal education. In the same vein, 24.7% of the participants had mothers with a university degree, 15.6% had mothers with a diploma, and 24.5% had mothers with a matriculation certificate while the rest of them (35.2%) had mothers without any formal education. On income earning, 37.6% of the participants disclosed that their parents' annual income was up to R50, 000; followed by a proportion of 36.6% who reported that their parents earned between R50, 001 and R100, 000; while 13.7% agreed that their parents earned annual income between R100, 001 - R200, 000 and the rest of them 12.1% affirmed that their parents' annual income was between R200, 001 and more.

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4.1.1 Research Question 1

- **In what way is the students' political awareness, resulting from political education, associated with their participation in politics?**

The study intended to establish whether there is or not a relationship between students' political awareness resulting from political education and their participation in politics. The results are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Students' Level of Political Awareness

Items	Extremely Aware	Moderately Aware	Somewhat Aware	Not at all Aware
Are you aware of your rights to vote and be voted for?	245(65.9)	102 (27.4)	18 (4.8)	7(1.9)
Are you aware of your freedom expression?	249(66.9)	100 (26.9)	21 (5.6)	2(0.5)
Are you aware of the ideologies of South Africa's political parties?	65 (17.5)	192 (51.6)	103 (27.7)	12(3.2)
Are you aware of development of political issues like the state capture?	117(31.5)	140 (37.6)	96 (25.8)	19(5.1)
Are you aware of the role of Government in a democracy?	186(50.0)	137 (36.8)	46 (12.4)	3 (0.8)
Are you aware of your obligations as a citizen?	157(42.2)	151 (40.6)	42 (11.3)	22(5.9)
Are you aware of your rights to fair hearing?	139(37.4)	159 (42.7)	55 (14.8)	19(5.1)
Are you aware of the role of the police in a democracy?	134(36.0)	158 (42.5)	74 (19.9)	6 (1.6)
Are you aware of the importance of the parliament in a democracy?	177(47.6)	132 (35.5)	59 (15.9)	4 (1.1)
Are you aware of the functions of your municipality or local government council?	117(31.5)	168 (45.2)	70 (18.8)	17(4.6)
Are you aware of the importance of the constitution in a democracy?	186(50.0)	130 (34.9)	53 (14.2)	3 (0.8)

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

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Table 4.3 presents the students' level of political awareness. The students were asked questions relating to South African politics in terms of democracy, democratic institution, and issues of citizenship rights, obligations and duties as well as the importance of constitution in the Republic of South Africa. Almost all participants (98.1%) were aware of their rights to vote. Similarly, almost all the participants (99.4%) were aware of their right to freedom of expression. In the same vein, almost all the students (96.8%) were aware of the ideologies of South Africa's political parties. Interestingly, an overwhelming proportion of the participants (94.9%) were aware of political development such as state capture. It is equally amazing to find that virtually all the respondents (99.2%) disclosed that they were aware of the role of government in a democracy. Moreover, a vast proportion of the students (94.1%) were aware of their obligations as citizens. Finally, almost all the participants (99.1%) were aware of the importance of parliament and constitution in a democracy.

Table 4.4: Pearson Correlation Statistics Showing Relationship between Political Awareness and On-campus Political Participation

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Variable	Pearson Coefficient	P-Value
Political awareness	0.130	0.012
Sex	-0.076	0.146
Age	-0.048	0.360
Faculty of study	0.037	0.476
Year of study	0.312	<0.001

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

The relationship between political awareness and on-campus political participation was examined using Pearson correlation statistics. The result shows that political awareness was significantly correlated with on-campus political participation (r=0.130). The coefficient shows that there is a weak positive association between political awareness and on-campus political participation.

Table 4.5: Ordinary Least Square Regression Showing Relationship between Political Awareness and On-campus Political Participation

Variable	Unstandardized coefficient (B)	Standard error	Standardized coefficient (B)	*p*-value
Constant	2.14	0.54		0.000
Political awareness	0.23	0.15	0.08	0.124

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

In the ordinary least square regression analysis, the relationship between political awareness and on-campus political participation was not statistically significant (Table 4.5).

Table 4.6: Pearson Correlation Statistics Showing Relationship between Political Awareness and Off-campus Political Participation

Variable	Pearson Coefficient	P-value
Political awareness	0.185	<0.001
Sex	-0.077	0.144
Age	0.093	0.076
Faculty of study	0.021	0.685
Year of study	0.195	<0.001

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Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

The association between political awareness and off-campus political participation was examined with Pearson correlation statistics and the result shows that there was a significant positive relationship between political awareness and off-campus political participation (r = 0.185).

Table 4.7: Ordinary Least Square Regression Showing Relationship between Political Awareness and Off-campus Political Participation

Variable	Unstandardized coefficient (B)	Standard error	Standardized coefficient (B)	*p*-value
Constant	0.074	0.789		
Political awareness	0.76	0.022	0.178	0.001

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

In the ordinary least square regression analysis, the relationship between political awareness and off-campus political participation was statistically significant (Table 4.7).

4.1.2 Research Question 2

- **In what way do the students' political judgements, arising from political education, influence their political participation?**

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The study further sought to find whether students' sense of political judgment, as enabled by political education they are exposed to, influences or does not influence their political participation. The results are presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Students' Political Judgements

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**No Opinion**
The South Africa's ruling party has performed well in the last four years.	52 (14.0)	293 (79.0)	27 (7.0)
The opposition parties in South Africa have helped in holding government accountable.	243 (65.3)	76 (20.4)	53 (14.3)
South African elections can be adjudged free, fair and credible.	255 (68.6)	67 (18.0)	50 (13.4)
Provincial government has been delivering dividends of democracy in the last four years.	100 (26.9)	183 (49.2)	89 (23.9)
Local government has performed its role satisfactorily in the last four years.	35 (9.4)	258 (69.4)	79 (21.2)
South Africa's national parliament has been responding to the welfare needs of the people.	94 (25.3)	191 (51.3)	87 (23.4)
South Africans have enjoyed security of lives and property.	67 (18.0)	221 (59.4)	84 (22.6)
There is transparency in the conduct of government activities.	53 (14.2)	251 (67.5)	68 (18.3)

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Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

Table 4.8 shows the students' political judgements. It is believed that politically aware students should be able to evaluate the performance of South Africa's democracy, democratic institutions, political parties and quality of service delivery from the institutions of government. The students were therefore asked questions relating to evaluation of the institutions of government in South Africa. A majority of the students disagreed that the South Africa's ruling party had performed well in the last four years. Similarly, most of the students (65.3%) agreed that the opposition parties had helped in holding the government accountable in South Africa. Moreover, a majority of the participants (68.5%) agreed that South African elections could be adjudged free, fair and credible. In terms of performance, only 26.9% of the study participants agreed that provincial government had been delivering 'dividends' of democracy in the last four

years. Comaparatively, a majority of them (69.4%) disagreed that local government had performed its role satisfactorily in the last four years. In terms of transparency in government, most of the students (67.5%) believed that there was no transparency in the conduct of government activities.

Table 4.9: Pearson Correlation Statistics Showing Relationship between Political Judgement and On-campus Political Participation

Variable	Pearson Coefficient	P-value
Political judgement	0.182	<0.001
Sex	-0.077	0.144
Age	0.093	0.076
Faculty of study	0.021	0.685
Year of study	0.195	<0.001

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

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The relationship between political judgement and on-campus political participation was investigated using Pearson correlation statistics. The result reveals that political judgement was significantly correlated with on-campus political participation (r=0.182). The coefficient shows a weak positive correlation between political judgement and on-campus political participation.

Table 4.10: Ordinary Least Square Regression Showing Relationship between Political Judgement and On-campus Political Participation

Variable	Unstandardized coefficient (B)	Standard error	Standardized coefficient (B)	*p*-value
Constant	2.49	0.271		0.000
Political judgement	0.065	0.034	0.097	0.062

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

In the ordinary least square regression analysis, the relationship between political judgement and on-campus political participation was not statistically significant (Table 4.10).

Table 4.11: Pearson Correlation Statistics Showing Relationship between Political Judgement and Off-campus Political Participation

Variable	Pearson coefficient	P-value
Political judgment	0.030	0.570
Sex	-0.077	0.144
Age	0.093	0.076
Faculty of study	0.021	0.685
Year of study	0.195	<0.001

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

The relationship between political judgement and off-campus political participation was investigated using Pearson correlation statistics. The result reveals that political judgement was significantly correlated with off-campus political participation (r=0.030). The coefficient shows a weak positive correlation between political judgement and off-campus political participation.

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Table 4.12: Ordinary Least Square Regression Showing Relationship between Political Judgement and Off-campus Political Participation

Variable	Unstandardized coefficient (B)	Standard error	Standardized coefficient (B)	*p*-value
Constant	-1.724	0.558		0.002
Political judgement	0.179	0.022	0.395	<0.001

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

In the ordinary least square regression analysis, the relationship between political judgement and off-campus political participation was not statistically significant (Table 4.12).

4.1.3: Research Question 3

- **What effects do the students' political interests, resulting from political education, have on their political participation?**

Table 4.13: Students' Level of Political Interest

Do you agree or disagree to do any of the following?	**Strongly Agree**	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
I will contest in the next SRC election in 2018.	41 (11.0)	85 (22.8)	137 (36.8)	109 (29.3)
I will take part in the next national election in 2019.	132 (35.5)	161 (43.3)	52 (14.0)	27 (7.3)
I will vote during the 2018 SRC election.	131 (35.2)	159 (42.7)	58 (15.6)	24 (6.5)
I will join the electioneering campaigns of the SRC in 2018.	48 (12.9)	90 (24.2)	160 (43.0)	74 (19.9)
I will join the political campaigns of a national party of my choice.	115 (30.9)	121 (32.5)	79 (21.2)	57 (15.3)
I will watch political debate of the national parties on television.	108 (29.0)	183 (49.2)	50 (13.4)	31 (8.3)
I will listen to radio programmes regarding 2019 election updates.	100 (26.9)	161 (43.3)	64 (17.2)	47 (12.6)
I read about political issues unfolding ahead of 2019 elections in thenewspaper.	112 (30.1)	168 (45.2)	55 (14.8)	37 (9.9)
I follow political updates online or via the internet.	134 (36.0)	159 (42.7)	40 (10.8)	39 (10.5)

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

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Table 4.13 presents the students' level of interest in politics. Most of the respondents (66.1%) disagreed that they could contest in the next SRC election in 2018. Conversely, a majority of the students (78.8%) agreed to take part in thenational election in the year 2019. Similarly, most of the participants (77.9%) agreed to vote during the 2018 SRC election. While only 37.1% agreed to join the electioneering campaigns of the SRC in 2018, while a majority of them (63.4%) also agreed to join the political campaigns of a national party of their choice. Furthermore, the majority of the respondents (78.2%) agreed to watch political debate of the national parties on television. Similarly, a majority of the participants (70.2%) agreed that they would listen to radio programmes regarding 2019 election updates. In the same vein, a majority of the participants (75.3%) agreed to read about political updates in the newspaper. Finally, the majority of the students (78.7%) agreed that they would follow political updates online via the internet.

Table 4.14: Pearson Correlation Statistics Showing Relationship between Political Interest and On-Campus Political Participation

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Variable	Pearson coefficient	P-value
Political interest	0.375	<0.001
Sex	-0.077	0.144
Age	0.093	0.076
Faculty of study	0.021	0.685
Year of study	0.195	<0.001

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

The relationship between political interest and on-campus political participation was examined using Pearson correlation statistics. The result revealed that political interest was significantly correlated with on-campus political participation (r=0.375). The coefficient shows a moderate positive correlation between political interest and on-campus political participation.

Table 4.15: Pearson Correlation Statistics Showing Relationship between Political Interest and Off-campus Political Participation

Variable	Pearson coefficient	P-value
Political interest	0.404	<0.001
Sex	-0.077	0.144
Age	0.093	0.076
Faculty of study	0.021	0.685
Year of study	0.195	<0.001

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

The relationship between political interest and off-campus political participation was investigated using Pearson correlation statistics. The result reveals that political interest was significantly correlated with off-campus political participation (r=0.404). The coefficient shows a moderate positive correlation between political interest and off-campus political participation.

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Table 4.16: Ordinary Least Square Regression Showing Relationship between Political Interest and Off-campus Political Participation

Variable	Unstandardized coefficient (B)	Standard error	Standardized coefficient (B)	*p*-value
Constant	0.603	0.393		0.000
Political interest	0.094	0.015	0.306	0.126

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

In the ordinary least square regression analysis, the relationship between political interest and off-campus political participation was not statistically significant (Table 4.16).

Table 4.17: Students' Level of Participation in the 2017 SRC Elections

	Yes	No
Did you vote in the 2017 SRC election?	183 (49.2)	189 (50.8)
Were you voted for as a candidate in the election?	38 (10.2)	334 (89.8)
Were you actively involved in the campaigns?	94 (25.3)	278 (74.7)
Did you support candidate financially for the election?	48 (12.9)	324 (87.1)
Did you take part in the election debate?	40 (10.8)	332 (89.2)

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

Table 4.17 shows the students' level of political participation in campus politics. Almost half of the participants (49.2%) voted during the 2017 SRC election. The majority of the students (89.8%) were not voted for as candidates in the election. In the same vein, a quarter of the participants (25.3%) disclosed that they were actively involved in the campaigns. Furthermore, the majority of the students (87.1%) had not supported candidates financially for the election. Last but not the least, only 10.8% of the participants affirmed that they took part in the election debate.

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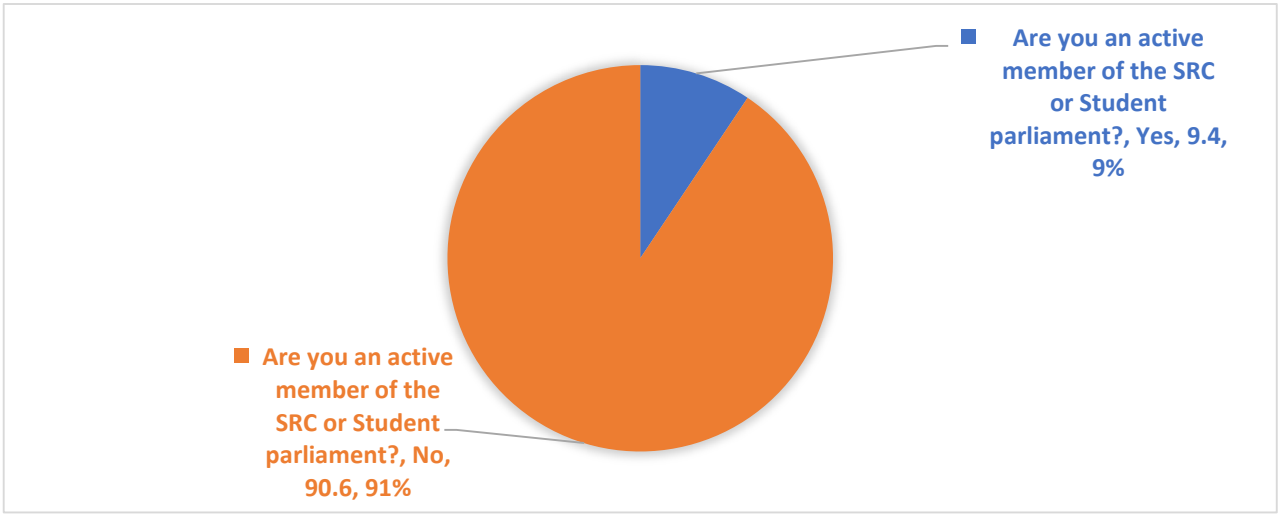

Figure 4.1: Distribution of Participants into Active and Inactive Members of the SRC (Author's fieldwork, 2018)

Figure 4.1 shows that only 9% of the participants in this study were active members of the Student Representative Council (SRC) while the majority (91%) of the participants were not active members of the SRC.

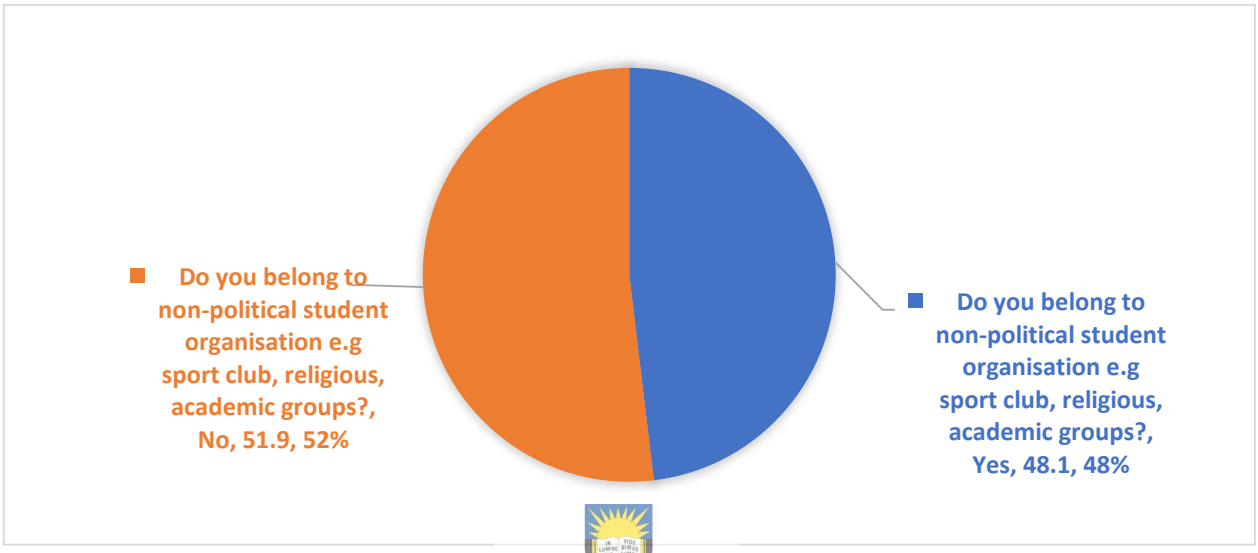

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Figure 4.2: Participants belonging and not belonging to Non-political Student Organizations (Author's fieldwork, 2018)

Figure 4.2 indicates that only 48% of the respondents belong to non-political student organizations, while 52% do not belong to any non-political student organizations.

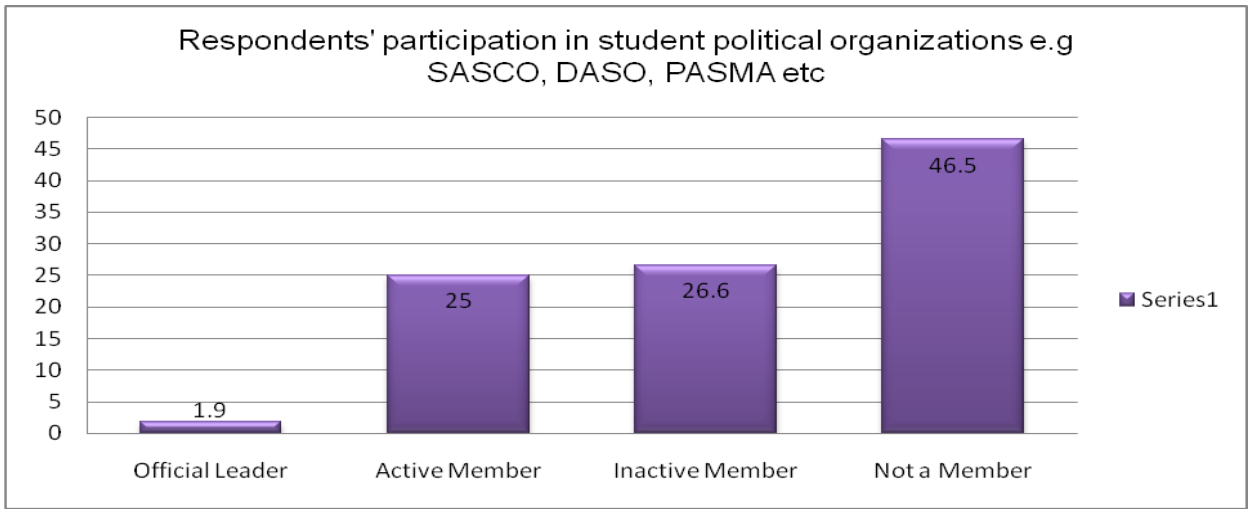

Figure 4.3: Distribution of Participants into Student Political Organizations (Author's fieldwork, 2018)

Figure 4.3 indicates that 1.9% of the students were official leaders in their various student political organizations. One-quarter of the participants (25%) were active members of their political organizations on campus.

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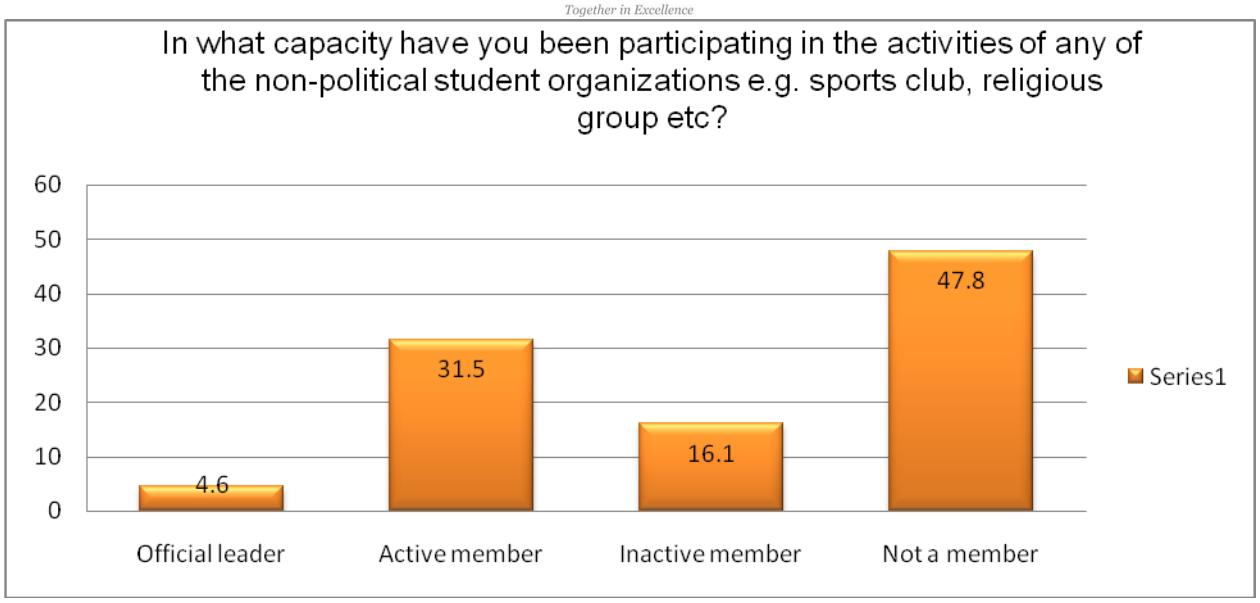

Figure 4.4: Distribution of Participants into Non-political Student Organizations (Author's fieldwork, 2018)

Figure 4.4 presents the distribution of participants and their designations in their different non-political student organizations. It was revealed that 4.6% of the participants had been involved as official leaders in non-political organizations existing on campus. Further analysis indicates that only 31.5% of the respondents had been active members of non-political organizations on campus.

Table 4.18: Students' Activities in the University

Have you taken part in any of these activities in the university?		
	Yes	**No**
Attended a political meeting of students (e.g the mass meeting)	144 (39.6)	220 (60.4)
Contacted a senior official of the university like the VC to discuss issues or make formal complaints about certain issues affecting students' affairs.	50 (13.4)	322 (86.6)
Wrote a letter to student leaders or made a leaflet to protest against issues	46 (12.4)	326 (87.6)
Joined other students to stage a protest march on campus.	79 (21.2)	293 (78.8)

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

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Table 4.18 shows the various activities students have engaged in on the university campus. A majority of the participants never took part in the list of the activities as shown in the Table above. A majority of the participants (60.4%) did not attend students' mass meetings. Similarly, the majority of the participants (86.6%) did not contact any university senior official to discuss issues or make formal complaint about issues affecting students' affairs. Similarly, only a small proportion (12.4%) of the students wrote a letter to student leaders or made a leaflet to protest against certain issues of concern. Lastly, only 21.2% of the participant had ever joined other students for a protest march on campus.

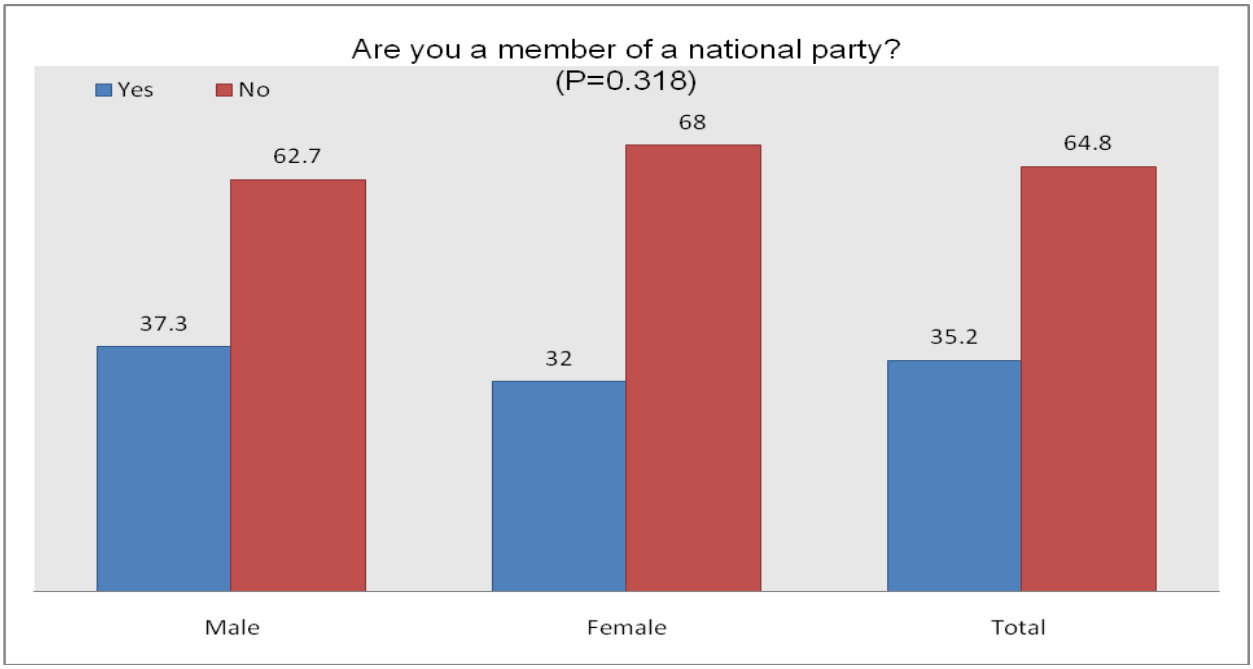

Figure 4.5: A Gender Distribution of Participants as Members of a National Political Party (Author's fieldwork, 2018)

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Figure 4.5 shows that 37.3% and 32% of the male and female students respectively were members of a national party. Overall, the proportion of the respondents (both male and female) who claimed to be members of a national party was 35.2%. The statistical analysis indicated that there was no significant difference (p = 0.318) between the male and female membership of a national political party.

Table 4.19: Students' Participation in the last National General Election (2014)

	Yes	No
Did you vote in the 2014 election?	113 (30.4)	259 (69.6)
Did you support a candidate for national assembly?	111 (29.8)	261 (70.2)
Did you support a candidate for the provincial assembly?	99 (26.6)	273 (73.4)
Were you actively involved in the electioneering campaigns?	48 (12.9)	324 (87.1)
Did you support a candidate financially?	26 (7.0)	346 (93.0)

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

Table 4.19 presents the responses of the participants to a question regarding their participation in the 2014 national general election in South Africa. The results clearly indicated that a majority of the participants (69.6%) did not vote during the 2014. In the same vein, most of the students (70.2%) did not support any candidate for national parliament. Moreover, the majority of the participants (73.4%) did not support any candidate for the election into the provincial assembly. The proportion of the participants who were actively involved in the electioneering campaigns was 12.9%. Interestingly, it was found that only 7% of the students had lent a financial support to a candidate during the election.

Table 4.20: Activities in which Students have Participated Off-Campus

In what capacity have you participated in each of these activities?				
	Official Leader	Active Member	Inactive member	Not a Member
A political party off campus like the ANC, DA, EFF etc.	6 (1.6)	69 (18.5)	137 (36.8)	160 (43.0)
A religious group e.g Christian and Moslem students Associations etc.	26 (7.0)	129 (34.7)	46 (12.4)	171 (46.0)
Other voluntary associations outside the Campus e.g Civil society	18 (4.8)	58 (15.6)	76 (20.4)	220 (59.1)

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

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Table 4.20 shows that 1.6% of the participants were official leaders in the various national political parties. However, it is interesting to also report that 18.5% of the students were active members of a national political party. In terms of the membership of a religious group, 7% of the students were official leaders of their various religious groups while 34.7% of them were active members of these groups. Talking about participation in voluntary associations outside the campus, it was interesting to find that

4.8% of the students were official leaders while 15.6% claimed to be active members of their various civil society groups.

Table 4.21: Students' Participation in National Political Activities

Have you taken part in any of these activities in the past?		
	Yes	**No**
Attended a political party's gathering or meeting.	144 (39.6)	220 (60.4)
Contacted a government official to discuss or complain about issues.	50 (13.4)	322 (86.6)
Wrote a letter to a local/national newspaper about national issues.	46 (12.4)	326 (87.6)
Joined a national protest or demonstration against government.	79 (21.2)	293 (78.8)
Took part in the campaigns or rallies in support of a political party.	113 (30.4)	259 (69.6)
Joined in a debate on national issues at a political forum.	53 (14.2)	319 (85.8)

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Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

Table 4.21 presents the responses of the participants to a question which sought to find whether or not the participants did take part in certain activities outside the campus politics. A majority of the participants claimed not to have taken part in any of these activities. For instance, only 39.6% of the students affirmatively confirmed that they had attended a political party's gathering or meeting; 13.4% of the participants did contact a government official to discuss or complain about issues of national or local concern in South Africa. Another 12.4% of the students did write a local/national newspaper about issues of national concerns. In terms of participation in national protest or demonstration, only 21.2% did join to protest against government, while 30.4% of the students claimed to have taken part in the political parties' rallies or campaigns.

Table 4.22: Multivariate Analysis Showing Factors Associated with On-Campus Political Participation

Variable	Unstandardized coefficient (B)	Standard error	Standardized coefficient (B)	*p*-value
Constant	-0.805	0.621		0.196
Political awareness	-0.019	0.014	-0.066	0.183
Political judgement	0.036	0.033	0.054	0.276
Political interest	0.091	0.017	0.295	<0.001**
Parents' political involvements	0.136	0.031	0.219	<0.001**
Mass media	-0.034	0.022	-0.084	0.123
Year of study	0.699	0.096	0.335	<0.001**
Sex	0.36	0.160	0.010	0.823

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

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To examine the factors associated with on-campus political participation, a multivariate ordinary least square regression model was computed. The results, as shown in Table 4.22, indicated that political interest, parents' political involvements and year of study were significantly associated with on-campus political participation. Sex, political awareness and political judgement and exposure to mass media were not significantly associated with on-campus political participation after controlling for other important covariates.

Table 4.23: Multivariate Analysis Showing Factors Associated with Off-Campus Political Participation

Variable	Unstandardized coefficient (B)	Standard error	Standardized coefficient (B)	*p*-value
Constant	-3.200	0.909		<0.001
Political awareness	0.012	0.021	0.028	0.564
Political judgement	-0.090	0.048	-0.092	0.061
Political interest	0.151	0.025	0.335	<0.001**
Parents' political involvements	0.190	0.046	0.208	<0.001**
Mass media	0.017	0.033	-0.029	0.596
Year of study	0.658	0.141	0.214	<0.001**
Sex	-0.164	0.235	-0.032	0.485

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2018)

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Multivariate analysis was used to examine the determinants of off-campus political participation. The results showed that political interest and parents' political involvement and year of study were the significant determinants of off-campus political participation. Political awareness and political judgement were not significantly associated with off-campus political participation.

4.1.4 Research Question 4

- **To what extent do the students' family political involvements determine their level of political participation?**

The study sought to find out the extent of influence of students' family political involvement on their level of political participation. The results are carefully presented as follows:

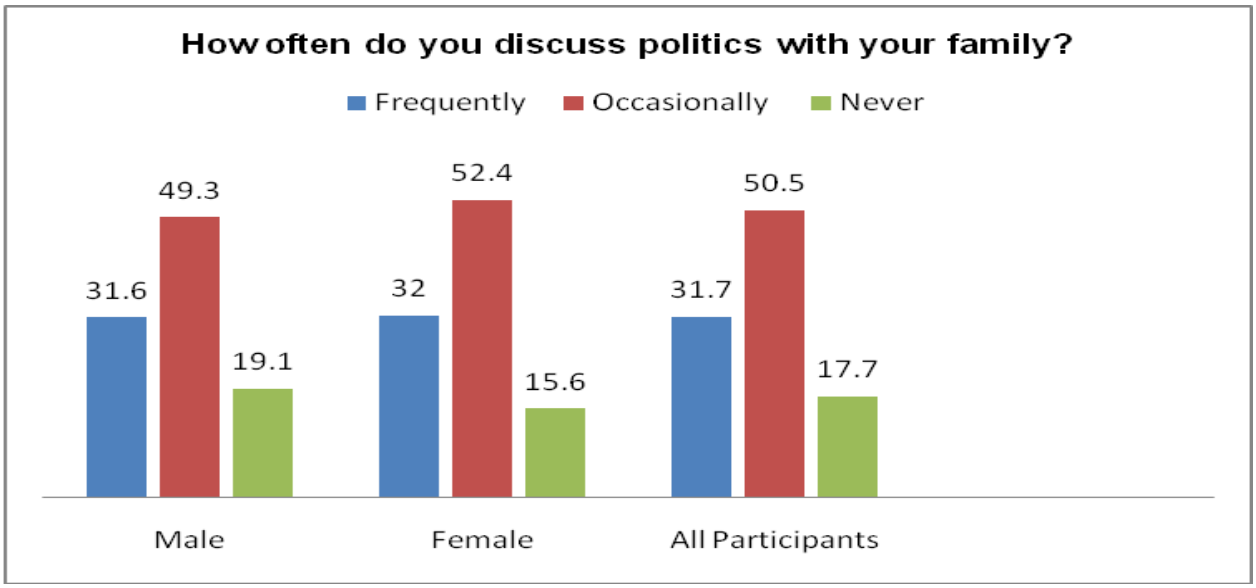

Figure 4.6: The Frequency of Students' Political Discussion with Family

(Author's fieldwork, 2018)

Figure 4.6 presents the responses of the participants to a question intended to find out how often they discuss politics with their parents. The results showed that 31.6% and 32% of both male and female participants respectively claimed to frequently discuss politics with their family. Similarly, 49.3% and 52.4% of both male and female participants occasionally discussed politics with their family. The proportion of participants who claimed they never discussed politics with their family was 19.1% for male participants and 15.6% for their female counterparts.

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Table 4.24: Parents' Participation in Different Organizations

Do your parents belong to any of these organizations?		
	Yes	No
Political parties	225 (60.5)	147 (39.5)
Labour unions	164 (44.1)	208 (55.9)
Community development groups	126 (33.9)	246 (66.1)
Women organizations	107 (28.8)	265 (71.2)
Religious organizations	258 (69.4)	114 (30.6)

Source: Author's fieldwork (2018)

Table 4.24 reveals the responses of the participants to a question intended to find out if their parents belong to any organizations at all. Results showed that a majority of the participants' parents belong to political parties (60.5%) and religious organizations (69.4%) while only 44.1%, 33.9% and 28.8% of the participants are members of the labour unions, community development groups and women organizations respectively.

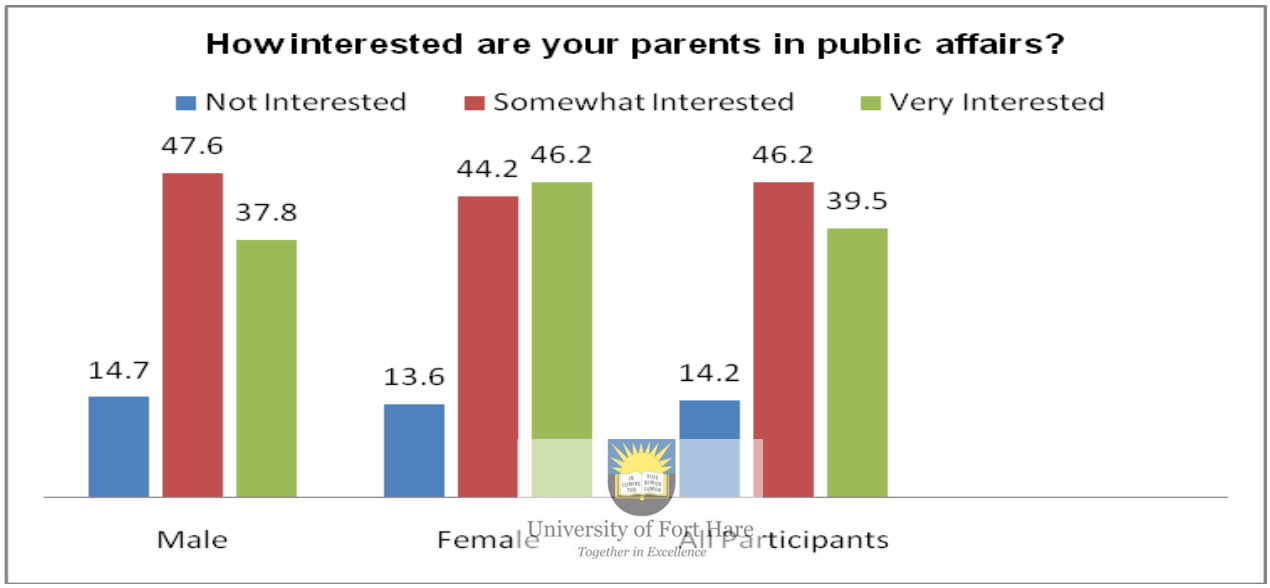

Figure 4.7: Participants' Parents' Interest in Public Affairs (Author's fieldwork, 2018)

Figure 4.7 provides the results of the participants' responses to a question which sought to find out how interested are their parents in the public affairs. The findings showed that 37.8% and 42.2% of the male and female students respectively had parents who were very interested in public affairs, while 47.6% and 44.2% of the male and female participants respectively claimed that their parents were somewhat interested in public affairs and only 14.7% and 13.6% of the male and female students respectively declared that their parents were not interested in public affairs.

Table 4.25: Participants' Distribution Based on Parents' Political Involvements

How do your parents participate in politics?	**Yes**	**No**
By canvassing	109 (29.3)	263 (70.7)
By taking part in the party meetings.	155 (41.7)	217 (58.3)
By funding the activities of political parties.	54 (14.5)	318 (85.5)
By voting	348 (93.5)	24 (6.5)
By contesting for elective office.	49 (13.2)	323 (86.8)

Source: Author's fieldwork (2018)

Table 4.25 presents the responses of the participants to a question which sought to find out the various political activities engaged in by their parents. The results showed that an overwhelming majority of the participants' parents had participated in voting (93.5%) while 13.2% of the students affirmed that their parents have participated in politics by contesting for elective office. Similarly, 14.5% of the participants indicated that their parents have participated in politics by funding their political parties. Another 41.7% of the students submitted that their parents have participated in politics by attending political party meetings while 29.3% of the participants submitted that their parents have participated in politics by canvassing for votes and support for their various political parties.

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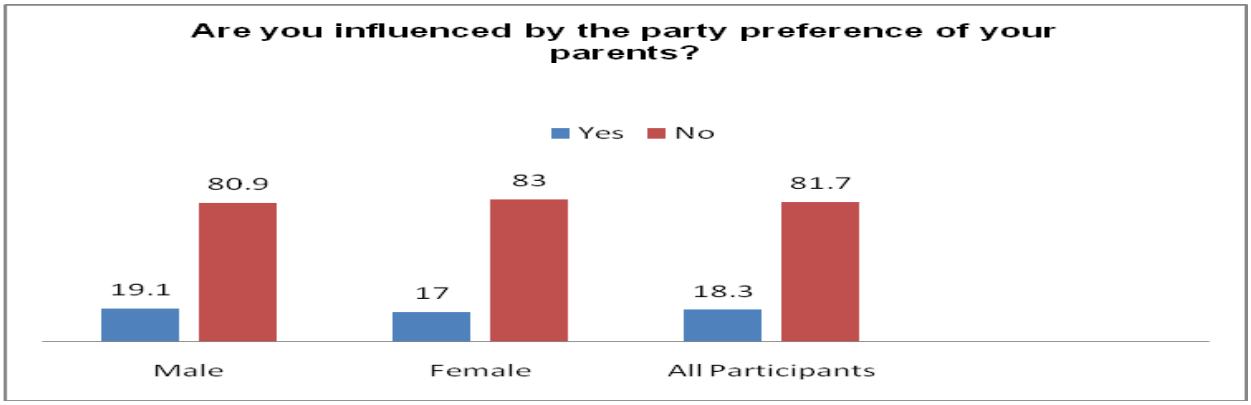

Figure 4.8: Participants' Distribution Based on their Parents' Party Preference (Author's fieldwork, 2018)

Figure 4.8 presents the responses of the participants to a question intended to know whether or not they are influenced politically by their parents' choice of party. An overwhelming majority of the participants (81.7%) submitted that they were not influenced by their parents' party preference. The results further show that there is no significant difference between male and female participants' parents' party preference and their political participation (p = 0.355).

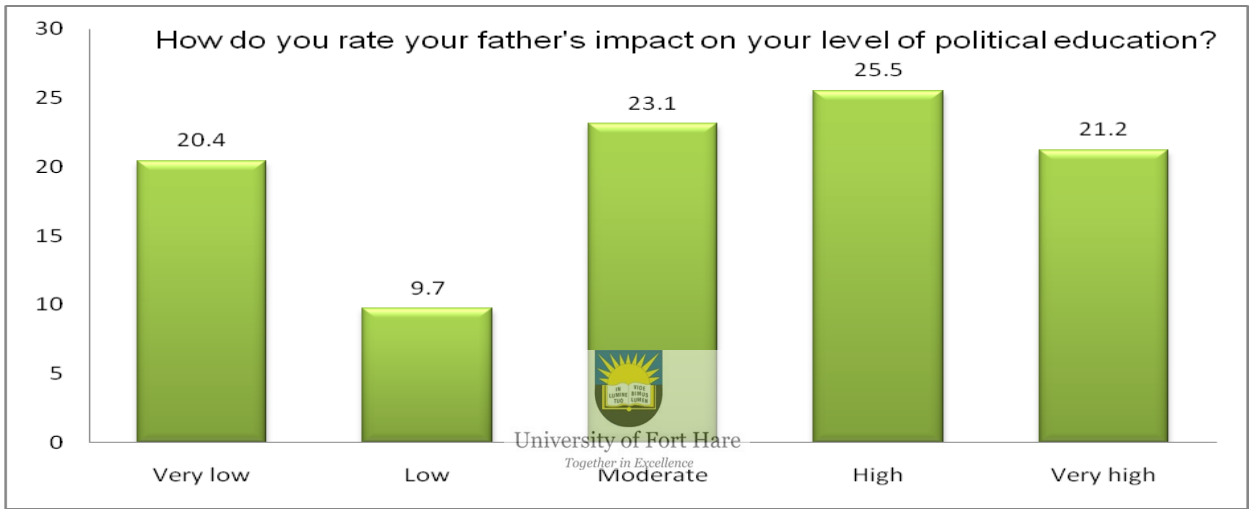

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Figure 4.9: Father's Impact on Participants' Level of Political Education
(Author's fieldwork, 2018)

Figure 4.9 indicates the participants' father's impact on their level of political education. The results showed that 21.2% of the participants claimed that their father's impact on their level of political education was very high. Similarly, another 25.5% of the students submitted that it was high, while 23.1% believed that the impact was moderate. The remaining 30.1% of the participants indicated that the impact of their fathers was low.

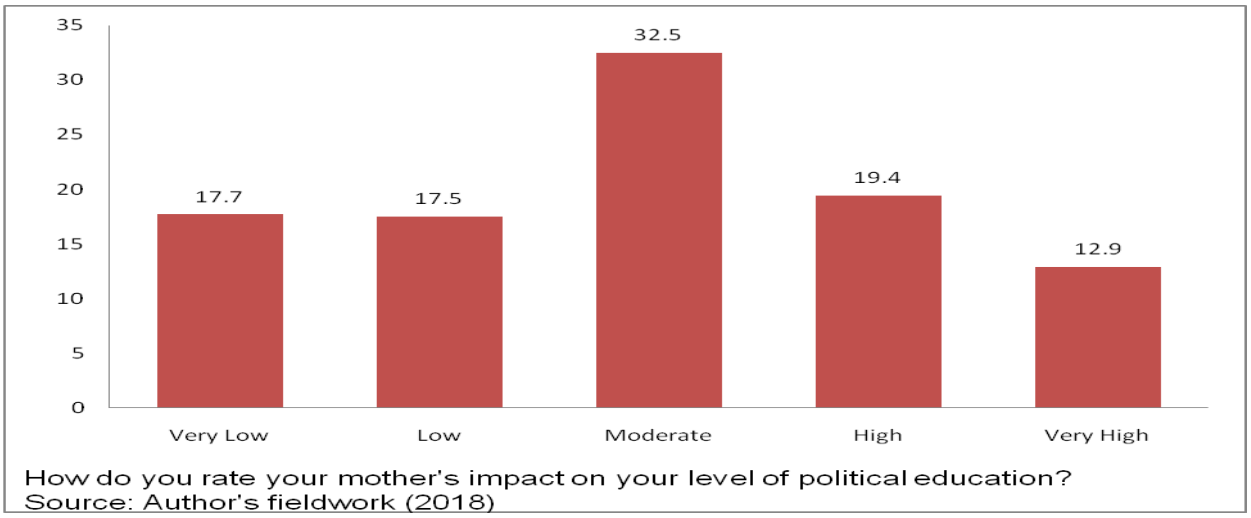

Figure 4.10: Mother's Impact on Participants' Level of Political Education

Figure 4.10 reveals the responses of the participants to a question intended to find out the mother's impact on their level of political education. The results showed that 12.9% of the students submitted that their mother's impact was very high. Similarly, 19.4% of them claimed that it was high, while 32.5% of the respondents affirmed that it was moderate.

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Table 4.26: Pearson Correlation Statistics Showing Relationship between Parents' Political Involvements and Students' Political Participation

Variable	On campus political participation	Off campus political participation
Parents' political involvement	0.297**	0.335**
Age	-0.034	0.093
Year of study	0.303**	0.195**

Note: * means p-value <0.05, ** means P-value <0.001
Source: Author's fieldwork, (2018)

Table 4.26 shows that there is a strong and positive relationship between the parents' political involvements and the students' political participation both on and off-campus.

Interestingly, the p-value (0. 335) obtained for the relationship between the parents' political involvements and students' participation in off-campus politics was even higher and stronger than that (0.297) obtained for the relationship between parents' political involvements and students' participation in campus politics.

4.1.5 Research Question 5

- **To what extent does the mass media's political awareness influence students' political participation?**

The study also probed into the mass media's political awareness and influence on university students' political participation. The mass media platforms are essentially other agents of political education in addition to the family. Like the family, the mass media as agents of political education have been extensively discussed in the literature review chapter.

Attempts were made in this study to investigate the students' sources of political information and discussion regarding public affairs.

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Table 4.27: Participants' Distribution Based on Media Sources of Political Information

How often do you get news or information about politics and public affairs from these sources?					
	Everyday	A few times Per week	A few times Per month	Once in a While per Month	Never
Radio	81 (21.8)	134 (36.0)	51 (13.7)	57 (15.3)	49 (13.2)
Television	160 (43.0)	84 (22.6)	71 (19.1)	36 (9.7)	21 (5.6)
Newspaper	124 (33.3)	68 (18.3)	67 (18.0)	63 (16.9)	50 (13.5)
Internet/Online news	243 (65.3)	71 (19.1)	16 (4.3)	18 (4.8)	24 (6.5)

Source: Author's fieldwork (2018)

Table 4.27 presents the participants' responses regarding their sources of political information. The results show that a majority of the participants (65.3%) used the internet every day. For the newspaper, 33.3% of the students read it to update their political knowledge on a daily basis. Television was another news medium which less than half of the students (43.0%) claimed they used for political information every day. Same for radio, a smaller proportion (compared to other media types) of the participants (21.8 %%) listened to it for political updates on a daily basis.

Table 4.28: Pearson Correlation Statistics Showing Relationship between Influence of Mass Media's Political Awareness and Political Participation

Variable	On-Campus Political Participation	Off-Campus Political Participation
Mass media	0.122**	0.232**
Age	-0.034	0.093
Year of study	0.303**	0.195**

Note: ** means p-value <0.05, ** means P-value <0.001
Source: Author's fieldwork, (2018)

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Table 4.28 shows that there is a positive relationship between influence of mass media's political awareness and the students' political participation on and off the campus. Comparatively, it is also interesting to note that there is a stronger relationship between influence of mass media's political awareness and students' political participation outside the campus as indicated by the p-value (0.232).

4.2 Qualitative Data: Analysis and Results

The qualitative data was collected to complement the quantative data in an effort to obtain additional but detailed information about the subject matter in this study through semi-structured interviews. Five (5) members of the university's Student Representative Council (SRC) were purposively selected for the purpose of generating qualitative data. Table 4.29 presents a summary of their profiles.

Table 4.29: Interview Participants' Profiles

Participants	Department	Sex	Age	No of terms in Office
Interviewee 1	Applied Communication Management	Male	31	2
Interviewee 2	Law	Male	24	2
Interviewee 3	Public Administration	Male	26	2
Interviewee 4	Economics	Male	27	1
Interviewee 5	Accounting	Female	33	1

Source: Author's fieldwork (2018)

From Table 4.29, three of the interview participants (coded as 1, 2 & 3 respectively) had served for two different terms in various capacities as members of the SRC in the university where the study was conducted, while others (interviewees 4 & 5) had just served for one term. The interviewees aged between 24 to 33 years. The one of them was a female while the remaining four were males. Their departments cut across social sciences, humanities and management.

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To start with, the researcher wanted to know the participants' understanding of the subject-matter *political education* by asking the question, "What is your understanding of political education?" All the participants demonstrated a good understanding of the subject-matter (political education).

One of them described political education as follows:

> *Political education, I… [sic] I'm of the view that it does not necessarily take place at a formal level, because eh, political education…eh normally is delivered and facilitated by political organizations for their own subjective ideological orientation in order to influence its own people towards eh… [sic] in conscientizing them based on their political principles, political ideologies and so forth. So, anything that is education or barely political is always at the level of …of one thing to impart certain ideologies towards those that you are actually educating. So, political ideologies are the focus of political education through the delivery of formal curriculum* (Interviewee 1, 31 years old).

From this definition, two things were made clear about political education. First, it is education facilitated and delivered by political organizations or parties. Second, it is a general knowledge of politics that is consciously delivered through the formal curriculum in a school setting. Therefore, it can be ascertained here that political parties and schools are clearly agents of political education. This submission was corroborated by another interviewee whose description of political education was as follows:

> *My understanding of political education is more or less of people being…being[sic] able to understand the day-to-day politics, the history of politics and what politics entails, eh…being taught,[sic] in fact they are conscientized towards politics and that each and everything in our society is politics, even the economy itself is politics. So, political education could be viewed as a tool for learning about the society and its governance* (Interviewee 2, 24 years old).

For the second interviewee, political education is a process through which people are consciously taught about the political history, political economy and political system of a given society. Moving forward, the researcher also sought to know how political education was being taught in the university where this study was conducted by asking the question, "How is political education taught in your university?"

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All the participants agreed that the university teaches political education only as a part of a general course introduced to year one students, which is known as "Life, Knowledge and Action (LKA)". However, they unanimously agreed also that the few political topics taught as part of the LKA were not sufficient at all for any student to learn and become politically knowledgeable for the purpose of participating in politics. One of them remarked as follows:

> *There is a department of political science in the faculty of social sciences and humanities. But the university tried to come up with a course for the first year students, which is called LKA. But even the purpose of LKA, the basis or focus is not mainly on politics but during class discussion may divert to national issues or important political matter of national concern. To answer your question correctly, the university does not necessarily accommodate the discussion of politics* (Interviewee 2, 24 years old).

By implication, political education is taught only as a form of general knowledge in terms of themes in the general module of LKA for year one students, but the university has the political science department where students are equally trained in the discipline of politics both at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. The female participant among them added that:

> *The knowledge of politics acquired from the LKA classes was not really enough for students to become politically conscious and active because students were only briefed eh…eh…[sic] about democracy, principles of democracy, citizenship, rights and obligations of citizens as well as human rights* (Interviewee 5, 33 years old).

This implies that political education must be broad in scope and should expose students to more political knowledge beyond issues of democracy, citizenship and human rights. In addition, the researcher went a step further to ask the participants to rate their level of political awareness in relation to their level of political education in the university. The question read; "would you say you have a low, moderate or high level of political awareness based on the level of political education you have been exposed to?" Interestingly, all the participants rated their level of political awareness as being high. They explained how they had learned about activism before becoming student leaders. Their involvement in the activities of the various student political organizations and the way and manner some of their lecturers who were politically conscious used to discuss politics and other issues of national importance during classes contributed to raising their political awareness and consciousness. All the participants revealed how they started playing leadership roles by holding executive positions in their various student political organizations before contesting the SRC elections.

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This was the response of one of them:

> *I started out as a student activist in DASO. That is my political organization in campus. The organization opened our eyes to a lot of political issues and how we should demand for justice and accountability from government. We became politically aware and conscious even in the class. Some of our lecturers are politically conscious too. We participated in #Data-must-fall protest. Then, to get internet data was very expensive. Most of us are from poor homes. No doubt, our political awareness and participation have been very high since we got into the university* (Interviewee 4, 27 years old).

Put differently, the participant quoted above was trying to confirm that his level of political awareness was raised as a university student having been exposed to various teachings in different courses, by being involved in the activities of student political organizations and in the various students' protests seeking improved well-being and interest of students. He therefore submitted that, he had a high level of political awareness in the university. In the same vein, another SRC member added as follows:

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> *First I served in some sub-committees of the SRC before joining the SRC as an elected member. I served in advisory capacity to the SRC on the way forward. I also participated in the #Fees-Must-Fall protests and I got arrested by the police. It was nothing but one's level of political awareness was high to that effect to have known when to react to issues that affect our welfare as students* (Interviewee 3, 26 years old).

From the above verbatim, the SRC member confirmed that he had a high level of political awareness. How their political awareness had influenced their participation in politics was the next question the study sought to answer.

4.2.1 In what way is the students' political awareness, resulting from political education, associated with their participation in politics?

The study sought to know if there is any relationship between students' political awareness, resulting from political education, and their participation in politics. The general narratives of the participants point to the fact that students' level of political awareness may not necessarily have anything to do with their participation in politics. They believed that each and every student chooses to participate in politics irrespective

of their level of political awareness. Those who are highly political aware may decide to participate in all forms of politics such as voting, protesting, mass meetings, taking part in a public forum or debate, while others who are less politically aware may decide not to. They also made it clear that students may have a high political awareness but the university environment may be hostile for them to participate in politics.

One of them remarked as follows:

> *Being politically aware is one thing and another thing is to have courage and strong will to join politics whether the university administration will be friendly with your decisions or demands…rights of the students must be respected. Our welfare should be important to any serious university manager or Vice-chancellor, but eh… [sic] you need a lot of courage to confront an undemocratic administration. So, if you don't have the courage, you will withdraw from participating because you don't want to be a scapegoat* (Interviewee 3, 26 years old).

From the response above, students do not only need to be politically aware to participate in politics, but also need to be strong-willed and courageous to confront authorities in power. Put differently, students who have a high political awareness may choose not to participate in politics because they are afraid of the consequences of having confrontation with the people in authority. It is therefore believed that there is some relationship between students' political awareness and their participation in politics.

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4.2.2 In what way do the students' political judgements, arising from political education, influence their political participation?

The study further attempted to find out whether students' sense of political judgment influences their participation in politics. Again, the generality of the SRC members interviewed in the study were of the opinion that how and what student thinks about politics and politicians determine their involvement or non-involvement. They explained further that when students believed that their political leaders were genuinely pursuing their own interests and welfare, they would be highly encouraged to come out and vote and participate in the entire electioneering programmes. On the contrary, they may

decide to withdraw their participation if they feel disappointed in the leadership provided by the people whom they put in office.

A member of the SRC shared his thought as follows:

> *A lot of times [sic] people use their votes to promote their own poverty and suffering. When students feel and believe that SRC leaders are not pursuing their own interests but their self-interest they will be discouraged from participating in the SRC activities and events including elections or voting* (Interviewee 2, 24 years old).

Another female member of the SRC also had this to say:

> *It is interesting to note that students' perceptions, beliefs and opinions about political or student leaders influence their participation in the future elections. When student leaders have fumbled or disappointed them, some students feel disenchanted and their participation in future political activities will be reduced. Just as we have some provincial and local councilors buying cars, building mansions just in a few months after elections and people who voted them into power are there suffering. Their participation may be negatively influenced by this experience; you understand [sic]* (Interviewee 5, 33 years old).

Similarly, a serving SRC president then added that:

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> *Students are only seen participating in politics or political dialogue based on their subjective beliefs and perceptions. For instance, if there are issues involving meal tickets and allowances, you see students showing interest and want to be part of the SRC mass meetings. Otherwise, you will hardly see them participate when they feel unconcerned about certain issues* (Interviewee 1, 31 years old).

From the above sentiments, the general submission is that there is a connection between students' political judgment and their participation in politics. The narratives clearly indicate that positive political judgments promote a positive political participation and vice-versa.

4.2.3 What effects do the students' political interests, resulting from political education; have on their participation in politics?

Here, the SRC members were asked to describe how their political interest has influenced their participation in politics. Their responses were generally positive as they affirmed that their interest in politics had in no small way influenced their active

participation and involvement in politics. Their narratives were a clear understanding of how they became interested in politics around them and on campus, which had encouraged all of them to take up leadership positions in their various political organizations on campus. This later got them nominated for the SRC elections. One of them who then served as the SRC president recounted his political experience as follows:

> *I am a member of SASCO, ANC youth League, Young Communist League of South Africa. I was secretary of Young Communist League of South Africa. I set meetings with all political organizations. I was privileged to meet and speak with faculty management, VC at political level. This activated my interest in politics. I emerged as SRC president because I was first an activist becoming politician. In national politics, I started voting since 2004, voted in 2009 and 2014. I am currently a member of the ANC. I'm interested to become a politician at the provincial level in the position of the Member of Parliament (MP) in the future* (Interviewee 1, 31 years old).

Another narrative is presented as follows:

> *Politically interested students first join a political organization of their choice on campus. And, they show interest in the leadership of their political organization… [sic] that is where the training begins from. When you prove yourself very well at the level of your student political organization, you may be lucky to be nominated for higher responsibilities at the SRC political level. So, political interest is very influential when it comes to active participation in politics at all levels* (Interviewee 4, 27 years old).

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From all these narratives, the generality of the SRC members were convinced that political interest is positively related to participation in politics. In other words, the greater your interest in politics the better your participation politically.

4.2.4 To what extent do students' family political involvements determine their level of political participation?

In terms of how students' family political involvements determine their level of political participation, the SRC members differed in their narratives. While three of them believed that parental political involvement did not necessarily influence their participation in

politics, other whose fathers were actually politicians narrated the positive impact their parental political involvement had on their participation in politics. One of these narratives is presented as follows:

> *My parents are not necessarily interested in politics other than voting during elections. Their political preference has never in anyway influenced my political participation. They don't belong to any political party. They get very irritated with political discussion. They are however very much interested in public affairs and service delivery on the part of government. The impact of my parents on my participation in politics was that they sent me to school to receive education that opened up my mind to the political environment and ideologies of different political organizations in South Africa* (Interviewee 1, 31 years old).

Another similar narrative on the impact of parental political involvement on students' political participation was the view of a law student who said:

> *My family belongs to ANC. They vote regularly. They do not necessarily influence my participation in politics because their political involvement was not more than voting. In fact, let me just say that the impact of my parents on my participation in politics has been simply indirect* (Interviewee 2, 24 years old).

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In another narrative, a 26 year old SRC member affirmed that he joined his parents' political party which was the ANC the South Africa's ruling party. He however decided to join another political organization on getting to campus.

His statement is as follows:

> *My parents belong to ANC. By default, I became a member of the ANC but on getting to the university, my eyes became open [sic] and I had to join another student political organization named DASO when I realized that the ANC government had failed at all levels of governance* (Interviewee 3, 26 years old).

Contrary to the views that parental political involvement had little or indirect influence on the students' political participation, a 27 year old member of the SRC confirmed that his parents' political involvement has had so much influence on his participation in politics.

His response is stated below:

> *My father is a politician and my mother is also socially engaged with the community. My mother introduced me to the general issues around the society. She is very supportive of my father's involvement in the ANC politics. All these political and social activities of my parents have had serious influence on playing active role in the political setting I may find myself. I also want to be a community developer* (Interviewee 4, 27 years old).

The participants' narratives point to the fact that their parents' political involvement did not necessarily influence their participation in politics.

4.2.5: To what extent does the mass media's political awareness influence students' political participation?

The study was poised to find out how the mass media's political awareness has influenced the students' political involvement. All the SRC members' narratives confirmed the important and influential role of the media over their participation in politics. Prominently the internet, YouTube, Online Television Apps and others were among the media platforms influencing the students' political participation. They explained how they obtained political information that raised their political awareness and knowledge, enhanced their perceptions and judgments about politics and stimulated their interest in politics in a way that influenced their political participation more especially on campus.

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The response of one of them is as follows:

> *I read online newspapers like the Daily Dispatch…I mainly watch news on TVs on internet. I follow news on phone using the internet. I follow news via different media apps like the eNCA app and YouTube on my phone. So, the internet is really helping one's understanding of politics and how much we have known politically in South Africa and outside the country* (Interviewee 2, 24 years old).

Similarly, another SRC member further affirmed that:

> *Internet is playing a huge role in raising the level of my political awareness and knowledge." I used YouTube, Online newspapers. I used the internet every day. Media has been very influential in that I know about politics and how I relate with political information. You know you cannot carry television everywhere you go. And when there is press briefing or breaking news, it is easier to access the programme or political information via YouTube on your mobile phone connected to the internet* (Interviewee 1, 31 years old).

The general findings therefore indicated that the mass media's political awareness had greatly influenced students' political participation.

4.3 Triangulation of Quantitative and Qualitative Results

Having presented and analyzed both the quantitative and qualitative results, the next step is to triangulate the findings from both approaches and see how they differ or confirm and then corroborate. Table 4.30 shows the summary of the quantitative and qualitative results.

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Table 4.30: Triangulation of Quantitative and Qualitative Results

Research Questions	Quantitative Results	Qualitative Results	Observation
1. In what way is the students' political awareness, resulting from political education, associated with their participation in politics?	Students' level of political awareness was generally high as the majority of them were politically aware (Table 4.3). Statistically, students' political awareness was significantly correlated with their participation in campus politics (r = 0.130) and in national politics (r = 0.185). Results generally show that there was a	The SRC members' general narratives were indicative of a positive relationship between students' political awareness and participation in politics. Another finding that emerged here was that political awareness without courage, wherewithal and strong determination to dare and confront people in authorities	Both results confirm that there is a positive relationship between students' political awareness and their participation in politics.

	significant positive relationship between students' political awareness and their political participation.	would not automatically result into participation in politics.	
2. In what way do the students' political judgements, arising from political education, influence their political participation?	It was found that political judgment was significantly correlated with participation in campus politics (r = 0.182) and in national politics (0.030). Though, the coefficient values showed a weak positive relationship between political judgment and participation in politics.	The general narratives of the SRC members indicated that there was a connection between students' sense of political judgment and their participation in politics	There is a confirmation that there is a positive relationship between political judgment and political participation by both results.
3. What effects do the students' political interests, resulting from political education, have on their political participation?	Students' level of political interest was shown to be high in Table 4.13. Political interest was significantly correlated with participation in campus politics (r =0.375) and in national politics (r = 0.404). The coefficient values showed that there was a moderate positive correlation between political interest and political participation. Tables 4.22 & 4.23 respectively show that political	The narratives of the participants indicated that political interest was positively related to political participation. The more the interest, the greater the participation in politics.	Both results corroborated each other that political interest has a positive effect on students' participation in politics.

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	interest, parents' political involvements and year of study of the participants were significantly associated with participation in campus and national politics.		
4. To what extent do the students' family political involvements determine their level of political participation?	There is a strong and positive relationship between parents' political involvements and students' participation in campus (P value = 0.297) and national politics (P value = 0.335).	The participants' narratives indicated that parental political involvements did not necessarily influence their participation in politics.	In terms of the extent to which parental political involvements determine the students' political participation, both results differ slightly. While the quantitative approach found a positive relationship, qualitative approach found that parents' political involvements did not necessarily influence students' political participation.
5. To what extent does the mass media's political awareness influence students' political participation?	There is a positive relationship between influence of the mass media's political awareness and students' participation in campus politics (P value = 0.122) and national politics (P value = 0.232).	The SRC members' narratives affirm that mass media's political awareness has had undisputable influence on students' political participation. It also found that mass media increase students' knowledge of politics (political awareness),	It is clearly seen that the quantitative finding was validated by the qualitative results as they both confirmed that mass media's political awareness positively influenced the students' political participation.

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		enhance opinions and perceptions (political judgment) of students about political objects and stimulate their political interest.	

Source: Author's Compilation (2018)

As shown in Table 4.30, the quantitative results were corroborated with the qualitative findings with regard to research questions one, two, three and five respectively. For research question four, the qualitative results slightly differ from that of the quantitative finding. However, both findings have shown how certain elements and agents of political education can determine the university students' political participation.

4.4 Analysis of Documents

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In an attempt to obtain additional and valuable information that would help to provide answers to the research questions, documents such as the university's prospectus (2018), curriculum framework for the Life, Knowledge, Action Programme (LKA/GP) were collected and analyzed to ascertain the university's level of political education programme, while the university's student governance constitution and the SRC 2018 election results were collected and analyzed to probe into the students' political participation.

4.4.1 Political Education: University's Prospectus and LKA/GP Curriculum

The analysis of the two documents indicates that the university intends to provide some form of general knowledge and learning experiences useful to the students across the faculties and departments. This is to be achieved by employing integrative and holistic approach to solving most of the common challenges facing higher institutions of learning and communities based on the principles of Africanization, ubuntu (humanity), dialogue, community service, critical thinking and social engagement. Put differently, the

Life, Knowledge, and Action: Grounding Programme (LKA/GP) provides students with the opportunities to study a combination of disciplines including knowledge of politics in such a way that they can become conscious, critical and socially responsible global citizens. Table 4.31 shows the university's LKA/GP curriculum framework in summary. The programme was a commendable effort at promoting and building the students' political awareness, political judgment, political interest and participation in politics. It is generally divided into four streams namely; core notions, knowledge streams, skills streams and values. Each of these streams has a number of political education elements.

<table>
<tr><th>Core Notions</th><th colspan="3">Knowledge Streams</th><th>Skills Streams</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Society
Democracy
Non-discrimination
Loving, Living and Learning (including HIV/AIDS)
Transdiciplinarity
Social engagement
Humanising pedagogy/
Student participation
Life/ Knowledge/ Action/ Expression
Africanisation
Taking a thoughtful stand</td><td>Citizenship, Society and Democracy</td><td>Science, Technology and Environment</td><td>Economics, Education and Development</td><td rowspan="4">Social Inquiry, Scientific Inquiry
Reading and Writing
Political, electoral, social, cultural and environmental literacy
Information and Financial literacy
Building an argument
Communication
Cooperative learning
Emotional intelligence
Critical Thinking and Dialogue</td></tr>
<tr><td>U1: Life, Law, regulation and society</td><td>U3: Science and Technology</td><td>U5: Education and Globalization</td></tr>
<tr><td>U2: Citizenship, Democracy and Human Rights</td><td>U4: Environment and Society</td><td>U6: Economics and Development</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Values and Principles
Equality; Healthy Lifestyle; Commitment to self-development; Honesty; Accuracy; Hospitality; Integrity; Reliability; Trust; Vitality; Playfulness; Curiosity; Integrity; Authenticity; Compassion; Efficiency; Enthusiasm; Agency; Responsibility; Love; Optimism; Rights choices; and Respect</td></tr>
</table>

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Figure 4.11: The University's LKA/GP Curriculum with the Elements of Political Education

As shown in Figure 4.11, the core notions are concerned with topics such as society, democracy, non-discrimination, social engagement, student participation and Africanization of thoughts; the knowledge streams are topics which include citizenship, society, democracy, human rights, education and globalization; the skills streams consist of political literacy, electoral system, critical thinking and dialogue while the values include equality, respect, honesty, integrity, reliability and trust. All these taken together are considered as important elements of political education/literacy. However,

the LKA/GP lacks sufficient provision in terms of political education that is needed to provoke and stimulate students' political awareness, political interest and capable of developing their sense of political judgment which might ultimately translate into encouragement to participate in politics within and outside the university. To provide sufficient political education for the students, there is the need to allow for teaching and learning of political literacy as a separate module and as a general course (see Table 4.32) for all students irrespective of their disciplines in the university.

4.4.2 Students Political Participation: Student Governance Constitution

A critical look at the university's student governance constitution shows that it is committed to promoting the academic, social, political, cultural and other interests of students. It therefore encourages maximum participation of students at all levels of student governance within and outside the university. It states in one its sections as follows:

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> *A student, who has been registered at the University (name held) for at least one semester, shall be entitled to vote in the SRC elections; and a student who has been registered for one academic year (two semesters) shall be entitled to be voted for in an SRC election. This includes both fulltime and part-time students legally registered at the university.*

The implication of this is that, the student governance constitution makes it abundantly clear that all registered students whether in part-time or fulltime programmes have equal opportunities to participate in the SRC/campus politics. More so, the constitution recognizes and supports various student organizations for registration and operations within the campus. For instance, a student political organization is qualified for SRC recognition and support provided it has a constitution, members not less than 200 and has been in existence for at least two years. For other societies (non-political organizations, they are qualified for SRC recognition and support provided they have a constitution with not less than 100 members and must have existed for at least one academic year on campus. However, societies having less than a minimum of 100 members can be considered for recognition and support if they make a special appeal

to the student parliament for consideration. From the foregoing, political participation is a right of every registered student in the university.

4.4.3 Students' Political Participation: The University's SRC 2018 Election Results

The analysis of the university's SRC 2018 elections shows that less than half (6,915) of the total number of the eligible voters (16,408) actually voted. This represents 42% of the entire voting population. Furthermore, the results show that, four (4) student political organizations participated and fielded candidates in the election. There was only one independent candidate who took part in the elections. The proportions of votes obtained by the political organizations and the independent candidate during the SRC 2018 elections are represented in Table 4.31.

Table 4.31: Distribution of Votes among Student Political Organizations

Political Organizations	Number of Votes	Percentage of Votes
DASO	2,242	32.4
EFFSC	895	12.9
INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE	1,163	16.8
PASMA	770	11.1
SASCO	1845	26.7
TOTAL	6,915	100.0

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Source: Author's fieldwork (2018)

As mentioned earlier, only 6,915 (42%) out of the total of 16,408 eligible voters eventually participated and voted during the elections. Table 4.31 indicates that DASO got the highest (32.4%) of the votes while the EFFSC got the least (12.9%). It is interesting to note also that an independent candidate got more votes (16.8%) than two of the student political organizations namely the EFFSC and PASMA. Apparently, this is the beauty of democracy that is being exhibited at a micro level of campus politics.

4.5 Synthesis of the Findings

The main goal of this study was to find the extent to which political education determines university students' political participation in campus and national politics. To this end, political education was measured in terms of its dimensions which included students' political awareness, political judgment and political interest, while political participation was considered in terms of participation in campus politics and national politics.

From the analysis of the relevant documents, it was found that political education was taught as an integral part of the LKA-GP and knowledge acquired from this general course was not adequate to increase the level of the students' political awareness, and it was incapable of enhancing the students' sense of political judgment and stimulating their interest in all forms of political participation, be it conventional and unconventional. In the same vein, the university's student governance constitution provided the legal framework for students to participate in the activities of the SRC and the various student political organizations as well as many other social and religious associations or societies. Nevertheless, the results of the 2018 SRC elections indicated that less than 50% of the total number of students registered as the eligible voters participated in the voting exercise. In this way, students' participation in SRC election was not really encouraging at all. In addition, the results of the multivariate ordinary least square regression model indicated that students' political interest, parents' political involvement and year of study were found to be significant determinants of their participation in campus politics (See, Table 4.22). Similarly, the multivariate analysis showed that students' political interest, parents' political involvement and year of study were found to be the significant determinants of their participation in off-campus or national politics (See, Table 4.23).

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Other findings from the perspectives of both quantitative and qualitative analyses indicated that there is a relationship between students' political awareness and their

participation in politics. There was also a confirmation that there exists a relationship between students' political judgment and their participation in politics. Both the quantitative and qualitative results confirmed that students' political interest has effect on their participation in politics. In terms of the extent to which parents' political involvement determines the students' political participation, both methods slightly disagree. While the quantitative finding clearly found a positive relationship the former and the latter, the qualitative method found that parent's political involvement did not necessarily influence students' political participation. On the mass media influence on students' political participation, both methods confirmed that mass media has a lot of influence on the students' political participation.

In sum, these study findings have highlighted the significance of political education for developing and increasing students' political awareness, enhancing their sense of political opinions or judgments and fostering a responsive political interest that can stimulate active participation in politics. By extension, political education is a determinant of university students' political participation.

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4.6 Discussion of Findings

The presentation and analysis of the findings have been done in the preceding sub-sections of this chapter. The discussion of the findings in relation to the previous studies as informed by the literature is provided, with refence to the objectives of the study.

4.6.1 Association between the students' political awareness resulting from political education and their participation in politics

The study sought to determine whether or not there is an association between students' political awareness resulting from political education and their participation in politics. The analysis of the quantitative data shows most of students demonstrated a high level of political awareness and this was corroborated with the qualitative findings which equally revealed that the participants had a high level of political awareness. However, it

was reported by the SRC members involved in this study that, political education was only taught as an essential segment of the general course “Life, Knowledge and Action (LKA)” which was introduced to the first year students of the university where this study was conducted. It was believed that all the participants in this study had taken part in the LKA classes while in their first year of study. The general belief of the students, whose opinions were investigated in this study, was that the political knowledge acquired from the LKA classes was not sufficient to increase their level of political awareness, charge their sense of political judgment, enhance their interest in politics and ultimately provoke their participation in politics. At large, the narratives of the students emphasize the important role played by the university through the activities of the various student political organizations and their interaction with the lecturers in raising their level of political awareness.

It was found that there was a significant positive relationship between the students’ political awareness and participation in campus (r =0.130) and national (off-campus) politics (r = 0.185). In a previous study, Kuotsu (2016) also found that there was a relationship between political awareness and participation in electoral activities among rural and urban districts’ inhabitants in India. This quantitative finding was supported by the qualitative results which indicated that it was possible to have a relationship between political awareness and participation in politics provided that students had the courage and strong determination to confront and question the people in authority when there was the need to do so. In other words, students who are politically aware may be afraid to participate in politics for the fear of the possible consequences. Those students who are politically aware and very courageous to have confrontation with the people in authority are usually found to be participating actively in politics. Otherwise, political awareness is not enough to stimulate participation in politics. Therefore, the university administration must provide an enabling environment that will encourage democratic participation in and outside the classrooms. The researcher is of the view that it is pertinent for the university to encourage democratic participation and it should be

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properly managed as a micro society providing the prerequisite training and education for the students to learn and practice the democratic culture and civic responsibilities.

4.6.2 Influence of students' political judgments, arising from political education, on their political participation

The second question raised in this study was asked to find whether or not students' sense of political judgment had influence on their participation in politics. According to the quantitative results, it was found that there was a significant correlation between students' political judgment and participation in campus (r = 0.182) and national/off-campus politics (r = 0.30). Though, these coefficient values show rather a weak positive correlation between the students' political judgment and their political participation. The qualitative results had to buttress this finding when the general narratives of the SRC members indicated that there was obviously a connection between students' political judgment and their participation in politics. The findings further stated that positive political judgments would promote a positive political participation and vice-versa. In other words, the perceptions, opinions and beliefs held by individuals about political objects would determine the extent of their involvement or non-involvement in politics. For instance, students may believe that politics is a dirty or dangerous game and for fear of not wanting to become trapped in the dirty game of politics or not wanting to endanger their lives, they may choose not to participate.

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In a study conducted by Kim (2011), political judgment was considered to include the beliefs, perceptions and opinions of individuals about politics and political objects such as the political parties, candidates, elections, governance and performance of government. Another instance is when people believe that government or political leadership is not performing up to their expectations or they believe that the government is self-serving. In this case people may choose to withdraw from active involvement in politics because of the belief that it would yield no dividends to them in the end. In view of the above, political education is a desideratum which sharpens the students' sense of

political judgment in a way that make them become attentive and conscious of their socio-political environment, thereby triggering their participation in the democratic processes of their society. Kim (2011) submitted that the abilities and feelings to evaluate the activities and performances of candidates, political parties and issues of concerns naturally come into being for individuals having been exposed to new political information.

4.6.3 The effects of students' political interests resulting from political education on their political participation

The other question asked in this study was to ascertain the effect that students' political interest may have on their political participation. Table 4.13 shows the levels of the students' interest in both campus and national/off-campus politics. Similarly, Tables 4.14 and 4.15 respectively show the correlation statistics of the relationship between political interest of students and their participation in politics. The findings indicated that political interest was significantly correlated with participation in campus politics (r = 0.375) and national politics (r = 0.404). Furthermore, the findings showed that there was a moderate positive relationship between students' political interest and their participation in campus and off-campus politics. These findings were corroborated by the finding in another study undertaken by Shapland (2015). In her cross-national survey, she found that political interest had a positive correlation with political participation. Consequent upon her finding, she made a conclusion that there was a relationship between political interest and the citizens' desire to participate in any political activity at the country level. In the same vein, Shani (cited in Shapland, 2015) found that political interest developed during the pre-adulthood stage. She then concluded that the most important indicators of political participation were parental education, parental participation in group and community activities and an interest in the subject of social studies (political education).

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The implication is that, the students' political interest may have both positive and negative effects on their participation in politics. For instance, if the students' political interest is high, it will positively affect their participation in politics and vice-versa.

From the responses of the students in Table 4.13, most of them agreed to have interest in the various political activities and this eventually had a positive effect on their political participation. Interestingly, the quantitative findings were confirmed and validated with the SRC members' narratives which showed that they were in agreement on the fact that their political interest was positively related to their active participation in politics. They all believed that the greater the interest in politics, the better or the more the participation in it. This is a pointer to another significance of political education in activating and stimulating the political interest and participation in politics. Mhlomi and Osunkunle (2017) found that university students indicated they had a high political interest and most of them had to be influenced to cast their votes for their preferred political parties and candidates due to the enormous awareness and exposure to the political campaigns and other related information made possible through the platforms of the social media.

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4.6.4 Students' family political involvements and their level of political participation

The study also sought to find out the extent to which students' family political involvements can determine their level of political participation. It was found that most of the participants were frequently discussing politics with their parents as shown in Figure 4.6. Again, the study found that parents of the majority of the participants belonged to political parties and religious bodies (See, Table 4.24). Another finding that emerged was that a vast majority of the participants indicated that their parents were interested in public affairs as shown in Figure 4.7. In addition, almost all the students revealed that their parents participated in politics by voting, while some of the participants affirmed that their parents were taking part in the party meetings as shown in Table 4.25.

Another interesting finding was that an overwhelming majority of the students were not influenced by their parents' party preferences. Statistically, there was no significant difference between male and female participants' parents' party preferences and their political participation (p = 0.355). Results from Figure 4.9 suggested that most of the students agreed that the impact of their fathers on their level of political education was moderately high. Similarly, results represented in Figure 4.10 indicated that most of the participants agreed that the impact of their mothers was moderately high on their level of political education. This was expected to positively influence their participation in politics too. In the final analysis, the correlation statistics showed that there was a strong positive relationship between parents' political involvement and the students' participation in politics on campus (p-value= 0.297) and in national/off-campus politics (p-value = 0.335).

On the contrary, the narratives obtained from most of the SRC members indicated that their parents' political involvement did not necessarily influence their participation in politics. For these students, it was be very difficult to directly link their participation in politics to their parents' political involvement. They only believed that their parents indirectly had helped in exposing them to the kind of political education and political exposure they had acquired by sending them to the university. These students had a point. The point was that the formal process of political education through the university was more influential than the informal process, which the parents or family was part of, on their level of political education as well as their participation in politics. No doubt that the family was one of the important agents of political education with direct or indirect influence on the children's political behaviour and participation (Quintelier et al., 2007).

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It is a direct influence when parents provide information about politics through discussions with their children at home while the indirect influence occurs through the parents' involvement in voting, electoral activities such as campaigns and party politics as well as participation in the activities of the voluntary organizations. According to Quintelier et al. (2007), parents serve as the political role models in either of the ways.

Other studies have shown that family is one of the important agents of political education and socialization with a positive impact for acquisition of rudimentary and fundamental political literacy and orientations (Jenings et al., 2009; Neundorf et al., 2017). More importantly, parents' political participation, party preferences and political orientations were found to have influenced children's political awareness, political beliefs through the process of political socialization within the family (Mbabvu, 2017; Neundorf et al., 2017). Dinas (2014) found that it was possible for children in their adolescent stage to be influenced by their parents' political parties and the children might also decide to review their choices of party identification as they grew into adulthood. A study conducted in Pakistan by Yaseen et al., (2018) also buttressed the fact that parents have political influence on their children. The childen's political orientations and political culture are largely derived from the families. The researcher may thus conclude that family is another significant agent of political socialization as it shapes the children's voting and other political behaviours.

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4.6.5 The influence of mass media's political awareness on students' political participation

The mass media is another agent of political education. The study looked into the influence of the mass media's political awareness on the students' political participation. The analysis of the results presented in Table 4.27 shows that most of the respondents claimed to use the internet on a daily basis for political information. The results are in congruence with the findings of Strasburger, Wilson & Jordan (2009). In their study, they also found that television and internet were the two media platforms with a high impact and influence on the lives and political participation of the young ones. The authors were of the belief that young people were usually staying on the internet for the use of social media for an average of 8 hours every day. This is not surprising because the university administration provides students with unfettered and unlimited access to the internet across the length and breadth of the campus. Students, who are politically conscious, can therefore watch most of the television channels' live streaming online or

via YouTube. Kuotsu's (2016) finding confirmed that the mass media exposure was a determinant factor influencing citizens' political interest and participation in the democratic governance of their country. The researcher can argue that media platforms have ways of influencing the minds of their audience. They mould public opinions and set agenda for discussion of government policies, decisions, actions and inactions. The members of the public are engaged with the experts and public affairs analysts whose submissions on political issues may move people from changing their decisions in the direction the media political discussions have followed.

Apart from the watching online, the live streaming of the television channels, most local and international newspapers and news magazine have social applications which can be used to read their daily publications online via the internet connectivity. In another study, Dery and Puopiel (2013) found that radio, television and internet were the main media sources of political education for most of the university students in Ghana. However, these authors specifically found that radio was mostly used because it was readily available and accessible to students via their mobile cell phones. They stated further that students learned about politics through the political education programmes aired on radio and were being motivated to actively participate in political campaigns and debates.

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The findings further revealed that most of the students agreed that they used other media such as radio, television and newspapers for political information. Statistically, the correlation analysis showed that there was a positive relationship between mass media influence and the students' participation in politics within and outside the campus. These findings were supported by the qualitative narratives obtained from the SRC members. It was gathered from them that the mass media had so much influence on their political awareness, sense of political judgment and political interest which invariably stimulated their participation in politics. The informants told the researcher that they relied so much on the use of the internet for political information. They argued that the access to the internet gave them the unhindered opportunities to use the

YouTube, television and newspapers' apps through which they acquired political knowledge that galvanized their participation in campus and national politics. This was in agreement with the study of Moller et al. (2013) who also found that young people learned about political events through the media and as such became knowledgeable about the activities of political actors both at the national and international levels.

Finally, the findings from the multivariate analysis showed that political interest, parents' political involvement and year of study were the significant determinants of students' participation in this study as shown in Tables (4.22 & 4.23). Helloque (cited in Mbabvu, 2017) described political interest as the motivation to participate in political activities or the desirability on the part of individuals to willingly learn about politics and issues involving politics. In this study, the participants' level of political interest was encouraging and impressive while their parents' involvement in electoral activities and activities of other voluntary associations were contributory factors to the students' levels of political interest and political awareness. Moreover, the year of study played a critical role in increasing students' levels of political participation. As students moved from one level or year of study to another, they were likely to be participating much more in the political activities on campus and they could become more aware of the need to get involved in the national politics outside the campus. Therefore, a student in year two would have participated more in politics than others in year one and those in year three would have been actively involved in more of politics than their counterparts in year one or two and all things being equal. Ali et al. (2013) found that the print and electronic media through their viewership and readership exerted influence on the youngsters' political awareness, how they judge political issues, their interest and participation in politics. It further confirmed other studies that television was mostly influential in the dissemination of political information and creation of political awareness among the university students.

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In conclusion, political interest and the parents/family are both regarded as the dimension and the important agents of political education respectively. To a large extent, political education is therefore a determinant of the university students' political participation as demonstrated in this study.

4.7 Linking the Findings to the Study's Theoretical Framework

This study investigated political education as a determinant of university students' participation in politics in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. In view of its objectives, the theoretical framework therefore included the three models of education namely the AEM, PSM and REM together with the cognitive mobilization theory of political education/literacy. In terms of the relationship between education and political participation, theoretical explanations have been provided from the perspectives of the absolute education model, pre-adult socialization model and relative education model.

Absolute Education Model argues that education is capable of increasing political knowledge, political awareness and other civic skills in individuals causing them to become politically conscious, politically active and choose to participate effectively in all sorts of political activities such as voting in elections, taking part in protests or demonstrations, political campaigns and party meetings (Persson, 2013).

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The pre-adult socialization model contends that the relationship between education and political participation can be explained in terms of pre-adult factors such as the family socioeconomic status, political socialization patterns within the home environment and personal attributes of individuals like the cognitive capacity for understanding politics and developing perceptions/opinions about political objects and political interest in political activities. The relative education model is popularly regarded as the sorting model of political participation. It states that, the higher the education level, the greater the social status of the individuals in the society and the higher the level of their political participation and vice versa. For the cognitive mobilization theoretical explanation of political education in relations to political participation, it is assumed that political

education is a causal factor in individuals for the mobilization of their mental abilities (political knowledge) for participation in political activities (Onuigbo et al, 2018). Put differently, political education inculcates in individuals the political knowledge, skills, understanding and information with regard to participation in all forms of political activities including voting, elections, protests, demonstrations, party meetings, political campaigns and others. The pertinent question to answer here is: how are the findings of this study related to the theoretical underpinnings discussed above?

4.7.1 In what way is the students' political awareness, resulting from political education, associated with their participation in politics?

It was found that there is a significant positive relationship between the students' political awareness and participation in politics. The finding is in consonance with the argument of the Absolute Education Model stating that education is capable of increasing political knowledge, political awareness and other civic skills in individuals causing them to become politically conscious, politically active and choose to participate effectively in all sorts of political activities such as voting in elections, taking part in protests or demonstrations, political campaigns and party meetings (Persson, 2013).

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The AEM's argument on the relationship between education and political education is consistent with the views of the SRC members who submitted that the university (higher education) has provided them the opportunities to engage with top officials of the university in the governance structure and meet with government officials such as the ministers at the provincial and national levels to discuss matters affecting the general welfare of students on campus and in South Africa in general. In addition, the finding equally resonates with the cognitive mobilization theory of political education which states that political education is a causal factor in individuals for the mobilization of their mental abilities (political knowledge) for participation in political activities (Onuigbo et al, 2018). In the literature, there is no difference between political knowledge and political awareness. In fact, both have been found to be used interchangeably in terms of

political understanding. In theory, political education exposes the students to knowledge about politics and thereby increases their level of political awareness and the motivation to participate in politics (Helloque cited in Mbabvu, 2017; Persson, 2014). This is in tandem with one of the major assumptions of the cognitive mobilization theory of political education that views education as a major predictor and determinant of political knowledge and participation in politics by enabling individuals to utilize their cognitive skills and abilities for effective involvement in political activities. In practice, this study has demonstrated that political education has a relationship with the students' participation. The better the political education of the students the greater their level of political awareness and the higher their level of political participation too.

4.7.2 In what way do the students' political judgements, arising from political education, influence their political participation?

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In this study, findings indicate that there is a significant correlation between students' political judgement and their participation in politics. It was also found that political judgement was not a significant determinant of political participation. One of the assumptions of the cognitive mobilization theory of political education, Onuigbo et al. (2018), highlights the fact that individuals without sufficient political education have the tendency of exhibiting political awareness that is poor or low, lack political interest, have poor opinions or sense of political judgment about democratic processes. However, those who have sufficient political knowledge and high opinion of political objects (party system, candidates, institutions of the state etc) would certainly have better inclinations to actively engage and participate in all forms of political activities. This assumption undoubtedly emphasizes the relationship between political judgment and political participation and underscores the importance of the need to develop a high level of political awareness which can only enhance individual's level of political judgment to foster an active participation in politics and all things being equal. It was also found that the nature of the students' political education is not sufficient. This was reported from

the narrations of the SRC members as well as the results from the documentary analysis.

4.7.3 What effects do the students' political interests, resulting from political education; have on their participation in politics?

The findings indicate that there is a significant relationship between political interest of students and their participation in politics. Similarly, the narratives from the SRC members highlighted the relationship between students' political interest and their participation in politics. For instance, the interest in actively taking part in the activities of the student political organizations on campus was an impetus for most of the students to contest in the SRC elections as revealed in this study. According to Hillygus' (2005) civic education theory argues that, education inculcates the skills, knowledge and understanding of politics in the citizens with which they develop the capacity to make political choices and preferences and pursue their political interests. It should be noted that the civic education theory is consistent with the AEM's proposition on the relationship between education and political participation. The AEM believes that education has the capability of increasing individuals' level of political knowledge in such a way that they would become interested in participating in all forms of political activities (Persson, 2014).

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In the same vein, the cognitive mobilization theory of political education assumes that having access to political education would in turn increase the citizens' intellectual engagement with politics in such a way that they develop skills and capacities to understand the complexity of any political system and enhancement of their civic responsibilities (Onuigbo et al., 2018). From the observation of this present researcher, it is possible that individuals whose political knowledge or awareness is high would be very much interested in active participation in politics at all levels whether at the university or at the national level. This has been confirmed in practice by the SRC members who participated in this study.

4.7.4 To what extent do students' family political involvements determine their level of political participation?

In the literature, the family or parents have been regarded as the agents of political education and political socialization with so much impact and influence on children's political participation (Jenings et al., 2009; Neundorf et al., 2017; Mbabvu, 2017). This study has been able to establish that the parents' political involvements determine their participation in politics to a large extent. The findings from a similar study conducted by Amoateng (2015) lends credence to the fact that, discussion on politics with parents and other members of the family help to boost the children's levels of political awareness and participation in political activities. The findings also indicated that parents to a large extent have influence on the students' political participation. This is clearly in consonance with the proposition of the pre-adult socialization model (PSM). This model has argued that the pre-adult factors such as the family socio-economic status, political socialization patterns within the home environment and personal attributes of individuals like their cognitive capacities for the understanding of politics and developing perceptions/opinions about political objects and active interest in political activities can actually motivate individuals to have a high desire to participate in the democratic governance of their state. This theory contends that family socio-economic status and pre-adult factors within the home of the students are the determinants of their educational attainment which invariably influence their level of political participation in the university and in the national politics. The theory is further confirmed and validated by the narratives of the SRC members who stated that their parents had indirect influence on their political education and participation in politics by sending them to the university where they were exposed to new sources of political information different from the ones they had previously acquired through their parents at home.

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4.7.5 To what extent does the mass media's political awareness influence students' political participation?

Just like the family, the literature has shown that the mass media is one of the important agents of political education and political socialization with a lot of influence on political participation of the young people in any democratic societies (Strasburger, Wilson & Jordan 2009; Mbabvu, 2017; Onuigbo et al., 2018; Jenings et al., 2009; Neundorf et al., 2017; Mhlomi & Osunkunle, 2017). In this study, however, it was also found that there is a relationship between the mass media influence and the students' political participation. It was also found that the mass media such as the internet, television, radio and newspapers had influential impact on the students' political participation. In line with the proposition of the cognitive mobilization theory of political education, political education inculcates political competence in people through the political information that empowers them cognitively to be able to make informed decision on participation in terms of voting (Onuigbo, et al., 2018).

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Again, it is undisputable to agree that political information is disseminated through the mass media. Social media in particular has been found to have increased South African university students' levels of political awareness and students' participation in voting during the 2014 national election (Mhlomi & Osunkunle, 2017). The mass media has the capacity to shape individuals' knowledge and awareness of politics, enhances their sense of political judgment and activate their interest in politics. This is possible by the nature and amount of information that is disseminated through political debates, news broadcasts and press briefings and other broadcasts that border on political events and issues of national and international interests. As much as the political information is received, individuals become mentally capacitated and are therefore mobilized to participate in all forms of political activities. This is consistent with the proposition of the cognitive mobilization theory of political education and political participation as espoused by Onuigbo, et al. (2018). Government officials, politicians and government departments or ministries do address the press for the purpose of bringing their activities and achievements to the awareness of the members of the public. The

politically conscious students would therefore stick to the media platforms for the breaking news and broadcasts of the political happenings around them.

For instance, South African citizens have the opportunity to learn about a myriad of political issues via #The Big Debate programme aired weekly on the SABC2 television channel. It is one programme that brings together politicians, political parties, government functionaries, private sector players, community leaders, student leaders, activists, investigative journalists and many others to provide a robust discussion on certain political issues such as the state capture and corruption, radical economic transformation, citizens' bill of rights and land redistribution in South Africa. The viewers at home are also provided opportunities to participate in the discussion through the social media platforms such as the twitter @BigDebateSA, the Facebook- Big Debate South Africa or by phoning in using the hot line 010 442 3345 during the programme on air. Then, we argue that political discussion programmes provided by the media organizations are effectively educating the public about politics and governance. It may therefore be deduced that university students who follow political discussions via the media on a regular basis would certainly be more interested to participate in politics.

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4.8 Proposed Political Education Curriculum Framework for Undergraduate Students

One key objective of this study was to propose a political education curriculum framework for students in the university. As shown in Table 4.33, the curriculum framework proposes a number of political education topics which should expose students to the knowledge of South African politics and international relations with a view to stimulating and increasing students' participation in politics and democratic processes in general. The researcher is convinced that students need to learn adequately about politics for them to develop interest in participating as active and responsible citizens especially in a democratic society such as the Republic of South Africa.

Table 4.32: Political Education Curriculum Framework for Undergraduate Students

Contents	Learning Objectives/Outcomes	Teaching/Learning Activities
1. Introduction to political education	Students will be able to: -Define related terms such as education, politics, political education, civic education, citizenship education, family, society, nation and state. -Importance of political education to: Individuals Family Society Nation. -Justification for teaching and learning of political education or literacy in higher institutions of learning. -Concept of education -Definition Forms of education (formal, informal, semi-formal, inclusive/special education.	Group discussion, group assignment, writing of term papers, open a class debate on the definitions of each of the concepts e.t.c.
2. Society, Nation and State	-Define Society, characteristics of a society, types of society. -Define nation, elucidate on differences between society	Students should be allowed to exchange ideas on definition, features and types of society.

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	and nation. -Define state, analyze state formation, characteristics of state, role of modern state in a democracy, distinguish between society, nation and state; explain structure and functioning of South Africa as a state entity.	
3. The political history of South Africa	-The pre-colonial South Africa: political organization (monarchy and traditional institutions in South Africa; -The Colonial Era of the Apartheid regime in South Africa; -Post-colonial South Africa (Independence and post-independence issues); socio-economic impact of the apartheid policy.	Use of pictures, photos and video presentations clearly analyzing the political history of South Africa. Students should be guided through class debates and group discussions too.
4.Citizenship and Bill of Rights	-Define who a citizen is; define concept of citizen-ship; types of citizenship; how to acquire citizenship; rights and obligations of South African citizens; South Africa's bill of rights.	Students should be allowed to exchange ideas on the concept of citizenship and who a citizen is. Class debates and group discussion on citizen's rights, obligations and South Africa's Bill of rights.
5.Political economy	-Definition of political economy -Basic concepts of the economy -Factors of production -Various types of production -Concepts of capitalism and	Examples should be drawn from within the immediate environment of students and materials available in the school. Group discussions, group assignments and class debates should be explored in analyzing various political economic systems.

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	socialism (features, merits and demerits) -Western capitalism and African socialism.	
6.Unemployement and under-employment in South Africa	-Define unemployment -Types of unemployment -Describe the state of under-employment.	Bring illustrations that will clearly explain state of unemployment and under-employment; group discussions on various types of unemployment.
7.Constitutionalism	-Define constitutionalism; rule of law; what is a constitution? Types of constitution; constitutional development in South Africa.	Students should be allowed opportunities to express their views on definition of constitutionalism, types of constitution; and should be guided by their lecturers to analyze the South Africa's constitutional development.
8.Democracy	-Define democracy; types of democracy; principles of democracy and democratic institutions in South Africa.	Students are to exchange ideas on meaning of democracy, and role of democratic institutions in South Africa.
9.Systems of government	-Monarchical system -Oligarchy -Plutocracy -totalitarian regime/authoritarianism -presidential system -Parliamentary system	Classroom debates, group discussions and use of pictures, video and slides presentations on what each of the systems of government represents or does; its features, merits and demerits.
10.System of government in South Africa	-Organs/arms of government in South Africa; executive, legislature, and judiciary; -principles of separation of powers -Functions of executive,	Under the guidance of the lecturer, students should engage in dialogue or group discussion to articulate and demonstrate each of the organs of government and separation of powers.

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	legislature and judiciary.	
11. Political parties in South Africa	-Define political parties; -Historical development of political parties in South Africa. -Functions of political parties. -Role of student political organizations.	Through the use of slides and video presentation, students should be led to discuss definition, history and functions of political parties in South Africa. By exchanging ideas, students are to have a class discussion or dialogue on the role of student political organizations in the university campses.
12.Conceptsof xenophobia, homophobia, racism, discrimination etc	-Define Xenophobia -Explain homophobia -Identify problems associa-ted with xenophobia and ways to curb it in South African society.	Students should exchange ideas on xenophobia, homophobia, and racial discrimination and identify problems associated with them and specific cases of xenophobic attacks; suggest ways to curb the problems and embrace tolerance and peaceful coexistence with citizens and foreign nationals as partners in progress for South African society.
13.State capture and public service	-Define state capture and public service; state functions of public service; identify the negative effects state capture may have on the efficiency of the public service delivery; ways to tackle state capture.	By exchange of ideas, students should be allowed to explain state capture and public service; provide illustrations of state capture effects on public service delivery and be guided to suggest ways to tackle state capture.
14.Political culture and	-Define political culture; political socialization; state	Lecturer should guide students in small groups to

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political socialization	types of political culture and agents of political socialization.	discuss political culture and types, political socialization and agents. Illustrations should be drawn from the local environment on the influence on political culture and socialization on participation in politics.
15.Electoral system	-Define electoral system; -Identify and explain types of electoral system, define election, types of elections; importance of elections in a democracy; role of electoral body; justification for credible, free and fair election.	Use of pictures, charts and slides presentation to explain electoral system.
16. Political opinion/public opinion	-definition and examples of political opinion -Characteristics and types of political opinion -Methods of learning and measuring political opinion -Formation and importance of public opinion in a democracy	Dialogue and group discussions on the meaning and examples of political opinion; students should be asked to listen/watch to radio and television programmes in which public opinions are mobilized on national and international issues; Slides/PowerPoint presentations of political/opinion leaders in South Africa.
17. Political participation	-Define political Participation; types of political participations; role and functions of student political organizations. Benefits of students' participation in student political organizations and national politics.	By means of brainstorming, students should comment on the meaning of political participation; group and individual assignments on the analysis of the role and benefits of their membership and participation in campus based student political organizations.

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18.International Organizations	-Define international organization; Identify and explain history and functions of international organizations (e.g. United Nations, African Union, European Union, International Monetary Funds, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; Southern African Development Community (SADC); Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) etc.	By means of dialogue, group discussion, students should be led by the lecturer to define international organization; group and individual assignments on the history and functions of the identified international organizations and their socio-economic impact on South African population.

Source: Author's Compilation (2018)

The above political education curriculum framework as presented in Table 4.32 is proposed with the conviction that its implementation at the higher education institution level would help improve the students' levels of political awareness/knowledge, their political interest, perceptions or sense of political judgement and ultimately promote increased participation of students in political activities in campuses and in the national politics of the country. The full implementation of this curriculum framework would in no distant future solve the problem of deficient political participation among South African youths. The conceptual framework for political education curriculum is represented in Figure 4.12.

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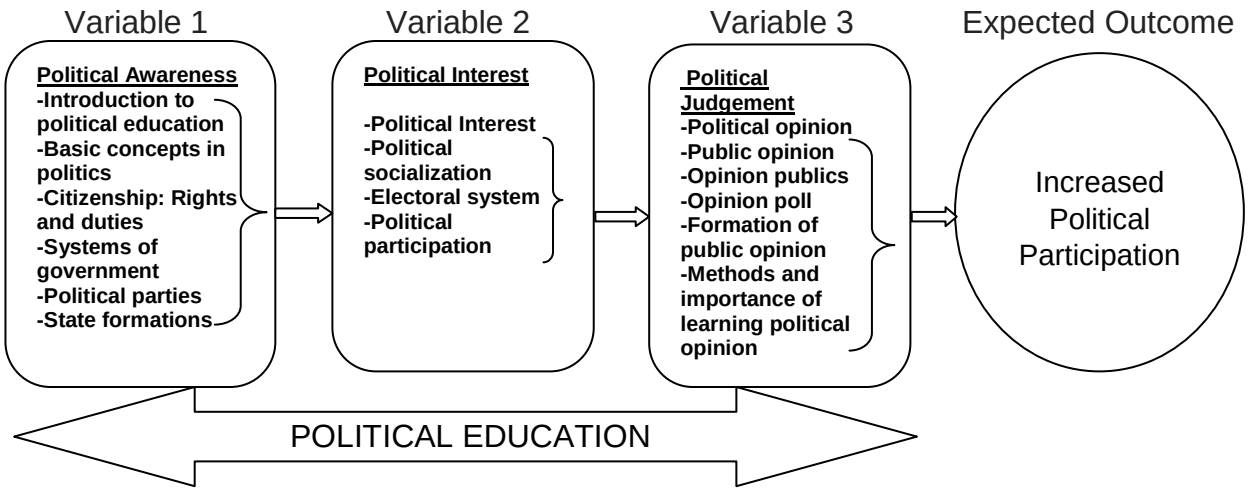

Figure 4.12: Conceptual framework for political education curriculum

Figure 4.12 shows the variables of political education, as conceived in this study, and their relationship for the attainment of the expected outcome of increased political participation.

4.9 Summary of the chapter

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In this chapter, the quantitative and qualitative data were separately presented and analyzed. The findings from the various analyses were meticulously presented and analyzed. The results from the quantitative, qualitative methods and documentary analysis were then triangulated to observe their similarities and dissimilarities. Then, attempts were made to discuss the findings simultaneously by using the previous literature and the theoretical framework of the study. Based on the findings of the study, a curriculum framework for political education was proposed for adoption and use in the higher education institutions across South Africa with a view to fostering an improvement of the students' political education on one hand and as a commitment to increasing their participation in political activities on the other hand. The researcher was convinced that the full implementation of the curriculum framework would certainly solve the perceived problem of the deficient political participation among South African youth.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This study investigated political education as a determinant of university students' political participation in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. In this last and concluding chapter, a summary of the study findings, recommendations for the improvement of the students' political education and participation in politics as well as suggestions for further studies are presented. To start with, the researcher restates the research objectives and questions. This is then followed by a summary of key findings of the study. Based on the findings, conclusions are drawn and recommendations are made to improve the teaching and learning of political education and to ultimately increase the students' participation in politics. This chapter also considers the practical implications and original contributions of the study to the body of knowledge. Finally, the limitations of the study are also discussed and suggestions are then made for further research.

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5.2 Restatement of the Research Objectives and Questions

This rationale of this study was hinged on the perceived deficiency in the political participation among the youth in South Africa despite the country's efforts at instilling political education among the young ones (Thebe, 2017; Mpulo, 2012; Weinstein, 2014). Through the literature search, it became evident that there is a dearth of research on the growing nature of the young South Africans' apathy and lack of support for democratic processes. This phenomenon requires urgent attention to protect and grow the Rainbow nation's nascent democracy (Tracy, 2013; Mattes & Richmond, 2015:2; Roberts et al., 2011). In view of the above problems, this study therefore investigated political education as a determinant of university students' political participation in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

5.2.1 Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study was to investigate the extent to which political education could be a determinant of university students' participation in politics. Following the considered argument in the literature that there is perceived decline in the participation of South African youth in the political processes, the researcher found it necessary to probe into the level of students' political education at the university and how that could be a catalyst for their participation in campus and national politics. It is presumed that political education brings about increased political awareness, enhanced sense of political judgment, stimulated political interest and active participation in politics. To this end, the first objective of this study was to determine the relationship between the students' political awareness resulting from political education and their participation in politics. The assumption was that teaching and learning of political education in the university should help in increasing the students' level of political awareness which should hitherto positively encourage their active participation in politics.

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The second objective was to find out whether or not student's sense of political judgment enabled by political education influenced a positive political participation. Again, the assumption was that positive perceptions and beliefs about politics would influence a high level of participation in politics and vice versa. The third objective aimed at establishing the effect that students' political interest resulting from political education could have on their participation in politics. The researcher was convinced that a high political interest should lead to a high level of participation in politics and vice versa. The fourth objective aimed at finding the extent at which students' family political involvement could determine their participation in politics; and the fifth objective was to determine the extent of the influence of mass media's political awareness on students' participation in politics. Both the family and mass media have been regarded as important agents of political education and political socialization in the literature. It was imperative for this present study to generate findings and contribute to the body of

knowledge in this regard. The last objective was to propose a model of political education curriculum for the university students, if necessary and depending on the outcomes of this study, with a view to increasing their participation in politics in South Africa.

5.2.2 The Main Research and Sub-Research Questions

The main research question was: to what extent, is political education a determinant of university students' participation in politics? In this study, political education was measured in terms of the students' political awareness, political judgment and political interest respectively. The study was subsequently guided by six other sub-questions. The first one was raised to determine whether or not there is a relationship between the students' political awareness and their participation in politics. This was framed to establish the kind of relationship that exists between the political awareness resulting from political education and political participation of university students in the Province of the Eastern Cape. The second research question was asked to find whether or not students' sense of political judgment, enabled by political education, had influence on their participation in politics. The third question was to establish the effect of students' political interest resulting from political education on their political participation. The fourth question aimed at finding the extent to which students' family political involvement could determine their level of political participation. The fifth question was asked to determine the extent of the influence of mass media's political awareness on students' political participation; and the last question aimed at proposing a model of political education curriculum for South African students in higher institutions of learning towards improving their political knowledge and participation in politics.

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5.3 Summary of the Key Findings

This section presents a summary of the study findings. The summary focuses on the key findings on the nature of political education in the university where the study was

conducted; the students' participation in campus and national politics; the relationship between students' political awareness resulting from political education and their participation in politics; influence of students' sense of political judgment, enabled by political education, on their political participation; effect of students' political interest resulting from political education on their political participation; students' family political involvement as a determinant of their political participation; and the influence of mass media's political awareness on students' participation in politics. From the analysis of the results in the preceding chapter of this study, a number of key findings were established.

The university provides political education formally and informally. From the formal perspective, the students are exposed to the general knowledge of politics through the general course or module of "Life, Action and Knowledge- Grounding Program (LKA-GP). The LKA-GP has a few topics dedicated to the teaching and learning about democracy, citizenship, human rights, student participation, and political, electoral and social literacy. The LKA-GP module is compulsory for all first year students. In other words, it is mandatory for students to take the course on LKA and pass in their first year at the university. Findings indicated that the knowledge of politics acquired by students from LKA as the module was not sufficient to motivate and influence students for participation in politics. On the other hand, informally, students have opportunities to organize themselves into various political organizations and participate in the Student Representative Council (SRC). It was found that political education is informally provided by the SRC and through other political organizations on campus.

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On student participation, the 'student governance' constitution provides the legal framework for the participation of students in the activities of the SRC and other organizations on campus. Students therefore have the choice of partaking in the membership and activities of both political organizations and non-political organizations which have been registered and recognized on campus. Despite this freedom of participation granted on campus, it was found that student participation in politics was

relatively low. Other key findings are discussed under each of the research questions in the next sections.

5.3.1 Key Findings Pertaining to Research Question 1

- In what way is the students' political awareness, resulting from political education, associated with their participation in politics?

The study findings showed that the students' level of political awareness resulting from their political education was high. A majority of the students were aware of their rights to vote and be voted for, right to freedom of expression and a host of others. Conversely, their participation in politics was found to be relatively low. Findings further indicated that there was a weak positive correlation between the students' political awareness and their participation in campus and national politics. Although, the regression analysis showed that the relationship between students' political awareness and their participation in campus politics was not statistically significant, while there was a significant positive relationship between students' political awareness and their participation in national politics, the relationship between students' political awareness and their participation in national politics was statistically significant.

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5.3.2 Key Findings Pertaining to Research Question 2

- In what way do the students' political judgements, arising from political education, influence their political participation?

Generally, the findings showed that the students' judgement about politics was negative and it equally had some negative influence on their participation in politics. Hence, their participation in politics appeared to be relative low because of their low or poor perception of politics and political objects in South Africa. Moreover, the Pearson correlation statistics showed that students' political judgment was significantly correlated with their participation in campus politics, while the coefficient showed a weak positive correlation between their political judgement and their participation in campus politics. In

the same vein, the relationship between students' political judgment and their participation in national politics was not statistically significant, while the coefficient showed a weak positive correlation between students' political judgment and their participation in national politics.

5.3.3 Key Findings Pertaining to Research Question 3

- What effects do the students' political interests, resulting from political education, have on their political participation?

Generally, the findings indicated that the student's level of political interest was high. For instance, most of the students showed interest in participating in the next national (2019) and SRC elections. The findings further showed that the students' political interest was significantly correlated with their participation in campus politics as the coefficient showed a moderate positive correlation between political interest and political participation. Similarly, the results indicated also that the students' political interest was significantly correlated with their participation in national politics as the coefficient showed a moderate positive correlation between the students' political interest and their participation in national politics.

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5.3.4 Key Findings Pertaining to Research Question 4

- To what extent do students' family political involvements determine their level of political participation?

The findings indicated that most of the students frequently or occasionally discussed politics with their parents, but the proportion of female students who discussed politics with their parents was a little higher than that of their male counterparts. It was also found that the majority of the parents of the participants were members of the political parties, religious organizations, labour unions, community development groups and women organizations. Moreover, the majority of the parents were very interested in public affairs. An overwhelming majority of the participants had parents who participated

in the voting exercise in political party meetings. In addition, most of the students also reported that the impact of their parents on their level of political education was significantly high. The correlation analysis also showed that there is a strong and positive relationship between the parents' political involvement and students' participation in politics. Put differently, the parents' political involvement is a positive determinant of the students' participation in politics.

5.3.5 Key Findings Pertaining to Research Question 5

- To what extent does the mass media's political awareness influence students' political participation?

The findings showed that most of the students used the internet every day for political information. The internet was not the only source of information used by the participants but also television, radio and newspapers were other media platforms of political information. The correlation analysis indicated that there was a positive relationship between the mass media influence and the students' participation in politics. In other words, it was found that the mass media had a lot of positive influence on the students' political participation.

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5.4 Implication of the Findings

The findings of this study have profound implications for the university management, curriculum planners, policy makers, education stakeholders, students, individual citizens and government of South Africa.

Through the insights provided by these findings, the university authorities would come to terms with the need to implement a more practical and result-oriented political education curriculum that would necessarily tackle the poor knowledge of politics and the paucity of political participation among the youth. The university is an ivory tower that has the mandate of teaching and research aimed at helping to solve the society's socio-economic and political problems. It becomes highly expedient for

the universities in South Africa to adopt and implement a general political education curriculum towards helping the youth to become more politically aware, develop a high sense of political judgement; stimulate their interest in political and democratic processes at the university level and after graduation. The pertinent objective of the teaching and learning of political education is to produce conscious, active, responsible and participatory citizens whose contributions are needed to further the political advancement of the nation.

More importantly, the students should be made to engage the university in political development or deliverables as much as the university is also engaging the students in various disciplines they are admitted to study. It is pertinent for students to avail themselves of all opportunities provided by the university authorities to ensure that they become politically engaged and knowledgeable for them to develop a sense of belonging as the citizens. The only way to achieve this sense of belonging in students is for them to be motivated by their lecturers to put into practice what they have learned theoretically from the four walls of the classrooms. For instance, they should be encouraged to engage in political activities on campus and outside campus; putting into use the general knowledge of politics acquired from the political education courses or modules as per the curriculum. When they become highly conscious in terms of campus politics, apparently this has the implication of increasing their level of confidence and awareness to actively participate in the national politics before and after graduation. Thus, students who perhaps wish to become politicians and interested actors in the country's political space should begin to find political knowledge very appealing and explore the campus political experience as a platform for training and preparation for joining the national politics after graduation.

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Furthermore, the findings of this study equally have some implication for the curriculum planners and the department of education in South Africa. There is an urgent need for a review of the national curricula to accommodate adequate

teaching and learning of political education so as to practically engage students and increase their knowledge of politics. In addition, there may be a need for a national curriculum conference on political education for schools, colleges and higher education institutions involving education stakeholders, policy makers and academics to come up with a robust curriculum framework that can be adopted for implementation of political education at all levels of education in South Africa.

Another implication of this study concerns the government and policy makers to identify the challenge of poor or lack of exposure to political education and the resultant effect of the deficient participation of youth in the country's democratic processes. The government and its agencies should realize that the challenge of youth political apathy can only be reversed by putting in place an enduring and comprehensive political education curriculum in schools, colleges and higher education campuses to increase students' political awareness, political interest and participation in politics.

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Last but not the least, this study has implication for the practice of democracy in South Africa. A country's democratic governance requires the participation of all the adult citizens. Its survival and further development are dependent on the level of the citizens' involvement, support and participation. As a professional teacher of political education in Nigeria, this researcher observed that the lackadaisical attitudes towards performance of the civic duties such as voting during the general elections were part of the factors responsible for the level of electoral malpractice among the politicians and their supporters. It would be practically impossible for a country to deepen its democratic practice and governance when a proportion of its citizens refuse to participate in the political processes. It is very important therefore for South African government to encourage increased acquisition of political knowledge and partipation in the democratic activities among the youths by implementing a political education curriculum that is deep and sufficient to help strengthen the practice of democracy.

5.5 The Contribution to Knowledge

This study investigated political education as a determinant of university students' political education in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. First and foremost, this study has shown that exposure to political education in the university is capable of reversing the problem of the political apathy among the 'born frees' in South Africa. This is a contribution to the body of literature in addressing the problem of poor participation in politics. The findings have established the fact that, political education has the tendency of increasing political awareness, enhancing sense of political judgment and stimulating political interest and participation in politics among the youth. In other words, it is a significant contribution that would help in strengthening and deepening South Africa's nascent democracy of two and a half decades.

Essentially, the study has made an empirical contribution to the debate on theories that explain the relationship between education and political participation. The AEM, PSM and the cognitive mobilization theory of political education have been subjected to another empirical test in this study. In this way, the study findings are a boost to the applicability and acceptability of these theories as their arguments and propositions have been validated and confirmed to hold true. Aparently, the scholars and students of social science education and political science would be more confident to put them to use in their future studies.

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In addition, the study has made a scholarly and empirical contribution to the literature on the mixed methods research. The use of mixed methods approach in this study has contributed to the body of knowledge in terms of the effective and successful use of the quantitative and qualitative methods of research in the field of education and social sciences. This is because the study has successfully implemented the procedures of carrying out a mixed methods research in an elaborate and comprehensive manner. Therefore, it is expected that students, scholars and researchers who are interested in

conducting a mixed methods design would find this thesis very useful and interesting to use.

Moreover, the findings of the study have highlighted the significant contributions of the family and the mass media to the processes of political education, political socialization and participation of individuals in politics. This is another vital contribution of the study to the body of knowledge regarding political education and political participation studies especially in South Africa and beyond. It is therefore believed that this study has yielded a compendium for scholars and students of education, politics and political education particularly those who are interested in the study of political education/civic education because it has produced a comprehensive documentation of political education as adeterminant or influencer of political participation of students in South Africa's universities.

Furthermore, the findings of this study have highlighted the nature of the teaching and learning of political education and how it has influenced students' political awareness, political judgment, political interest and their political participation in one of the public universities in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. This underscores the study's important contribution in terms of the empirical data, and to the body of the literature in the field of education and social science research. The present researcher is unaware of any other study that investigated university students' level of political education in relation to development of political awareness, political judgment, political interest and political participation in South Africa. This study has brought to light the significant role that political education can play in determining an individual's participation in politics.

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Last but not the least, this study has contributed a proposed curriculum model on political education which can be reviewed for use by the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) in order to provide much needed and comprehensive knowledge of politics for students in South Africa's higher institutions of learning. This is

with the view of fostering increased participation of students in politics and proffering solutions to the perceived youth apathy in the country.

5.6 Recommendations

Based on the findings and implications of this study, the following recommendations become necessary for the purpose of bringing about improved teaching and learning of political education and university students' participation in politics within and outside the campus.

1. The university authorities need to review their curricula to accommodate the teaching and learning of political education as a general course for all undergraduate students for the purpose of increasing their levels of political awareness, sense of political judgment, political interest and fostering active participation in politics among the students. This should be supported by investment on provision of relevant curriculum materials and textbooks to make the teaching and learning of political education much more appealing and realizable for the purpose of increasing the quality and practice of democracy in the Rainbow nation.

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2. The responsibility of cultivating active, responsible and politically engaging citizenry in the young people should not be left to the higher institutions alone. Public schools' teachers in South Africa should be motivated to join hands in the promotion of effective and efficient delivery of the teaching and learning of political education as a crucial part of the school curriculum for students in Grades 1 to 12. More importantly, students should be encouraged to participate in politics right from the primary school level, through the high school level and to the tertiary education level. It is expected that learning about the political system, civic duties and becoming politically conscious at the primary and high school levels would go a long way in the sensitization of the young people about the significance of political education for the sustenance of democracy in South Africa as they move to the university level.

3. Parents and families also need to be enlightened about their political socialization duties towards their children. They should be sensitized to understand their important roles as agents of political education. They need to lead by examples. They should not be lackadaisical about their civic duties which include voting during the local, provincial and national elections. In addition, they have the moral responsibility to encourage their children who have attained the voting age to register for voting and participate fully in the democratic processes as responsible and law abiding citizens whenever the need arises.

4. The government and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) should mobilize all the available mass media resources especially through the internet platforms to create an increased awareness about the need for political education as well as political participation of the citizenry. The mass media organizations have to partner with the government for the provision of efficient and effective delivery of political education intended to make the citizens more actively involved in the democratic governance. The media sensitization should not be limited to the period of electioneering campaigns when media organizations would enjoy patronage of the various political parties. Political education should be continuously done to increase political awareness and citizens' participation in politics. It is imperative for the universities to establish their own television and radio networks through which political education could be offered outside the four walls of the classrooms. Students should be encouraged to participate in on-air (live) television and radio programmes that discuss politics.

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5.7 Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study were attributable to the following factors and assumptions:

i. The study participants were not randomly and purposively selected from all the provinces in South Africa and therefore not representative of the university

students in the entire nine provinces in the country. Also, the study sample was drawn from only one of the four universities in the Province of the Eastern Cape and the results may not be appropriate for generalization to the entire university student population of the whole province.

ii. Insufficient time and funds to conduct interviews with more members of the SRC may have reduced the credibility level of the data collected for the study. For instance, only one female member of the SRC was interviewed while the rest were males.

iii. The inclusion of the students in year one who might not have attained the voting age to participate in provincial and national elections or had not been privileged to have participated in the SRC elections and other political activities on campus during the period of conducting this study may also have some limitation on the level of the study's credibility.

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Despite these constraints, this study has provided robustly useful empirical data on political education as a determinant of university students' participation in politics in the Province of the Eastern Cape in particular and generally in South Africa.

5.8 Conclusions

This study investigated political education as a determinant of university students' political participation in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. The researcher's career as a professional teacher of the subjects of 'Government' and Civic Education at the secondary school level had motivated him to undertake this study at the doctorate level. The researcher's engagement with the literature revealed that South African youth's participation in conventional politics was rather too low. The study became necessary to find out how universities in South Africa have been educating their students for the acquisition of political knowledge and participation in the political processes.

The findings from the multivariate analysis showed that students' political interest, parents' political involvement and their year of study were found to be the significant determinants of their political participation in this study. It is noteworthy to reiterate that political interest is one of the identified elements or dimensions of political education as highlighted in the literature, while the family or parents are regarded as the agents of political education. Political education is the driving force that formally and consciously stimulates interest and participation in politics but the family or parents as well as the mass media are agents of political education which informally contribute towards encouraging individuals' interest and participation in all forms of political activities. To a large extent, political education is therefore a determinant of university students' political participation. It is highly imperative for the government, the university administrators, the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET), educators and other stakeholders to accord the right type of attention to the effective teaching and learning of political education at all levels of education. This would proffer a solution to the perceived decline in the youth participation in the democratic processes in the country.

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Be that as it may, this study has significantly addressed a number of gaps in the literature with respect to university students' political education and participation in politics. It has addressed the lack of research on the nature and practice of political education and its influence on the university students' political participation in South Africa. Specifically, this study has provided some scholarly information on university students' political education and participation in politics in the Province of the Eastern Cape of South Africa. It is important to note that a few related studies reviewed in this thesis were carried out in the Province of the Western Cape in South Africa. This study has also addressed the problem of absence of general political education curriculum for university students by recommending a curriculum framework for the teaching and learning of political education as a general course of study for all undergraduate students in South Africa's higher education institutions as a measure to facilitate increased political knowledge, interest and participation in politics that would generally

address the perceived decline in the youth participation in South Africa's political processes.

5.9 Suggestions for Further Studies

The reviewed literature and the findings in this study have indicated that there are many other study areas that should be given further attention in the future. There is the need to extend this study to other students in the rest of the provinces in South Africa so as to find out more about the nature of political education in other universities in the country. This is important to show how students' political participation is shaped and affected by the level of political education which they have been exposed to. There is also the need for more research to study political judgment as a determinant of political participation particularly among the university students; more importantly studies are needed to expand the discussion on the role of political education in influencing political awareness, political interest and participation in politics among the young citizens particularly in South Africa and Africa as a whole.

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Appendix A: University Students' Political Education and Participation Questionnaire (USPEPQ)

Introduction

The following questionnaire is designed to obtain your information on whether or not political education is a determinant of political participation of university students in one selected university in the Province of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. Thank you for the time taken to complete this questionnaire. Please answer each question to the best of your knowledge. Your thoughtfulness and candid responses will be greatly appreciated. Be assured that your responses will be kept completely confidential and will not influence your course grades. No information provided on this form will be released to anybody.
Thank you for your participation.

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Instructions

- Please read and answer all questions in each section of the questionnaire.
- Circle the answer which is considered best to march your thought.
- Please, circle only one correct answer. If you make a mistake, cross out the wrong answer and circle the correct one.

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SECTION A: Demographic Data

1. **Sex:** Male [1] Female [2]

2. **Age:** 16-20 years [1] 21-25 years [2] 26-30years [3] 31 years+ [4]

3. **Department/Programme of Study:** ……

4. **Level/ Year of Study: Year** [1] **Year** [2] **Year** [3]

5. **Information about your Parents' careers**

Father: Civil servant [1] Self-employed [2] Politician [3] Unemployed [4] Other (specify)……

Mother: Civil servant [1] Self-employed [2] Politician [3] Unemployed [4] Other (specify)……

6. **Parental Educational status:**

Father: University Degree [4] Diploma [3] Matric [2] No Formal Education [1]

Mother: University Degree [4] Diploma [3] Matric [2] No Formal Education [1]

7. Parental Annual Income:

Up to R50,000 [4] R50,001-R100,000 [3] R100,001- R200,000 [2] R200,001 and above [1]

SECTION B: Students' Level of Political Education

SECTION B1: Your Level of Political Awareness				
	Extremely Aware	Moderately Aware	Somewhat Aware	Not at all Aware
a. Are you aware of your rights to vote and be voted for?	4	3	2	1
b. Are you aware of your freedom of expression?	4	3	2	1
c. Are you aware of the ideologies of South Africa's political parties?	4	3	2	1
d. Are you aware of development of political issues like the state capture?	4	3	2	1
e. Are you aware of the role of government in a democracy?	4	3	2	1
f. Are you aware of your obligations as a citizen?	4	3	2	1
g. Are you aware of your rights to fair hearing?	4	3	2	1
h. Are you aware of the role of the police in a democracy?	4	3	2	1
i. Are you aware of the importance of the parliament in a democracy?	4	3	2	1
j. Are you aware of the functions of your municipality or local government council?	4	3	2	1
k. Are you aware of the importance of the constitution in a democracy?	4	3	2	1

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B2: Your Level of Political Judgement			
Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	Agree	Disagree	No Opinion
a. The South Africa's ruling party has performed well in the last four years.	2	1	0
b. The opposition parties in South Africa have helped in holding government accountable.	2	1	0
c. South African elections can be adjudged free, fair and credible.	2	1	0
d. Provincial government has been delivering dividends of democracy in the last four years.	2	1	0

e. Local government has performed its role satisfactorily in the last four years.	2	1	0
f. South Africa's national parliament has been responding to the welfare needs of the people.	2	1	0
g. South Africans have enjoyed security of lives and property.	2	1	0
h. There is transparency in the conduct of government activities.	2	1	0

B3: Your Level of Political Interest				
Do you agree or disagree to do any of the following?	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. I will contest in the next SRC election in 2018.	4	3	2	1
b. I will take part in the next national election in 2019.	4	3	2	1
c. I will vote during the 2018 SRC election.	4	3	2	1
d. I will join the electioneering campaigns of the SRC in 2018.	4	3	2	1
e. I will join the political campaigns of a national party of my choice.	4	3	2	1
f. I watch political debate of the national parties on television.	4	3	2	1
g. I will listen to radio programmes regarding 2019 election updates.	4	3	2	1
h. I will read about political issues unfolding ahead of 2019 elections in the newspaper.	4	3	2	1
i. I follow political updates online or via the internet.	4	3	2	1

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SECTION C: Family and Media as agents of Political Education

C1: How often do you discuss politics with your family?	
Frequently	2
Occasionally	1
Never	0

C2: How interested are your parents in public affairs?	
Very interested	**2**
Somewhat interested	1
Not interested	0

C3. Do your parents belong to any of these organizations? You can circle as many as applicable to you		
	Yes	No
a. Political parties	1	0
b. Labour unions	1	0
c. Community development groups	1	0
d. Women organizations	1	0
e. Religious organizations	1	0
C4. Are you influenced by the party preference of your parents?	1	0
C5. How do your parents participate in politics?	Yes	No
a. By canvassing	1	0
b. By taking part in the party meetings.	1	0
c. By funding the activities of political parties.	1	0
d. By voting	1	0
e. By contesting for elective office.	1	0

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C6. How do you rate your parents' impact on your level of political education?					
	Very High	High	Moderate	Low	Very low
Father	4	3	2	1	0
Mother	4	3	2	1	0

C7. How often do you get news or information about politics and public affairs from these sources?					
	Everyday	A few times Per week	A few times Per month	Once in a While per Month	Never
Radio	4	3	2	1	0
Television	4	3	2	1	0
Newspaper	4	3	2	1	0
Internet/Online news	4	3	2	1	0

SECTION D: Participation in Students' Politics and National Politics

In this section, the researcher would like to find out about your participation in students' politics and national politics.

	Yes	No
D1. Are you an active member of the SRC or student parliament?	1	0
D2. Do you belong to non-political student organization e.g sports club, religious, academic groups?	1	0

D3. In what capacity have you been participating in the activities of any of the following?				
	Official leader	Active Member	Inactive member	Not a Member
(a) Student political organization e.g SASCO, DASO, PASMA etc.		2	1	0
(b) Non-political student organizations e.g sports club, religious group e.t.c		2	1	0

D4. Have you taken part in any of these activities in the university?		
	Yes	**No**
(a) Attended a political meeting of students (e.g the mass meeting)	1	0
(b) Contacted a senior official of the university like the VC to discuss issues or make formal complaints about certain issues affecting students' affairs.	1	0
(c) Wrote a letter to student leaders or made a leaflet to protest against issues	1	0
(d) Joined other students to stage a protest march on campus.	1	0

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D5. Your participation in the last SRC 2017 (elections)?		
	Yes	No
Did you vote in the 2017 SRC election?	1	0
Were you voted for as a candidate in the election?	1	0
Were you actively involved in the campaigns?	1	0
Did you support candidate financially for the election?	1	0
Did you take part in the election debate?	1	0

Your Participation in National Politics

D6. Have you taken part in any of these activities in the past?			**If yes, how frequent?**			
	Yes	**No**	**often**	**Sometimes**		**Rarely**
(a) Attended a political party's gathering or meeting.	1	0				
(b) Contacted a government official to discuss or complain about issue	1	0				
(c) Write a letter to a local/national newspaper about national issues.	1	0				
(d) Joined a national protest or demonstration against government.	1	0				
(e) Took part in the campaigns or rallies in support of a political party.	1	0				
(f) Joined in a debate on national issues at a political forum.	1	0				

	Yes	No
D7. Are you a member of a national political party?	1	0

D8. In what capacity have you participated in each of these activities?				
	Official leader	Active Member	Inactive member	Not a Member
(a) A political party off campus like the ANC, DA, EFF etc.	3	2	1	0
(b) A religious group e.g Christian and Moslem students Associatio etc.	3	2	1	0
(b) Other voluntary associations outside the campus e.g Civil Society	3	2	1	0

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D9. Your participation in the last national election (2014)		
	Yes	No
Did you vote in the 2014 election?	1	0
Did you support a candidate for national assembly?	1	0
Did you support a candidate for the provincial assembly?	1	0
Were you actively involved in the electioneering campaigns?	1	0
Did you support a candidate financially?	1	0

Thank you for your time and participation.

Appendix B: Interview Guide for SRC Members

Introduction

"Political education as a determinant of university students' political participation in the Eastern Cape, South Africa" is a study intended to investigate the extent to which your political education determines your participation in politics.

Instruction

Kindly respond to the questions to the best of your ability. Your honesty will be deeply appreciated. Express yourself as much as you wish. The questions have been framed with care and consideration. However, if clarity on any aspect/issue is required, the researcher will be very willing to provide such assistance at any time.

The researcher introduces himself and the purpose of the interview. This must be followed by the participant's self-introduction. The participant provides information as follows:
Age,
Department,
Year of study, and
Family background: (e.g. parents' careers, educational status, annual income).

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- **Political Education and influence on students' participation in politics**

  - What is your understanding of political education?
  - How is political education taught in your university?
  - Would you say you have a low, moderate or high level of political awareness based on the level of political education you have been exposed to?
  - Does your level of political awareness have anything to do with your participation in politics?
  - How has your sense of political judgment influenced your participation in politics?
  - Describe how your political interest has influenced your participation in politics.

- **How does mass media influence students' political participation?**

  - Name the mass media types that you use to access political information?
  - How often do you use each of these media?
  - How have you been influenced by the media to show interest in public affairs?

- **To what extent does students' family political involvement determine their level of political participation?**

    - What political parties do your parents belong to?
    - How are your parents participating in politics?
    - How do you discuss politics with your parents?
    - How have you been influenced by your parents' party preference?
    - What would say about your parents' impact on your level of political education?
    - How would you describe your parental impact on your level of political participation?

- Do you have any suggestions for improving students' political education and their participation in politics?

- Thank you for your interest and time.

Appendix C: Research Ethical Clearance Certificate

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ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
REC-270710-RA Level 01

Certificate Reference Number: ADU231SBAD01

Project title:	**Assessment of political education as a determinant of political participation of Undergraduate students in an Eastern Cape University in South Africa.**
Nature of Project	PhD in Education
Principal Researcher:	Kazeem Ajasa Baduru
Supervisor:	Prof E.O Ayu
Co-supervisor:	N/A

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On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby give ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). Should any other instruments be used, these require separate authorization. The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this certificate, using the reference number indicated above.

Please note that the UREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the document
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

Special conditions: Research that includes children as per the official regulations of the act must take the following into account:

Note: The UREC is aware of the provisions of s71 of the National Health Act 61 of 2003 and that matters pertaining to obtaining the Minister's consent are under discussion and remain unresolved. Nonetheless, as was decided at a meeting between the National Health Research Ethics Committee and stakeholders on 6 June 2013, university ethics committees may continue to grant ethical clearance for research involving children without the Minister's consent, provided that the prescripts of the previous rules have been met. This certificate is granted in terms of this agreement.

The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance Certificate if
  - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected
  - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented
  - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require
  - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to

- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.

- In addition to the need to comply with the highest level of ethical conduct principle investigators must report back annually as an evaluation and monitoring mechanism on the progress being made by the research. Such a report must be sent to the Dean of Research's office

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The Ethics Committee wished you well in your research.

Yours sincerely

Professor Lindelwa Majova-Songca
Acting Dean of Research

14 November 2017

Appendix D: Informed Consent Form

I hereby agree to participate in research regarding **POLITICAL EDUCATION AS A DETERMINANT OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA**. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop participating in this survey/interview at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally.

I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise from this survey/ interview.

I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential.

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I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my department on the results of the completed research.

……..

Signature of participant **Date**:……..

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study.

……..

Signature of participant **Date**:…….

Appendix E: Researcher's Letter to the University for Permission

School of General and Continuing Education (SGCE),
University of Fort Hare,
East London.
9th February, 2018.

The Registrar,
(University's name undisclosed)
Dear Sir/Ma,

PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH IN YOUR UNIVERSITY

I am a second year PhD student; with ethical clearance certificate Reference Number **ADU231SBAD01**, registered at the School of General and Continuing Education (SGCE) in the Faculty of Education, East London Campus of the above named university. I am working on the research regarding **POLITICAL EDUCATION AS A DETERMINANT OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA.**

The Department of Political Science of your university has been chosen for this research because it is the department training and equipping undergraduate students with political education beyond knowledge of civic/citizenship education in a more professional manner that is expected to be an impetus for students' political participation on and off the campus. I would be glad if you could be of assistance for this study by granting permission to administer a questionnaire to political science and non-political science students as well as a few members of the SRC in the university. The findings of the study will be an eye opener for university students to see the benefits of political education regarding their participation in campus politics and in the political affairs of their country; this will hitherto contribute positively to the political system of the country as stakeholders in education as well as in the university administrators would do the needful to boost the level of political education of students while on campus so as to build better and responsible citizens in them. Completion of the questionnaire should be a one-day exercise while the duration of the interview should not take more than 45 minutes per participants. The name of your university and names of students participating in the research would remain anonymous as respondents are not expected to disclose their names during the exercise.

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Thanking you in anticipation of your prompt response and approval.

Yours faithfully,

BADARU, Kazeem A.
Researcher

Appendix F: Approval to Conduct the Research

University of Fort Hare

OFFICE OF UNIVERSITY REGISTRAR

Alice (main) Campus:

Private Bag X1314, King William's Town Road, Alice, 5700, RSA
Tel: +27 (0) 40 602 - 2501 • Fax: +27 (0) 40 602 - 2577
Email: nmabindisa@ufh.ac.za

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February 12, 2018

Mr. Kazeem Ajasa Baduru
Student number: 201716043
Faculty of Education
Email: 201716043@ufh.ac.za

Dear Mr. Baduru

Approval from the Registrar's Office to Conduct Research

Having consulted the Chairperson of the Research Ethics Committee, I hereby grant permission for Mr. Baduru to conduct research relating to his thesis "Assessment of political education as a determinant of political participation of Undergraduate students in an Eastern Cape University in South Africa".

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We look forward to reading the research report.

Yours Sincerely,

Prof M Somniso
University Registrar

Appendix G: Certificate of Editing

To whom it may concern

This document certifies that the thesis whose title appears below was edited for proper English language usage, grammar, punctuation, spelling and overall style by Dr Anthony Masha who is a member of the Professional Editors' Group and whose academic qualifications appear in the footer of this document.

THESIS TITLE

POLITICAL EDUCATION AS A DETERMINANT OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA

RESEARCHER
Authenticated Member
Together in Excellence

BADARU, KAZEEM AJASA

DATE EDITED

January 2019

Editor's comment

All mistakes relating to grammar, punctuation, spelling and overall style have been corrected. The editor was not responsible for conducting a cross-referencing check.

B.A (Ed), Honours B.A. (Social Sciences), Honours B.A (Group Dynamics), Postgraduate Diploma in Education, M.ADMIN (Public Administration), Doctor of Administration in Public Administration