The University of the Western Cape

Institute for Post-School Studies

Higher Education Master's in Africa (HEMA) Programme

M.Ed. (Higher Education Studies)

HIGHER EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY IN BOTSWANA: Attitudes and Behaviours of Students and Student Leaders towards Democracy

by

Lucky K. Kgosithebe

Student No. 3002130

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Supervisors: Dr Thierry Luescher-Mamashela and Prof. Nico Cloete

March 2014

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Education (M.Ed.) in Higher Education Studies (Higher Education Masters in Africa) in the Institute for Post-School Studies, University of the Western Cape.

Keywords

Higher education

Democracy

Student leaders

Student politics

Activism

Student participation

Citizenship

Public opinion survey

University of Botswana

Abstract

HIGHER EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY IN BOTSWANA:
Attitudes of Students and Student Leaders Towards Democracy

L. K. Kgosithebe; M.Ed. Higher Education Masters in Africa (HEMA), Institute for Post-School Studies, University of the Western Cape

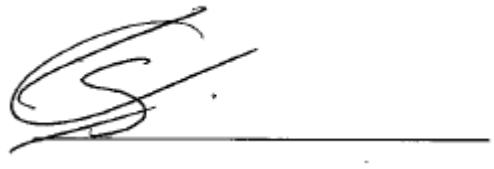
This study investigates the attitudes of students and student leaders towards democracy in terms of their demand for democracy, their perception of the supply of democracy, and their awareness of and participation in politics. Existing literature does not provide any conclusive explanation as to how and to what extent higher education contributes to democracy. Mattes and Mughogho (2010) argue that the contribution of higher education to support for democracy in Africa is limited while other scholars such as Bloom et al. (2006), Hillygus (2005), and Evans and Rose (2007a, 2007b) maintain that higher education impacts positively on support for democracy.

The study follows the conceptualisation and methodology of previous studies based on the Afrobarometer public opinion surveys into the political attitudes of African mass publics (Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi, 2005; Mattes and Bratton, 2003; 2007), and of students in African universities (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011; Mwollo-Ntalimma, 2011). The survey uses a stratified random sample of third-year undergraduate students at the University of Botswana. Furthermore, it isolates the subgroup of student leaders to investigate whether active participation in student politics influences support for democracy.

The findings show that for students at the University of Botswana democracy is indeed "the only game in town" (Linz and Stepan, 1996) and that students overwhelmingly support it. There is no statistically significant difference in support for, and commitment to, democracy between student leaders and students not in leadership. In a national perspective, students' attitudes and behaviours towards support for democracy appear to be part of the dominant political culture of Botswana rather than a specific product of higher education. However, the study finds that students from the University of Botswana – like those of other African universities (cf. Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012) - are more critical in their evaluations of democracy in their country than mass publics. The dissertation concludes by reflecting on the limitations and challenges encountered in the study.

Declaration

I declare that *HIGHER EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY IN BOTSWANA: Attitudes and Behaviours of Students and Student Leaders Towards Democracy* is my own work. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any university. I have also duly acknowledged all references to the best of my knowledge and in accordance with honest and acceptable academic standards.



Lucky Kabalano Kgosithebe

March 2014

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Acknowledgements

This has been a long journey that commenced with a leap from a comfort zone into a discipline to which I was a complete novice. In this journey I went to places I have never in one bit in my life imagined and I met people of diverse personae along the way. Just going to these places and meeting these people were to me an enrichment of knowledge and an experience I will always treasure. I learnt a lot.

First I want to thank God for the gift of life. My earnest gratitude also goes to my supervisor/programme coordinator Drs N. Cloete of CHET and G. W. Ouma of UWC. What was just a simple meeting in a conference ended in a relationship that will surely last for ages. I want to thank you for giving me this opportunity and for believing in me. To Dr T. Luescher-Mamashela, your role was akin to teaching a Standard One pupil to write his name. You pulled me from the very first day we met till the end. We have had our bad days and jubilant moments and we never lost focus of our ultimate goals - for you to guide me and for me to deliver the product. But even during the hardest times in this journey, you never gave up on me. At one point I felt hopeless and nearly gave up. I wouldn't have made it if it were not for your painstaking, never-say-never attitude. This thesis bears both my endurance and your keen guidance. I am so grateful and I feel indebted to you. Thank you.

I also would like to thank my sponsors NOMA, the HEMA programme for this important initiative, CHET for the coordination of the programme as well as both the Universities of Oslo in Norway and Western Cape in Cape Town South Africa for delivering the programme. Despite all the challenges, the good surpasses the bad in many respects. My sincere thanks also go to University of Botswana (UB) for according me an opportunity to conduct my research in their institution. To the students and SRC members who participated in the survey, I wholeheartedly appreciate it.

Finally, I would want to thank my family--my dad, Neo and mom, Kebagaise, my siblings and extended family--for their unwavering emotional support. My classmates, friends and everyone else who played a part in my life, in particular Dr P. Molutsi and Mr. R. Neil, your efforts have not gone to waste. Mrs Baiketsi, you played a huge part too...

Kealeboga thata.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Table of Contents

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

List of Figures

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

List of Tables

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

List of Abbreviations

BMSD	Basco Movement for Student Democracy
BCP	Botswana Congress Party
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BNF	Botswana National Front
BIUST	Botswana International University of Science and Technology
BUCA	Botswana University Campus Appeal
CHET	Centre for Higher Education Transformation
CSVAP	Community Services Volunteers Action Programme
CTO	Central Transport Organization
DIS	Directorate of Intelligence and Security
FTE	Full Time Equivalent
FPTP	First Past The Post
HEMA	Higher Education Masters in Africa
HERANA	Higher Education Research and Advocacy in Africa
KANU	Kenya African National Union
MoESD	Ministry of Education, Skill and Development
MP	Member of Parliament
SARUA	Southern African Regional Universities Association
UB	University of Botswana
UBLS	University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UON	University of Nairobi
UWC	University of the Western Cape
VC	Vice Chancellor
SNL	Students Not in Leadership
SL	Student Leader
SRC	Student Representative Council

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. Introduction and background

This study is an investigation into the level of support for democracy among students at the University of Botswana and the perceptions of the students on the institutionalization and delivery of democracy in Botswana. The study uses a conceptual and analytical framework adapted from Afrobarometer research surveys.[1] To achieve its goals, the study uses a survey design method to study students' political opinions and perceptions as to how democracy functions in Botswana.

Public opinion surveys such as the Afrobarometer help political analysts and governments to study and analyze the mass public's political attitudes in order to establish, for example, whether there is substantive support for democracy by citizens in a country (i.e., the level of 'demand for democracy'), and the extent to which people are satisfied with the way democracy works in their country (i.e., their perceptions of the 'supply of democracy') (Mattes and Bratton, 2007; Evans and Rose, 2007a; 2007b; Mattes and Mughogho, 2010; Luescher-Mamashela, Kiru, Mattes, Mwollo-Ntallima, Ng'ethe and Romo, 2011). By extension, considerable satisfaction with democracy is a construct used to measure regime legitimacy and to attempt to measure perceptions towards the delivery i.e., extent of democracy in a particular country. These two attributes, together with citizens' participation in the democratic process, are important in consolidating democracy.

The study further compares attitudes and behaviours of student leaders to students not in leadership to establish whether participation in student politics influences democratic engagement and/or support to democracy or lack thereof. The study draws on the suggestion of Bratton and Mattes (2003) that political participation patently influences political engagement and the demand for democracy after university. Participation in student politics appears to be a pathway that influences the political attitudes of those who are involved in student governance and leadership programmes. The question is

[1] The Afrobarometer is a major empirical research programme that monitors public support for democracy (amongst other things) by means of a series of representative public opinion surveys. The surveys have been conducted in four rounds. In its latest round it surveyed almost 20 African countries, including Botswana (*see* www.afrobarometer.org).

whether and how being politically active and involved in student leadership programmes influences support for democracy (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011; Mwollo-Ntalima, 2011).

1.1.1 Conceptual challenges

It is critical to conceptualize key constructs in order to delimit the study's scope. A concise and workable definition of higher education as a discipline of post-secondary education is required and a workable definition of democracy as a system of governance. Defining these key concepts enables a better understanding of the topic of the study, as well as the debates in scholarly literature as to the confluence of these two concepts--or their 'nexus'.

a. Higher Education

Higher education, also known as 'tertiary education' in some countries like Botswana, is by definition any formal post-secondary education. This differs from the Australian Qualifications Framework which defines higher education as any course leading to the awarding of a degree, but is more in line with the South African Qualifications Framework, where higher education is defined as all learning programmes leading to qualifications higher than grade 12 (cf. Republic of South Africa, 2008). The World Bank also defines tertiary education broadly as all post-secondary education, including but not limited to education at universities (World Bank, 2012). The World Bank states that universities are clearly a key part of all tertiary education systems, but it also takes cognizance of the diversity of the sector, which includes public and private tertiary institutions such as colleges, technical colleges, community colleges, research laboratories, centres of excellence, distance learning centres and many more, all of which form a large network of institutions that support the production of skills and knowledge.

In Botswana, the Tertiary Education Council (TEC) defines tertiary education as a system of education that encompasses general and specialized knowledge and skills that enable university graduates to solve problems that they encounter in real life and in an industry/sector setup or to perform scientific research or pedagogical work within the area of specialized knowledge that they have acquired (TEC, 2010). Kimenyi (2011) also emphasizes that "higher education often includes formal education like university education, professional training schools specialising in teaching, medicine and other professions, and a variety of other post-secondary institutions such as technical and vocational schools" (p. iii16).

b. Democracy

A conceptualization of democracy is critical in helping to operationalize the concept as a reliably measurable construct. Democracy means different things to different people (Heywood, 2002; Erik-Lane, 2004). 'Democracy', as we will see later, has been examined extensively by many scholars. There are many sub-divisions and derivatives of democracy from different schools of thought, for example, liberal democracy, parliamentary democracy, and electoral democracy, etc.

Schmitter and Karl (1991) argue that democracy has as many definitions as the count of social scientists interested in the discipline, and this has aggravated the complexity and difficulty of defining democracy. As a result, perhaps a convenient starting point is to look at minimalist conceptions of democracy, that most contemporary scholar have borrowed from, such as the definitions of influential theorists like Schumpeter and Przeworski.

Przeworski's *Democracy and the Market* (1991) and *Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense* (1999) articulate his conceptual interpretation of democracy using minimalist democratic theory. Przeworski (1991) embraces the concept of majority rule and states that democracy is a system in which parties lose elections. This conception of democracy ascribes the value of democracy to a peaceful transfer of power by virtue of regular elections. His argument places emphasis on conformity to the rule of law, especially by those voted in power: the party that loses an election must accept the results and the party or individuals that win should hold elections as well at the next scheduled time and not postpone or cancel (Przeworski, 1999). This approach is very critical of African countries where an incumbent party may have been in power for long periods; such parties may attempt to circumvent or change laws for their own interest and at the expense of opposition parties and the consolidation of multi-party democracy.

Przeworski's minimalist definition is not so different from Schumpeter's. In his book*, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1942), Schumpeter asserts that democracy involves a 'bargain' aiming at a good relationship between the rulers and subjects; it is merely an institutional arrangement wherein individuals compete for the power to make decisions. Schumpeter continues to state that;

> [T]he principle of democracy then means that the reins of government should be handed to those who command more support than do any of the competing individuals of teams (1942, p. 269).

Przeworski and Schumpeter complement each other by arguing that democracy survives on the recognition of a legitimate government borne from the participation of citizens in the selection of leaders and where there is smooth transfer of power between incumbent regimes and parties that win in an election. These two fundamental ideas cover both a wide range of derivatives of democracy as seen *in practice* in different parts of the world and *definitions* borne from an exhaustive list of political authors and theorists who study democracy. This 'modern' conception can be contrasted to the 'ancient' one. Heywood (2002) defines democracy, in keeping with the Greek meaning of the word - as the power to rule by the *demos*, the people. However, the simple notion of 'rule by the people' has limitations, as it does not have a pragmatic element, and may simply imply approval of a particular set of ideas or system of rule. More helpful and complementing Przeworski (1991) is the notion presented by Schmitter and Karl (1991) that democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, who act indirectly through the competition and cooperation of elected representatives. This may be taken as a workable definition of democracy for this study.

Moreover, in face of the diversity of conceptions of democracy, the complexity of defining democracy may perhaps be circumvented by distinguishing democracy from its alternatives. The main difference between democracy and its alternatives may be found in the organization of the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. Simply put, how citizens or 'subjects' relate to elites or leaders (Schmitter and Karl, 1991). Therefore democracy, loosely and vaguely defined, would be the opposite of its closest alternative, autocracy, or one-man rule, which was the dominant form of governance before the First World War, and which after that was replaced by various forms of authoritarian rule temporarily in Eastern European, Asian, Latin American and some African nations--as single-party rule, military rule and strongman rule--and in the form of liberal democracy in Western Europe and a few other nations (Rose & Shin, 2001, p. 331, cf. Rose, Mishler and Haerpfer, 1998).

The two concepts of higher education and democracy having been conceptualized, what follows is an account that considers their confluence and how they may be linked, or, more specifically, how the dependant variable, democracy, may be influenced by higher education as an independent variable (cf. Evans and Rose, 2007a). The next section therefore briefly outlines the relationship between higher education and democracy as introduced in current literature.

1.2 Higher education - democracy nexus

The background to studies on the higher education and democracy nexus includes the debates and literature on the contribution of education to economic development. For two reasons this literature on the contribution of higher education to economic development is important to this dissertation. First, the contribution of higher education to economic development has been established and it is not as contested as is the contribution of higher education to democracy (Tilak, 2005; Pillay, 2010; Fongwa, 2010). Secondly there is a growing body of evidence that shows that democracy and development have a dependent or symbiotic relationship, though it appears subtle or feeble (Diamond, 1992; 2002; Molutsi and Gyimah-Boadi, 2004; Gerring, 2011). Tilak (2005) argues that modernization literature provides evidence that democracy and development have a very intricate relationship. For Molutsi and Gyimah-Boadi, (2004), non-democratic regimes tend to lack the capacity to sustain economic growth and they have also failed to create an economic base that is relatively autonomous from the state. Diamond states that "economic development gives rise to a more democratic political culture, due in part to increased education" (1992, p. 475). Another school of thought, for example, Bloom, Canning and Chan (2006), speak of leadership and governance in a loose sense: There is no clear indication of which one, democracy or development, precedes the other. However, Gerring (2011) argues that over time democracy "is likely to bring manifold benefits - economic, infrastructural, environmental, educational, public health, and gender based" (p. 231).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

According to Tilak (2005), the importance of education to development has been recognized since the days of Plato. "Education, Plato believed, was indispensable to the economic health of a good society, for education made citizens 'reasonable men'" (Ibid, p. 21). Plato believed could be a vehicle that drives wealth accumulation. As Tilak (2005, p. 21) espouses further; "Since education has high economic value, Plato argued that a considerable part of the community's wealth must be invested in education". Many contemporary studies, such as Psacharopoulos (1988) and Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004), have also put emphasis on investing in education as a strategy to develop humankind and improve the well-being of people.

However, much of the informed research of the mid-1980s sidelined higher education in particular and argued that it did not contribute significantly to economic development (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2004, p. 112; see also Psacharopoulos, 1988). These educational economists supported investment in primary and secondary education as Bloom, (2006) argues, at the expense of post-school education in developing countries, arguing low social returns. The argument stemmed from the

"rates of returns on investment" analysis and regression coefficients that were used to analyze the impact of higher education on econometrical aspects of society (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2004, p. 112). Subsequent studies argued that "rates of returns on investment" analysis did not capture the non-economic benefits of higher education. The analysis of how much higher education adds to life expectancy, health mortality rate and alleviation of poverty influenced funding policies for education and denied higher education the value it deserved (Tilak, 2003).

Psacharopoulos (1988) and Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004) analysis of returns on investment of education, the contribution of higher education to aspects of life such as social development and citizenship were overlooked (Tilak, 2003, p. 161; cf. Tilak, 2005, p. 41; Zhang and Li, 2013). Zhang and Li (2013), Bloom et al. (2006) and other recent literature support Tilak and argue that there is evidence that higher education plays a crucial role in producing both public and private benefits. For Bloom et al. (2006, p. 1), "higher education may create greater tax revenue, increase savings and investment and a more entrepreneurial and civic society. It can also improve a nation's health, contribute to reduced population growth, improve technology, and strengthens governance". Improving technology would, in varying degrees, benefit the innovator and the community that uses such innovation. The state coffers which would have been used for handouts to citizens as social grants, can then be committed to other development projects.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

This study is, however, more interested in how and the degree to which higher education contributes to democracy. The study investigates the higher education-democracy nexus by studying the perceptions and political opinions of students to establish their political attitudes and behaviours in support of democracy. Such a study presents an opportunity to assess the contribution of higher education to democracy in Botswana. Botswana is an exciting case of a much celebrated functional multi-party democracy in Africa, a continent where authoritarianism has been more common (Lekorwe, Molomo, Molefe and Moseki, 2001; Taylor, 2006; Cook and Sarkin, 2010). What attitudes and behaviours do students have that support democracy in Botswana? Students as a group of highly educated people may be expected to have their own perceptions of how democracy functions in their country and to act differently in support of democracy than citizens in general or less educated youth of the same age. This is an expectation supported by literature (Mattes and Bratton, 2007; Evans and Rose, 2007a; Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012). This study isolates political engagement levels to investigate whether participation in student politics is a potential pathway to democratic citizenship, as has previously attempted by Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011. How do student leaders' attitudes towards democracy compare to those of students not in leadership? Is there a

significant association between student leadership and support for democracy? How do students' attitudes towards democracy compare to those of Batswana youth without higher education, and Batswana citizens in general? A comparison of students with mass publics and youth without higher education, particularly the latter, seeks to identify contrasts and similarities between the two groups of the same age and living under the same political conditions but with different levels of schooling. Finally, student survey data from previous studies will be used as an aid to considering cross-national and cross-university perspectives as far as differences in demand for democracy, perceptions of the supply of democracy, and levels of political awareness and participation, are concerned. This cross-national comparison should aid understanding of whether the context and political differences within a country contribute to support for democracy, and what the differences might be.

Existing academic literature suggests that formal education has a profound influence on attitudes towards democracy (Hillygus, 2005; Mattes and Bratton, 2003; 2005; Bloom et al., 2006; Evans and Rose, 2007a; 2007b). Hillygus (2005) reports that political science research conducted over the years has concluded that higher education directly influences political behaviour. Hillygus states: "higher education directly influences an individual's proclivity to participate in the political realm" (Hillygus, 2005, p. 26). The author continues to note that, evidently, in most empirical analyses, education is the strongest predictor of political participation even when other socioeconomic factors are considered (Ibid). Studies by Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) and Evans and Rose's (2007b) found that higher education made positive contribution to support for democracy. In actual fact, the latter found that each level of education made a statistically significant contribution (Evans and Rose, 2007b. p. 14). In an earlier study, Evans and Rose (2007a, p. 910), found that people who have experienced post-secondary education were distinguished by having an almost unanimous understanding of questions relating to the mechanics of how democracies work in terms of regular elections and multi-party competition, but even at other educational levels around three quarters answered in the affirmative. Hillygus validates these previous findings and posits that it is the curriculum and skills learnt during college which positively correlate with political participation and voter turnout, particularly in the four years after graduation (2005. p. 26).

In contrast, Mattes and Mughogho (2009) argue that higher education has, compared to lower levels of education, only a limited impact on support for democracy in Africa. Education does help to create a critical citizenry and successive post-school levels of education do have some contribution to democratic attitudes, but, according to them, the contribution is very limited. This observation contrasts with one that suggests that higher levels of education have been acknowledged as

influencing democratic attitudes of graduates in Western societies (Harkavy, Benson, and Puckett, 2007). There is credence on both sides of the argument and this has continued to be a contentious debate, the end state of which is an ambivalent position, where the question becomes less whether or not higher education contributes to support for democracy but how and to what extent. This situation is justification enough for further investigations into the higher education-political attitudes nexus in developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, where several countries relapsed into authoritarianism. There is evidence that indicates that education refines civic participation. There is a clear correlation between education and civic activity, but the reasons for this correlation are less obvious (Glaeser, Ponzetto and Shleifer, 2006, p. 2). In their study, the authors argue that education indeed raises the support for democratic regimes relative to dictatorship (Ibid, p. 23). Notwithstanding all this empirical evidence, there are complex and many competing development priorities, and decent investment in higher education is still a far-off ambition in some countries (see Bloom et al., 2006; Mattes and Mughogho, 2010).

Meanwhile, Afrobarometer conducts regular opinion surveys by political experts, in order to establish and explain Africans' attitudes towards democracy both in consolidating democracies and in emerging democracies, in states where alternative regimes, such as one party rule or military rule, previously existed. Afrobarometer's surveys are similar to those of the Eurobarometer in European countries and other democracy barometers in Asia and Latin America; the Afrobarometer, however, is tailored and customized to suit the African context (Afrobarometer, 2013). To establish the political attitudes of citizens towards democracy in sub-Saharan Africa, Afrobarometer opinion surveys measure, for example, the institutionalization and extent of delivery of democracy by establishing satisfaction with democracy and how much of an effort citizens put into demanding a democratic government (Mattes et al., 2000). The surveys include all people of voting age, regardless of gender or domiciled in rural or urban areas. Samples are constructed to be representative of the mass public in every country surveyed. In short, through the Afrobarometer a set of representative data on the political attitudes of citizens in Africa has become available which provides the material for sophisticated analysis.

The next section introduces the political setting within which the study is located. This section also discusses, albeit briefly, the nature of the democratic environment in which the students live.

1.3 Democracy and its practice in Botswana

Despite the political and socio-economic challenges that many African nations face, there are some pockets of hope and promises both socio-economic and democratic development. Botswana stands out as an example of a country that has shown great development in the context of sustained multi-party democratic governance (Holm, 1988, Huntington, 1991, Danevad, 1995; Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson, 2001; Molutsi, 2004; 1991; Cook and Sarkin, 2010; Keorapetse, 2012), and the country has for a long time been regarded as a model of success of democracy in the sub-Saharan African region (Thumberg-Hartland, 1978; Picard, 1987; Molutsi, 2004; Sebudubudu, & Molutsi, 2008;). The labelling of Botswana as 'Africa's miracle', "an exceptional case of democratic success" (Du Toit, 1995, p. 17), and "…for over forty years since independence in 1966, Botswana has remained politically and economically stable" (Sebudubudu, & Molutsi, 2008, p. 47), corresponds to high rankings by international 'watch dog' organisations such as Freedom House (Freedom House, 2011) and to accolades bestowed on Botswana's presidents by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation. In 2012, Botswana was rated number 30 in a list of 176 least corrupt countries by Transparency International (Transparency International, 2012). Overall these rankings assert that Botswana is comparatively less corrupt, and a more mature and functional democracy, than other states in sub-Saharan Africa.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Besides being among the few countries in the sub-Saharan Africa region that have never experienced serious political instability (Molutsi, 1998), Botswana also remains the region's longest surviving multiparty democracy (Lekorwe et al., 2001; Keorapetse 2012). As Maudeni (2005) says, Botswana inherited multiparty democracy from Britain after independence in 1966 and has maintained this system. The country has conducted nine successive, free and fair elections (Molutsi, 1998; Lekorwe et al., 2001). As Maudeni (2005) puts it, Botswana demonstrated that electoral democracy is achievable even in developing nations and not only in rich Western European and North American nations where the benefits of democracy have long been realized. Power transfers between incumbent presidents have been achieved without major constraints and there has been measurable tolerance between political opponents (Cook and Sarkin, 2010), unusual when compared with many other African nations as vividly and extensively presented in political literature such as Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1988; Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997).

As a liberal democracy, Botswana not only constitutionally recognizes elections for choosing political leadership, it also recognizes parliament as the main institution that make laws, as in the British Westminster model (Otlhogile, 1991; cf. Lekorwe et al., 2001). Lekorwe et al. also indicate that

Botswana uses the 'winner takes all', simple First Past the Post (FPTP) electoral system (2001, p. 2). This system allows only candidates who win constituencies in elections to be part of the parliament, as is the case with the British House of Commons (Lijphart, 2002). The FPTP system has its critics. Taylor (2003), for instance, says that because it is unfavorable to opposition parties it does not reflect the actual political terrain. The FPTP may deny minorities proportional representation in parliament irrespective of their overall (nation-wide) performance; this may be a serious limitation to democracy, particularly since the Botswana parliament makes laws that apply to everyone and ought to represent the interests and aspirations of minorities as well as the majority (Taylor, 2003, p. 216).

Besides the limitations of the adopted FPTP electoral system, Cook and Sarkin (2010) criticize Botswana's de facto dominant party political system as a shortcoming of democracy in the country, while Huntington (1991) shares the same sentiment, maintaining that Botswana's democracy has not been seriously tested since the ruling party has not alternated with other parties. As Good (2003) states, although there have been smooth power transfers, these power transfers have been limited to those between presidents of the same ruling party which has ruled the country since independence. Moreover, in his book, (*Un) civil Society in Botswana. Bushmen and Diamonds* (2003), Good argues that the automatic succession rule is a limitation because the constitution allows the indirectly elected president to appoint the vice-president who then automatically ascends to the presidency when the incumbent retires, is sick, on leave or dies, and who acts on behalf of the incumbent president in the event he/she is outside the county or sick.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

In another account, Picard (1987) points: "the primary beneficiaries of government policy in the areas of the economic and rural development have been the organizational elites, bureaucratic, professional and political, who dominate the system" (Picard, 1987, p.264). This account further demonstrates how, despite being widely celebrated, faulty Botswana is in the practice of democracy. Though Picard is referring to the economic monopoly that existed almost three decades ago, it appears that the situation has not changed significantly. Good and Taylor (2006) and Cook and Sarkin (2010) echo Picard's (1987) point by highlighting the challenges posed by Botswana's elitist political tendencies, which to some extent call into question the country's achievements in developing and maintaining a functioning multiparty democratic system for a long period.

Many of those in Botswana's political leadership have been educated at the University of Botswana and some have at one point were student leaders at UB. Having been for a long time the only public university in Botswana, and being the most prestigious higher education institution in the country, the

UB has arguably contributed considerably to the democratic and political system of Botswana. The citizenship development initiatives provided at the university as well as the curriculum and extra-curricular opportunities must have in one way or another affected the bureaucratic and political leadership. For example, Mattes and Mozaffar (2011) found in a study involving members of parliaments of eleven African countries (but not Botswana) that

> [B]eyond the cognitive skills developed through the educational process, highly educated MPs bring with them the greater familiarity with the types of organizational and business skills that come with a professional background, as well as greater familiarity with various facets of national government (Mattes and Mozaffar, 2011, p. 7).

What Mattes and Mozaffar (2011) revealed through their study reflects one way in which the university or rather, higher education is important to leadership which is a requisite democratic development of a nation.

This study focuses on what attitudes and behaviours students manifest that contribute to democracy even before they graduate and rise to a political pedestal such as in parliament or the national bureaucracy. The next section outlines broadly the literature on the role of the university in fostering democratic attitudes and behaviours.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

1.3.1 **Student politics and its contribution to democracy**

Students' contribution, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, is a phenomenon that has been debated and studied extensively, particularly in developed nations (Altbach, 1991). However, little has been done in developing nations, as Badat (1999) laments of the South African context. Nor has enough been empirically investigated in the context of Botswana. Yet, the UB, for a long time the only university in the country, has produced the elite members of the society and bureaucrats in line with the role of other universities elsewhere (cf. Trow, 1970; Clark, 1981; Castells, 2002). The UB has undoubtedly contributed to the political leadership and manpower that manage institutions critical in a democracy. The role of this university is likely to be consistent with Harkavy's (2006) argument that the role of the university has evolved with time and universities have assumed a role in building democratic citizens, relative to various aspects, in many parts of the world, particularly developed nations.

Before the establishment of the Botswana International University of Science and Technology

(BIUST) in 2008, the University of Botswana occupied a prominent role in Botswana as its first and most prestigious national university (see SARUA, 2010; BIUST, 2012). The UB was built with the assistance of citizens contributing through the provision of manpower and financial pledges (Mokopakgosi, 2008). The UB to some degree has an obligation to pay back society for its support and contributions. However, there is a serious scarcity of academic literature on the extent of the contribution of the UB to society, let alone its contribution to democratization. Moreover, the role of students in contributing to democracy is also a comparatively overlooked area of research. Much of the limited literature focuses mostly on student protests and 'rebellion' against university management or the Ministry of Education and Skills Development (MoESD).

According to Hall, Williamson, Coffey (1998) the notion of democratic citizenship has fundamentally informed the development of provision of citizenship education for young people today in the United Kingdom. And Harkavy (2006) quotes Astin (1997, p. 210-11, emphasis added): "If we were to study the mission statements of randomly selected US higher education institutions, we would seldom find any mention of private economic benefits, international competitiveness, or filling slots in the labour market. On the contrary, universities use language such as "'preparing students for responsible citizenship', 'developing character', and 'developing future leaders', 'preparing students to serve the society' and so forth" (Harkavy, 2006. p. 11). As Astin has been rightly quoted, the UB is no exception. Its mission statement commits the University to "improve economic and social development" and "producing graduates who are independent, confident, self-directed, critical thinkers" (University of Botswana, 2013).

In a developing country such as Botswana, students, as part of a relatively small, educated and privileged group, can arguably play a unique and crucial role in the democratizing process (for example, Altbach, 2006; 1991; Munene, 2003; Luescher, 2005). The UB employs various methods that may promote citizenship among their students. When they have acquired theoretical skills, third-year students are usually expected to go on field training and acquaint themselves with real world experiences (UB Prospectus, 2010). This somewhat resonates with what Hall and Symes (2005) refer to as the United Kingdom's "citizenship construction" by the Community Services Volunteers Action Programme (CSVAP). The UB also offers students volunteering opportunities such as the Teach a Girl Child How to Read programme which is a United Nations Children's Education Fund initiative and teach computer use (UB Prospectus 2010). Studying the attitudes and behaviours of the UB students towards support for democracy in comparison with their peers without higher education in Botswana is an opportunity to establish whether the University makes a measurable contribution to

democratic attitudes.

In conclusion to this introduction of the higher education-democracy nexus current literature has shown that higher education contributes considerably to economic and democratic development (Tilak, 2005; Pillay, 2010; Fongwa, 2010) and there is a growing body of evidence that higher education also contributes to support for democracy (Mattes and Bratton, 2003, 2005; Bloom et al., 2006; Evans and Rose, 2007a, 2007b). Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012) and Bratton and Mattes (2005) indicate that democracy needs an educated citizenry. In supporting the notion that democracy needs educated citizens, Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) asserts that the university has the potential to provide democracy with "democratic agents" through citizenship education. The authors, Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011, p. 10) quoting Bleiklie argue that:

> […] first, students need 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, n.d., p.1 in Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 10, *original emphasis*).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

1.4 Statement of the problem

The higher education-democracy nexus has been analyzed by several scholars, among others Hillygus (2005), Glaeser et al. (2006), Bloom (2006), Bloom et al. (2006), Evans and Rose (2007) and Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012). These studies argue that higher education contributes to varying degrees to popular support for, and the consolidation of, democracy. Hillygus (2005) argues that higher education impacts positively on political behaviour and influences political participation. Other studies conducted in the African context, such as the one by Mattes and Mughogho (2010), find that higher education makes a contribution to democratic attitudes – albeit a limited one.

This study borrows extensively from available studies that use Afrobarometer data and previous studies on attitudes and behaviours of students in sub-Saharan Africa (Mattes et al., 2000, Bratton and Mattes, 2003; Mattes and Bratton, 2007; Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). While the contribution of higher education to democracy has attracted some degree of attention for some time now, less has been done to contextualize this contribution or even study it in comparative terms in Africa. This

study follows several others in the debate on the higher democracy-nexus and attempts to establish students' support for democracy as a way to partially measure the contribution of higher education to democracy in the context of Botswana. To accomplish its goal, the study investigates the political opinions of students. The study further explores the differences in support for democracy between UB students and the mass of the Botswana public.

Studying student's political attitudes also facilitates an analysis of how participation in student politics and governance influences support for democracy. In so doing, the findings should demonstrate whether student leaders are significantly more committed to democracy than students not in leadership or whether they have an inclination to participate considerably more in the democratic process both in and outside campus. In their study, Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011, p. 101) reflect on formal student leadership on campus and conclude that the university could potentially "serve as a training ground for leadership in civil society" which could exert immense leverage for support for democracy and citizenship development. This study seeks to consider such questions in the context of the most established democracy in Africa.

Lastly, apart from studying the political opinions of third-year students of the UB, the study also uses student survey data from the University of Cape Town (UCT) in South Africa, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) in Tanzania, and University of Nairobi (UON) in Kenya, along with Afrobarometer data from these countries in order to make a cross-national comparison of support for democracy by African students (see Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011).

1.5 Research objectives

The purpose of this study is to investigate the contribution of higher education to democracy in Botswana with special reference to the political attitudes and behaviours of students at the University of Botswana. Thus the study seeks to:

- Demonstrate the contribution of higher education to democracy by establishing the extent of students' support for democracy (i.e., their demand for democracy), and their perceptions of the way democracy works in Botswana (i.e., the supply of democracy in Botswana);
- Investigate the differences in the attitudes in support of democracy between student leaders and students not in leadership at the UB, with the purpose of determining whether participation in student leadership and politics influences students' level of support for democracy;

- Compare and contrast the political attitudes of students with those of Batswana in general and students from other universities using Afrobarometer and student survey data sets from HERANA studies respectively.

1.6 Research questions

In light of the above objectives, the study addresses the following research questions:

- What are students' attitudes towards democracy in general, and what are their perceptions of the way democracy works in Botswana?
- Is there any significant difference in support for democracy between students not in leadership and student leaders?
- Are there significant differences in support for democracy between students and Batswana in general (mass publics) as well as Batswana youth without higher education?
- Are there significant differences in support for democracy between students at the UB and students from other African universities?

1.7 Rationale and significance of the study

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

For democracy to consolidate and strengthen, it needs democrats to protect and nurture it (Bratton and Mattes, 2003; 2007; Fails, 2009; Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012). There is evidence that higher education has supplied 'old' democracies with highly educated citizens who are able to sustain these democracies, and there is probably no hindrance for the applicability of the 'education for citizenship' argument in 'new' democracies in Africa (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012). Both Mattes and Bratton (2007) and Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012) indicate how important higher education is in the consolidation of the democratic process. Citizens who have had the benefit of higher education have acquired cognitive skills which enable them to demand democracy and to critically judge their underperforming government.

With Botswana being a functional and the longest uninterrupted multi-party democracy in sub-Saharan Africa (Wiseman, 1977; 1998; Masire, 2007; Cook and Sarkin, 2010), it is an interesting prospect to establish whether its university students are supportive of the reigning version of democracy and whether they participate in political activities such as voting in elections, community meetings, and protests both on and off campus. In their studies of three separate African universities, Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) and Mwollo-Ntalima (2011) found that university students are supportive of democracy and participate considerably in political organizations on and off campus; these studies were done in decidedly 'new' democracies. In contrast, having sustained multi-party

democracy for almost half a century, Botswana can hardly count among the 'new' democracies. Hence the comparative dimension of this study involving a cross-national comparison of UB students and students from three other universities in the African continent, with the aim of supplying empirical evidence as far as higher education's impact on democratic attitudes and behaviours of students in different African political contexts is concerned. Furthermore, the study would perhaps broker interest for further studies and analyses, or perhaps even influence policy decisions at institutional level in relation to investing in encouraging and promoting specific citizenship development interventions, including redesigning formal participation in student leadership,. Hopefully the study will demonstrate how indispensable higher education is in contributing to citizenship and political development.

1.8 Methodology and research design

This is a comparative study of political attitudes and behaviours of UB third-year students and three other African university students. The study uses a survey design to generate quantitative data to establish the political attitudes of students towards support for democracy in Botswana. The study further considers different levels of political participation in student politics-student leaders versus students not in leadership, thus the study also aims to establish to what extent political activism influences support for democracy.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The University of Botswana was chosen primarily for its status as the oldest degree awarding and most prestigious public higher education institution in Botswana. Apart from its student size of 16 000 Full Time Equivalents (FTEs) (UB Fact Book, 2011) and, roughly, 160 student leaders (representing therefore just over 1% of the total student body), the University also, as has been mentioned, has considerably contributed to the political landscape of Botswana by having produced graduates who are in leadership position in the state, economy and civil society.

The study uses a questionnaire as the main data collection instrument to collect primary data on students' political opinions (Babbie and Mouton 2001; Creswell, 2005). The questionnaire was adapted from the Afrobarometer surveys used to study political opinions in sub-Saharan Africa. The Afrobarometer also provides relevant comparative Botswana mass public data on support for democracy (Round 4). Moreover, the Afrobarometer's conceptual framework is used to study support for democracy. As illustrated by the conceptual map (see Appendix 2), the study uses the concepts of demand for and supply of democracy to study support for the democracy in general and evaluations of how democracy works in Botswana. The conceptual framework separates different concepts into

groups or clusters of conceptual families according to how they are connected, relative to measuring and understanding political attitudes.

The survey includes students from all the faculties in the main campus of the UB situated in Gaborone. Stratified random sampling (explained in detail in Chapter 4) was applied to select classes of students to participate in the survey. In addition, all student representative council (SRC) members were requested to take part while other student leaders were identified using factor analysis to determine which of those students who indicated in the study that they were involved in student leadership programmes in and off campus, harbored characteristics very similar to the aggregate characteristics of those in the official SRC..

A total of fifteen classes of more than twenty-five students each, made up of five classes from each of the five faculties, were sampled and a total of four hundred and two students including forty-nine student leaders answered the questionnaire. For data collection, students were given questionnaires in a class setting, either 20 minutes before or 20 minutes after the lecture. At the lapse of 20 minutes, the questionnaires were collected and labelled in preparation for data entry, cleaning and analysis. The data collected was enough to achieve the intended goal of the study.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

1.9 Overview of the dissertation

Chapter One has introduced the core concepts and outlined preliminary debates on the contribution of higher education to development and democratization. It also includes a problem statement and the rationale of the study. The aims and questions for the study which serve as the core guidelines for the study, have also been laid out in this chapter.

Chapter Two presents an extensive review of existing scholarly literature and other related informed debates, as mentioned in the introductory chapter. Chapter Three provides a conceptual framework that informs and operationalizes the study's main concepts used to measure attitudes and behaviours in support of democracy. It answers the question: How are the students' attitudes and behaviours going to be studied and measured in this study? The Afrobarometer's conceptual and analytical framework provides a starting point for understanding and analyzing political attitudes in this study.
Chapter Four provides a detailed outline and justification of the research methodology, research design, data collection and other key components of the research process for the dissertation. The chapter describes and explains specific components of the methodology, including the survey design, the target population, sampling, the questionnaire as a research instrument, the validity and reliability

of the study, and related ethical considerations.

Chapter Five presents the analysis of the collected data and its results. The chapter is structured so as to enable cross-referencing the answers to the research questions. Key findings are further explained with reference to the study's aims as well as to literature that has been reviewed (see Chapter 2). The intention is to use the study's findings and construct an argument in relation to existing literature. This enables critiquing and confronting the core arguments and debates about the contribution of higher education to democracy.

Chapter 6, the concluding chapter, provides a summary of the thesis. It summarizes the literature review, the methodology, rationale and significance of the study; it reviews and discusses the key findings of the study; it considers the limitations of the study and the challenges encountered during the research process; and it proposes recommendations for future research as well as what could be done differently if the study was to be repeated. The chapter concludes by identifying how the study adds value to the existing body of literature.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Chapter 2
Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This literature review follows the introductory chapter, which opened the debate on the contribution of higher education to democracy, particularly in shaping political attitudes and behaviours towards democracy. The main argument of this thesis presupposes that support for democracy increases with increasing levels of education, or, at the very least, that higher education positively influences support for democracy (Evans and Rose, 2007b. p. 14) by moulding beneficiaries to engage in democracy (Hillygus, 2005; Glaeser et al., 2006; Bloom et al., 2006; see also Mattes and Mughogho, 2010; cf. Biesta, 2011).

This chapter engages with existing literature and debates on the contribution of higher education to democracy in a more extensive and elaborate manner than the preview in the introductory chapter. There is an attempt to reconcile the different views, which seem incongruent at times. At first, as we would see later, there is an examination of the existing literature and HERANA studies, on the contribution of higher education to economic development as a precursor to the core topic, which is the contribution of democracy to political development or, specifically, what may be called the 'higher education-democracy nexus'. The geographic context of the literature is initially broad but focuses progressively on the African context, in particular on Botswana, so that especial attention is paid to the emerging literature on how higher education influences democratic attitudes and behaviours in Africa, especially those of students.

The reviewed literature reveals numerous empirical studies on democracy in Botswana, mainly due to Botswana's uniqueness in the sub-Saharan region. As has been mentioned, the country has consistently nurtured a functional democracy and established democratic institutions that help consolidate democracy. Much of the literature that dates as far back as to the early 1980s indicates Botswana as a model for multi-party democracy in the African continent (Du Toit, 1995; Holm, 1988, Danevad, 1995; Molutsi, 2004; 1991; Lekorwe et al., 2001; Taylor, 2003; Maudeni, 2005; Sebudubudu, & Molutsi, 2008; Cook and Sarkin, 2010; Keorapetse, 2012). Many scholars have interrogated why and how Botswana became a democratic success story in sub-Saharan Africa where political instability and machinations have otherwise been prevalent (Molutsi, 1998).

In contrast, higher education as a field of study in Botswana is relatively new, unexplored and understudied. Consequently, the question of the contribution of higher education to democracy has been seriously understudied within the context of the country. Despite this limitation, some policy documents indicate that the country has long realized the importance of education in democratization and civic development, even though such documents prime focus was on the lower levels of education rather than post-secondary education. The Botswana Policy of Education of 1977, dubbed 'Education for Kagisano' (or Education for Peace), for instance, emphasized education for democratic citizenship at the lower levels of education and not much on higher education (Policy of Education of 1977, in World Bank, 2007, para. 1; Siphambe, 2008). The emphasis may not have been on higher education because at the time Botswana did not yet have a local university, except for teacher training colleges, as well as a few Brigades (technical institutes which offer trade qualifications) and small campuses of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (UBLS) located in Swaziland and Lesotho (Mokopakgosi, 2008; Makgala, 2012). However, the recognition that education was critical for democratic citizenship was a starting point for the country.

Lastly, as part of the review of previous work on this topic, this chapter engages with key empirical studies that use data from the Afrobarometer. Afrobarometer surveys are used to study political opinions of mass publics in a selection of sub-Saharan African countries in order to establish citizens' political attitudes and behaviours and their support for democracy (amongst many other issues). Botswana is included in several of these Afrobarometer studies. The literature on political opinions provides a point of entry into the question as to how higher education may influence the political attitudes of citizens.

To round off the discussion of literature, it is further shown that the question of the nexus of higher education and democracy can be located within the broader societal impact of the nexus, along with the inquiry into the contribution of higher education to "social development" (Tilak, 2003, p.162) and "socio-economic development" Fongwa, 2010, p. 8) Biesta (2011) also agrees that investing in higher education is an important form of investment in human capital. A large section of academia and political leadership, particularly industrialized nations have accepted recently that higher education, as Tilak puts it, "leads to the formation of human capital,…making a significant contribution to economic development" (Tilak, 2005, p. 21). Manuel Castells aptly and bluntly sums up the importance of higher education thus: "Higher education is the engine of development in the new world economy" (Castells, 1994, p. 14). This is in sharp contrast with debates in the 1980s and 1990s on the role of higher education in economic development in developing nations, which influenced

major policy decisions and impacted negatively on the public and donor funding of higher education in developing nations (Tilak, 2003), and in African higher education in particular (Wangenge-Ouma, 2008).

2.2. Historical perspectives

There have been important high-level policy debates that have influenced perception towards investing significantly in the higher education sector in many countries, especially those in the African and Asian continents (see Psacharopoulos, 1985; 1988; 1994; World Bank, 1990). Variations in policy regarding investment in higher education across many countries over the years have been due largely to perceptions of the contribution of education to development (Psacharopoulos, 1988, World Bank, 1990; Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2004; Özsoy, 2008). The influence of international funding organizations, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank regarding investment in higher education "…coercively influenced social and economic policy, especially in Africa and Latin America…" (Wangenge-Ouma, 2008, p. 216-17). The debates in the late 1980s concluded that higher education contributed the less to economic development in developing countries than did lower levels of education (see also Psacharopoulos, 1994; Tilak, 2003).

Higher education was viewed as expensive and the investment was seen as inefficient as it benefited the few wealthy and privileged members of society while the benefits of primary and secondary education were seen as relevant to the socio-economic development of developing countries, more widespread, social and less individualistic (Psacharopoulos, 1988). For example, the argument was that primary schooling promoted citizen development in marginalized societies by enabling them to participate in communal meetings to discuss health, food and water issues. Higher education, on the other hand, benefited individuals not communities. Citizens needed to acquire satisfactory literacy and numeracy levels which would enable them to count and get important information about their political systems, government affairs and other crucial announcements. Psacharopoulos's (1988) argument was that successive levels of education after primary education were more expensive and it was too costly to make public investment in higher education in developing countries. This reasoning made it difficult for higher education to contend for attention in national policy priorities and it channeled foreign aid and donor funding away from higher education.

Notwithstanding such policy making and funding, later scholars have come to realize the narrowness of the 'rate-of-return' analyses, pointing towards the contribution of higher education in other spheres of life apart from its direct benefits to economic development (Hillygus, 2005; Tilak, 2003; 2005;

Bloom et al., 2006). Consequently, economists and other scholars have overturned and criticized the arguments of Psacharopoulos and other World Bank studies that have deprived poor and dominated nations of the benefits of investing properly in higher education. Wangenge-Ouma (2008) argues that the neo-liberal recommendations that the World Bank advocated for non-welfarist approaches by African governments towards education had severe consequences. The author argues that the World Bank committed "an assault on the development role of the African university" (Wangenge-Ouma, 2008, p. 219) by dissuading African nations (and international donors) from investing in higher education.

New analytical models eventually supported arguments that higher education indeed contributes considerably to economic development. Tilak (2005) and Özsoy (2008) continued to prove that the World Bank studies were biased and wrong, arguing that the contribution of higher education to humankind is not only confined to economics but extends to other, equally important societal fields, such as social development. Moreover, a growing body of evidence and recent studies emphasize the beneficial effects for democratization and citizenship development. They argue that higher education contributes uniquely to democracy (Evans and Rose, 2007a; 2007b: see also Mattes and Mughogho, 2010). Mattes and Mughogho (2010) argue that higher education engenders support for democracy by producing critical citizens, even though the overall impact is limited.

UNIVERSITY of the

The impact of the new school of thought is already visible through recent shifts in higher education policies in the global world, both developed and developing. There is growing body of literature that indicates that investment in higher education increased towards the end of the 1990s. Many countries have since then, increased the budget share of higher education in the developed world (OECD, 2002) while donor funding for higher education has been restored in to African higher education. The commitment of major American foundations and other multinational partnerships for higher education in Africa are testimonial of the resurgence of sizeable funding. The role of higher education is now a leading instrument for promoting development and democracy is widely accepted by many scholars and think tanks (Castells, 1994; Tilak, 2003; Bloom et al., 2006; Özsoy, 2008, Kimenyi, 2011). The new developments are captured aptly by Kimenyi: "The broad recognition of the pivotal role that education plays in the development of nations is evidenced by the substantial increases in amount of expenditures that governments commit to the sector" (Kimenyi, 2011, p. iii15).

As indicated previously, despite locating the study in the higher education-economic development nexus, the crux of this study is to establish the contribution of higher education to democracy. In their

study of higher education institutions in sub-Saharan Africa, Bloom et al. (2006) identified key areas that higher education is expected to effect. As one of key areas that higher education should influence, the authors identified, though feebly, democratic development. Bloom et al. (2006) found that "the contribution of higher education to economic development does spill over into democratic development (Bloom et al., 2006, p. 19; cf. Molutsi and Gyimah-Boadi, 2004). However, it appears that the biggest difficulty when analyzing such contribution of higher education lies in attempting to explain how the impact actually takes place, the more so since the effects are said to be multi-dimensional, and are difficult to capture in one measurable indicator (see Nie et al., 1996). On the one hand, it is not clear whether the 'cause and effect' is a linear relationship or if there could be an alternative existing explanation. A major challenge, however, is capturing the impacts of higher education on democracy. It is a complex matter because the contribution is residual in nature and higher education's contribution would have to be isolated from the influence of both primary and secondary education (Mattes and Mughogho, 2010). Nonetheless, recent literature suggests that a measurable way in which higher education contributes to democracy may lie in examining how higher education influences the political behaviours and attitudes of university attendees (Evans and Rose, 2007b). Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) posit that political participation and cognitive engagement at campus level may provide a mechanism through which higher education contributes to democracy. Their study entertained the idea that student political engagement on and off campus may be a 'pathway' through which education contributes to shaping students' political attitudes and behaviours.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The next sections provide a more in-depth review of the different themes and topics found in current literature. The first section briefly returns to the literature on the contribution of higher education to economic development while the section that follows engages literature on the nexus of higher education and democracy, democracy in general and Botswana. The last section reviews literature on student political activism, and political attitudes and behaviours.

2.3. The contribution of higher education to economic development

The relationship between higher education and economic development is important because, there is proven evidence that development is an important corollary to democratization. Some empirical evidence in development studies suggests that democracy and development have a mutually dependent or symbiotic relationship, though it has been difficult to satisfactorily explain whether democracy has to precede development or vice versa. The bottom line is they both appear to benefit from one another (Diamond, 1992; Molutsi and Gyimah-Boadi, 2004; Gerring, 2011). Many scholars even argue that, democracy without development is not useful to people and development without

democracy is not making use of its full potential. There is also a host of recent literature that provides empirical evidence of important higher education is to development. The technological gap between developing countries, particularly in Africa, and developed countries was in part a result of the "apparent neglect of higher education and under-appreciation of higher education by economists and policymakers alike (Kimenyi, 2011, p. iii17; see also Castells, 2001). For Lucas (1990), poor countries have is poorly structured technology because they are less endowed with complementary human capital.

Petrakis and Stamatakis (2002) support the argument that higher education contributes significantly to economic development. The authors quote Romer (1990): "overall, literature and empirical research on human capital development could be of great interest because: (a) economies with a larger stock of human capital experience faster economic growth; and (b) investing in schooling is a prerequisite for the creation of human capital, which in turn generates ideas and promotes development of new products" (Ibid, 514). Moreover, studies have shown that higher education planning should be connected to changes in the pattern of economic development (as in South Korea and Finland, for example), where higher education supported change from the production of primary commodities, through a phase of dominance by the manufacturing sector, to the development of a services sector and particularly today, the emergence of a knowledge-based economy (Pillay, 2010).

UNIVERSITY of the

Tilak (2005, p. 9) argues further that "education and poverty are inversely related: the higher the level of education of the population, the lower would be the proportion of poor people in total population, as education imparts knowledge and skills associated with higher wages". Tilak continues to explain that the incidence of poverty is largest among the illiterate households. "For example, nearly all of the poor in Pakistan were illiterate; and in Thailand, almost 99 per cent of the poor had no education or less than middle/secondary education (Ibid, p. 11). There is substantive evidence that "attribute India's leap onto the world economic stage as stemming from its decades-long successful efforts to provide high quality, technically oriented tertiary education to a significant number of its citizens" (Bloom et al., 2006, p. 1; see also Rena, 2007;). In acknowledging the importance of education, and particularly higher education, to African development, former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan in his 2000 speech argued:

> The university must become a primary tool for Africa's development in the new century. Universities can help develop African expertise; they can enhance the analysis of African problems; strengthen domestic institutions;

> serve as a model environment for the practice of good governance, conflict resolution and respect for human rights, and enable African academics to play an active part in the global community of scholars (Annan in Bloom et al.,: 2006, p. 2).

Tilak (2003) further argues that inattention to higher education within development initiatives is largely due to a shortage of empirical evidence that it does impact positively on economic growth and poverty reduction. The contribution of higher education might perhaps be overlooked because of its additive nature, and it not being as consequently connected in a cause-and-effect-like fashion as is primary and secondary education. As Bloom (2006) argues, the likelihood of the rate-of-return analysis of higher education capturing the effects of higher education is less likely than the preceding lower levels of education. However, as Tilak continues to argue, recently some international organizations have begun to turn their attention to post-basic education or higher education because they realizing the connection between development and post-basic and higher education;, they realize that the targets relating to the "Millennium Development Goals on poverty reduction cannot be reached by targeting only universal primary education, and education of girls" (Tilak, 2005, p. 12).

Recent studies have provided empirical evidence that higher education deserves to be publicly funded and comprehensively addressed in policy reforms because its contribution to society and economic development goes beyond what previous rate-of-return analyses have measured, and such studies emphasize that the contribution of higher education includes non-economic benefits. Among the latter is higher education's contribution to political development and democracy. This brings us to the higher education-democracy nexus, using literature on topics and themes such as the impact of higher education on regime support and democratization, with special reference to the African context. The section also seeks to link student politics and its contribution to democracy.

2.4. The higher education-democracy nexus and HERANA

The contribution of higher education to democracy in Africa has been studied simultaneously with its contribution to economic development as part of a large-scale research effort undertaken by the Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa (HERANA) (for example, Cloete, Bailey, Pillay, Bunting and Maassen, 2012; Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012; Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011; Mwollo-ntallima, 2011). This is due to the realization that political stability, good governance and democratization are closely correlated with economic development (Diamond, 1992; Molutsi and Gyimah-Boadi, 2004; Gerring 2011). Economist Amartya Sen (2010) pointed out

in his book *Development as Freedom* that higher education is an important instrument that enables people to actively take part in citizenship development initiatives. While higher education's contribution to democratization may take different routes or mechanisms (see Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012; Nie et al., 1996), this section particularly focuses on studies concerning the way in which higher education contributes to democracy through citizenship development.

The main difficulty when analyzing the higher education-democracy nexus is its complexity. Further complicating the analysis is the fact that there are people with higher education who are not necessarily democratic, while there are also societies that have low higher education participation rates or lower enrolment percentages but still have made substantive democratic progress, for example, Botswana and India (TEC, 2008). The complexity of the nexus has not hindered some schools of thought from inquiring into the nexus, seeking to establish whether higher education does play a fundamental role in politically developing and liberating societies, does enhance the popular understanding of basic human rights and does expand democratic practices (Hillygus, 2005; Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011; Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012). Further empirical research is required in order to prove such claims beyond reasonable doubt. More importantly, cross-national comparative empirical studies should to be done, particularly in Africa where democracy is relatively new (Bratton and Mattes, 2001)

UNIVERSITY of the

Though studies such as Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) purport that the university has a key role to play in contributing to citizenship, Biesta (2007) writes that the proposition had long been made as early as the late 19th century by Wilhelm von Humboldt in his conception of the 'research university' as a tool for national development. For Humboldt "the university in the early nineteenth century was closely related to the development of the German nation-state and the formation (*Bildung*) of 'enlightened citizens'" (Biesta, 2007, p. 469). The author continues "The idea that higher education has a role to play in the maintenance and development of democratic societies is, as such not a new idea" (Ibid, 469). Biesta (2007) recounts how a democratic German state was conceptualized by Humboldt using the university. The author states that Humboldt's argument was that the university's existence was "informed by an ethos of 'Wissenschaftlichkeit' (scholarship), an ethos orientated towards the pursuit of truth understood as the grasping of reality in its totality" (Biesta, 2007, p. 469). Biesta continues to say that Humboldt believed that the philosophical theory of truth was a concern for both academics and students alike.

Against the background of Humboldt's work, Hillygus (2005, p. 27) argues that there are three

theories linking higher education to democratic values: (1) the civil education hypothesis, which is close to Humboldt argument; (2) the social network hypothesis; and, (3) the political meritocracy hypothesis. The strongest theory is that for "civic education, which is rooted in the belief that higher education provides both the skills necessary to become politically engaged and the knowledge to understand and accept democratic principles" (Hillygus, 2005, p. 27).

There is evidence that supports Hillygus. Academic literature suggests that higher education is critical in citizenship and democratic development and that the university is a key player in this regard (Cloete, 2000; Bratton and Mattes, 2003; Evans and Rose, 2007b; Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012) report that HERANA surveys indicate that higher education is of great value to democratic citizenship:

> "On the one hand, highly educated citizens in Africa are significantly more critical of the performance of their economy, government and larger democratic regime, and they are better informed and obtain their information about politics from a greater variety of news media than less educated citizens. The same democratic advantages are already evident among students at university level. On the other hand, higher education has seemingly no positive impact on support for democracy per se and higher levels of political participation observed among students disappear once the graduates leave the university". (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012, p. 165-166)

Moreover, the HERANA study findings of Luescher-Mamashela and his colleagues indicate that students appeared to show significantly higher levels of participation in formal and informal politics, both on and off campus, than youth without higher education. The students in the three African universities in the HERANA study also showed high levels of leadership involvement in organizations on and off campus; and they appeared highly critical towards the political system in their respective countries when compared with the views of mass publics (Luescher-Mamashela et al, 2011). The HERANA studies thus confirm in the African context findings similar to those of Hillygus (2005) and Glaeser et al (2006).

2.5. Higher education and democracy: regime support

Studies on the nexus of higher education and democracy in Africa using Afrobarometer data indicate that higher education contributes to regime support, in that citizens with higher education are (at least

marginally) more likely to support democracy and reject undemocratic alternatives than citizens with lower levels of education (Evans and Rose, 2007b; also see: Mattes and Mughogho 2010; Marinov, 2012). For Evans and Rose (2007b, p. 911), rejecting non-democratic alternatives and professing preference for democracy as a political regime is an indicator that higher education indeed contributes to support for democracy. The sustainability of democracy depends "on the success of a democracy hinges on having a large number of supporters whose benefits of political participation are sufficiently high that they fight for it despite low personal incentives. Education supplies such supports and stabilizes democracy. Conversely, in countries with low levels of education, dictatorship is more stable than democracy…" (Glaeser et al., 2006, p. 5). Bloom et al. (2006) also confirm that developing societies with lower higher education enrolments (around 5%) and lower literacy are prone to political instabilities.

Not only popular support for democracy in particular, but regime support more generally, seems to be linked positively to higher education. Moreover, countries with small numbers of higher educated people seem to be more prone to abuse of power, to contraventions of human and civil rights. Bloom and colleagues' argument rings true in much of sub-Saharan Africa where participation rate in higher education is the lowest in the world and which faces occasional political instability in some parts and regions. The civic education attributed to higher education is said to be of great value. Hillygus (2005, p. 27) reports "higher education imparts the knowledge, skills, and political familiarity that help in navigating the political world". This means that higher education could potentially acquaint Africans and other developing societies about democratic systems, on the one hand and, on the other, corruption, authoritarianism and abuse of power.

The recent political changes and challenges in some North African countries, part of what has been dubbed the 'Arab Spring', are an example of how enthusiastic young people, particularly those who are educated, have shown their desire for a more inclusive democratic system. Unemployed youth and university students exuberantly demonstrated and led thousands of protesters and patriotic Egyptians to Tahir Square. Lehmann (2011) says that the revolution could arguably be attributed to youth, including university students, unemployed graduates and other groups of activists, and he points out that the youth are the main victims of global conditions such as unemployment and unequal economic opportunities. The North African and Arab region counts the highest proportion of youth - 60% of the populations of the Arab League member states are less than twenty-five years old - and it comprises the highest proportions of unemployment (Lehmann, 2011). Compromised and stage-managed democracies are likely to become victims of rejection at the hands of increasing numbers of highly

educated young – and unemployed – Africans, as observed in North Africa. In the next section, the debate focuses on the role of students in democratization, and the consolidation of democracy, particularly in the African context.

2.6. Students as democratic citizens

The case for higher education in a democracy, and the importance of the university for democracy, includes the state's ability to produce active and critical citizens who will consolidate and nurture democracy (Council on Higher Education, 2004; also see: Evans and Rose, 2007b; Mattes and Mughogho, 2010; Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012). Exposure to specific subjects which have the purpose of citizenship development, such as History or Life Orientation, has a definite "influence on students' perceptions and understanding of human rights, democracy and citizenship" (Ho, Sim and Alviar-Martin, 2011, p. 272). Altbach (1991) states that university students are a unique subset of the youth with regards to the political space that they occupy. Moreover, several scholars argue that 'old' democracies have managed to consolidate and nurture democracy because of their large mass of well-educated citizens (Bloom et al, 2006). These citizens are more critical towards regime performance. A close assessment of the period immediately after the Cold War demonstrates that university students were the key factor which brought down autocratic leaders across the continent (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997; cf. Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012). This influence engendered by students is directly attributed to higher education and or university.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Moreover, in a recent study of political attitudes and support for democracy among students in three premier African universities, Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) found that, while students at the universities of Cape Town, Dar es Salam and Nairobi, were not necessarily more interested in politics than their compatriots outside university, they discussed politics far more often and participated in political meetings and protests far more frequently than their fellow citizens in general, or youth of the same age cohort without higher education. The authors' (2011) study also showed that students use diverse news media to keep informed about politics and that they were more knowledgeable about their national politics than non-students (p. 89). Furthermore, as students engage in various political activities, they carve a political space for themselves. Students' political awareness and activism may reach beyond campus and may not necessarily end after their university experience (Altbach, 2006; 1991; Munene, 2003; Luescher, 2005; Mattes and Mozaffar, 2011). Mattes and Mozaffar (2011) indicate that the levels of higher education attainment amongst MPs in African parliaments are anywhere between fifteen and eighty times higher than amongst ordinary citizens in their respective countries. With this argument in mind, Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) and Mattes and Luescher-

Mamashela (2012) conclude that universities may serve as a potential training ground for politically aware and critically engaged citizens.

Despite the patently remarkable participation of students in the political and democratic process (along with the potential and actual contribution of such involvement to the political attitudes of students), particularly in the African context, student political activism is not studied to the extent possible (Badat, 1999). Many first-generation African nationalist leaders, such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Modibo Keita of Mali, Nelson Mandela of South Africa and others, started their political activism as students. Students' contribution to the African liberation struggle is indeed well documented and dates back to the early 20th century, involving African students in the few local universities as well as in metropolitan universities (Adu Boahen, in Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011; Munene, 2003). Evidence in political literature also shows that during the early years of independence in the 1970s and to some extent the preceding years, African students, both Africa-based and in the diaspora were a political force to be reckoned with (Nkinyangi, 1991). Yet, as Badat (1999) says:

> [T]he most eminent challenge in South Africa is the remarkable continuity to sideline student activism and militancy by analysts over decades despite student politics persisting to contribute to the winning of democracy. (Badat, 1999, p. 1)

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Badat's argument may be extended beyond South Africa and it seems to be a generic problem across the African continent. For instance, this study finds a clear gap in literature on student activism in Botswana and it therefore focuses on students to establish their participation in supporting democracy (as well as to compare the Batswana students with students from other African universities). Teffera and Altbach (2004) state that many protests that occur in African universities are a result of political, economic or general injustices or prejudices, either in the university or at national level (see also Lehmann, 2011). High unemployment rates, inadequate economic opportunities and the general aspirations of educated youths make up a large part of the grievances. As Luescher (2005) and Badat (1999) argue, the source for the legitimacy of student government structures in African universities, and with reference to South Africa in particular, is students' previous involvement in political liberation struggles.

However, as mentioned above, student political activism is not yet well documented or researched in

Botswana. Empirical data and scholarly literature are scarce and fragmented. The best one finds is an inventory of recorded episodes in newspapers and other insignificant depositories in form and size (Keoreng, 2012). Keoreng (2012) shows that Botswana too has had bouts of student demonstrations, particularly at the University of Botswana as students and student leaders seek to balance power and question institutional governance, particularly within their university. Both small and medium scale student demonstrations are recorded almost every year. The reasons for these demonstrations range from student perceptions that the democratic ideals were being compromised relating to matters such as appalling refectory services, low book allowance, and academic affairs-related issues, such as course credits and retakes (Keoreng, 2012).

In summary, African students have been party to the struggle for liberation and emancipation from authoritarianism. The recent uprising in the African-Arab region appears as the quintessence of the trend of African youth in general and university students in particular who are supportive of regime change and committed more democratic principles such as equal distribution of wealth, job opportunities and better service delivery. Their modus operandi is the use of internet and compatible social networks such as Twitter and Facebook. These platforms have enabled the mobilization of student movements to be fairly easy and quicker. These effects of globalization have indeed connected students across the globe and sharing information now is easier than ever before.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

2.7. Summary, gaps identified in the literature, and conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature on the higher education-democracy nexus from different perspectives. Based on the assumption that democracy and development are closely linked, mutually dependent and reinforcing, and that higher education is said to be contributing to both, democracy and socio-economic development, the review included the contribution of higher education to economic development. This was followed by literature on the role of higher education in a democratic society (Hillygus, 2005; Bloom, 2006; Glaeser, et al., 2006), the Afrobarometer, and HERANA studies on the role of higher education in supporting democracy (Gerring, 2011; Luescher-Mamashela et al. 2011; Mattes, and Mozaffar, 2011; Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012), and higher education and regime support in general (Linz and Stepan, 1996; Mattes and Bratton, 2007). Lastly, some studies on student politics and students' political attitudes were reviewed. The literature reveals a number of gaps that present opportunities for further research, in particular with reference to the aims and questions raised in this study.

- Currently there appears to be no study of the political attitudes and behaviours of students in Botswana. While similar studies have been conducted in African universities in other countries

(as discussed in the section relating to HERANA), this study is likely the first of its kind in Botswana. Botswana is an important and perhaps unique context for a study of this nature in that it is one of the few longstanding African democracies.

- There is no evidence of any study that specifically examines the attitudes and behaviours of student leaders at UB, even though student leadership is known to be among the stepping stones for future leadership in the country's politics. Isolating the level of political activism among respondents should make it possible to establish whether participation in student governance and political activism influence support for democracy post-graduation from university.
- Provided that the study compares and contrasts political attitudes of students with the attitudes of youth without higher education, it may be possible to establish whether or not higher education changes political attitudes of young people. Moreover, such a study will help establish who among the youth in Botswana participates in the democratic process.

  So far, except for the work of Lekorwe (2009), which deals with Batswana in general, little work on these topics has been done and/or has been accessible for the purpose of this review.

On the basis of key concepts used in the existing literature, and the frameworks and instruments used by and adapted from the Afrobarometer, the following chapter outlines a conceptual framework that will guide the study.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Chapter 3
Conceptual Framework

3.1. Introduction

Chapter Three establishes a conceptual framework for this study. The chapter operationalizes key concepts of the study and explains how attitudes and behaviours of students towards support for democracy will be measured. This operationalization and explanation of concepts elucidates on how attitudes in support of democracy are studied in the thesis. The measurement of these attitudes and behaviours enables the study to answer the research questions posed. Furthermore, the chapter expands on the formulated technical language used in the scientific study of political attitudes (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; also see Mattes and Bratton, 2003).

The chapter starts with a brief introduction as to how education is conceived to influence attitudes towards democratic citizenship. There are several models available. Nie, Junn and Stehlik-Barry (1996), proposed two educational 'pathways' which explain how education influences attitudes (p. 45). A third pathway, student leadership, which complements, to some extent, Nie et al., (1996) is proposed in Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

3.2. Possible educational pathways that influence attitudes to democratic citizenship

There are several competing hypotheses on the linkage between higher education and political engagement (Nie et al., 1996; Hillygus, 2005). While Hillygus (2005, p. 28-29) conceptualizes the higher education and political engagement link on these three hypotheses; the civic education hypothesis; (2) the social network hypothesis; and (3) the political meritocracy hypothesis (see section 2.4), Nie et al. (1996) explain how education in general impacts on democratic attitudes and behaviours of citizens in terms of their 'social network centrality' through different pathways. These are:

a. Cognitive pathway

Through this pathway, education enhances political reasoning, perceptions and understanding. Even though students learn information and knowledge relevant to a particular profession, students not only get to understand the profession, but also get to know about democratic ideals and a basic understanding of governance and the economy. Thus, Nie et al.'s (1996) formulation that an additional number of years studying enables one to engage more meaningfully through their cognitive

vantage.

b. Positional pathway

In their conceptualization, Nie et al. (1996) suggests that education considerably accounts for aligning individuals to certain networks within a society. The positional pathway is the manner in which the position and alignment in the social network enhances chances of involvement in politics. Higher education compares favorably to "lower levels of education in placing an individual closer to the centre of the societal network" (Nie et al., 1996, p. 45), and higher up the ladder of politics. Higher education hoists individuals to be leaders in many sections of state and economy, which today depends almost entirely on educated people in order to be sustained and develop.

c. Student leader pathway

In addition to the two educational pathways conceptualized by Nie and colleagues in 1996, Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) propose a student leader pathway, arguing that participation in student leadership during university may help to inculcate democratic attitudes in student leaders. Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) argue that student leaders already have a greater 'network centrality' than ordinary students, and a higher level of political participation. Behaviours acquired through engaging in student leadership programmes on campus are likely to be conveyed into the "national politics setting as corresponding political attitudes and behaviours" (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 9). Luescher-Mamashela and colleagues' propositions is that "political values, perceptions and behaviours acquired by students participating in politics at one level of governance (for example, in informal student governance as student representatives) are transferred to another level (national level, by the same students being more likely to participate politically and interact with public offices)." (Ibid, p. 9). Moreover, just as higher education places beneficiaries in certain networks to a greater extent than do lower levels, it is assumed that participating in student politics and student governance programmes further enhances involvement in national political networks. Since one of this study's aims is to establish the relationship between student leadership and support for democracy, the study uses the assumptions underpinning the 'student leaders pathway' to further investigate the possibility of a "participation effect" (see also Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 9).

3.3. Measuring support for democracy using political opinions: The Afrobarometer conceptual framework

A conceptual framework is, by definition, an outline of possible courses of action or a presentation of the preferred approach to explain how concepts are interrelated (see Evans and Rose, 2007b). The

Afrobarometer survey tool was developed by scholars to study support for democracy in sub-Saharan Africa (Mattes and Bratton, 2003; 2007; Evans and Rose, 2007b; Afrobarometer, 2009). These scholars use the notions of 'demand for' and 'supply of' democracy to study and explain the political conduct and manners of mass publics in sub-Saharan Africa which are at different stages of democratization (Matts and Bratton, 2007, p. 194; Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 14, see also Bratton et al., 2005; Evans and Rose, 2007a; 2007b). 'Demand for' democracy uses citizen's political opinions to measure their level of support for democracy as a government system and, as a form of administrative form, while 'supply of' democracy measures students' perception of the way democracy works or of the delivery and institutionalization of democracy in their country (Evans and Rose, 2007a). The Afrobarometer conceptual framework underpins the questionnaire used to collect data in this study and the analysis (see Appendices 1 and 2).

There are good reasons to base this study on the Afrobarometer conceptual framework:

1. The study uses political opinions and perceptions to measure attitudes and behaviours. The Afrobarometer framework has previously been used in this way in sub-Saharan Africa.
2. The study is in an African context and Afrobarometer has been used and tested in sub-Saharan Africa in case geographical conditions matter in measuring political attitudes.
3. Using the Afrobarometer framework and instruments makes it possible to use existing Afrobarometer data as part of the datasets available in the analyses for this study.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The following section explains how the study employs the Afrobarometer framework to measure attitudes and behaviours in support of democracy using students' political opinions. Therefore, appendix 2 (concept map) should be used extensively in the next section for cross referencing. The section also expands on the notions of demand for and supply of democracy that the Afrobarometer framework embraces.

3.4. Part 1: Demand for democracy

The adopted Afrobarometer conceptual framework consists of related measurable concepts grouped into topics, families of concepts, and related measurable items. These concepts and empirical indicators or items are related to each other in a very intricate manner (see Appendix 2). The framework is divided into three main parts: 1. Demand for democracy, which measures attitudes in support of democracy; 2. Supply of democracy, which measures satisfaction with democracy; and 3. Political participation and cognitive engagement that tries to measure the extent to which students actively support democracy.

While there are different ways to conceptualize and measure support for democracy, Rose et al. (1998), devised the concepts of supply and demand to measure popular support for democracy in the sub-Saharan African region. The demand for democracy side measures respondents' support for democracy as a political system (Afrobarometer, 2009). It includes measuring respondents' understandings of and knowledge about democracy, which may be considered as essential precursors to support for democracy. The Afrobarometer conceptual Framework also indicates that demand for democracy further includes measuring preference for democracy and the rejection of potential alternatives to democracy (such as one party rule, military rule, and presidential rule) (see appendix 2). Democracy needs resounding support of citizens for it to be considered as consolidated and regarded as the 'only game in town' (Linz and Stepan, 1996, p. 15).

The question "What are students' attitudes and behaviours towards support for democracy?" entails measuring students' demand for democracy, to use the concept devised by Rose et al. (1998) and used in several Afrobarometer analyses. As shown in Chapter One with reference to Heywood (2002) and others, analyzing the different understandings of democracy involves various definitions and categories. Moreover, Bratton and Mattes (2003, p. 3) caution about asking respondents "how much they like democracy in the abstract form, for example, through agreement or disagreement with a one-sided Likert scale of statements" when comparing democracy to its alternatives. The authors propose Rose et al.'s (1998) approach as an alternative. "Instead, following the approach of Rose, Mishler and Haerpfer (1998), we offer realistic choices between democracy and its alternatives" (Bratton and Mattes, 2003, p. 3) in the questionnaire. Thus, in this study, students will also be asked to indicate if they would approve of non-democratic ways of governing their country by being able to indicate their approval or disapproval of military rule, one party rule and presidential rule.

3.4.1. Understanding democracy

Understanding democracy is a precursor to demand for democracy. Measuring knowledge of democracy is a logical antecede to analysis of demand for democracy. Democracy means different things to different people (Heywood, 2002; Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p.43), therefore it is incumbent upon students to indicate how they conceptualize democracy. The study interrogates students' understanding of democracy by requesting students to first define the concept and secondly to indicate what they deem as essential elements of democracy.

The study challenges students to volunteer a definition of democracy by asking, "What do you

understand by the word 'democracy'?" in order to establish their understanding and conceptualization of democracy. The volunteered definitions of democracy make it possible to categorize a student's conceptualization in terms of democratic theory, for instance, democracy as a set of political freedoms, civil liberties, popular participation, etc. The analysis of the volunteered definitions entails assessing whether the definition is comprehensible, whether it is a valid definition of democracy, and whether it has a negative or positive connotation.

In a second question, respondents indicate what counts as essential in a democracy, choosing from a list classical elements of different notions of democracy: for example, majority rule, equal job opportunities, equitable distribution of wealth, and so on, as a corollary way to determine students' conceptions of democracy. This assessment also provides a check for consistency, or lack thereof, in the expression of understanding democracy when provided with a list of classical elements versus when students volunteer a definition (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 47). The questionnaire lists these elements of democracy and students are requested to rank them using a nominal Likert scale from "not at all important" to "not very important", "somewhat essential", and "absolutely essential". In this formulation, students' conceptions would be understood by analysing means and standard deviations of the ranked classical elements. On average, students' connotations of democracy are ascribed to the way the rank these elements from "not at all important" to" absolutely essential".

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

3.4.2. Preference for democracy and commitment to democracy

Being aware of democracy, by either providing a valid and comprehensible definition of democracy and/or by knowing what counts as essential in a democracy, is one thing, but preference for democracy is a totally different matter. One might understand what democracy is and what it looks like, but not necessarily prefer democracy as a form of government.

Mattes and Bratton (2007) summarize the need for commitment and preference for democracy in the following way:

> Democracy has a low probability to breakdown where two conditions are met: large majorities of citizens demand democracy as their preferred political regime and there is considerable rejection of undemocratic alternatives (Mattes and Bratton, 2007, p. 193).

Fails (2009) also points out that "an increase in these mass attitudes signals that democracy has

become “the only game in town” and reduces the likelihood of a democratic reversal” (Fails, 2009. p. 841). These two arguments indicate that democracy can be nurtured and consolidated when a large mass of citizens supportive of democracy and prefer it over its competitors.

To measure preference for democracy, the study asks students whether they prefer democracy as a form of governance. “Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion” (see appendix 2) allows students to indicate their responses to express whether or not they prefer democracy. Or, whether they are simply indifferent and do not care which type of government they survive under. There is considerable preference for democracy if students indicate that “Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government”, therefore, there would be a substantive claim of endorsement for democracy as a political system. On the other hand, the responses “For someone like me, it doesn’t matter what kind of government we have” and “In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable” suggest feeble or lack of support for democracy.

3.4.3. Rejection of authoritarianism

In addition to establishing the extent of understanding of and preference for democracy , it is also critical to establish the extent to which students are tolerable or undemocratic alternative regimes associated with Africa’s post-colonial politics. “While it is necessary for committed democrats to profess for democracy, it is not sufficient…. democrats must therefore go beyond paying lip service to democracy; they must also reject real world alternative regimes” (Mattes and Bratton, 2007, p. 193). As Linz and Stepan (1996) state, perhaps there are citizens that harbour some remote preference for, or even prefer explicitly, undemocratic tendencies despite living in a democracy and understanding what democracy is or is not.

The study therefore asks students specifically whether they reject military rule, one party rule, and strong man rule, all forms of government which are in existence somewhere in Africa and that students might be familiar students can form responses based on (Mattes and Bratton, 2003). Presidential dictatorship or strongman rule is a form of governance where the so much political power is bestowed on the incumbent president, at the expense of a democratically elected parliament. Military rule is a type of authoritarian rule where armed forces rule the country instead of a civilian president and one party rule refers to a situation where only one political party is allowed to hold office and there are no multi-party competitive elections (Mattes and Bratton, 2003).

Thus, students were asked to indicate how much they reject undemocratic alternatives, using the

question: “There are many ways to govern a country. Would you approve of the following alternative?”

- If only one party is allowed to stand for an election and hold office?
- If the army comes in to govern the country?
- If elections and parliament are abolished so the president can decide everything?

Students choose responses on a Likert scale from “strongly approve”, “approve”, “neither approve nor disapprove”, “disapprove” and “strongly disapprove”. There is support for democracy if there is substantive rejection of these alternatives, that is, “strongly disapprove” and “disapprove”.

Over and above the measurement of preference for democracy and rejection of non-democratic regimes, the study takes the notion of ‘committed democrat’ as a touchstone, to measure the extent to which respondents are devoted to the ideals of democracy. The notion of ‘committed democrats’ is important when gauging support for democracy because it connotes unwavering support for democracy. By definition, ‘committed democrats’ refer to those respondents who consistently display high demand for democracy in that they ‘always prefer democracy’, and ‘always reject non-democratic regime alternatives’ when offered a choice (cf. Mattes and Bratton, 2003, p. 4; 2007, p. 209; also see Shin, 2007; Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). Commitment to democracy is therefore measured by compositely calculating an index using the four items: rejection of military rule, one party rule and presidential rule, and preference for democracy (Bratton et al., 2004, p. 30). Commitment to democracy admits the fact that not everyone appreciates democracy to the extent that they are always making sure that democracy is their priority. Fails (2009) notes: “higher proportions of committed democrats are said to promote various positive outcomes, including regime stabilization and democratic deepening” (Fails, 2009, p. 842). This is evident even among advanced democracies which are said to have pools of committed citizens who support democracy (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012). The study also seeks to establish whether participation in student politics is associated with commitment to democracy and whether there are significant differences between students, on the one hand, and youth of the same age cohort but without higher education, on the other, in terms of commitment to democracy.

3.4.4. Demand for rights

Individual political and civic rights such as the right to organize, and assemble, vote and freedom of expression are among those regarded an essential part of democracy. Without freedom of association, political parties cannot operate freely; without freedom of speech, an opposition cannot criticize the ruling party. Moreover, these rights are enshrined in international human right documents and are

explicitly spelt out in the United Nation's Human Rights Charter. The Charter outlines how these rights are connected to human dignity and why they are important. Every country that is a signatory to UN treaties is bound to act in accordance with the provisions in the Human Rights Charter, including an unreserved guarantee of these freedoms to its citizens. Freedom of organization guarantees the right to form groupings, to organize and to assemble together, with the aim of addressing common goals regardless of how the ruling government feels as long as the organization does not contravene the laws of the state. The importance of the right to organize is related to citizens influencing their government and leadership in decision making (UN Human Rights charter, article 20). The provision of such rights is therefore important for democracy and represents a notable departure from the lack of such rights and freedoms under authoritarian regimes of the past (Fails, 2009).

Political theoretician R. A. Dahl proposes eight "institutional guarantees" that democracies ought to have; "freedom to join and form organizations, freedom of expression and alternative sources of information" (Dahl, 1971, p. 3). The right to freedom of expression helps control state authorities and leaders from excessive use of power. The extent to which press freedom is enshrined in Bills of Rights of many nations is testimony of how important this freedom is to citizens in a global context. The crucial nature of mass media in a democratic society is an important instrument for keeping a close and watch on authorities, ensuring they do not abuse power and office. The media protect citizens by reporting on infringements, embezzlement of state funds, democratic flaws, and corruption in general. The demand for these political rights is linked to support for democracy. Enhanced demand for these rights is viewed also as a way to increase political participation and democratic awareness.

In order to measure demand for rights, the survey asks students: "Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? 1. The right to start and join organisation regardless of government approval; 2. The right for press to publish without fear of closure; and, 3. The right to express views unpopular with government". A Likert scale is used in the response category, "Agree strongly", "Agree"," Neither agree nor disagree", "Disagree" and "Disagree strongly". In this formulation "agree strongly" and "agree" suggest that there is substantial demand for political rights.

The next section shows how supply of democracy is measured, that is, whether students believe that the country is delivering or providing a satisfactory level of democracy and how to what degree they consider the country to be a democracy.

3.5. Part 2: Perception of the supply of democracy

For Mattes and Bratton (2007, p. 192), "Democracy, above all, is a system of rules and procedures by which leaders, groups, and parties compete for power, and which fee and equal people elect representatives to make binding decisions". The authors further refer to Karl's (1990) conception that; "A consolidated democracy is one in which these arrangements develop into permanent, consistent and autonomous institutions governed by justifiable rules" (Ibid, p. 192). Following Shin (2000), the notion of supply of democracy is used in this study to measure students' perceptions of supply of democracy.

Most of the UB students targeted by the survey have lived under a stable and functional democratic system, and have witnessed changes in the political landscapes either abroad, or in their own country, as a change in the political leadership or change in policy. Critics have indicated some inherent potential negatives in the much celebrated democracy in Botswana (Good, 2003; Cook and Sarkin, 2010). Yet, despite all that critics and think-tanks say about their political regime, whether good or bad - what remains vital is the perception of citizens of Botswana's political system. As Mattes and Bratton (2007) explain, democracy is better understood by experience and the practical delivery of democracy than in the abstract. Mattes and Bratton (2007) contend that "citizens' perceptions of supply of democracy will be more salient to democracy's actual prospects than any objective scores and ratings compiled by experts" (Mattes and Bratton, 2007, p. 193; see Mattes and Bratton, 2003). Public opinions cannot be underestimated when they are used to measure supply of democracy. Bratton and Mattes state that; "public opinions are not simply used as proxy in lieu of conceivably better measures of the institutional supply of democracy. Rather, in the final analysis, citizen beliefs about whether their institutions deliver democracy are what really matters" (Mattes and Bratton, 2007, p. 194). Similarly, students' views of the current political regime are important, the delivery and institutionalization of democracy are deeply anchored in both personal experiences and their expectations as young, highly educated citizens.

Supply of democracy is measured by using respondents' perceptions towards several aspects of 'lived democracy': their perceptions of the supply of rights and freedoms; their satisfaction with the way democracy works, and so forth (cf. Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). The following section presents these aspects in detail.

3.5.1. Extent of democracy in Botswana

Extent of democracy measures the institutionalization and delivery of democracy (Mattes and Bratton,

2007; cf. Afrobarometer). This study, as in the Afrobarometer surveys, asks students: "How much of a democracy is Botswana?" The response categories are as follows: "a full democracy," "a democracy with minor problems" "a democracy with major problems," or "not a democracy." In this formulation, democracy is considered to be institutionalised when students indicate that their country is "a full democracy," or "a democracy with minor problems".

3.5.2. Satisfaction with democracy

The second component measuring perceptions of the supply of democracy is 'satisfaction with democracy', which seeks to establish students' satisfaction "with how democracy works in their country" (Mattes and Bratton, 2003). As authors contend; "No matter how well or badly international donors or academic think-tanks rate democracy in a given country, this form of regime will only consolidate if ordinary people themselves believe that democracy is being supplied" (Mattes and Bratton, 2003, p. 2). This democratic consolidation would to some extent render the regime legitimate because a large mass of ordinary citizens would be satisfied with the way democracy works. As they experience and experiment with democracy, citizens form perceptions of how well or badly democracy is being practiced in their country. So by extension, asking students how satisfied they are with the way democracy is working nuances the extent to which democracy is supplied.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The study uses the following question: "Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Botswana?" The response categories are: "very satisfied", "fairly satisfied", "not very satisfied", "not at all satisfied", and "country is not a democracy". In this conceptualisation, a person is satisfied with democracy if he or she "is very or fairly satisfied with the way it works" (Mattes and Bratton, 2007, p. 194).

3.5.3. Free and fair elections

The thesis also measures supply of democracy by establishing students' perceptions of democratic practices such as voting. Elections are a very specific but regular and common way for franchised and legal nationals to participate in choosing political leadership in a democratic set up. They are among the most appropriate measures used to evaluate supply of democracy. Not just mere elections legitimize or characterize a regime, but the election ought to be free and fair. Moreover, the notion of 'free and fair elections' is commonly used to assess the quality of an election (Mattes and Bratton, 2003, 2007). Thus, perceptions of how free and fair elections are may be seen as a proxy for determining how democratic a country is perceived to be, and consequently, for the legitimacy of the regime. However, having regular and free elections does not necessarily make a country democratic;

elections are an essential (but not sufficient) part of the framework of complex procedures that make democracy become functional (Lekorwe, 2009, p. 1).

Nonetheless, multi-party democratic elections are amongst the few salient and easily identifiable measures used to differentiate between democratic and undemocratic countries in contemporary politics. A liberal democracy is conceived to "include the requisite procedural reforms including contesting free and fair elections and allowing open participation" (Rose et al. 1998 in Fails 2009, p. 846), while Przeworski (1991) posits that elections enable constitutionally eligible citizens to decide who they want as their political leaders, which makes them the cornerstone of democracy and the difference between dictatorships and democracies. Accordingly, citizens who are likely to be supportive of democracy are also those who embrace the principle of universal suffrage and who actually go to the polls (Afrobarometer, 2009).

With elections are deemed so crucial in a democracy, having institutionalized elections is a requisite condition for any credible democratic regime.

> Given the centrality of the electoral process in the operation of modern democracies, perceptions of the freeness and fairness of the elections are an important way to gauge the popular legitimacy an electoral regime enjoys (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 65; see also Schedler and Sarsfield, 2007).

Therefore using students' perceptions to evaluate the freeness and fairness of both the 2009 general and SRC elections is another way of evaluating the supply of democracy (cf. Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). The study uses the following question in that regard: "How free was the 2009 general election?" "How free were the last SRC elections?" and the response categories were "completely free", "free and fair, but with minor problems", "free and fair but with major problems", and "not free and fair". In this formulation, elections are considered free and fair if students believe that they were either 'completely free' or 'free and fair with minor problems', thus indicating that the perception is that there is considerable supply of democracy.

3.5.4. Supply of Rights

Though the Afrobarometer does not particularly consider supply of rights in its framework (Bratton and Mattes, 2009), there is evidence in literature that hypothesize that "citizens support democracy

when they believe the regime has provided individual freedoms and political rights (Fails, 2009. p. 841; see also Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). Fails (2009) and Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) concur that the perception of the supply of political rights is one of the strategies that could be used to measure the extent of delivery and institutionalization of democracy. In his article, *Political Democracy: Conceptual and Measurement Traps*, Bollen (1990) defines political freedom as "the freedom that the population has in the national political system…..characteristics such as the freedom of media, the freedom of individuals or political groups to oppose government policies or officials, and the absence of political censorship" (Bollen, 1990, p. 10). Consequently:

> "The higher the level of political democracy in a country, the more we expect these rights to be present". (Bollen, 1990, p. 10).

This study draws on the perception of supply of rights to evaluate supply of democracy as a mirror process of the demand for political rights notion discussed under demand for democracy. While the demand for political rights probes students' awareness and demand for political freedoms and rights, the supply of rights notion probes satisfaction with the provision of these rights and personal experience relating to expectation of their operation in practice. For instance, Bollen (1986) summarizes the importance of political rights:

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

> Political liberties exist to the extent that the people of a country have the freedom to express any political opinions in media and freedom to form or participate in any political grouping (Bollen, 1986, p. 568).

Using Bollen's (1986) conception of supply of rights, the study requested students to indicate whether the political rights are free and unfettered, or whether they are qualified, such as by applying pressure on people to vote for certain individuals as opposed to affording people their freedom to exercise their right to choose who they like with no duress. Just like the Afrobarometer surveys, the question was formulated thus: "In this country, how free are you: 1. To say what you want to say? 2. Join any political organisation you want? and 3. Choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?" Each question has a response category which includes: "Not at all free", "Not very free", "Somewhat free" and "Completely free". There is substantial supply of political rights when students indicate that they are "Completely free".

In concluding, the previous segment has presented how supply of democracy is measured. The

section presented the strategy that the study uses to probe supply of democracy by questioning students' satisfaction with democracy, their perceptions of the extent of democracy in Botswana, the freeness and fairness of elections, and their perceptions of the supply of rights (see also Afrobarometer, 2009).

Both notions of demand for and supply of democracy have inherent limitations as they do not show how citizens are actively involved in demanding democracy and on what basis they critically assess whether democracy is consolidated. It is one thing to profess a preference for democracy and reject non-democratic alternatives, but it is a different thing to actively participate in the democratic system to ensure that democracy is fostered and consolidated (cf. Evans and Rose, 2007b). The next part now considers the extent of students' active participation in nurturing and consolidating democracy. This political participation helps in arguing whether there is or is not support for democracy based on how actively involved people are in promoting democracy.

3.6. Part 3: Political participation and cognitive awareness

Political participation neither starts nor ends with taking part in electoral procedures such as voting. Participation involves taking part in numerous practices within and outside the community. For Lekorwe (2009), voting in elections every five years is one way to participate in democracy but support for democracy is a function of the more complex democratic framework. The two notions of demand for, and supply of, democracy do not capture how actively involved students are in nurturing and consolidating democracy, neither do they show citizens or students' cognitive awareness of their political environment.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Abraham Lincoln's 1864 speech in Gettysburg is remembered for its emphasis on participation by the citizenry. The speech was emphatic about the virtues of what he called
"Government of the people, by the people, and for the people", which has become one of the prominent conceptualizations of democracy (Heywood, 2002). A growing body of literature agrees that citizens have to be politically active for democracy to survive. The study intends to measure how and to what extent students participate in political activities in their communities.

Moreover, awareness of politics of the citizenry is a vital cog in a democratic environment. Zaller (1992) refers to political cognitive awareness as "the extent to which an individual pays attention to politics and understands what he or she has encountered" (Zaller, 1992, p. 21). People get to know the way democracy and government work by discussing politics and using news media to stay informed,

among other things. In essence, media, be it print or electronic, plays an integral role in engendering political awareness. It is through mass media that citizens "come to learn about their leaders and the broader political system" (Mattes and Bratton, 2000, p. 43). This knowledge could then enable one to observe and notice democratic flaws and abuse of office by officials and leaders. For Bratton et al. (2005), democracy functions well when a large mass of the citizenry is well-informed.

3.6.1. Cognitive awareness: media usage, political awareness

Mattes and Mughogho (2010) found that the use of news media is associated with political participation, even more so than is higher education. Their argument is that one needs not have the benefit of higher education to participate meaningfully in the democratic system, as long as there is news dissemination through media sources and citizens have basic literacy; however, access to a variety of news media, and newspapers in particular, is associated with higher education. The importance of media for cognitive awareness about politics is that "…one way that people can learn about their leaders and the broader political system is through the use of mass media" (Mattes et al., 2000, p. 61). Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012) say:

> [H]ighly educated citizens in Africa are politically better informed and obtain political news from a greater variety of news media, for example, newspapers, radio etc. to get news about politics than less educated citizens (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela 2012, p. 1).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The study probes media use by asking students "how often do you get news from the following source, for example, radio, television, internet (Online News) and newspapers (including student newspaper)?" The response categories were "everyday", "a few times a week", "and a few times a month", "less than once a month" and "never". In this formulation using media frequently suggests higher political cognitive awareness and "Never" suggest less or no awareness.

Being able to identify key political leaders is an important aspect of cognitive awareness of politics. Accordingly, it is critical to know and have information about political leaders and the office they hold. Mattes and Bratton (2003) point out that "information about incumbent political leaders creates a point of vicarious contact between citizens and the political system, as well as a means by which they can better follow the process of decision making" (p. 23). In an electoral democracy like Botswana, it is then fitting to expect the citizenry to know some basic information about their candidates and key government and university officials (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). As Mattes

and Bratton (2007) indicate, "high levels of political information (operationalized as the ability to provide the name of a set of incumbent leaders) also provide cognitive hooks on which they can hang accumulated information gleaned from news media or everyday experience" (p. 202). Fails (2009) argues that knowledge about office incumbents and political leaders transcends mere interest in the political figure, indicating political awareness and the inclination to pass judgement on their performance (Fails, 2009, p. 847). Thus to measure students' cognitive political awareness, the study probes whether students know their political leadership "Can you tell me the name of: a. the President, b. Member of Parliament representing your constituency; c. President of the SRC; and d. the vice Chancellor".

Moreover, Bratton et al. (2005) argue that democracy works best when citizens have an understanding about their political system and how it works. Basic knowledge of how the constitution or penal code works helps enable citizens to participate meaningfully in a democracy by way, for instance, of reporting corrupt leaders. Knowledge of basic politics engenders meaningful participation in democracy by enabling citizens to identify democratic and political flaws. More importantly, they also know how to react when they observe transgressions.

Do students know their political system and institutions? Or better still, do discussions of politics, media usage and having an interest in politics help influence students to know about their institutions of governance institutions? Students were asked basic information about their local politics and the state, in questions about : "the constitutional number of terms for the office of president", "which party is the incumbent governing party" and "whose responsibility is it to determine whether or not a law is constitutional" (Afrobarometer, 2009; cf. appendix 1). These questions required students to give information verbatim. If able to supply the correct names of officials and the offices they hold as well as the correct governance institutions and basic information about politics in their country, respondents then showed a high level of cognitive awareness.

3.6.2. Interest in and discussion of politics

Just as is knowledge about incumbents, so knowing basic information about politics is a key attribute of an informed citizen in a democracy. Afrobarometer points out, cognitive engagement, which, refers to "an average of two indicators asking respondents how interested they are political affairs and how often they discuss politics" (Fails, 2009, p. 847), could be employed to measure cognitive awareness. Politically aware people are highly likely to be interested in the political affairs of their country, and consequently tend to engage in policy discussions and debates.

Therefore, the study probes cognitive engagement by asking students' about their level of interest in public affairs, and how much they engage in political discussions both on and off campus. Students were asked: "How interested are you in public affairs (especially in politics and government)?". The response category includes: "Very interested", "Somewhat interested", "Not very interested", and "Not interested at all". Not interested in public affairs indicates, to a large extent, low cognitive awareness.

Secondly, the study also considers the frequency of discussions about political affairs amongst fellow community members, such as friends and family members, by asking students how often they discuss politics and issues around governance in their university and their country. The question is: "When you get together with fellow students, friends or family, do you discuss political matters?" The response category includes: "Frequently", "Occasionally", and "Never". By indicating "Very interested" in politics and "Frequently" discussing politics, students indicate a high level of cognitive engagement.

3.6.3. Political Participation: Voting

Gaventa and Valderama (1999) posits that political participation has always been given a broadly definition which largely captures "interactions of the individual or organised groups with the state" (para. 7). Nie and Verba (1972, p. 2) define political participation as "those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take" (as cited by Gaventa and Valderama, 1999, para. 7). When the citizenry participate in these activities, it nurtures and enhances democracy. For Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) and Lekorwe (2009), democracy requires the active participation of citizens in the democratic process beyond casting a vote in elections to sustain it. Do citizens use their cognitive awareness to participate in the democracy as a way of supporting democracy?

In this section, students' active political participation and engagement in democratic practices is probed, particularly their participation in voting in campus-based student leadership elections and national elections. As Przeworski (1991) argues, the most popular way for people to take part in a democracy, particularly in emerging democracies, is through elections. Elections embrace the principle of equality, since universal suffrage accords constitutionally eligible citizens the right to influence the choice of political leadership. Not participating in elections not only negates democratic ideals but also denies one the opportunity to choose preferred candidates.

The study probes electoral participation by asking students to indicate whether or not they have voted in both the 2009 student leadership election and the national general elections. The questions are "With regard to the last SRC election (2009), which statement is true for you?" and "With regard to the last national general election (2009), which statement is true for you?" In both cases, the response category includes options ranging from "there was no election", "I decided not to vote", "I could not find a polling station", "I was prevented from voting", "I did not have time to vote", "Did not vote for some other reason" to "I voted in the election". Having voted in the elections is taken as an indicator of participation in democratic procedures, while all others indicate non-participation for one reason or another.

Political or civic participation beyond voting is probed in various ways, for example, with reference to attending political meetings, marching in demonstrations, writing letters to newspapers to raise a grievance, and so forth (see Appendix 2).

3.6.4. Civic participation: Communing / Contacting

There are several ways in which citizens can participate to nurture democracy beyond elections and voting. Accordingly Lekorwe notes that

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

> support for democracy is not merely the right to participate in elections every five years, but a complex combination of procedures and frameworks and rejecting undemocratic practices is one among others (2009, p. 2).

Supporting democracy and rejecting non-democratic practices through participation (rather than the expression of preferences) can involve a combination of practices such as attending meetings/gatherings, contacting leaders or officials (in the case of students, on or off campus) in order to raise an issue, or even attending a demonstration/protest march. As Almond and Verba (1963) argue, participating in these various mixes of civic and communal activities for the benefit of the greater society is the basis of the democracy.

The questionnaire asked students: "Have you been involved in any of the following activities in the past year? If not, would you do this if you had a chance?" a. Attended a political gathering/meeting, b. Contacted a government official to raise an issue or make a complaint, c. Write a letter to a local/national newspaper about an issue and d. attended a demonstration or protest march". The

response categories are scales of “Often”, “Several times”, “Once or twice”, “No, but I would probably if had a chance” and “I would never do this” to rank their practices. In this formulation, there is high participation in civic activities if students answer “Often” with “I would never do this” indicating non-participatory tendencies.

In summary, investigating political participation and cognitive awareness is an attempt to establish the extent to which citizens/students participate in the democratic process and whether they are conscious of their political environment. As Bratton and Mattes (2003) argue, democracy thrives on a citizenry that participates in the democratic system.

3.7. Part 4: Conceptualizing student leader, youth without higher education

For the purpose of comparison with the Batswana mass public age group without higher education in the Afrobarometer data and the HERANA student survey data, the study uses the 10 and 90 percentiles of the UB students’ ages to compare to the 10 to 90 percentiles of the other two data sets. The section on realized sample in Chapter 5 examines further the 10-90 percentile age groups of all four universities.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Having previously mentioned educational pathways, particularly the student leadership pathway, proposed by Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011), it is important to explain how student leadership is conceptualized and how student leaders are identified for the purposes of this study. Following Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011), Badat (1999) and other studies, this study makes a distinction between student leaders and the general student body (without the student leaders) or ‘students not in leadership’. Student leaders are those who have been elected either through ballot or other distinguishable means into formal leadership in student governance, especially in formal structures such as the Student Representative Council (SRC), class representatives, student representatives in the faculty (for example, in a faculty committee), and student representatives in senate or institutional committees. As Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) point out “this distinction serves as proxy of different levels of political participation at campus level” (p. 9). Luescher (2005) indicates that student leaders are also distinguished from ‘student activists’, who are those that “typically operate through more unconventional means of political articulation and involvement. This can include various political and non-political student organizations and groups largely outside of formal decision making structures and/or movements that emerge ad hoc (as cited in Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 9).

The crux of making distinctions on the level of political activism helps define the proposed 'student leadership pathway'. Luescher-Mamashela et al. state:

> The notion of different spheres or levels of governance and political participation in relation to these distinct levels enables us to investigate the possibility of a 'participation spill-over effect' from one level to another level. The proposition in this regard is that political values, perceptions and behaviours acquired by students participating in politics at one level of governance (e.g. in formal student governance as student representatives) are transferred to another level (e.g., the national level, by the same students being more likely to participate politically and interact with public office) (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 9).

As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, the study wishes to establish the influence of participation in student leadership programmes on support for democracy. Therefore this study compares students not in leadership with student leaders on several dimensions. For instance, the study probes the differences in the areas such as understanding of democracy, commitment to democracy and preference for democracy between student leaders and students not in leadership. The study also uses statistical tests such as associational and significance tests to establish whether student leadership influences, for example, commitment to democracy (as detailed in following chapters).

In addition, the study probes the differences in support for democracy between students and Batswana in general, particularly those youth of the same age group without higher education. Such a comparison facilitates establishing whether higher education does influence individuals to support democracy or not. The comparison between students and their peers without higher education may serve to affirm or negate the argument that it is not only youth that influences support for democracy but that higher education contributes to observed differences. In statistical terms, the null hypothesis would be that higher education does not influence support for democracy while the alternative hypothesis assumes that higher education influences support for democracy. The study by and large tests for these hypotheses.

Lastly, the study also compares support for democracy between UB, UCT, UDSM and UON students (as noted in the research questions). The study is interested in establishing whether there are variations in support for democracy between UB students and university students from elsewhere in

the African continent.

3.8. Summary and conclusion

The foregoing chapter has outlined a conceptual framework to investigate the research questions posed in this study.

- What are students' attitudes towards democracy in general, and what are their perceptions of the way democracy works in Botswana?
- Is there any significant difference in support for democracy between students not in leadership and those who are student leaders?
- Are there significant differences in support for democracy between students and Batswana in general (mass publics) as well as between students and Batswana youth without higher education?
- Are there significant differences in support for democracy between students at the University of Botswana and students from other African universities?

The key concepts in the research questions are: "attitudes towards democracy", "perceptions of the way democracy works in Botswana", and "support for democracy". The presented framework conceptualizes these concepts in terms of demand for democracy, supply of democracy, and political awareness and participation.

UNIVERSITY of the

Overall, this study draws on Afrobarometer public opinion studies and several others related empirical studies by Bratton and Mattes (2003) and others, as well as the HERANA student governance studies by Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011), to establish the contribution of higher education to democracy. The study depends on students' political opinions and perceptions to measure their attitudes and behaviours towards support for democracy. To accomplish its goal, the study borrows extensively from the Afrobarometer Round 4 survey instruments (see Appendix 1). This conceptual framework is suitable because it has been used in sub-Saharan Africa and in Botswana to study mass public political opinions successfully for several years. Therefore, a comparative analysis can be made between student survey data and Afrobarometer mass public data to establish whether there are differences between the opinions of the mass public of Botswana in general, university students at UB, and the opinions of youth of the same age cohort as the UB students but without higher education. The next chapter presents the research methodology which includes the research design of the study, sampling, instrumentation and several other important aspects of methodology.

Chapter 4
Research Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed research methodology, which is a guideline for this study. The chapter outlines the design of the study and the methodological operations designed to enable the study to acquire the intended sample and enable the proposed analysis. The chapter, more importantly presents the justification for choosing certain principles and methods to apply instead of others. Methodology refers to a systematic way of solving a research problem. As Babbie and Mouton (2001) point out, a research problem requires an established and well thought out methodological process. The methodology section includes the sampling techniques, testing, data instruments, collection method, pre-analysis and all that the process of conducting the research study entailed.

4.2. The nature of the study

This study is a comparative quantitative study comparing UB third year students and students from other three African universities. It is a predominantly quantitative and descriptive study (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Kothari, 2004). Polit and Hungler (1999) assert that descriptive research gives exact account of features of an event, and or any other phenomenon being studied. This aim is to describe students' attitudes towards support for democracy. On the other hand, quantitative research helps determine the relationship between an independent variable and a dependent variable (Brink and Wood, 1998; Hopkins, 2000). In this study, the objective as stated under aims in Chapter 1, is to establish the relationship between higher education (controlled or independent variable) and attitudes and behaviours of students towards democracy (dependent variable).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

4.3. Survey research method

The research design serves as a 'blueprint' for the collection, measurement and analysis of data (Polit and Hungler, 1999; Kothari, 2004). This means that the research design guides the study to promote maximum control over factors that could interfere with the validity of the results. The design is crucial because it influences the study as it builds part of the core matrix of how, when, and where the study is conducted. The chosen research methods also influence other operations such as sampling technique, size of sample, and the data collection instrument. Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006) agree with Polit and Hungler (1999) that a research design is a strategic framework of action

that links research questions and the actual execution of the research. The research design could impact on the final end state of the research which might render findings questionable when not considered studiously. In short, the research design is generally the researcher's overall plan to answer the research questions (Polit and Hungler, 1999).

Terre Blanche et al. (2006) make an analogy between designing a research study and designing a building. Without a plan, builders would make ad hoc decisions and could easily forget to include important structures in the building, or builders could build a bigger house than their budget allows. In the same manner, research designs ensure that the purpose of the study will be fulfilled and available resources are enough to enable the research to achieve precisely the most appropriate results.

The most appropriate research design for a study that seeks to establish the attitudes and behaviours towards democracy using political opinions is the survey method. Surveys have become a typical way of conducting research "for non-experimental descriptive studies that seek to describe reality" (Mathers, Fox and Hunn, 2007, p. 5). Survey research design is a set of procedures used for quantitative research in social sciences in which the researcher collects data from a sample in order to identify trends in behaviours or characteristics of a large group of people (population) (Creswell, 2005).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

As Babbie and Mouton (2001) state, the survey method is used by many researchers in social and political sciences. Political issues such as voter's opinion on candidates, perceptions of voters on recent and past elections, and attitudes towards democratic dispensations are just a few examples of what can be established using survey design. Survey designs typically use a highly structured questionnaire as the instrument to collect data. The survey method enables the researcher to collect quantifiable data. The data is transformed for analysis by virtue of coding (which is typically constructed into the questionnaire). Coding makes data compatible with software that enables statistical analysis.

Because of difficulties of achieving a census, for example, as well as practical considerations and cost-effectiveness, surveys typically use a representative sample of the potential group that the researcher is interested in. Babbie and Mouton (2001) refer to a representative sample as a selection of items that resemble the total population. Babbie and Mouton (2001), Creswell (2005) and Mathers et al. (2007) have categorised surveys into two forms, namely cross-sectional and longitudinal surveys. This study deploys a cross-sectional survey that describes behaviours or attitudes of students towards

democracy (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, and Mathers et al., 2007). This survey has been carried out at only one point in time and only provides a snapshot of opinions at that particular time. As stated above, Babbie and Mouton (2001) and Creswell (2005) state that surveys are usually used to study a representative sample of the population that will be used to establish parameters of interest about the population, such as opinions about policy issues (see also Bratton et al., 2005).

The two reasons that underpin this choice of a survey as a research design for this empirical study are:

- To establish the political attitudes and behaviours (characteristics) of students towards democracy.
- The study draws only a representative sample from the population of students.

Furthermore, the survey method was appropriate for this study because the study adopted and adapted an Afrobarometer questionnaire as a data collection instrument; this is a methodological approach consistent with Afrobarometer choice of opinion surveys. As indicated in Chapter 3, the Afrobarometer conceptual framework and questionnaire, though with modifications, are used extensively in this study.

4.4. Limitations of the survey approach

Although the survey method is the method of choice for this study, it has its own limitations and challenges. These are, according to Mathers et al. (2007):

1. Sampling plays a critical role in surveys. Surveys are almost entirely dependent upon the accuracy of the sampling frame used. In some instances, it is not possible to identify an accurate sampling frame.
2. Surveys can tell how many people behave in a certain way but surveys are not so good at explaining why people behave as they do. Qualitative research, such as focus groups, is usually better at answering 'why' questions.

4.5. Case selection

The study focuses on UB as a case study and samples third-year students across all the faculties in the main campus. The UB has been chosen because of its flagship status - and not because it is representative of the higher education sector - in Botswana. The UB is Botswana's most prestigious public higher education institution. Hence, UB is potentially an important player in the development of the social, economic and political leadership of the country.

For comparative analysis, the study uses studies by the Higher Education Research and Advocacy

Network in Africa (HERANA) which is a project of the Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET) in Cape Town. The HERANA student governance surveys were conducted in the Universities of Cape Town in South Africa, Dar res Salaam in Tanzania and Nairobi in Kenya. These studies offered similarities in many respects to this current study, making cross-national comparative analysis possible (cf. Luescher-Mamashela et al, 2011).

4.5.1. University of Botswana: context and target population

The UB is Botswana's first national and most prestigious university. It was built in 1980 when the then president of the Republic, Sir Seretse Khama, called upon nationals and patriots to participate in building the institution (Mokopakgosi, 2008; Makgala, 2012). The appeal was made as a result of Lesotho withdrawing from the partnership of a joint national university called the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (Mokopakgosi, 2008). The Botswana University Campus Appeal (BUCA) was a call to appeal for support in terms of finance and manpower in order to augment the pledged support from donors and international financers (Ibid). Batswana donated livestock, money, and time and this university is therefore to some extent indebted to the Batswana people. The role of UB therefore also involves compensating the communities that contributed by producing intellectuals and building a democratic society. Undoubtedly the UB has contributed so far by producing a large proportion of the country's elites and political leaders.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The university has several institutes and schools spread across the country, such as the Okavango Research Institute (ORI) situated in Maun and a small administrative campus in Francistown in the north of the country. There are five faculties situated in the main campus in Gaborone and all are divided into several departments. The UB has a total of approximately 16 000 students (*UB Fact book, 2011*) including undergraduate full-time and part-time students as well as full-time and part-time postgraduate students shared across all the faculties and the school of post-graduate studies. Overall, there are close to 16 000 FTE (full-time equivalent) students in the university. A rough calculation shows that about 160 students participate in formal student leadership programmes as leaders, which represents 1% participation in formal student leadership structures. The composition of student leaders in the sample is cognizant of this percentage.

The UB main campus is cosmopolitan in nature, with students from across the globe; most foreign students are from the Southern African Development Council (SADC) region, another proportion from the rest of Africa and the remaining are residents of countries from other parts of the world (UB Fact Book, 2010). Most students from abroad are exchange students from universities that have a

memorandum of agreement with UB, while others are studying in a university abroad but doing research in Botswana.

In its mission, the UB aspires to be a leading research and teaching institution in Africa and the world by the year 2015. Its stated vision is: UB vision and mission, respectively; "The University of Botswana will be a leading academic Centre of excellence in Africa and the world" and "To advance the intellectual and human resource capacity of the nation and the international community" (UB, 2011). The vision and mission are consistent with the Botswana's long term vision embodied in the country's vision 2016. In order to accomplish its mandate, the institution has several strategic goals and values which are the main guidelines and which emphasize intensifying research. Most of the teaching staff has doctoral degrees and a significant number of the academic core is members of the professoriate.

4.5.2 **Student politics on campus**

The UB offers its students an opportunity to participate in the national political system by allowing students to parrot and represent national politics on campus. Thus the student leadership, particularly the SRC, is manned by students who are democratically elected and elections are mostly contested under mainstream national political party banners; individual candidates who are not members of any political organization rarely succeed. Currently, 2010/2011, the opposition Botswana National Front's (BNF) student political organ, called the Movement against Student Suppression (MASS), is in power. There are several other parties, including but not limited to, GS 26 for the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), Botswana Congress for Student Democracy (BCSD) representing the Botswana Congress Party (BCP), and the Botswana Student Movement for Democracy (BSMD) for the newly formed BDP splinter party Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD). These student groupings are nominally independent but work within the confines of their main political parties' constitutions and the chairpersons of these student organizations report to the executives of their respective parties. There are also several other formal non-political groupings, religious groups, and sporting teams which enable students to interact.

Student elections are held every academic year and the party or individuals that get into power do so by winning a majority of the fourteen seats. The level of competition for office should not be under-estimated. There are fierce student political campaigns during times of election and there is just as much rivalry and animosity among student political rivals as in the national politics. Many members of parliament and key political figures in the country are products of UB's student politics.

4.6. Data source

Most of the data used for this study was of primary origin, namely, survey data and a few documents retrieved from the UB administration. The survey data was collected using a structured questionnaire from Afrobarometer studies. The survey included only students who were on campus during lecture time. These sample units in the survey were selected by stratified random sampling technique, which was achieved by dividing the population into strata or sub-populations and the sample was drawn randomly to allow for representativeness (Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

4.6.1. The Sample

Only the five faculties on the main campus, Business, Science, Humanities, Social Sciences and Education were included in the study. There are numerous courses from a host of disciplines within the different faculties including commerce, environmental science, education, natural sciences and law, just to name a few. Most degrees are offered on a four year full-time basis, six years on a part-time basis. This study was conducted with third-year students who, at that time, numbered across the five faculties. Each faculty contributed a percentage proportional to the number of students admitted in programmes within that faculty, in keeping with Altbach's argument that students "participation in political activities varies by faculty of study" (Altbach, 1991, p 252-253). The related challenges are further explained under sampling below.

UNIVERSITY of the

The reason for choosing to survey third-year students was because the aim of the study was to establish students' attitudes and behaviours in support of democracy in order to estimate the contribution of higher education towards support for democracy. Focusing on third-year students was a way to include only students with considerable experience in higher education. This reason is further elaborated on under sampling.

The proportion of student leaders to non-student leaders was strategically considered. Student leaders as defined above accounted for 1% in the sample. This proportion was intended to enable meaningful comparison between the attitudes of student leaders (SLs) and students not in leadership (SNLs). An imbalance in the proportion in comparison with the total population could underestimate or inflate findings, rendering the conclusions and findings inappropriate or even wrong (Babbie and Mouton, 2011). A total of 402 third-year students, of whom forty-seven were student leaders, were sampled. This number is 22% of the total third-year population on the main campus (but only 2% of the total FTEs).

4.6.2. Comparative Afrobarometer data

The study makes comparison between UB students' attitudes and behaviours towards democracy with those of Botswana mass publics. The data on mass public was used with permission from the Afrobarometer Round 4 surveys of 2008. Within the mass publics, the study put particular emphasis on the comparison between UB students and their age peers who lacked higher education. The study uses the 10 to 90 age percentiles of the UB students to compare them with the same percentiles of youth in the mass public data. Percentiles are important to determine where to draw the line between observed values within the distribution. In this case, only students whose age is between the 10th and 90th percentiles are used for comparison with the 10-90 age percentiles of the youth age cohort. The UB 10-90 percentile group includes the age cohort from 21 to 27 (N=283 valid responses) which is 71% of the students in the sample.

The respective age cohort (21 to 27 years of age) of the Botswana mass public includes 263 respondents in the Afrobarometer dataset. In this cohort, a total of three had no formal schooling, fourteen had some primary schooling, seven had completed primary schooling, sixty-five had some kind of secondary/high schooling, 102 completed high school, thirty-eight had a post-secondary school qualification, seventeen had some university and seventeen completed university. Therefore, the total N valid of the Botswana 10-90 percentile age cohort without higher education is 229 (N valid minus 17 had some university and 17 completed university) respondents which represent 87% of the group.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

4.7. Sampling

It is ideal but practically challenging to collect a census (Babbie and Mouton, 2001) for a research project, especially on a campus with close to 16 000 FTEs. The main challenges are the resources and time needed to reach every person in a census. Because the study attempts to establish the characteristics of a large population, it uses the stratified random sampling technique to construct a representative sample.

Sampling refers to a technique of selecting research participants from the population that is being studied (Creswell, 2005; Terre Blanche et al., 2006). The process involves decisions about who to include, settings and/or social processes to observe. This crucial process needs to take into cognizance the objectives of the study which would consequently influence the sampling units. The most important aspect of sampling is the representativeness of the sample to the entire population. Both Hopkins (2000) and Babbie and Mouton (2001) put emphasis on the appropriateness of the sampling

and representation of the sample in order to accurately estimate the relationship between variables under observation and make correct inferences to the population.

In other words, the sample ought to be made of students with a considerable level of higher education, which is the independent variable. Higher education was controlled for and students doing the first two years of university did not have the required level of higher education, while those with higher levels were exiting as graduates. In simple terms higher education would have not made any significant difference in a fresher who had left secondary education recently. Students doing their third-year were chosen because they were considered appropriate for the controlled condition; therefore third year students were the primary sampling unit. Representation was limited to the attribute relevant to the substantive interest of the study (Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

4.7.1. Sampling procedure

As mentioned above, stratified random sampling was used to select sample units. Stratified random sampling is a sampling technique in which particular strata or categories of individuals are represented in the sampling process (Maletta, 2007, p. 3). For Babbie and Mouton (2001), when the population from which a sample is to be drawn does not constitute a homogeneous group, the stratified sampling technique is applied so as to obtain a representative sample. The population is stratified into a number of non-overlapping sub-populations or strata and sample items are selected from each stratum. With simple or systematic random sampling, the sample could end up including everyone, even those being controlled for in the study.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

There are different ways to select a simple random sample: a computer random number generator, the hat model, and a table of random numbers. Following the warnings of Babbie and Mouton (2001) and Maletta (2007), the sampling procedure involved, first, stratification by faculty so that the sample is representative of the different disciplinary backgrounds. This was done by first acquiring a course register and assigning a number to all classes that had a minimum of twenty-five students, across all five faculties. Three classes were randomly picked per faculty. All the fifteen classes that were picked were included in the survey. All students in the selected classes were allowed to participate in the survey, as long as they gave their informed consent (see below and Appendix 1). Student leaders were treated as an additional stratum and the SRC as a whole was invited to participate in a separate session dedicated to the SRC. Other student leaders were identified from among the respondents to the questionnaire who indicated their student leadership responsibilities in responses to questions A2 and A3. Student leaders thus form a sub-sample for the study (Table 3). Chapter 5, in section 5.3, analyses

and discusses the sample representativeness along with the consideration of generalizability.

4.8. Instrumentation and questionnaire design

The study uses a highly structured questionnaire as tool to collect data. Polit and Hungler (1997) define a questionnaire as "a method of collecting and gathering data from respondents about their attitudes, knowledge and perceptions" (p. 466). Questionnaires are a useful option to consider when conducting a survey since they are economical and quick especially if the sample is large and geographically dispersed (Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

4.8.1. Survey questionnaires

The questionnaire originates in the Afrobarometer questionnaire that has been tested and used for the Afrobarometer Round 4 surveys in numerous sub-Saharan countries. A host of variables seek to establish the public's political opinions in sub-Saharan African countries (Afrobarometer, 2009). The questionnaire was first adapted for a similar study, the HERANA student surveys in Tanzania, Kenya and South Africa, conducted by Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) and Mwollo-Ntalima (2011). The adapted questionnaire consists of a set of combinations of both open-ended and close ended questions (see Appendix 1). Previous experience with the adapted Afrobarometer questionnaire (cf. Mwollo-ntalima, 2011) proved the original HERANA student survey questionnaire much too long as it took up to 45 minutes to complete. This resulted in lapses in responses, especially towards the end of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was significantly shortened when adapted for this study and indigenized to the local Botswana and UB context. It was, however, modified not to change the content but rather to increase its efficiency and applicability. Indigenization meant using various country specific terms, for example, the vice-chancellor not vice-rector, SRC not USRC. After tweaking and modifications, the expected time to finish the questionnaire was reduced from 45 to 20 minutes. The questionnaire was again tested before being used to collect data for this study.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The final questionnaire includes five sections (A-E);

Section A: Facts about oneself

Section B: Involvement in politics

Section C: Views on student representation and university governance

Section D: Interest and involvement in national politics, and

Section E: Views and assessment of politics and government in Botswana

(See also Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 15; cf. Appendix 1).

The questionnaire begins with a series of close–ended questions, with boxes to tick and it then finishes with a section of open-ended questions or more detailed responses. Close-ended questions are easily analysed as answers could be given values to suit computer-based analysis. When open-ended questions are analysed quantitatively, the qualitative information is reduced in a process of coding and answers tend to lose some of their initial meaning (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Close-ended questions take less time to fill in as answers are already provided, the respondent just needs to choose what best describes their situation (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Many questions use a Likert scale to measure attitudes. Bertram (2007) defines the Likert scale as psychometric response scale primarily used in questionnaires to obtain participant's preferences or degree of agreement with a statement or set of statements (Bertram, 2007, p.1).. The Likert scale measures attitudes on a standard format that consists of a series of statements using the following typical options: "strongly agree", "agree", "neither agree nor disagree", "disagree" and "strongly disagree" (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The respondent is then expected to indicate what corresponds most closely with their attitude. Even though this questionnaire has been used in previous studies, it is important to briefly consider its reliability and validity.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

4.9. Reliability and validity of the research instrument

Drost (2011, p. 105) posits that an important part of social research is the quantification of human behaviour using measurements and procedures to observe such behaviour. For this quantification to be meaningful, it is important to execute it in a manner that is appropriate and viable. The quality of research and research outcomes should be judged on the basis of the procedures put in place (Yin, 2009). The notions of validity and reliability provide measures and logical procedures that can determine the quality or trustworthiness of the research.

Reliability refers to consistency of measurement (Carmines and Zeller, 1979), or "the extent to which measurements are repeatable….when different persons perform the measurement, on different occasions, under different conditions, with supposedly alternative instruments which measure the same thing" (Drost, 2011, p. 105). By being reliable, a test or experiment suggests that the study could be replicated, which enables researchers and observers to satisfactorily frame theories and draw conclusions.

As Drost (2011) indicates, data obtained from behavioural research is susceptible to errors, possibly from systematic errors or mere random errors. This is even more reason to subject a data collection instrument, a questionnaire in this case, to a reliability assessment to establish the extent to which the

instrument used to measure human behaviour or attributes can be relied on.

Since this study considered reliability to be key, a test-retest reliability method was used to estimate reliability. However, Drost (2011) continues to explain that test-retest reliability indicates a temporal stability of a test from the measurement session to another (p. 108). As explained under section 4.8.4, the questionnaire used in this study was tested even though it had been used previously in a different geographical context. Thus its reliability is known to an extent because it is an established research instrument. Furthermore, because the questionnaire had been used previously in other studies, it enabled a comparison and a contrast to establish variance in behaviour.

Validity refers to the extent to which a test accurately measures the specific characteristics that it is supposed to measure (Uys and Basson, 1991; Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Drost, 2011; Joppe, 2000). While reliability is concerned with the accuracy of the actual measuring instrument, validity is concerned with the meaningfulness of attributes studied (Joppe, 2000, p.1). There are several types of validity: statistical conclusion validity, internal validity, construct validity, and translation validity (see Drost, 2011, p. 116; Yin, 2009, p. 41). Some ways to improve validity are by making sure that the goals and aims of the study are clearly defined and operationalized.

In this study, other than clearly stating research objectives, the conceptual framework (and concept map) and operationalized concepts explained how and why concepts and attributes would be studied. Moreover, the researcher checked for consistency of the study findings by comparing them with findings of other similar studies (such as that by Luescher-Mamashela et al. 2011). Such comparison with other studies enabled establishing any possible deviation of the study results with other similar studies.

4.9.1. Questionnaire testing

Babbie and Mouton (2001) caution that before embarking on fieldwork, the draft questionnaire is tested, particularly if it is designed for self-completion. The pilot test includes a procedure to evaluate the tool, establishing whether it measures the intended characters and is void of ambiguity (Creswell, 2005). In light of this, the researcher made sure that all the relevant issues were included, ambiguous or leading questions were corrected, and there was no omission of some issues important to the respondent.

Moreover, although previous use of the questionnaire had established reliability and validity, in light

of the modifications the questionnaire was tested again in the context of Botswana. It was tested for any ambiguity owing to indigenization of the questions. Testing also provided guidance on avoiding technical language and whether all questions were applicable to all respondents. In the pilot test, a group of twenty third-year students from UB was convened in one classroom and introduced to the survey. After twenty minutes had elapsed, the questionnaires were collected and students were asked to evaluate the questionnaire and outline its shortcomings. There were no major corrections after the pilot test session. The time limit also served as a time-test, showing that the form could be filled in within such a limit.

4.10. Execution of the project

The actual execution of the field research is a very important step in the research process that needs to be given utmost attention in order for results to be reliable and credible. It is one thing to choose appropriate research techniques such as sampling, research design method, data collection instrument, and so on, but it is another thing to execute the research. It is incumbent upon the researcher to make sure that the project is executed in a systematic manner and on time so that the collected data is adequate and dependable (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Creswell, 2005).

4.10.1. Data collection

After formulating the research problem, developing a research design, identifying a suitable data collection instrument and adapting and indigenising it for the study, and selecting the sample units, the actual data collection ensues. Polit and Hungler (1999) define data as "information obtained during the course of investigation or research" (p. 267). Therefore, as Creswell (2005) states, data collection in research language means the actual procurement of raw information pertaining to attributes or anything that is being investigated. This part of the process entailed visiting the University of Botswana's main campus located in Gaborone.

Overcoming gate-keepers is one of the major tasks that preceded the actual process of data collection. In the case of UB this entailed firstly contacting university management in order to be granted entrance and permission to undertake the study. Upon submission of all the necessary documents – such as ethics clearance from the University of the Western Cape - to the Deputy Vice-Chancellor Student Affairs (DVCSA) and the Dean of Student Affairs, the researcher was accorded access. The researcher made arrangements and appointments with lecturers and laboratory assistants to inform them about the research and ask for permission to conduct the survey during the classes that had been sampled for the study. Once all necessary staff had agreed to appointments, the students could be

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

contacted and informed.

Students were contacted during class sessions and the questionnaire administered in the presence of the researcher, either at the end or beginning of a class depending on what suit the staff member in charge. First, the students were introduced to the study and emphasis was placed on the importance of taking part in such a study and why it was important to measure attitudes towards democracy. In keeping with the ethics of social research, participation in the survey was made voluntary. Once filling in the survey had commenced, discussion among students was discouraged. This was in order to ensure that students gave their personal responses. At the end of twenty minutes the questionnaires were collected.

4.10.2. Data cleaning, pre-coding and sample weighting

The data collection method and sampling technique ensured a representative sample and that student leaders were oversampled in a sub-sample (see next chapter). By definition a sample is smaller than the corresponding population (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Creswell, 2005). Apart from using stratified sampling, in a diverse population weights are handily used to correct the composition of the sample and make it appropriately representative. Maletta (2007) states that in research, weights are used to correct for potential survey bias that might have a bearing on the reliability of results. However, as Saraf and Chen (2007) state, weighting cannot correct all types of survey error, for example, of questionnaire design, data collection, and sampling, nonresponse effect.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Given that student leaders were deliberately oversampled, this sub-sample needed to be re-weighted. The total realized sample for student leaders was forty-nine, representing 12%. Thus, when adding the student leaders to the overall sample it is important to apply weights for student leaders to represent 1% (while student not leaders represent 99%) because it is estimated that student leaders accounted for 1% representation in the (FTEs) at UB. In the process, the sample was also weighted to 400 responses so that it becomes a solid and neat number for analysis and easier for comparison with UCT, UON and UDSM which also had been weighted to 400 students each (sees also Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011 and Mwollo-Ntalima, 2011) (see Table 1).

Table 1 Student leader and student not in leadership weights

	Students not in leadership	Student leaders
N	353	49
weights	1.121813	0.081633

The data cleaning, pre-coding and coding process is critical, as it prepares data for analysis. Pre-coding was done, initially, by revisiting the outcomes of the pilot test and therefore having some understanding of what to expect from the main data collection. It is generally easier to specify the codes in advance where one can anticipate the possible answers as in closed questions (Mathers et al., 2007). Using a Likert Scale in many questions represents a way of pre-coding the responses. It was then also possible to aggregate and collate responses in preparation for analysis. The few open-ended questions required specific attention and coding during data entry and cleaning, and were coded before the actual analysis could take place in keeping with the conceptual framework and concept map (see previous chapter and Appendix 2). This coding enabled responses to be entered into SPSS which is the statistical analytical instrument for the study. So it was imperative to have numerical data as SPSS does not analyze data in word form but rather entails transposing words into numbers (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). After coding and cleaning, data from all the 402 scripts were entered into SPSS and analyzed in ways discussed in the next chapter.

4.10.3. Missing data

Schafer and Graham (2002) point out that missing data occurs in almost all statistical empirical analyses irrespective of the researcher's attentiveness during data collection and/or entering on the analysis tool. Missing data is a potential nuisance and needs to be handled appropriately. As Pallant (2011, p.46) states, "it is helpful to know why the data are missing". The important thing is not the missing data per se, but how to handle such missing data (Schafer and Graham, 2002; Allison, 2003). Without data, what is the way forward? Pallant (2011) explains four general cases of 'missingness' that commonly exist and how they differ in form. Some are more complex than others.

- Missingness at random
- Missingness that depends on unobserved predictors
- Missingness that depends on the missing value itself.

Missing data is not unimportant data; missing data is a statistic. One might want to establish why a question was not answered either in total or partially or answered ambiguously. In this study, some missing data emerged as the data was cleaned and entered into SPSS. The most common types found were Missingness at random and Missingness that depends on the missing value itself. Each case of missing data was treated on its merits and assigned 999 codes. For instance, in a question that required respondents to write their age (a1e), a missing value could mean that either they did not want to

disclose their age for whatever reason or they forgot to answer the question. By contrast, in a different question a student might genuinely not know the answer, for example, the name of their Vice-Chancellor or their SRC president. If a larger proportion of respondents skip a question, then it is worrisome and needs attention.

Another example is when respondents do not complete a question that asks them to define democracy (a12). In this case, a non-response is actually a valid response category (rather than a case of missing data). Overall, however, it is evident that open-ended questions more frequently than close-ended ones have data missing. There were also numerous non-responses observed towards the end of the questionnaire. As the analysis continued, coding and recoding enabled appropriate handling of missing data. How such challenges have been handled with respect to each individual variable is discussed in the analysis, chapter 5.

4.11. Research ethics, consent and good conduct

Since this study uses human beings as research subjects, it is important to make sure that their dignity is guaranteed. Researchers must exercise care to safeguard the rights and integrity of individuals and their institutions (Polit and Hungler, 1999, p. 132-134). Though the questionnaire did not solicit personal identification information, it was still expected to conform to required and expected ethical standards (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). As part of the process to ensure research ethics, the proposal of this study was submitted to scrutiny against ethical standards which it had to satisfy. This was done by the University of the Western Cape (UWC) Research Committee and ultimately the University's Senate. An ethical clearance certificate was issued. The research process was monitored by two academic supervisors assigned to the student. The final questionnaire, ethics clearance and a request letter for data collection were then sent to the UB management (see Appendices).

The study entailed assuring the privacy and confidentiality of participants would be maintained. The assurance was also provided to agree that the data would be used only for academic purposes and nothing would be done that could prejudice respondents or compromise their dignity. No physical harm was inflicted or could have been inflicted by filling in the questionnaire. It was neither in the interest of the study nor of the researcher to identify individual participants in the survey. Thus, no student names, identity numbers or other markers were ever sought in the questionnaire which could have associated any respondent with any script. The respondents were only asked to sign an attached consent form as a formal way of agreeing to participate in the survey and thereby also indicating that they were fully aware of the purpose of the study and were not coerced into participating. In the event

that participants wanted to make a follow up or query, the consent form had names and contact details of both the student and the supervisors. None of the participants expressed discomfort or that they found the experience harmful in any way.

4.12. Challenges in the research process

The study initially proposed comparing attitudes and behaviours of students in a private institution with those in a public tertiary institution. However, access to the private institution selected in the proposal stage of the research, and to alternative institutions approached later, proved impossible. Private institutions with substantial student enrolments were reluctant to participate in the study. Reasons given were that the study sought political opinions, which were perceived as a threat to the survival of the private institution as a business entity. This was a serious obstacle as two of the private institutions are international tertiary institutions operating in Botswana. This setback had not been anticipated and it changed the originally proposed design of the study significantly, to what it is now.

Another challenge was that at UB some departments did not offer courses which met the required minimum of student numbers. In such instances, extra classes were requested from the same faculty/department to off-set deficit. Bureaucratic gatekeeping proved an ongoing challenge. The protocol of requesting permission to conduct research was never going to be an easy process and it was experienced thus during the research process. From management, to lecturers and to students, it remained a demanding process even when UWC and the researcher furnished with the required paperwork.

A last challenge was occasional reluctance by students to participate in the survey. Despite the questionnaire being shortened in order to reduce time spent filling it in, some students either complained of their time not spent productively or of being overworked. This was due to some other studies by different researchers that were running concurrently with this study. This proved a real disadvantage as it possibly affected the keenness with which students completed the questionnaire. For the researcher it meant that in addition to informing the respondents about the research, the researcher also had to motivate them to participate.

4.13. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research design and methodology of this study. It described the population, sampling technique, the sample, data-collection instruments and the initial stages

preceding data analysis such as data cleaning and matters related to missing data. Lastly, the chapter has presented key issues considered with regards to the ethics of research involving human subjects and reflected on the challenges experienced in the research process, particularly during data collection. The next chapter, Chapter 5, presents the data analysis and discussion. The chapter consequently, reflects on matters such as the realized sample, representivity, the way the data was analyzed, and the implications of the findings.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Chapter 5
Data analysis and interpretation

5.1. Introduction

Data analysis refers to using a set of techniques to separate component parts of a whole in order to explore them and their relationship with each other (Creswell, 2005). Data analysis requires a series of closely related processes in order to make primary raw data user-friendly and ready to interpret in terms of existing theories and other findings. The analysis and interpretation enables a researcher to answer research questions, highlight key findings, and make conclusions (Le Compte and Preissle, 1993, p. 158).

In this study, analysis proceeded immediately after data entry, coding and cleaning, establishing data categories, indexing new categories, and running various analytical techniques (compare Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software to run frequencies, crosstabs and regressions to explore associations between higher education and democracy (Ogunniyi, 1992; Creswell, 2005; Pallant, 2011). In this study, descriptive statistical analyses mainly describe frequencies, while percentages are used in order to describe, among others, the sample population and response rates. The frequencies are presented either in tabular form, graphs or charts using absolute numbers, fractions, decimals, percentages, etc. Where appropriate, various measures of central tendencies such as means, modes and medians are used to further expand on the description of the sample and its characteristics.

In establishing the relationship between variables in this study, several statistical tests of association were run to discover whether there was an association between two variables. In particular, Chi-square, and Fisher's exact tests of association have been used to establish association between various variables (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Statistical significance is further used to complement tests of association and establish whether these associations between two characters are statistically significant. A significance test tests whether the relationship between specific factors is statistically significant or not (Ogunniyi, 1992, p. 35). For this study, such tests establish the significance of differences in attitudes and behaviours of different subsamples/groups of students, particularly in the comparison between students not in leadership and student leaders as well as between students and mass publics (especially same age cohorts of youth without higher education). If there are significance differences, hypotheses such as "participation in student politics and leadership education

programmes significantly influences support for democracy" may be accepted or rejected. Or in other words, there is an association between student leadership and support for democracy or any political behaviours and attitudes under consideration.

5.2. Response rate

The response rate is the number of complete questionnaires/interviews in comparison with the number of contacted respondents (Groves and Lyberg, 1988). A response rate is calculated arithmetically by dividing the number of complete surveys by the number of contacted respondents. A sufficiently high response rate is very important for a survey because it improves the quality of the information and the findings. In this study, a total of 417 questionnaires were issued to students and only those questionnaires in which more than half of the questions had been attempted were included in the survey. In all, 402 questionnaires fulfilled this minimum threshold. Therefore the unweighted response rate is 402/417=0.96 or 96%. The response rate was generally high because the questionnaire was short – i.e. 20 minutes to fill in -and perhaps because the questionnaire was administered in a classroom setting.

5.3. Realized sample

Table 2 presents the third-year student enrolments at UB by faculty and the corresponding realized unweighted sample. In the sample, there were sixty-three students from the Faculty of Business, accounting for sixteen% of sample, sixty-nine from Education (seventeen %), eighty-eight from Humanities (twenty-two %), fifty-four from Science (thirteen %) and 116 from Social science (twenty-nine %). There are differences of faculty representation in the sample and third year faculty enrolments. The sampling technique selected only three classes of a minimum of twenty-five students each and was not sensitive to proportional representation in the sample vis-à-vis the faculty student population.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Table 2 Faculty enrolments and composition in the sample

Faculty	Total 3rd year enrolment (Absolute and %)	Sample (Absolute and %)
Humanities	500 (27.7%)	91 (21.6%)
Science	175 (9.7%)	56 (13.9%)
Social Sciences	450 (24.9%)	118 (27.6%)
Business	280 (15.5%)	63 (15.8%)
Education	399 (22.1%)	68 (16.9)
Total	**1804 (100%)**	**402 (100%)**

5.3.1. Student leader composition in the sample

As indicated in the methodology chapter, the study samples student leaders in order to compare their attitudes with those of students not in leadership. There were forty-nine student leaders which accounts for ≈12% of the sample in total, while student leadership is estimated to account only for 1 % of the whole UB FTEs. Hence student leaders were weighted to represent one percent while students not in leadership represent ninety-nine percent (see Table 1 for weights).

Table 3 Student leaders and students not in leadership distribution across all the faculties

	Faculty					
	Social Sciences	Humanities	Education	Business	Science	Total
Students not in Formal Leadership	96	80	61	56	51	353
Student Leaders	20	8	8	7	3	49
Total	116	88	69	63	54	402

N=402, Missing=12.

5.3.2. Age of students in the sample and Afrobarometer mass public age cohort

Research indicates the influence of age on political participation, activism and the democratic space that different age groups occupy. Weber (2012) explains that "since the proportion of the population that are young adults has fallen due to lower birth rates and higher life expectancy, Western Europe has witness an unprecedented period of peace and democratic stability. … [T]he probability of a democratic breakdown rises with the amount of young men aged 15-29 within a society" (Weber, 2012, p. 1). Moller (1968) also argues that the occurrence of political radicalism and revolutions is a

factor of age, especially male youth cohorts. In his book *A Clash of Generations* (2006), Urdal quotes Huntington:

> "I don't think Islam is any more violent than other religions….but the key factor is the demographic factor. Generally speaking, the young people who go out and kill other people are males between the ages of 16 and 30" (Urdal, 2006, p. 607).

The occurrence of an increased number of young adults in relation to the population overall, has become a critical predictor in conflict studies. There is strong evidence in favour of age; "The probability of the collapse of a democracy is five to seven times higher in countries with a proportion of young men above average, if all other factors are held constant" (Weber, 2012, p. 10). The author argues that age is predictor of collapse of democracy much more than other factors such as GDP per Capita, religious heritage, level of unemployment) being held constant As part of the study, other than establishing the contribution of higher education to democracy, the study also attempts to establish whether age is a determinant of support for democracy. The study compares the same age cohort of the UB's third year students in the sample with the Batswana mass public age cohort.

Figure 1 shows the age distribution of UB third year students in the sample. The majority of the sampled students (351) representing eighty-seven%, belong to the age group 18 to 25 years. There were thirty-seven students in the 26-33 age group, eight students in the 34-41 years group and six students in the oldest group, 42-49 years. The mean age of the UB sample is 23.5 years and the median is 22.

For the purpose of comparison with the Batswana mass public age group without higher education in the Afrobarometer dataset and the HERANA student survey dataset, the study uses the 10 and 90 percentiles of the UB students to compare to the 10 to 90 percentiles of the other two data sets. The UB 10-90 percentile group includes age from 21 to 27 (N=283 valid responses) which is seventy-one% of the students in the sample. The 21 to 27 age group of Batswana mass public age cohort without higher education has N=229 responses. Similarly, the 10 to 90 percentiles of respondents from the three HERANA case study universities comprise of age cohorts 20-23 year olds for UCT, UON is 22-25 year olds, and the UDSM is 22-26 year old students (cf. Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 6).

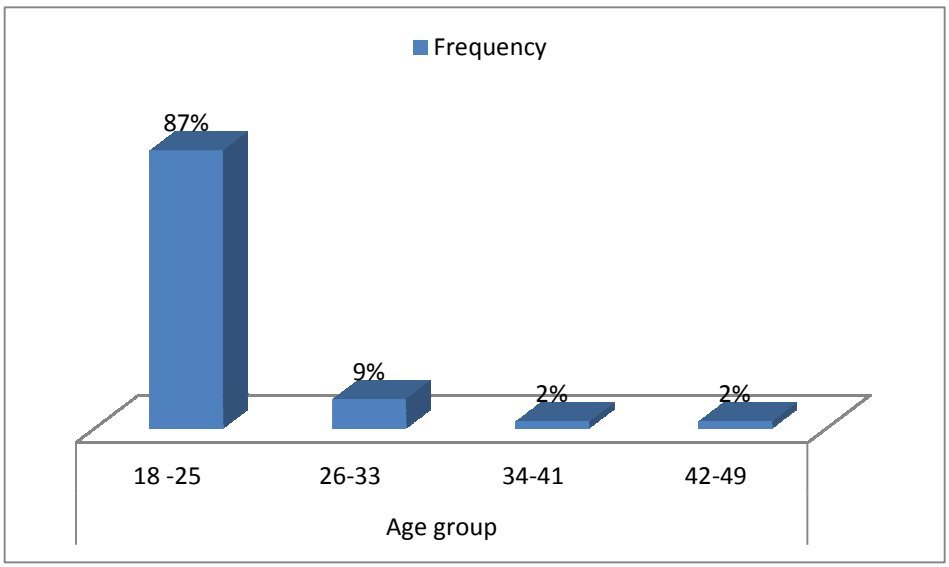


Figure 1 Age distribution in the sample

5.3.3. Place of origin before joining the university

Research has argued that the place of origin influences political participation. Evans and Rose (2007b) and Bratton and Mattes (2003) indicate that residential location is a factor that influences support for democracy. This is largely due to available amenities such as news media and other information portals which inform people on political matters. Rural and urban people are also exposed to different situations such as lower levels of literacy amongst rural dwellers; as a result, rural dwellers are less likely to participate politically (Evans and Rose, 2007b). Scarcity of news media (Mattes and Mughogho, 2010) also plays a role in making African rural dwellers less politically inclined; correspondingly, Mamdani (1996) argues that rural Africans are politically marginalized due to their ways of life.

While it is a challenge to get media sources in rural and remote areas, a larger base of urban residents receive news relatively timely and are conversant with current affairs whether they are local, international, governance issues or other political affairs (Bratton and Mattes, 2003).

The sample shows that participation in student leadership and politics appears to be biased towards urban dwellers. A majority, 29 of the 49 student leaders representing 62%, joined the university from urban areas while only a third was from rural areas. This distribution appears to be consistent with Mamdani (1996) and Bratton and Mattes (2003) who argue that residential location, originating from rural or urban, has considerable influence on participation in student political activities.

In contrast, Table 4 shows that there is almost an equal distribution of students from urban and rural areas in the sample overall and just a little bit over half of the students not in leadership (51%) are from rural areas and almost as many (49%) came from urban areas before they joined university. This is similar to the UDSM distribution while most of the UCT students come from urban areas, according to the HERANA research project (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011).

Table 4 Place of origin before joining the University of Botswana

	Place of origin (before joining the institution)		
	Rural	Urban	Total
Students not in Formal Leadership	168 (50.8%)	163 (49.2%)	331 (100.0%)
Student leaders	18(38.3%)	29(61.7%)	47 (100.0%)
Total	186(49.2%)	192(50.8%)	378(100.0%)

N=402, Missing=24

In summary, the previous section presented the response rate and described part of the sociological aspects of the sample, the age distribution of students, faculty enrolments, proportion of student leaders, and origin of students. The section showed why weighting is important and how the sample is weighted (also see foregoing chapter).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

5.3.4. Generalization and representativeness

The logic of generalization is premised on certain conditions, such as representativeness of the sample (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). Payne and Williams (2005) explain that "to generalize is to claim that what is the case in one place or time will be so elsewhere or in another time" (p. 296). Payne and Williams (2005) assert that, ideally, generalization depends on some form of sampling in which each stratum of the population has the same known probability of selection (p. 297). Therefore the process of choosing sampling units and the sampling technique are very important because it determines whether the sample may be representative (Bartlett, Kotlik and Higgins, 2001).

Representativeness of the sample consequently determines whether the study findings may be inferred to the population from which the sample was drawn. As indicated in the methodology chapter, section 4.7, the sampling technique must ensure that each member of the population has an equal chance of being selected in the sample (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; Gassie, 1968, p. 151).

In this study, by stratifying the population by level of study (so that only year three classes were eligible for inclusion in the sample) and choosing an equal number of classes per faculty during sampling (see section 4.7), an appropriately representative sample was constructed. Moreover, there was an emphasis on the sample being sufficiently large to warrant a certain level of confidence (see Babbie and Mouton, 2001). A sample of 353 students and 49 student leaders (before weights were applied) was drawn from a possible 15000 full-time equivalent (FTE) students and from a possible 1804 third-year students. The study took cognizance of these conditions to appropriately generalize the findings to the entire third-year UB student population.

The next section is dedicated to answering specific research questions on attitudes and behaviours of students towards democracy, the differences of attitudes and behaviours towards democracy between UB students, Botswana mass publics, Botswana mass public age cohort and students of UCT, UDSM and UON students.

5.4. Students' attitudes and behaviours towards democracy: Demand for and supply of Democracy

The study attempts to analyse data on public opinion collected from UB third-year students. The analysis visits each question and analyses the data in order to satisfactorily answer the research questions. As indicated above and in Chapter 3, the study follows the logic of the Afrobarometer conceptual framework and related studies such as Rose et al. (1998); Bratton et al., (2005), Fails (2009), Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011). These are the main research questions:

- What are students' attitudes in support of democracy in general, and what are their perceptions of the way democracy works in Botswana?
- Is there any significant difference in support for democracy between students not in leadership and student leaders?
- Are there significant differences in support for democracy between students and Batswana in general? What are they?
- Are there significant differences in support for democracy between students at the UB and students from other African universities?

After describing the sample, the chapter now presents the various analyses and subsequent interpretations of the results in an attempt to answer the above research questions. The analysis is divided into three parts.

Part One deals with demand for democracy, which includes constructs such as understanding democracy, preference for democracy, and rejection of non-democratic regime alternatives. Understanding of democracy is a starting point for establishing demand and support for democracy. The study presumes that democracy is more likely to survive when the citizenry show considerable preference for democracy and reject forms of authoritarianism (cf. Bratton and Mattes, 2007; Fails, 2009).

Part Two focuses on perceptions of the supply of democracy to establish the extent to which UB students perceive democracy to be institutionalized in Botswana and whether students are satisfied with the way democracy works in their country.

Part Three focuses mainly on the students' political participation and cognitive awareness. The notions of demand for and supply of democracy do not indicate how actively involved students are or whether they are aware of their political environment (see also section 3.4). In this part students' interest in politics, participation in political procedures such as elections, use of media, and their knowledge of politics are established, explained and expounded on. In this part, issues of civic participation such as joining in protests, contacting leadership, and attending community meetings are measured to assess the extent of students' political engagement (see Appendix 2).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Moreover, throughout the analysis seeks to establish if there are any significant differences between students not in leadership and student leaders, UB students and Batswana general mass publics and mass public age cohorts, as well as between UB students and students from other African universities. Overall the study therefore seeks to establish whether being a UB student or a UB student leader impacts on the political attitudes and behaviours of students, especially in support of democracy (as well as related perceptions, attitudes and behaviours). To understand the analysis, it is recommended that the reader uses Chapter 3; Conceptual frame work and appendix 1; questionnaire for cross referencing.

5.5. Part I: Demand for Democracy

The only way for democracy to survive and consolidate, particularly against its competitors, is to have citizens who are prepared to defend it. "Regardless of how well designed its political institutions and process, a sustainable and consolidated democracy requires people who are willing to support, defend and sustain democratic practices (Mattes et al., 2000, p. 1). Demand for democracy is therefore crucial

to the sustainability of democracy. The following section measures whether citizens are supportive of democracy by way of showing an understanding of democracy and a high demand for democratic ideals. Demand for democracy is determined "by a battery of questions" and concepts such as understanding of and knowledge about democracy, preference for democracy and rejection of alternatives to democracy, which are, collectively, critical indicators of support for democracy (Bratton and Mattes, 2003, p.3).

5.5.1. Understanding democracy

To examine whether UB students are inclined to demand democracy, the study set out to establish students' understanding of democracy. Students were asked first to define democracy in their own words and secondly to rate what they consider as essential elements of democracy from a list provided.

a. Ability to define democracy

In Chapter 2 it was mentioned that democracy is difficult to define (see Chapter Two for Schmitter and Karl, 1991 and Erik-Lane, 2004). In the survey, students were asked to define democracy by volunteering three definitions of democracy. The questionnaire asked: What do you understand by the word "democracy"? Please provide up to three different ways in which you understand "democracy".

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

In the analysis, only the students' first definitions were used, primarily for their substantive content, appropriateness and comprehensiveness. The quality of definitions given by students dropped considerably in subsequent responses; only in fewer cases, were there no substantive differences between the first and subsequent responses.

First, the analysis entailed establishing whether the respondent provided a valid and comprehensible definition. This is an interpretive task, coding responses to an open-ended question in terms of their validity: Is this a valid or invalid definition of democracy? Secondly, the analysis categorized responses in accordance with theoretical constructs of different scholars, such as, democracy as a set of political freedoms, civil liberties, and rights or democracy as a set of political processes, etc.

For comparative purposes, a similar set of categories was used as used previously by Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) and Mwollo-Ntalima (2011).

At the outset, at least two general observations can be made. Firstly, a majority of the students were

able to volunteer three definitions, and the number of responses diminished with the order of the responses. Thus, with respect to the first definition, 343 responses were received, only 325 second definitions were supplied, while a third definition was provided by only 284 respondents. The second general observation is that the survey shows that democracy is an identifiable concept for UB students.

Table 5 shows how the students' responses were categorized. Firstly, they were categorized broadly as to whether they implied a neutral, positive or negative sense of democracy. Positive and neutral meanings were treated as valid definitions of democracy while negative definitions are regarded as invalid in the analysis. Table 5 shows that an overwhelming majority of the students (97%) defined democracy with positive connotations while around 2% gave negative definitions of democracy. Twelve students left an empty space, which was treated as missing data (but which could also have been considered as invalid definitions – compare discussion of missing data in Chapter 4). Therefore, the ability of students to volunteer comprehensible definitions of democracy suggests, to some extent, that UB third-year students are cognitively aware of democracy (see also Mattes et al., 2000).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Table 5 Students' definitions of democracy

POSITIVE MEANINGS (97%)	%		NEGATIVE MEANINGS (2%)	
Popular Participation	(22%)		There is nothing like that	<1%
Government of, by, for the people	17%		Oppression of the poor	<1%
Deliberation and discussion	2%		Suppression of minority	<1%
Participation in decision making	2%		Missing	3%
People's power	<1%			
Political Rights	(21%)			
Elections and Electoral choice	6%			
Free and fair elections	5%			
Majority rule	5%			
The right/freedom to vote	2%			
Multiparty system	2%			
Political freedom	<1%			
Civil Liberties	(40%)			
Freedom of speech	20%			
Freedom (general)	15%			
Human rights	3%			
Liberty	<1%			
Good Governance	(1%)			
Rule of law	<1%			
Well distributed power	<1%			
Trustworthy	<1%			
Equality and Justice	(7%)			
Equality and equity	6%			
Education for all	1%			
Equal distribution of resources	<1%			
Justice	<1%			
Other Positive Attributes	(4%)			
Accountability and transparency	3%			
Peace	2%			
Human Development index	1%			
Happiness	1%			
Supporting each other	<1%			
Anything that is not Zimbabwe	<1%			

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

N=400, missing=12

Table 5 also shows that just over a third of the UB students (40%) define democracy in terms of civil liberties, which includes freedom of speech, freedom in general, human rights, etc.

A majority of students therefore conceptualize democracy on the basis of how free they are; that they can freely express themselves; and how peaceful their surrounding is. They regard these freedoms,

which are enshrined in the International Declaration of Human Rights, as fundamental to democracy. This finding also corresponds with students' high demand for freedom of speech (see Table 29 below).

The second most popular type of definition provided by students refers to participation in the democratic process. Around 22% of the students define democracy in terms of popular participation by providing 'standard' definitions such as 'government of, by, for the people', as well as notions of deliberation and discussion and popular participation in decision-making. Such notions of popular participation in decision-making by students (22%) indicate they understand democracy as a political system that is inclusive of the citizenry.

Finally, it is also evident that a considerable proportion of students equate democracy with political rights in particular. About 21% of the students indicated that guarantees of political rights such as electoral choices and free and fair elections are at the core of democracy.

Aggregating the two most popular definitional categories, the proportions indicate that two- thirds of students (62%) have a liberal conception of democracy as a set of civil liberties, political rights, and related political processes. This appears to be a trend amongst African university students: the HERANA surveys also found that;

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

> [T]he students hold surprisingly procedural understandings of democracy, seeing democracy predominantly as a political system of rules. Whereas one large group of students emphasizes popular participation in decision-making (34%), another group views democracy first as a set of political rights, freedoms and multi-party elections (47% of respondents). (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011 p. 46, original emphasis).

Moreover, students' conceptions are apparently consistent with the democratic ethos of Botswana's political system, which embodies a successful combination of genuine political competition with the full range of political freedoms and civil rights.

a. Comparing student leaders and students not in leadership's definitions of democracy

The comparison between student leaders and students not in leadership shows that there are only fewer differences in as far as defining democracy is concerned. All forty-nine student leaders give positive definitions of democracy, while 99% of students not in leadership also do so. Freedom of speech appears to be synonymous to democracy to the same degree to both groups as one-fifth of student leaders and the same proportion for students not in leadership equate democracy to guaranteed freedom of speech.

Although elections did not feature much in definitions of democracy, it is evident that, comparatively, student leaders (11%) more proportionally give definitions of democracy associated with free and fair elections and other electoral procedures, while only 4% of students not in leadership do so. It is not surprising to find that individuals in leadership perceive elections as important institutions in a democracy; after all, they went through an electoral process to be in formal leadership.

b. Students' definitions of democracy: national and international comparison

The Afrobarometer Round 4 data of 2008 does not have an open-ended question regarding a definition democracy; therefore no comparison could be done between Botswana mass publics and UB students.

UNIVERSITY of the

Figure 2 shows that the majority of the students in the HERANA student survey universities, except at UDSM, defined democracy with connotations of political rights and civil liberties. Between half and almost two-thirds of students at UB (61%), UCT (54%) and UON (51%) indicate that democracy for them entails a system in which their political rights and civil liberties are guaranteed. These proportions suggest that UB, UCT and UON students have a liberal conception while only 36% of UDSM students expressed democracy as having connotations of liberalism. A majority of UDSM students (54%) equate democracy with popular participation while only 22% for both UCT and UB and 25% of UON students do so. Figure 2 also shows that more substantive (rather than procedural) conceptions of democracy that focus, for example, on equality, are surprisingly low; highest at UCT and followed by the UB case study (also see Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011).

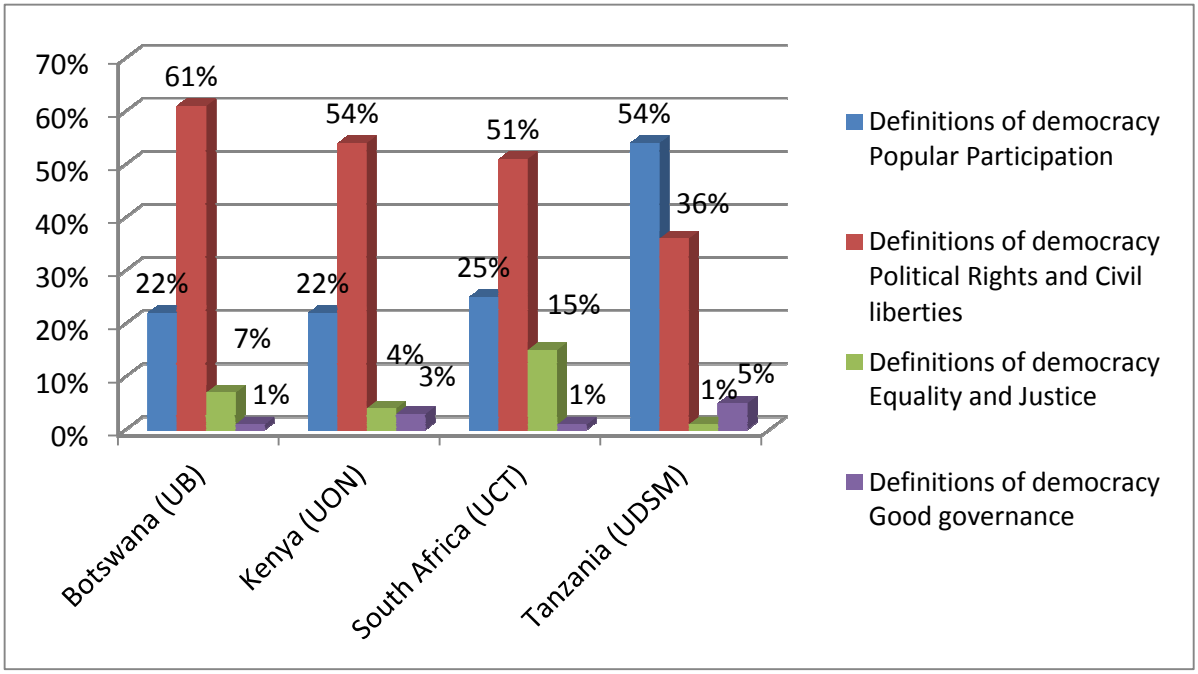


Figure 2 Students' definitions of democracy in comparison

There may be a historical burden accounting for the differences. For example, less than ten percent of UB students (7%) defined "democracy in terms of equality, fairness and justice" (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 45) while 15% of UCT students equate democracy to equality, fairness and justice. Despite the current UCT students benefitting from attending a relatively just and integrated university and most of them living their adult life in a democratic system, the realities of apartheid are still vivid around them, as is evident in their locations, family backgrounds, etc.. In short the racial inequalities, injustices and unfairness of apartheid and its legacy could possibly have engendered such definitions of democracy, despite the discernible changes in South Africa in the new democratic dispensation. Batswana, in contrast, have not been subjected to severe economic and social inequalities which perhaps explain their less marked inclination towards equality and justice. Much as there are pro-democratic individuals and staunch democrats, there will always be dissenting views about democracy. Only a small insignificant proportion in the four universities gave negative meanings to democracy. There were also negligible proportions that said they do not know what democracy means.

In sum, UB students have ably demonstrated that they understand democracy by giving comprehensible definitions of democracy. A majority of UB students conceptualize democracy on the basis of how free they are and how peaceful their surrounding is. There are only minor proportional differences among student leaders and those not in leadership as far as defining democracy is concerned. As with the UB students, the majority of students from UCT, UDSM and UON

comprehensibly defined democracy as a set of political rights and civil liberties while define democracy more as popular participation and less as political and civil rights. In general, UB students are not markedly different in their understanding of democracy from other African students surveyed in the HERANA studies.

c. Essential components of democracy

Other than being asked to define democracy in their own words, students' understandings of democracy were assessed by asking students to indicate what they consider essential elements of a democracy. A number of classical elements of democracy associated with liberal democratic theory , for example, majority rule, multi-partism and regular elections as well as a number of economic elements associated with social democratic theory such as employment for all, basic necessities, jobs for everyone, and equality in education, were provided in a multiple choice list. In this question, the mean ratings referred to as follows; from 0-0.4 (not at all important), 0.5-0.9 (not very important), 1.0-1.4 (somewhat essential), 1.5-2.0 (absolutely essential).

Students were requested to rank these elements of democracy as essential on a nominal Likert scale from "not at all important" being the least essential, to, "not very important", "somewhat essential", and "absolutely essential" with "absolutely essential" being the most essential. Table 6 shows that the mean and standard deviation of the index $\bar{x} = 1.64$ and $SD = 0.38$, corresponding to the rating "absolutely essential", suggests that UB students regard all the listed elements as absolutely essential constituents of democracy. The distribution was skewed negatively. Contrary to the majority of UB students defining democracy as a set of political rights and civil liberties in their own words, intriguingly the same students now conceptualized democracy heavily in terms of social democracy connotations. That is, those elements bearing economic implications and social equity/equality when students were provided with a list of classical elements of democracy ranked higher than those associated with liberalism. Students now rank equality in education (mean=1.79, SD=0.49) and basic necessities (mean=1.78, SD=0.51) higher than multi-party democracy (mean=1.46, SD=0.78).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Table 6 Mean and standard deviations of essential elements of democracy

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Index*
N Valid	363	360	356	363	360	356	363	357	344
Mean	1.794	1.783	1.648	1.615	1.604	1.596	1.537	1.463	1.635
Std. Dev.	.489	.509	.642	.647	.599	.632	.728	.790	.376

*index = mean of the eight essential elements. 1= Equality in education, 2= Basic necessities, 3= Regular elections, 4= Majority rule, 5= Jobs for everyone, 6= Complete freedom, 7= Small income gap, 8= Multipartyism

Thus UB students consider multipartyism as the least essential element of democracy as compared to equality in education and basic necessities. This is interesting, since its multi-party system is amongst the main features of Botswana's celebrated democracy (see also Lekorwe, 2009; Sarkin and Cook, 2010). Perhaps the procedural elements of democracy are not considered adequate anymore by the educated youth in Botswana, for whom instead the provision of basic human necessities such as food, shelter, and education are considered not only absolutely essential in a democracy but even represent the apex of their priorities.

On the other hand, Botswana's multipartyism is distinguished by the fact that, although there have always been 'competitive' elections since the advent of independence, the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has convincingly won all the elections. The students' indication that multipartyism is not so essential then could reflect the satisfaction of the electorate with the ruling party's service delivery so that students do not consider political party choice as so vital.

d. Essential elements of democracy: national and inter-university comparisons

Comparing results from UB students with those from Batswana mass publics and students from other African flagship universities, the study found that the Afrobarometer data of mass public in Botswana indicated that Batswana rated multi-party elections considerably higher than other elements. Mattes et al. (2000) also found that, the mass public in Botswana are more likely to choose politically essential elements of democracy, for example, Majority rule, regular elections, and at least two political parties competing in an election, also revealing that Botswana mass public deviate from UB students when they are furnished with a list of essential elements of democracy. Mass publics in Botswana regard multipartyism as a key essential element, in distinct contrast with the students, however, basic necessities are still rated higher than all other elements by mass public (52%), as with the UB students (83%) despite, students being proportionally higher. The mass public in Botswana rated "small

income gap" as lowest while for UB students, multipartyism was lowest.

When comparing UB students with those from other universities, as Table 7 shows, UB students' responses are closer to those of UON students than to the other two universities' students. Despite having emphasized political rights and civil liberties when they used their own words to define democracy, UB and UON students rank elements of democracy associated with social democratic ideals, for example, equality and basic necessities, higher than those associated with liberal democratic theory when prompted with a wish list. The results show that, a proportion of 83% UB third-year students rank both equality in education and basic necessities as essential while 78% of UON students rated equality in education and 85% UON students rank basic necessities as essential. Both Batswana and Kenyans also similarly ranked multipartysim as least essential while it the highest ranked by UCT students.

Interestingly, despite a majority of UCT students (51%), defining democracy with notions of political rights and freedoms similar to majority of UB and UON students (see Table 5), UCT students, when provided with a list, emphasized multi-partyism (84%) and regular elections (81%), another deviation from students at UB. UCT students also indicated that small income gap (36%) and jobs for everyone (44%) are least essential elements despite 15% of these UCT students equating democracy to equality, fairness and justice when they used their own words to define democracy.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Table 7 Essential elements in international perspectives

	University			
Essential element	UB	UCT	UDSM	UON
Equality in education	83%	65%	70%	78%
Basic necessities	83%	65%	68%	85%
Regular elections	74%	81%	51%	59%
Majority rule	71%	54%	72%	62%
Jobs for everyone	66%	44%	64%	62%
Complete freedom	68%	63%	48%	64%
Small income gap	68%	36%	54%	72%
Multi partyism	65%	84%	55%	56%

In summary, while UB students emphasise democracy as a set of political rights and civil liberties in their own words, the same students opt for social democracy connotations when provided with a wish list. In comparison with their compatriots, while UB students rated multi-party elections proportionally lower than other elements, mass public in Botswana rated multi-party elections considerably higher than other elements, a finding also of the study by Mattes et al. (2000). Students from all four universities indicated that all the elements were essential to democracy, though in

varying degrees across the institutions. UB and UON students deviated considerably from an emphasis on political rights and civil liberties when they volunteered definitions of democracy as linked social democratic ideals such as equality and basic necessities when prompted with a wish list.

5.5.2. Students' preference for democracy

The study continues to substantiate support for democracy when assessing whether students prefer democracy over its alternatives, as shown in the concept map (see Appendix 2). If Lekorwe's (2009) supposition that "democracy thrives on popular support, which confers legitimacy on the regime to govern" (p. 1), is valid, students' preference for democracy is a proxy for support for democracy. As Lekorwe (2009) says, when citizens have confidence in the country's democratic system, it accords the regime leverage to be in power with less authoritarian inclinations.

The study establishes students' preference for democracy by asking students this question: "Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion**?**" The response categories were: "Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government", "In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable", and "For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have".

Table 8 shows that approximately 267 students, representing 79% of UB students in the sample, prefer democracy, indicating that 'Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government'. These students would always choose democracy over its alternatives. However, forty-six students representing 14% stated that "for someone like me it doesn't matter what kind of government we have". These are neutral or indifferent students who neither prefer nor disapprove of democracy. They would not mind staying in an undemocratic country as much as they do not mind staying in a democracy. Why such a big number does not explicitly prefer democracy in a country where democracy is consolidated and institutionalized is a situation that could be understood and explained further by probing these students' responses further.

Besides this, twenty-five students representing 7% indicated that "in some circumstances a non-democratic government can be preferred". This statistic is both startling and intriguing. Despite an overwhelming majority being able to define democracy and demonstrate which elements are essential in a democracy, some students indicate they would rather choose a non-democratic governing system. This is somewhat unsettling. One might ask what alternative, non-democratic system of government these students would prefer (see Table 8). Alternatively, this perhaps suggests, though speculatively, that UB students would want to experiment with other governing practices other than the one most

popularized in their country. Or better still, the students lack experience of authoritarian regimes and do not know how the situation could be dire.

Overall, UB students revealed that they prefer democracy. In a total of 339 participants that responded to this question, a mean and standard deviation $(\overline{x} = 1.65;\ SD = 0.071)$, demonstrates that UB students indicated that democracy is preferable. The distribution was skewed negatively.

Table 8 Students' preference for democracy

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government	267	79.0 %
For someone like me it doesn't matter what kind of government we have	46	13.7 %
In some circumstances a non-democratic government can be preferred	25	7.3 %
Total	339	100.0 %

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

a. Preference for democracy by faculty

Table 9 indicates that 79% of the 400 students from the five faculties prefer democracy while 21% indicated that democracy is not preferable. However, there were differences in the proportions of preference for democracy across the five faculties. As Table 9 shows, 82% of Social Sciences students, 78% in Humanities, 92% in Business, 72% in Education and 73% of Science faculty indicated that they prefer democracy to its alternatives while the remaining either do not prefer democracy or are indifferent.

Table 9 also indicates that Business (92%) has the highest proportion of preference for democracy and Faculty of Sciences (72%) the lowest proportion. The Faculty of Sciences has the highest proportion, 28%, of students who are either neutral or equivocal about their non-preference for democracy. To establish whether faculty of study influences preference for democracy, a chi square test was performed and it confirmed that there was no statistically significant association between preference for democracy and faculty of study. So Altbach's (1991) thesis that faculty of study influences political attitudes could be challenged. The vast majority of the UB students across all the faculties prefer democracy.

Table 9 Preference for democracy by faculty

	Faculty					
	Business	Social Sciences	Humanities	Science	Education	Total
Democracy not preferable	4 (8%)	17 (18%)	19 (22%)	12 (27%)	16 (28%)	70 (21%)
Prefer democracy	47(92%)	76 (82%)	67(78%)	33 (73%)	41(72%)	269 (79%)
Total	51(100.0%)	93(100.0%)	86(100.0%)	45(100.0%)	57(100.0%)	339(100.0%)

N=400, Missing=61

b. Preferring democracy: Student leaders and students not in leadership comparison

The study further compares student leaders and students not in leadership with regards to preferring democracy to its alternatives. A cross-tab of student leadership and preference for democracy was run with the following results.

As Table 10 indicates, 38 student leaders and 299 students not in leadership_that responded to the question. Of the 299 students not in leadership, 236 (79%) preferred democracy, 21% do not prefer democracy. Of the 38 student leaders who responded to the question, 33 (87%) prefer democracy, 5 (13%) do not prefer democracy.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Table 10 Preference for democracy by student leadership

	Student Leadership	
	Student not in Formal Leadership	Student Leader
Democracy not preferable	63 (21.1%)	5 (13.2%)
Democracy is preferable	236 (78.9%)	33 (86.8%)
Total	299 (100%)	38 (100%)

A difference of 8 percentage points in favour of student leaders is observed with regard to preference for democracy. To establish whether this difference is statistically significant, a chi-square test was applied and the results indicated that $\chi^2 = 0.87; df = 1 \; and \; p = 0.35$. Because the p-value is greater than 5%, the association between student leadership and preference to democracy is not statistically significant.

c. Students' preference for democracy in national and international comparison

Figure 2 shows that 82% of Batswana youth age cohort without higher education and 85% mass public indicated that they prefer democracy. These proportions, together with 79% for UB students, suggest that Batswana generally are overwhelmingly supportive of democracy. There is seemingly no difference in support for democracy between UB students and Batswana mass public age cohort without higher education in Botswana. A chi-square test was performed to support these results. The results indicated that $\chi^2 = 0.34; df = 1 \; and \; p = 0.56$. The p-value is greater than 5%; therefore the association is not statistically significant.

Figure 3 shows that preference for democracy is generally high amongst African students when the four universities are compared (see also Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). However, a higher proportion of UB students prefer democracy than students from the other three African universities. Preference for democracy among students is proportionally highest at UB 79%, UCT 73%, and UON 71%, with UDSM at 65% scoring lowest. The UB third-year students' preference for democracy mirrors that of the Batswana mass public in comparison with mass publics in other Southern African countries. Lekorwe (2009) also found that the proportion of support for democracy by mass publics is highest in Botswana compared to other countries in the SADC region. Two-thirds of South Africans (67%), just a little over two-thirds of Tanzanian (71%), and 78% of Kenyan mass publics in the Afrobarometer surveys prefer democracy as against 85% in Botswana.

Figure 3 also shows that, with the exception of South Africa, mass publics have slightly proportionally higher preference for democracy than both students and mass public age cohort. However the mass public age cohorts show proportionally slightly higher preference for democracy in Botswana and Tanzania, while in South Africa and Kenya students surpassed, albeit slightly, the mass public age cohort with no higher education with regard to preference for democracy.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

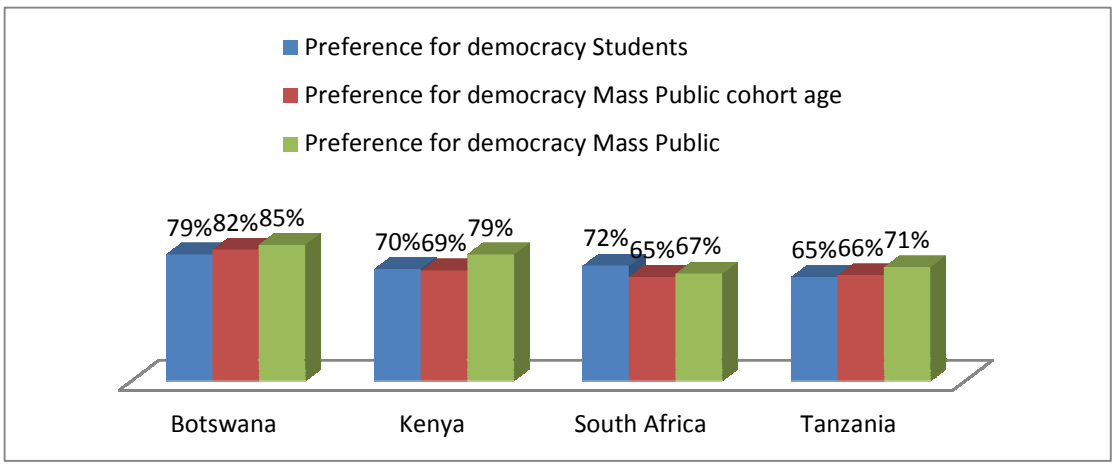


Figure 3 Preference for democracy in international comparison

In summary, the findings indicate that there is considerably high preference for democracy in Botswana amongst students; and student leaders prefer democracy proportionally higher than students not in leadership--albeit this is not statistically significant—as well as youth age cohort without higher education and the general mass public. The finding affirms literature that has over time considered Batswana to have high preference for democracy, which has y helped consolidate democracy in the country. Consequently this finding appears to suggest that national political culture rather than higher education engenders preference for democracy among Batswana.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

5.5.3. Rejecting authoritarianism

There are various non-democratic alternatives to democracy, such as one party rule, traditional rule, and military rule, for instance, which present potential competition for democracy. For democracy to compete successfully with these alternatives, 'democrats' should go an extra mile to support democracy by rejecting authoritarianism. Lekorwe (2009) rightly reflects that democracy can mean different things to different people. Therefore it is important to look beyond a simple expression of preference as the full measure of support for democracy. Mattes et al. (2000), with reference to recently democratized countries, submit that supporting democracy also involves abandoning previous undemocratic practices such as "one party rule, traditional rule, military rule and presidential dictatorship" (Mattes et al. 2000, p. 15). So supporting democracy does not end with understanding and stating it as a preference, but correspondingly requires rejecting its undemocratic alternatives (Evans and Rose, 2007b; Schedler and Sarsfield, 2007; compare chapters 2 and 3).

Students were asked to indicate to what extent they approve of authoritarianism by the following questions: "Would you approve if only one party is allowed to stand for an election and hold office?",

"Would you approve if the army comes in to govern the country?" "Would you approve if elections and parliament are abolished so the president can decide everything?" The response categories were "strongly disapprove", "disapprove", "neither approve nor disapprove", "approve" and "strongly approve". Provided that the concept to be measured is support for democracy, the "strongly disapprove"/"disapprove" response categories rate as positive answer while "strongly approve"/"approve" represent a negative response, one which supports an undemocratic regime type.

a. Rejection of Presidential rule

The UB students' rejection of presidential rule is the proportionally higher than one party rule and military rule. Table 11 indicates that there were 372 respondents to the question "Would you approve if elections and parliament are abolished so the president can decide everything?" 349 representing 94% indicated that they 'strongly disapprove/Disapprove' of presidential rule, against 9% that approve it. The mean and standard deviation for rejection of presidential rule is $(\bar{x} = 0.94;\ SD = 0.24$). The mean 0.94 corresponds to the rating of strongly disapprove. The distribution was skewed negatively.

Rejection of presidential rule is perhaps consistent with students' indication that regular elections are essential when they ranked a list of classical elements of democracy. Students indicate that they have no acceptance of unelected leaders and thus they also rate regular elections considerably higher, which perhaps show some congruency with rejection of presidential rule. Though we cannot prove strongly that this consistency is not by chance, there is enough argument to conclude crudely that UB students prefer elected political leadership.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

b. Rejection of Military rule

Table 11 shows that rejection of Military rule is proportionally the second most rejected undemocratic alternative by UB students. A total of 372 students responded to "Would you approve if the army comes in to govern the country?" question and a majority of 339 students representing 91% indicated they strongly 'strongly disapprove/Disapprove' military government with mean and standard deviation $(\bar{x} = 0.91;\ SD = 0.283)$ against 33 (9%) that said they do not disapprove military rule. This mean corresponds to the rating of strongly disapprove and the distribution was skewed negatively. The mean suggests that UB students reject military rule considerably strongly.

c. Rejection of one party rule

Table 11 indicates further that there were 385 students that responded to this question "Would you approve if only one party is allowed to stand for an election and hold office?" and 332 (86%) with mean and standard deviation $(\bar{x} = 0.86;\ SD = 0.34)$, who said they 'strongly disapprove/Disapprove' one party rule against 53 (14%) that said they do not reject one party rule. The means, like the other two, corresponds to the rating strongly disapprove. The distribution was skewed negatively as well.

UB students were consistent in their rejection of one party rule viz-a-viz their indication of multi-partyism as an essential element of democracy (see Table 6). On the one hand, students least reject one party rule when compared to the two other non-democratic alternatives, while on the other hand, though regarded as an essential element of democracy, multi-partyism is nevertheless ranked the least essential of all the essential elements of democracy. Perhaps the dominance of the BDP in Botswana politics mimics a one party rule system and therefore students less disapprove of one party rule because to them the existing one dominant party system might resemble one party system. Or maybe students are content with the BDP's achievements and commitment to promises of service in its over 40 year period of rule. Overall, the mean and standard deviation on the "disapprove of undemocratic alternatives" index $(\bar{x} = 0.92;\ SD = 0.22)$ corresponds to the rating "strongly disapprove" and it is also skewed negatively. Therefore, overall, UB students strongly disapprove of undemocratic alternatives in general.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Table 11 Rejection of undemocratic alternatives

	One party rule	Military rule	Presidential rule
	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)	Frequency (%)
Strongly approve/ Approve	53 (13.7 %)	33 (8.8%)	23 (6.1%)
Strongly disapprove/Disapprove	332 (86.3%)	339 (91.2%)	349 (93.9%)
Total	385 (100.0%)	372 (100.0%)	372 (100.0%)

d. Rejection of non-democratic alternatives: Student leaders and students not in leadership comparison

Student leaders consistently rejected all of the three authoritarian regime types proportionally to a higher degree than students not in leadership; and yet again one party rule was the least disapproved

of the three undemocratic practices by both groups. Only forty-seven student leaders responded to the question and 46, that is, 98% of these student leaders but 86% students not in leadership 'Strongly disapprove/Disapprove' of one party rule. In contrast, 2% of the student leaders and 14% of students not in leadership do not reject one party rule.

To establish whether there is an association between rejection of one party rule and student leadership, a chi square test was performed. The continuity correction coefficient value indicates that there is a statistically significant association (DF=1, n =387 and p =0.41), and the Cramer's V value of 0.12≈0.1, indicates that this association is weak. Therefore, student leaders are weakly more likely to disapprove of one party rule than students not in leadership.

With respect to military rule, all but one of the 47 student leaders (98%) and a majority of students not in leadership (91%) 'Strongly disapprove/Disapprove'. To establish whether there is an association between rejection of military rule and student leadership, a chi square test was performed, which confirmed that there is no statistically significant association.

As far as presidential strongman rule is concerned, a 94% majority of students not in leadership, and (as with the two other alternatives), 98% of student leaders who responded to this question 'Strongly disapprove/Disapprove' of this type of authoritarian rule. A chi square test indicated that there is no statistically significant association between rejection of strong man rule and student leadership. In other words, student leaders and students not in formal leadership positions reject presidential rule more or less to the same extent.

In summary, UB students considerably reject undemocratic regime alternatives. Student leaders appear to be proportionally slightly more committed to democracy than students not in leadership, in particular with reference to the rejection of one party rule. With other alternatives, the difference of disapproving of military rule and strong man rule between students not in leadership and student leaders is not statistically significant.

e. Rejection of non-democratic alternatives: student and Botswana mass publics' comparison

UB students and Batswana in general reject undemocratic alternatives considerably high. The trend of rejection among mass publics is similar to that shown by students: highest rejected is presidential rule, then military rule and least rejected is one party rule. Figure 4 shows that all the three groups of Batswana, UB students (94%), general mass public (93%) and mass public age cohort (91%)

proportionally reject presidential rule more than military rule and one party rule. A proportion of general mass public (90%) and mass public age cohort (84%) compared to 91% of UB students 'Strongly disapprove/Disapprove' of military rule. One party rule is least rejected by both students and mass public. A proportion of 86% UB students, 82% mass public and 73% mass public age cohort 'Strongly disapprove/Disapprove' of one party rule. UB students reject all these practices proportionally higher than mass public age cohorts and slightly higher than general mass public.

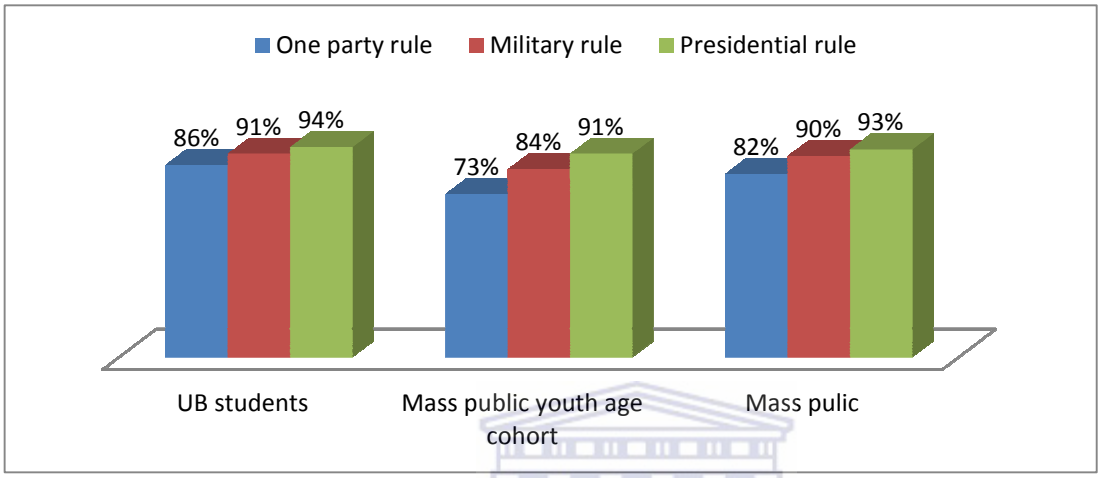


Figure 4 Rejection of non-democratic alternatives in Botswana

Strong man rule is proportionally the highest disapproved alternative in Botswana. Batswana appear to hold and consider elections as the only appropriate institution to hold presidential office. On the one hand, Botswana has always had a president elected indirectly in elections. On the other hand, there could be a subtle indication that the presidency exhibits undemocratic or even authoritarian tendencies. As Cook and Sarkin (2010) say, there are suggestions that the constitution of Botswana gives sitting presidents unnecessary privileges to exercise unrestrained power. This power, according to Cook and Sarkin (2010), seems to be used by the presidency even to further his personal agenda, which has nothing to do with the interest of the state. A political science scholar, Professor Kenneth Good, popularly known for criticizing the government, was deported in 2005 by the then president Festus Mogae with no substantive explanation for the deportation (Cook and Sarkin, 2010, p. 476).

According to Lekorwe, evidence suggests that "since assuming office in 2008, President Ian Khama has issued more directives compared to his predecessors" (Lekorwe, 2009, p. 4). Lekorwe (2009, p. 4) continues to argue; "although it is still early to be conclusive about his style of rule, these directives suggest that he has a propensity to act alone and rule by decree". Presidential executive powers, prerogatives, and directives may be seen as limitations to democracy or, worse, to imitate strong man

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

rule. Lekorwe (2009) also says that a strong perception of military rule has emerged since retired army officers have entered politics. President Khama was formerly commander of the Defence Force and attended the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst. His vice president from 2008 until 2012 was Lieutenant General Mompati Merafhe, and several members of parliament are also former military men. Private Secretaries to the president as well as other key government personnel such as the Director of Directorate of Intelligence and Security (DIS) (the arm of government mandated with intelligence and secret security) (see Good, 2010, for more details) and the Director of Central Transport Organization (CTO) (the department that manages and maintains the government fleet) are both former soldiers and the President's close confidantes. This influx of military men into the civil service, as many scholars warn, may imitate or, even worse, mutate into military rule style (see also Lekorwe, 2009).

f. Rejecting undemocratic alternatives in cross-university comparison

There is considerably high rejection of undemocratic alternatives across the four universities' students, but rejection of each undemocratic alternative varies from one university to the other. However, it appears that there are more similarities among Batswana students at UB and South African students at UCT than there are in comparison with the two East African universities. Figure 5 shows that 86% of each of UB and UCT students, 'Strongly disapprove/Disapprove' of one party rule, which is slightly higher than proportions of UON in Kenya (80%) and UDSM in Tanzania (81%) that 'Strongly disapprove/Disapprove' of one party rule. Though there are significant differences in the political histories of Botswana and South Africa, the two countries share a lot in common and the burden of politics from each has spilled over in both directions due to similar cultures and shared political borders. The two countries have both been ruled by only one dominant party since independence/democracy, the BDP since 1966 in Botswana and the ANC and its alliance partners in South Africa since 1994.

Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) capture what may account for the distinct rejection of the undemocratic practices, particularly one party rule, by indicating that up until the 1990s Kenya was an authoritarian one-party state and only until President Daniel Arap Moi won the first multi-party elections and ventured in a system of multi-party democracy and political liberalisation. Tanzania also adopted one-party system after independence in 1961 (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011).

The similarities between Botswana and South Africa are also shown in the rejection of strongman rule, which UCT students and UB students reject proportionally equally (94%) although lower than

UON students (97%) and higher than UDSM (89%). Botswana and South Africa have not experienced dictatorship in the explicit sense of the word, while Kenyatta and Nyerere were relatively strong rulers of Kenya and Tanzania respectively.

Figure 5 also indicates that there is a higher proportion of rejection of military rule by UCT students (94%) than in Botswana (91%), UON (90%) and UDSM (77%). Though none of these countries have experienced military coups in recent times, the considerably high rejection of military rule perhaps shows how pro-democracy Africans are: they strongly reject undemocratic alternatives even those they have never personally experienced. Abuse of human rights and women in politically unstable and military led nations perhaps engenders such repudiation.

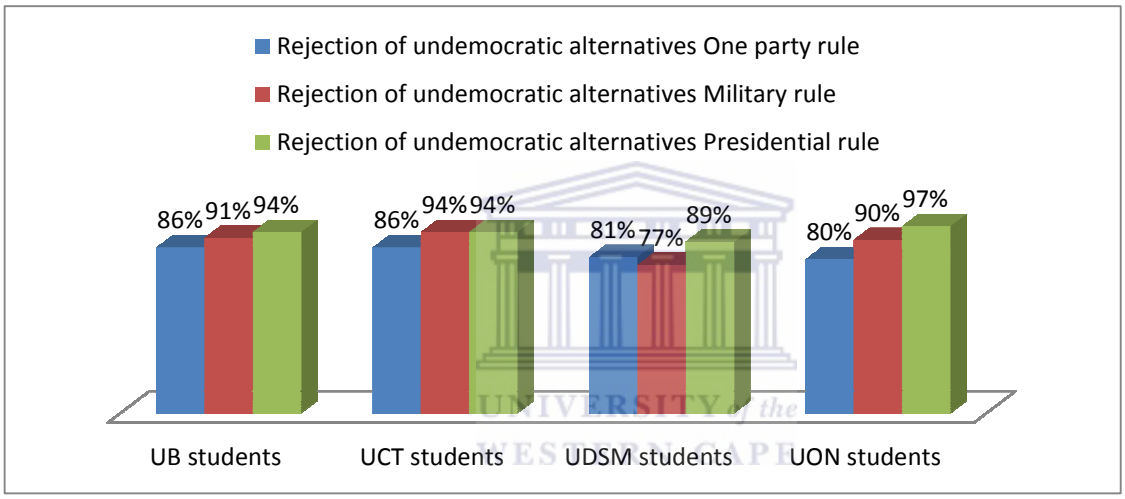


Figure 5 International comparison of rejection of undemocratic alternatives

In summary, it is evident that both student leaders and students not in leadership rejected all three undemocratic alternatives resoundingly, but student leaders significantly reject one party rule more than students not in leadership. Though Batswana generally appear to reject undemocratic alternatives, UB students are proportionally slightly more rejecting of non-democratic practices when compared to the mass publics and youth without higher education. Though not statistically significant, it is generally noteworthy that youth without higher education are somewhat less rejecting of the three undemocratic alternatives than Batswana in general mass publics and UB students. Finally, it has also been shown in this section that compared with students from other flagship universities in South and Eastern Africa, UB students rejected undemocratic alternatives at about the same levels. There are more similarities in students' rejection of undemocratic alternatives in the two Southern African universities than there are in their Eastern African counterparts.

5.5.4. Commitment to democracy

So far a vast majority of students have shown that they understand democracy, ably volunteer a valid and comprehensible definition of democracy, and identify essential elements of democracy. A majority of UB students prefer democracy and consistently disapprove of one party rule, military rule and authoritarian rule. The analysis has further shown that there are small differences, many not statistically significant ones, between student leaders and non-student leaders regarding their attitudes and behaviours towards support for democracy. Against these findings, to what extent can these UB students therefore be called committed democrats? The concept of "committed democrats' defines those respondents who have consistently displayed high demand for democracy in that they 'always preferring democracy' and 'always reject non-democratic regime alternatives' when offered the choice" (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 56; cf. Fails, 2009).

In order to establish whether students at UB are committed democrats, a new variable coined "commitment to democracy" was computed. This variable was calculated by creating an index using four questions that compositely measure demand and support for the following: preference for democracy, rejection of military rule, rejection of one party rule and rejection of presidential rule. Dummy variables were computed for the three variables that indicate disapproval of undemocratic practices and the variable preference for democracy in order to create a commitment to democracy index. The results were recoded so that in the index, 1 corresponds to 'committed democrat' and 0 to 'not committed democrat'.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Table 12 shows a total of 219 students (69%) in the sample qualify as 'committed democrats' while just under a third of the UB students in the sample (31%) cannot be considered committed democrats. This, however, does not mean that those who are not committed democrats are undemocratic; they have been shown not to be supportive of at least one of the variables used to compositely calculate commitment to democracy by the index.

Overall, commitment to democracy has a mean and standard deviation of $\bar{x} = 0.70;\ SD = 0.46$ which corresponds to commitment to democracy. The distribution was normal. More than two-thirds of UB students are committed democrats.

Table 12 Students' commitment to democracy

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Not committed	96	30.5
Committed	219	69.5
Total	315	100.0

To establish the associations between commitment to democracy and place of origin and student leadership, a series of cross-tabulations were run using commitment for democracy as the dependent variable, while place of origin, faculty and student leadership were used as dependent variables.

a. Commitment to democracy by faculty

The study attempted to establish whether there is an association between faculty of study and commitment for democracy. To establish the differences in commitment to democracy by faculty adds nuance to the study.

Overall, 86% students in the Faculty of Business, 74% in Social sciences, 65% in the Sciences, 63% in Education, and 62% in the Humanities were committed to democracy. As with preference for democracy, the highest proportion of students committed to democracy are found in the Faculty of Business, the Faculties of Education and Humanities both having lesser proportions.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

To establish whether there is an association between commitment to democracy and faculty of study, two tests were performed. Pearson's Chi-square indicates there is a statistically significant association between commitment to democracy and faculty of study (DF=4, n =309 and p =0.034), while the Cramer's V value is 0.18≈0.2, indicates that this association is moderate. Therefore, the students are moderately likely to commit more or less to democracy according to faculty.

A direct logistic regression was performed to establish the influence of faculty of study on commitment to democracy. The model contained the five faculties as independent variables and the commitment to democracy index as dependent variable. When the Faculty of Science is used as reference in the direct logistic regression to establish the influence of faculty of study on commitment to democracy, the full model containing all the predictors was statistically significant $\chi 2$ (Df=4, N = 305) = 0.028, p <.05, indicating that the model was able to distinguish between individuals who responded and did not report commitment to democracy. The model as a whole explained between 3.7% (Cox and Snell R squared) and 5.3% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in commitment to

democracy, and correctly classified 70% of cases. Only two faculties in the independent variables made a unique statistically significant contribution to the model, those of Business and Social Sciences. The highest proportion of commitment to democracy is in the Faculty of Business, recording an odds ratio of 3.17. This indicated that respondents who are in this faculty are three times more likely to commit to democracy than those in the Faculty of Sciences, while those in the Social Sciences Faculty are 1.5 times more likely to commit to democracy when the Science Faculty is used as a control in the model. Though Altbach (1991) referred to the significance of faculty and discipline as a predictor for involvement in student political activism (and not explicitly about commitment to democracy), his argument is echoed by the differences in commitment to democracy as shown by this finding. Faculty of study--studying in the Faculties of Business and Social Sciences in particular--appears to engender and influence commitment to democracy in comparison with studying in any other faculties. Perhaps the curriculum taught in the Faculties of Business and Social Sciences is more likely to engender commitment to democracy?

b. Commitment to democracy by place of origin before attending university

The study also attempted to establish whether place of origin before admission to university influences students' commitment to democracy. Table 13 shows that there is almost equal distribution of commitment to democracy between students from rural (71%) and urban (70%) areas. A Chi-square test indicates that there is no statistically significant association between commitment to democracy and place of origin. There is no evidence against the null hypothesis. The data appear to support the null hypothesis.

Table 13 Commitment to democracy by place of origin

	Place of origin (before joining UB)		
	rural	urban	Total
Not committed to democracy	43 (28.1%)	44 (29.9%)	87 (29.0%)
Committed	110 (71.9%)	103 (70.1%)	213 (71.0%)
Total	153 (100.0%)	147 (100.0%)	300 (100.0%)

c. Commitment to democracy and student leadership

The study continues to establish whether there are any statistically significant differences in commitment to democracy between student leaders and students not in leadership at UB. Table 14 indicates that 83% student leaders and only 69% students not in leadership were committed

democrats. However, despite the difference in proportions of commitment to democracy, a Chi-square test indicates that there is no statistically significant association between commitment to democracy and student leadership. Therefore, participation in student leadership structures does not influence commitment to democracy significantly.

Table 14 Commitment to democracy by student leadership

	Students not in Leadership	Student Leaders	Total
Not committed	85 (30.6%)	6 (17.1%)	91 (29.1%)
Committed	193 (69.4%)	29 (82.9%)	222 (70.9%)
Total	278 (100.0%)	35 (100.0%)	313 (100.0%)

d. Students' commitment to democracy in national and international comparison

The Afrobarometer survey and UB data indicate Batswana mass public and students at UB show resounding preference for democracy; however, the calculation of commitment to democracy tells a different story. It appears that some sections of the general mass public and students who prefer democracy do not consistently display high demand for democracy by 'always preferring democracy' and 'always rejecting non-democratic regime alternatives'. Only two-thirds of Batswana general mass public (67%) and just over a half of Batswana mass public youth cohort (56%) qualified to be considered 'committed democrat', as against 69% of UB students. It is evident that youth without higher education are proportionally less committed to democracy than both general mass publics and UB students. However, closer examination it shows that the differences are not statistically significant.

In cross national comparison, UB students (69% committed democrats) are proportionally the most committed to democracy when compared with students from UCT (54%), and students at UON (45 %) and UDSM (36%). Moreover, general mass publics and mass public age cohort without higher education in Kenya and Tanzanian are marginally more likely to be committed to democracy than are students, and even in Botswana the difference between students and mass publics is minimal. Thus, especially for UON and UDSM, Mattes and Mughogho's (2010) finding that citizens with higher education are not necessarily more supportive of democracy than citizens without higher education has been confirmed.

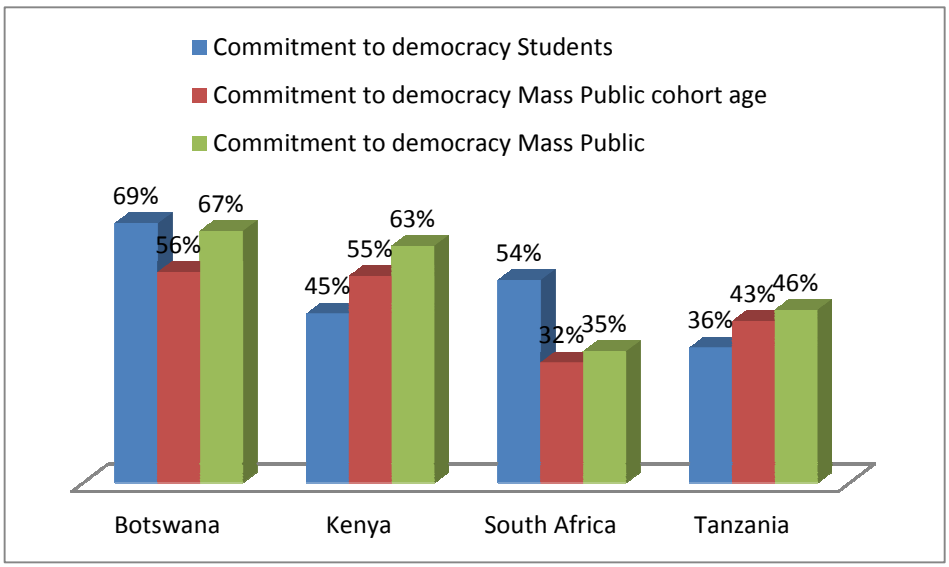


Figure 6 Commitment to democracy in international perspectives

In summary, the study has established that commitment to democracy is not significantly influenced by participation in student leadership or students' place of origin. Nor are differences between UB students and Batswana mass publics statistically significant. In trying to explain students' support for democracy, the study further attempts to look at demand for rights as an ancillary way to explain support for democracy because civil rights and political freedoms are seen as such an essential part of democracy among students (see above).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

5.5.5. Demand for rights

The pursuit of a democracy in a multi-party system requires guaranteed basic freedoms to operate successfully and sustainably. These freedoms include freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom to organize and associate (cf. Dahl, 1971). Freedom House measures 'global freedom' using the 'supply of freedoms' as a sort of proxy for democracy. Correspondingly, demanding rights can be seen as another proxy for demand for democracy.

As a way to measure students' demand for rights, they were asked a number of questions. The questions were "Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?" (1) Freedom of speech: "People should be able to speak their minds about politics free of government influence, no matter how unpopular or extreme their views may be." "Government should not allow the expression of political views that are fundamentally different from the views of the majority." (2) Freedom of association: "Government should be able to ban any organisation that goes against its views" vs. "People should be able to start and join any organisation they like, whether the government approves it or not"; and (3) Freedom of press: "The news media should be free to publish any story that they

see fit without fear of being shut down" as against "Government should be able to close newspapers that print stories it does not like". Responses were measured on a five point Likert scale from "strongly approve" to "strongly disapprove".

Table 15 indicates that a large proportion of students reject/strongly reject statements that suggest a compromise of freedoms by the government, such as restrictions on expressing political views either by speech or through the media. Freedom of speech is proportionally the highest demanded right. A vast majority of UB students (88%) agree that people should be able to voice their political views, and 100% of UB students disagree with "government should not allow the expression of political views that are fundamentally different from the views of the majority".

A two-thirds majority of UB students (71%) consider freedom of association as critical and 'agree' that people should be able to start and join any organisation they like, whether the government approves it or not. As against this, 57% indicate that they disagree with the idea that government should be able to ban any organisation that goes against its views. Finally, freedom of press is demanded proportionally higher than freedom of association: an 83% majority of UB students indicated that they agree that news media should be free to publish any story that they see fit without fear of being shut down, while 67% of the UB students disagree with government closing newspapers that print stories it does not like.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Table 15 Students'' demand for political rights

Political Freedom		Agree/strongly agree	Disagree/ strongly disagree
Freedom of speech			
Positive	People should be able to speak their minds about politics free of government influence, no matter how unpopular or extreme their views may be	316 (87.5%)	45 (12.5)
Negative	Government should not allow the expression of political views that are fundamentally different from the views of the majority	0 (0%)	352 (100%)
Freedom of association			
Positive	People should be able to start and join any organisation they like, whether the government approves it or not	256 (71.3%)	103 (28.7%)

Negative	Government should be able to ban any organisation that goes against its views.	153 (42.9%)	204 (57.1%)
Freedom of press			
Positive	The news media should be free to publish any story that they see fit without fear of being shut down.	300 (83.1%)	61 (16.9%)
Negative	Government should be able to close newspapers that print stories it does not like.	119 (33.3%)	238 (66.7%)

a. Demand for rights: Student leaders and students not in leadership comparison

Uncensored and unfettered freedom of speech attracts the highest support by student leaders (98%), who also support freedom to assemble and organize (83%), while freedom of press receives the least support from them, with just over three-quarters (77%) saying media should be allowed to publish stories without fear and under no duress. Students not in leadership position on campus score slightly lower, with 94% demanding freedom of speech, followed by freedom of press and freedom of organization at 75% and 64% respectively. Does this mean student leaders more stronger proponents of rights than the broader student community?

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Chi-square testing indicates a statistically significant association between student leadership and demand for freedom of association. Reading the continuity correction value, (DF=1, n =365 and p =0.002), p<0.005 and the Cramer's V value is 0.173≈0.2, which indicates that the association is moderate. Therefore, student leaders are moderately more likely to demand freedom of association than students not in leadership. Association or organisation is the basic fabric of student unity collectiveness. Those students who lead the collective, the student community, to achieve success, must organise and advocate for a collective voice for students' agenda and grievances. Therefore, it is not surprising to find heightened demand for this right by those entrusted to lead others. This however, does not mean that students not in leadership cannot demand freedom of organization, but perhaps indicates the responsibility that leaders have to uphold a vision for the student community.

A Chi-square test also indicates an association between student leadership and support for freedom of expression. Reading the continuity correction value (DF=1, n =367 and p =0.053, p=0.005 and the Cramer's V value is 0.114≈0.1), suggests that student leaders are slightly more likely to demand freedom of speech than students not in leadership. Being able to freely express political views is critical for a democratic student society. It is also fitting that student leaders should show their

character and statistically make a significant demand for freedom of expression. The responsibility to articulate and express the political goals of other students lies with student leaders, and their success requires unfettered freedom of expression. In short, student leaders have shown significant higher demand for freedom of association and freedom of expression than students not in leadership. There is no statistically significant association between student leadership and demand for freedom of press.

b. Demand for rights in national and international comparison

Just like UB students (88%), Batswana mass public (86%) demand freedom of speech proportionally higher than freedom of press (79%) and freedom of association (76%). On the other hand, comparing the mass public and youth age cohort, the latter have the highest demand for freedom of speech, (92%), and 84% demand a free press, while youth without higher education show lowest demand for freedom of association (59%). The demand for rights by Botswana mass public youth without higher education is generally lower than that of both students and of the general mass public, but their demand for freedom of speech is highest of the three groups. Figure 7 shows that the percentage mean of the three freedoms suggests that Batswana mass public (80%) have proportionally higher demand for political rights than UB students (78%) and the mass public age cohort (78%).

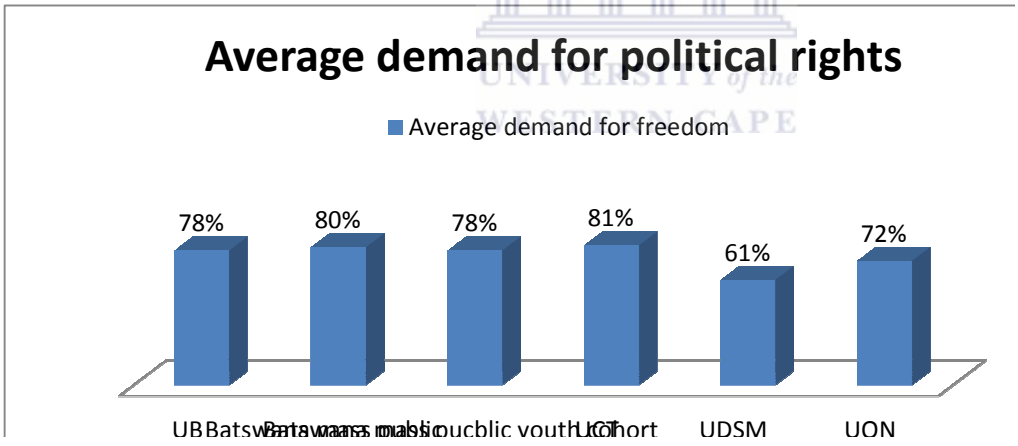


Figure 7 Average demands for political rights

In comparison with students from other universities, students in the three HERANA African university studies, demand for rights was considerably stronger. The average demand for the three political rights is highest at UCT (80%), followed by UB (78%) and UON (72%) with UDSM being the lowest with 61%. These results indicate that there is a proportionally, though slightly, higher demand for rights among third-year students in the two Southern African universities than there is among their East African counterparts. In hindsight, the political terrains and the political histories of the four nations perhaps influence demand for freedoms. In total, the majority of students from the

four universities combined indicate a high demand for freedom of the press (81%), freedom of speech (81%), and right to form organisations (70%).

In summary, this section has shown that there is considerably high demand for politically important rights, and that freedom of speech is the right with the highest demand. It is also evident that student leaders are moderately more likely to demand freedom of association and slightly more likely to demand freedom of speech than are students not in leadership. The high demand for rights shown by students is similar to that demonstrated by both mass publics and mass public youth age cohort Finally, HERANA studies on UCT, UDSM and UON show that the demand for political rights by students in these universities is considerably high, and that freedom of speech is demanded highly in all these three universities.

5.5.6. Summary and conclusion

The previous section considered and assessed students' demand for democracy. The study has established that there is considerable demand for democracy and very little support for alternatives to democracy. A large majority of UB students (97%) can define democracy comprehensibly and show their preferences when given a wish list of essential elements of democracy. In aggregation, two-thirds of students (62%) have as Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) rightly puts it, a "liberal conception of democracy as a set of civil liberties, political rights, and related political (especially electoral) processes" (p. 45) and popular participation in decision making. There are no significant differences between students not in formal student leadership and student leaders in terms of how they conceptualize democracy, their preference for democracy and levels of commitment to democracy. The only significant difference is that student leaders consistently reject all of the three non-democratic practices proportionally higher than students not in leadership. Moreover, the inter-university comparison with HERANA student surveys shows that UB and UCT students have more in common with each other than with the students of the two East African universities, especially with regards to rejection of undemocratic alternatives.

Using the notion of committed democracy as a reference point, it is revealed that overall more than two-thirds of the students at UB 'qualify' as committed democrats. That is considerably more than in any of the HERANA student surveys. At UCT only just over half of the students consistently supported democracy and rejected non-democratic alternatives, and only a minority of students at UON and UDSM can be described as committed democrats. East African students (UON and UDSM) intriguingly, appear to be *less* committed to democracy than their respective national age cohort of

youth without higher education and the mass publics in their respective countries; conversely, UB and UCT student are proportionally more committed to democracy than mass publics and their peers without higher education of their respective countries.

The next section probes the supply side of democracy as a way to complement the analysis of the demand side, in order to assess students' attitudes towards support for democracy. The analysis of the supply of democracy uses the perceptions of students to measure the extent of democracy and whether these students are satisfied with the way democracy functions in their country. Furthermore, in this study the supply of democracy is also measured by perceptions about access to and enjoyment of political rights, for example, how free are you to say what you want and how free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured, etc. What are students' perceptions of the supply of democracy in Botswana?

5.6. Part II: Supply of Democracy

Students have shown that they know what democracy is, reject non-democratic alternatives, and they prefer democracy. As indicated in the conceptual framework (see Appendix 2: Concept Map), the notion of 'supply of democracy' uses perceptions of citizens to measure the institutionalization and delivery of democracy. Simply put students' perceptions of the extent of democracy in their country and whether they are satisfied with the way democracy works in their country. As Bratton and Mattes posit; "citizens' perceptions of the supply of democracy will be more salient to democracy's actual prospects than any objective scores ratings compiled by experts" (Bratton and Mattes, 2007. P. 193). In addition, the supply of democracy is also measured by the way citizens perceive the supply of rights, given the importance ascribed to rights in their conceptions of what democracy is.

5.6.1. Extent of democracy in Botswana

Bratton and Mattes (2007) say that "democracy is learnt through direct experience" (p. 192); and keeping in mind their previous argument that 'perceptions of the supply of democracy will be more salient to democracy's actual prospects than any objective scores ratings compiled by experts', asking citizens about their perception of the extent of how democratic their country is, is therefore more salient than dependence on academic experts and on think tank. Students were therefore asked the following question: "How much of a democracy is Botswana?" The response category ran from "not a democracy", "a democracy with major problems", "a democracy with minor problems" and "a full democracy". "Not a democracy" indicates that the country is not perceived as a democracy by any standard while; "a full democracy" indicates that the country is perceived as a democracy.

Table 16 indicates that 182 of the 340 students (54%) that responded to this question said Botswana is "a democracy but with minor problems/a full democracy" while 46% indicated that Botswana is "not a democracy/a democracy with major problems". The mean and standard deviation of extent of democracy in Botswana are, $\bar{x} = 1.56; SD = 0.85$ with a normal distribution; the mean corresponds to the rating "a democracy but with minor problems". The study observed that a majority of the students are somewhat content with democracy in Botswana, though this majority believes that Botswana is a democracy that requires a bit of improvement. However, a good 14% indicate that Botswana is a full democracy.

Table 16 Extent of democracy

	Frequency	Valid Percent (%)
Not a democracy/ A democracy with major problems	158	46.4
A democracy but with minor problems/A full democracy	182	53.6
Total	340	100

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

a. Extent of democracy and student leadership

The majority of student leaders (78%), and over half (53%) of students not in leadership perceive Botswana as a "full democracy /a democracy with minor problems". Conversely, this also means that over 40% of students not in leadership and over 20% of student leaders see Botswana as undemocratic. Thus, there is a considerable section of UB students who are not happy with the extent of Botswana's democracy, contrary to the seemingly exaggerated assertions that Botswana's democracy is a model of its kind and is very successful. This perhaps is a suggestion that Botswana is a functional democracy but more could be done to further consolidate it (see Good, 2003; Cook and Sarkin, 2010), While there are proportional differences between perceptions of student leaders and those of students not in leadership, Fisher's exact test value (DF=1, n =402 and p =0.158) confirms that there is no statistically significant association between student leadership and the extent of democracy.

b. Extent of democracy: UB students in national and international comparison

In comparison to their compatriots, UB students appear considerably *more critical* of the extent of democracy in Botswana. While just over half, 54%, perceive Botswana to be a "full democracy/ a democracy with minor problems", as against an overwhelming majority (93%) of Batswana

general mass public and 92% of Batswana mass public age cohort without higher education.

In comparison with students from the other three universities, Figure 8 shows that these students are also proportionally more critical of their democracies than the mass public age cohort without higher education and the general mass public, though in varying degrees. While just over half of UB students (54%) said their country is a "full democracy/ a democracy with minor problems", the situation is even 'worse' in the three other universities of the HERANA study. Below half of UCT students (48%), compared with 61% mass public age cohort and 58% South African general mass public said South Africa is a "full democracy/ a democracy with minor problems". It is evident that UCT students are much more critical of the extent of democracy in South Africa than the South African general mass public and youth without higher education. UCT students are even, proportionally, more critical than UB student about their country's extent of democracy. Similarly, UDSM students (34%) are also even more proportionally critical of the way democracy functions in Tanzania than the mass public age cohort without higher education (65%) and the general mass public (74%) in Tanzania, who consider their country a "full democracy/ a democracy with minor problems" (cf. HERANA, and Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). It appears that youthfulness is a factor in being critical of the extent of democracy in Tanzania, but studying at UDSM increases such critical perspective considerably. Kenyans and UON students in particular, are the most critical about the extent of democracy in their country. Figure 8 shows that only 15% of UON students, as against half of mass public age cohort (50%) and 43% of general mass public in Kenya, indicated in 2009 that Kenya is a "full democracy/ a democracy with minor problems". The critical attitude of Kenyans perhaps reflects the political instability that occurred due to post-election violence in the 2007/2008 elections (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011).

However, about 13% of UB students, against UCT (7%), UDSM (3%) UON (2%) students, perceive their countries to be a "full democracy". The success of Botswana as a more institutionalized democracy than other countries is reflected by a higher proportion of UB students endorsing their country as a full democracy in comparison with students from other African flagship institutions. Even though they are critical of the extent of democracy in the country, UB students are less critical of the extent of democracy in Botswana than other students are about democracy in their respective countries.

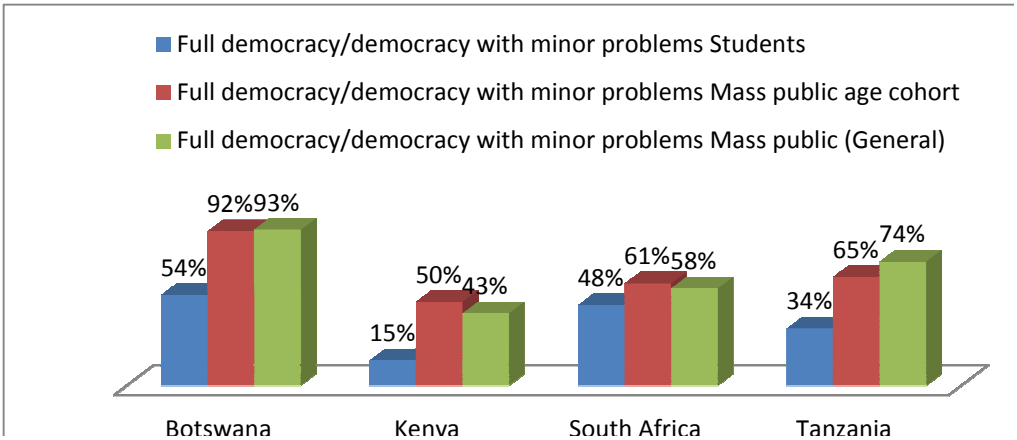


Figure 8 Extent of democracy in cross national comparison

The analyses generally appear to discern a worrying state of affairs as far as the extent of democracy is concerned. Although political realities, especially during data collection, will have influenced the students' perceptions, the message nevertheless is clear: a majority of students perceive their countries as not fully democratic. In Kenya, the student's dissatisfaction is probably influenced by their recent experience of the political crisis.

The findings show that UB, UCT, UON and UDSM students are proportionally more critical of the extent of democracy in their respective countries than the mass youth cohort without higher education. These findings are consistent with Mattes and Mughogho (2010), who controlled for other elements of cognitive awareness and established that though its contribution was limited, higher education students were consistently critical of political regimes. They found that those people who have been to university were only slightly more likely to be politically inclined compared to those without higher education or with basic literacy. Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012, p. 158) also conclude that "higher education's contribution to democracy lies mainly in creating more *critical citizens"* (emphasis in original).

5.6.2. Satisfaction with democracy

Citizens' satisfaction with democracy is a critical factor for regime consolidation (Bratton and Mattes, 2003). Indeed, Bratton and Mattes (2003) posit that the regime only becomes consolidated if a large mass of ordinary citizens is satisfied with democracy and the way it functions. As a stable and functional democracy, Botswana is regarded as consolidated democracy as citizens appear to be satisfied with its democratic practices. Bratton and Mattes (2003);

> [N]o matter how well or badly international donors, think tanks or academics rate the extent of democracy in a given country, the regime will only become consolidated if ordinary people themselves are considerably satisfied with the way democracy works in their country (Bratton and Mattes, 2003, p. 2).

Following the Afrobarometer and the related argument of Bratton and Mattes (2003), this study measures satisfaction with democracy in Botswana by asking students to respond to the question: "How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Botswana?" The response categories in the questionnaire were "very satisfied with democracy works", "Fairly satisfied", "Not at all satisfied" and "country is not a democracy". "Very satisfied" indicates considerable satisfaction with democracy while "country is not a democracy" corresponds to least satisfied/negation that Botswana is a democracy.

Table 17 shows a total of 347 responses with just below half (48%) of the UB students indicating that they are 'very satisfied/fairly' satisfied with Botswana's democracy, as against 52% of the students who say they are 'Not very satisfied/Not at all satisfied/country is not a democracy' .

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Table 17 UB students' satisfaction with democracy

	Frequency (%)
Very satisfied /Fairly satisfied	168 (48.3%)
Not very satisfied	129 (37.1%)
Not at all satisfied/country not a democracy	51 (14.6%)
Total	347 (100.0%)

a. Satisfaction with democracy and participation in student leadership

Table 18 shows that thirteen student leaders (27%) indicate that they are 'not satisfied' with democracy while thirty-six (74%) say they were 'satisfied'. On the other hand, 53% students not in leadership say they are 'not satisfied' while 147 of these students (47%) indicate that they are satisfied with the way democracy works in Botswana.

A Pearson's Chi-square test confirms that there is a statistically significant association between student leadership and satisfaction with democracy. Reading the Continuity Correction value, (DF=1, n =364 and p =0.001), and the Cramer's V value is 0.18≈0.2, indicates that this association is

moderate. Student leaders are moderately more likely to be satisfied with democracy than students not in leadership.

Table 18 Satisfaction with democracy and student leadership

	Student not in Formal Leadership	Student Leader	Total
Not satisfied	168 (53.3%)	13 (26.5 %)	181 (49.7%)
Satisfied	147 (46.7%)	36 (73.5%)	183(50.3%)
Total	315 (100.0%)	49 (100.0%)	364 (100.0%)

b. Satisfaction with democracy in national and international comparison

The comparison with Botswana mass publics and UB students shows that below half of UB students (48%), 78% of the mass public age cohort (youth without HE) and 83% of the general mass public indicate that they are satisfied with the way democracy functions in Botswana. UB students are therefore again more critical of democracy than comparable mass publics. However, UB students are the proportionally more satisfied with democracy than students at the two East African universities: UON (13% of students are very/fairly satisfied) and UDSM (30% students). Only UCT students are slightly more satisfied than UB students (57%) (Compare Figure 9).

Figure 9 shows that, just as UON students were proportionally the most critical among the country's citizens of democracy in Kenya, they are also proportionally the most poorly satisfied with democracy when compared with Batswana, Tanzanians and South Africans. Only 13% of UON students, 43% mass public age cohort, and 23% of the Kenyan general mass public are satisfied with democracy in their country. It appears that the Kenyan mass age cohort is proportionally more highly satisfied than compatriots at UON and the general mass public. UCT students are more content with democracy in South Africa than their compatriots are. More than half of students (57%), 43% mass public age cohort and 49% general mass public are satisfied with democracy in South Africa.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

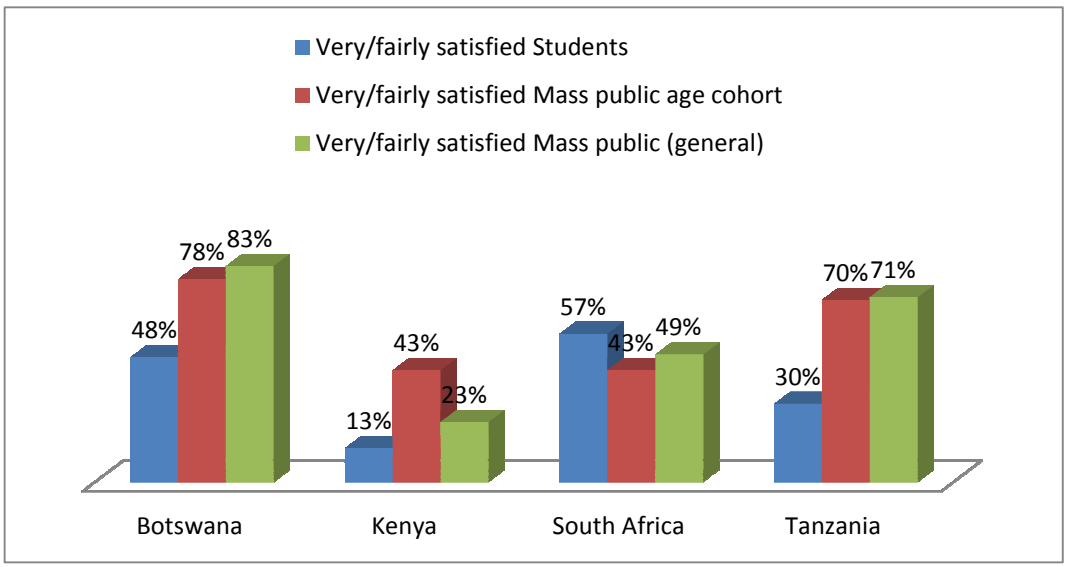


Figure 9 Satisfaction with democracy in national comparison

In summary, it appears that students are generally more critical and dissatisfied with democracy in their respective countries than the comparable mass public age cohort without higher education and general mass public (with some exceptions in South Africa). In inter-university comparison, UCT and UB students are proportionally more satisfied with democracy than the third-year students at the two East African universities. Batswana are generally content with democracy and this is congruent with what African political and Afrobarometer literature has said about Botswana's democratic system and Batswana's satisfaction with democracy. Kenyans, in contrast, are quite dissatisfied with democracy in their country.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

5.6.3. Supply of rights

Perceptions of the supply of political rights are used as a proxy to establish supply of democracy. As indicated in Part 1 of this chapter, civil and political rights are essential elements of a modern democratic system and over 60% of students at UB understand democracy in terms of these rights and liberties (Table 5 above). Asking students how they perceive the supply of rights in their country helps gain an impression of their country's democratic status (Mattes et al., 2000).

Students were requested to indicate whether political and civil rights are freely available or limited. Students were asked to indicate: "In this country, how free are you to": "1. to say what you want?", "2. Join any political organisation you want?" and "3. Choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?" The response category was "Not at all free", "Not very free", "Somewhat free" and "Completely free". "Completely free" indicating positive responses; and "not at all free" indicating negative responses.

Table 19 indicates that students' perceptions generally suggest a substantive supply of rights. UB students are generally free to join any political organisation, with mean and standard deviation $\bar{x} = 2.43;\ SD = 0.80$ and students also indicated that they were free to vote without undue pressure, with mean and standard deviation $\bar{x} = 2.43;\ SD = 0.85$. Both means correspond to the rating "completely free" to join any organization (referring to freedom of association) and to vote for their preferred candidates without pressure (referring to freedom of electoral choice). The distribution is normal in both cases. The mean and standard deviations for freedom of speech are $\bar{x} = 1.45;\ SD = 0.99,$ which corresponds to "somewhat free". Therefore UB students indicate that they are only 'somewhat free' to say what they want to say. The distribution is skewed positively. Thus, UB students do not think they are completely free with respect to freedom of speech. This may reflect the belief that there is an aversion to criticism of the government (Cook and Sarkin, 2010).

Table 19 Means and standard deviations of the students' perceptions of supply of rights

	Mean (Std. Deviation)	N valid
In this country, how free are you to say what you want?	1.45 (.988)	372
In this country, how free are you to join any political organization you want?	2.43 (.796)	369
In this country, how free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?	2.44 (.853)	372

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

a. Student leadership and supply of rights

Table 20 shows that both student leaders and students not leaders have positive perceptions on the supply of rights. 88% of the 48 student leaders and 87% of 325 students not in leadership indicate that they are somewhat free/completely free to join any political organization they want without fear or hindrance.

Table 20 shows that a two-thirds majority of the 49 student leaders (65%) indicate that they are 'Somewhat free/Completely free' to say what they want, while less than half of students not in leadership (47%) make a similar claim. A high proportion of students not in leadership (19%) indicate that they are 'Not at all free' to express their political views suggesting that they perceive their freedom of speech to be somewhat compromised. Student leaders are therefore less critical of the

supply of freedom of speech than are ordinary students. Chi- square tests of association show, however, that there is no statistically significant association between freedom of association, freedom to vote, freedom of expression and involvement in student leadership. Therefore both student leaders and students not in leadership perceive the supply of freedoms more or less in the same way.

Table 20 Supply of rights and student leadership

	Freedom of expression		Freedom of organization		Freedom to vote	
	Student not Leader	Student Leader	Student not Leader	Student Leader	Student not Leader	Student Leader
Not at all free	63 (19.2%)	6 (12.2%)	11 (3.4%)	1 (2.1%)	15 (4.6%)	1 (2.1%)
Not very free	111 (33.8%)	11 (22.4%)	30 (9.2%)	5 (10.4%)	34 (10.4%)	5 (10.4%)
Somewhat free	98 (29.9%)	19 (38.8%)	92 (28.3%)	7 (14.6%)	73 (22.3%)	5 (10.4%)
Completely free	56 (17.1%)	13 (26.5%)	192 (59.1%)	35 (72.9%)	206 (62.8%)	37 (77.1%)
Total	328 (100.0%)	49 (100.0%)	325 (100.0%)	48 (100.0%)	328 (100.0%)	48 (100.0%)

b. Students' perception of the supply of rights compared to mass public

Table 21 shows that Batswana generally have a high perception of supply of rights in their country. Batswana mass public in the Afrobarometer survey indicate that they are free to vote for their preferred candidates, with mean and standard deviation $\bar{x} = 2.92; SD = 0.35$; they indicated that they were free to join any political organization without pressure, with mean and standard deviation $\bar{x} = 2.90; SD = 0.41,$ and they lastly indicated they are free to say what they want to say. The means of all these means indicators correspond to "completely free". The distribution is normal for both cases of freedom of organization and freedom to vote while the distribution for freedom of speech was skewed positively.

Thus, members of the Batswana mass public in general perceive themselves to be freer than do UB students. A proportion of 98% mass publics say they are free to join any political organization, 98% say they are free to vote for their preferred candidates, while 95% indicate that they are free to say what they want to say without compromise.

Even though there is no significant difference between students and mass public age cohorts' perceptions, the latter are proportionally more satisfied with the supply of freedom of organization

and freedom to vote. General mass public indicates higher perception of freedom of organization (mean 2.90) and freedom to vote (mean 2.92) than students (mean 2.43) and (2.44) respectively. However UB students have a higher mean for the perception freedom to vote as compared to freedom to organize and freedom of speech. In contrast, supply of freedom of speech appeared lowest in both students and mass publics, but nevertheless the mean for freedom of speech was proportionally higher for mass publics than it was at UB.

Table 21Mean and standard deviations of mass public perceptions of supply of rights

	Mean (Std. Deviation)	N valid
In this country, how free are you to say what you want?	2.718 (.595)	1185
In this country, how free are you to join any political organization you want?	2.898 (.412)	1193
In this country, how free are you to choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?	2.924 (.352)	1188

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

c. Students' perception of the supply of rights in international comparison

Consistent with the findings on UB students, students from the three universities in the HERANA sample also showed some scepticism regarding the supply of freedom of speech (Luescher-Mamashela et al, 2011, p. 69-71). Furthermore, UCT students consistently consider themselves freer than their peers at UB, UON and UDSM. Only at UCT (82%) does an overwhelming majority of students feel 'somewhat free/completely free' to say what they want; in contrast, only just over half of UON students (53%) and just below half of UDSM students (48%) and UB students (47%) say they are free to say what they want.

A proportion of UCT students (87%) and UB students (87 %) continue to indicate that they are proportionally freer, albeit slightly, than their Eastern African counterparts to join any political party they want to join. However, almost just as much UDSM students (86%) and marginally lower UON students (81%) also indicated that their freedom to organise is "somewhat free/completely free". In comparison, Table 22 shows the means and standard deviations for all three freedoms and their respective campuses. It appears there is considerably higher perceived supply of freedom to vote across all the four universities. However, there are variations across the three universities in perception of freedom to vote without undue pressure with UCT and UB students both having a mean of 2.43 followed by UDSM and UON with 2.23 and 2.17 respectively; all correspond to the rating "completely free". While only 6% of UB and 11% of UCT students feel they are not free to

vote for their preferred candidates, around 22% at UDSM and almost a quarter of UON students (24%) feel that their freedom to vote is limited or compromised.

Table 22 Supply of political rights in cross university perspectives

	Freedom of Speech $(\bar{x};\ SD)$	Freedom of Association $(\bar{x};\ SD)$	Freedom of Voting $(\bar{x};\ SD)$
UCT	$(\bar{x} = 2.89;\ SD = 0.70)$	$(\bar{x} = 2.40;\ SD = 0.75)$	$(\bar{x} = 2.43;\ SD = 0.77)$
UON	$(\bar{x} = 1.53;\ SD = 0.86)$	$(\bar{x} = 2.20;\ SD = 0.81)$	$(\bar{x} = 2.17;\ SD = 0.92)$
UB	$\bar{x} = 1.45;\ SD = 0.99,$	$\bar{x} = 2.43;\ SD = 0.80$	$\bar{x} = 2.43;\ SD = 0.85$
UDSM	$(\bar{x} = 1.40;\ SD = 0.88)$	$(\bar{x} = 2.43;\ SD = 0.79)$	$(\bar{x} = 2.23;\ SD = 0.92)$

Where 0-0.9 (Not at all free); 1.0-1.9 (Not very free); 2.0-2.9 (Somewhat free/Completely free)

In summary, perceptions of students in the four African universities suggest that there is relatively high supply of political rights. However, it appears that UCT students see themselves as considerably freer than UON, UB and UDSM students. The right to freely express political views appears to be the least supplied in the three countries with the exception of UCT, an overwhelming proportion of UCT students (82%) feeling 'somewhat free/completely free' to say what they want compared to lower than 50% in each of the three other universities. The mass public in Botswana perceive themselves to be freer than UB students. These findings suggest that UB students are by and large content with the supply of rights (albeit least so with their freedom of expression).

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

5.6.4. Summary and conclusion

Generally, perceptions of students of UB and the three African universities in the HERANA group indicate that there is considerable supply of democracy, political and civil rights in their respective countries but students are proportionally more critical of the supply than are the general public and youth of the same age cohorts without higher education. UB students are proportionally more critical than mass publics with regard to the extent to which Botswana is a full democracy and with regard to satisfaction with the way democracy functions in Botswana. In the inter-university comparison, only UCT students (57%) appear to be more content with the way democracy functions. The findings from UB are thus consistent with the findings of Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012) and Mattes and Mughogho (2010), which state that higher education's contribution to democracy lies mainly in creating more *critical citizens.*

The notions of supply of democracy and demand for democracy neither explicitly capture how actively involved students are in supporting democracy nor whether citizens are sentient of their

political environment. As stated in the literature review chapter, political theorists argue that a large proportion of the citizenry needs to actively participate in the democratic process for democracy to consolidate (cf. Bratton and Mattes, 2003; Lekorwe, 2009). Thus, this study probes the extent of students' active participation in the democracy process through elections, communing, interest in politics, media usage to get political news/affairs, and discussion of politics, which are among the many key aspects of cognitive awareness and political engagement.

5.7. Part III: Democratic Engagement

Modern democracy involves complex procedures of direct participation, deliberation and consultation as well as representation, all of which allow the citizenry to participate in democracy. Bratton and Mattes (2003) state that political participation and being aware of the political environment could be confounding factors for support for democracy. Meanwhile, as shown above, more than a fifth of UB students (22%) defined democracy, in their words, in terms of popular participation. Various forms of democratic engagement are assessed here to measure to what extent students support democracy through active engagement.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

5.7.1 Elections

While elections alone do not make a country democratic, regular free and fair elections are y (see, for example, Lekorwe, 2009). They accord citizens an opportunity to participate in democracy by deciding whom they want in leadership. Bratton and Mattes (2003) indicate that regular elections are on a list of institutions and procedures that define democracy. For Schedler (2009), although elections tend to legitimise authoritarian regimes at times, a situation he calls 'electoral authoritarianism', "there is widespread, two-fold consensus in the scholarly community regarding the role of elections for democratic governance. [E]lections are an essential ingredient of liberal democracy. No elections, no democracy" (Schedler, 2009, p. 382).

Schedler and Sarsfield (2007) emphasise that elections have to be competitive, free and fair, in order for a regime to qualify as democratic. Though a considerably low proportion of UB students (11%) equate democracy with political participation in free and fair elections, elections are, nevertheless, the most immediate way of engaging in the democratic process both on campus through SRC elections and off campus through national elections. The study therefore probes students' participation in voting for student representatives in the SRC elections and participation in general elections.

Are students actively involved in campus electoral procedures? Students were asked "With regards to the last SRC (2009) elections which statement is true for you?", response categories being: "There was no election", "I voted in the election", "I decided not to vote", "I could not find a polling station", "I was prevented from voting", "I did not have time to vote", and "Did not vote for some other reason". The response category "I voted in the election" was therefore the only wholly positive response; all others were negative, meaning that students did not vote for whatever reason.

Table 30 shows that only 387 students responded to this question and only 139 students, representing 36%, say they voted in the 2009 SRC elections. Students who did not vote responded that;

- I decided not to vote (25%)
- I did not vote for some other reason (16%)
- I did not have time to vote (12%) and
- I could not find a polling station (2%)
- I was prevented from voting (1%)
- There was no election (1%).

Generally, the results indicate a low participation rate in elections and/or lack of interest in student politics. This is perhaps consistent with only 11% of UB students defining democracy as having connotations of elections. It is interesting that 88% of these students indicated that they are 'somewhat free/completely free' to vote for their preferred leadership, although only 36% have exercised their guaranteed right to vote. Political rights are important to this crop of students yet when a chance to exercise one of them, elections, is presented to them, they do not participate; suggest a tendency towards, in practice, political apathy.

Table 23 Students' voting responses in the 2009 SRC elections

	Frequency	Valid Percent
There was no election	2	.6
I voted in the election	139	35.9
I decided not to vote	96	24.8
I could not find a polling station	8	2.1
I was prevented from voting	2	.6
I did not have time to vote	45	11.6
I did not vote for some other reason	61	15.7
Total	387	100.0

a. Elections outside campus: UB students in international comparison

In comparison with students at the other universities, Figure 10 shows that UB students are amongst the least participatory in on-campus voting. UCT students (67%) and UON (59%) compare to only 36% of UB students, who voted in their 2009 SRC elections. Only UDSM students show even smaller participation (25%). UCT students (67%) anticipated the most.

Heywood (2002) argues that political participation, particularly voting, declines considerably in a consolidated democracy, because citizens are less worried about democratic flaws. The lowest turnout at the student elections was at UDSM (25%); in accordance with Heywood (2002), this would suggest that the UDSM student political landscape is democratically more mature in comparison with the other three universities. There is, however, no evidence to suggest this is so in the existing literature; indeed, UDSM student politics is rather contentious with frequent student protests (compare Mwollo-Ntalima, 2011). Perhaps Heywood's statement is more applicable to national turnout?

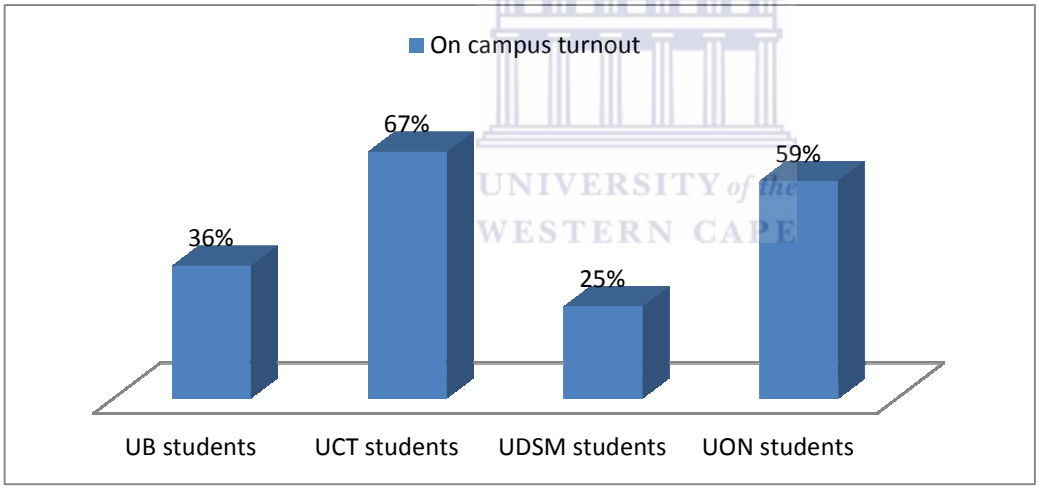


Figure 10 on campus voter turnout in cross university comparison

b. Freeness and Fairness of elections (On-Campus)

Having elections regularly is one thing, but having elections those free and fair elections is the most important aspect of a democratic system. Schedler and Sarsfield (2009) say that elections are a credible procedure and true reflection of democracy only when they are free. In fact, the freeness and fairness of elections is a feature that scholars and think tanks use to evaluate the extent of democracy and the extent to which elections are used as a credible means to elect political leadership. For Okello

- Free means that there is no restriction on access to the [electoral] process, and
- Fair [means] that [the electoral process] is run impartially and in accordance with international standards. (Okello, 2009, p. 2)

The study probed perceptions on the freeness and fairness of elections on campus by asking students "On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the 2009 SRC elections? The response categories were "Completely free and fair", "Free and fair, but with minor problems", "Free and fair, with major problems" and "Not free and fair". "Completely free and fair" indicated the best possible positive answer and confident endorsing of the elections, "Not free and fair" as the other extreme and indicating infringement, flaws and less likelihood of endorsing the polls.

Table 24 shows that out of 388 students 18% say that the SRC elections were not free and fair while 179, representing 46% of the respondents, say the elections were free and fair with major problems. A startling statistic is that 34%, 132 students said they did not know whether the election was free and fair! Perhaps this statistic is consistent with the poor participation of UB students in SRC elections (see Figure 10): they did not know what rating to accord the elections because they did not participate though evaluation of elections was not restricted who took part in the elections, students might have shown more trust in the process if they had taken part.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Table 24 Freeness and fairness of UB 2009 SRC elections

	Frequency	Valid Percent (%)
Free and fair with major problems	179	46.2
Not free and fair	70	18.1
Do not understand the question	7	1.7
Don't know	132	34.0
Total	388	100.0

The poor participation of UB students in student elections should be investigated, especially since UB's student politics by and large imitates or resembles Botswana's mainstream politics. On campus student political movements are part of the youth leagues of the mainstream political parties, and SRC elections are mainly contested on the basis of national partisanship. The mainstream parties support their respective student organisations financially and otherwise, especially during elections. Non-participation in student politics could potentially overflow into the national political system. The four main parties operating on campus include:

- the ruling Botswana Democratic Party's whose on campus political movement is the BDP GS26
- the Botswana National Front represented by BNF Movement Against Student Suppression (BNF MASS)
- the Botswana Congress Party represented by UB Congress for Democracy (BCP UBCD), and
- The Botswana Movement for Democracy which is represented by Basco Student Movement for Democracy (BSMD).

Does poor participation in student elections correlate to voting performance at national level or is there no relationship between them? The next section probes students' participation in off-campus elections.

c. Elections outside campus

Although on-campus student politics resembles national politics due to the links between student political organisations and mainstream national political parties, national elections are arguably a completely different affair, by magnitude, relevance and significance. The country's statehood and democracy is measured by the quality of the national politics and less by micro-politics such as is found among students at university level.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The study probes students' electoral participation in national general elections. The question was "With regard to the last national general election (2009), which statement is true for you?" The response categories were the same as for SRC elections except for "I was too young to vote": "I voted in the election", "I decided not to vote", "I could not find a polling station", "I was prevented from voting", "I did not have time to vote" and "I did not vote for some other reason". "I voted in the election" was the only positive response and all others were negative—since students did not vote due to whatever reason--except in the case of underage students.

Table 25 shows that less than half, 45% of UB students voted in the 2009 general elections. The rest of the students indicated that:

- I decided not to vote (22%)
- I did not vote for some other reason (22%).
- I did not have time to vote (5%)
- I was too young to vote (5%)
- I could not find a polling station (2%)

- I was prevented from voting (1%).

Just as with voting on campus, the sum of students who did not vote in the general elections, for whatever reason other than being underage, is 50%, which is 5% more than the proportion that voted. Only a minority participated and voted. 5% say that they were underage at the time of elections or registrations, and hence they did not vote. This suggests that UB students do not have much interest in elections, whether at university or national level. Perhaps indeed university politics by and large does mirror national politics, and student political attitudes and behaviours do overflow into the national political system.

Table 25 UB student' voting in the 2009 general elections

	Frequency	Valid Percent (%)
I was too young to vote	17	4.5
I voted in the election	169	44.7
I decided not to vote	82	21.8
I could not find a polling station	8	2.1
I was prevented from voting	2	.6
I did not have time to vote	17	4.5
I did not vote for some other reason	82	21.8
Total	377	100.0

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

d. Participation in national elections: Student leaders vs. non-student leaders.

71% student leaders and 44% students not in leadership indicated that they voted in the 2009 general elections; 29% among student leaders and 56% of students not in leadership did not participate, for one reason or another. The study further probed whether participation in student leadership programmes influences participation in elections at national level. A Chi- square test was performed. Reading the Fisher's Exact test, (DF=6, n =381 and p =0.003), and the Cramer's V value is 0.23≈ 0.2, these indicate that there is a statistically significant, moderate association. Student leaders are moderately more likely to vote in general elections than students not in leadership.

Table 26 Student leadership and participation in the 2009 elections

	Student-not in leadership	Student leaders
I was too young to vote	15 (4.5%)	2 (4.2%)
l voted in the election	148 (44.4%)	34 (70.8%)
l decided not to vote	73 (21.9%)	4 (8.3%)
l could not find a polling station	7 (2.1%)	0 (0%)
l was prevented from voting	2 (.6%)	2 (4.2%)
l did not have time to vote	15 (4.5%)	2 (4.2%)
l did not vote for some other reason	73 (21.9%)	4 (8.3%)
Total	333 (100%)	48 (100%)

e. National elections: Students and mass public comparison

Figure 11 shows that 66% (representing 637 respondents) of the Batswana mass public and 28% of Batswana youth without HE said they voted in the 2009 general elections, as against 45% of UB students. However, a significant number, 93 of the 229 mass public age cohort (41%), indicated that they were below 18 years and constitutionally not eligible to vote. It appears that youth in Botswana vote proportionally higher than their older compatriots. However, a higher proportion of UB students (50%) compared to 31% of mass public age cohort and 34% of mass publics indicated that they did not vote. It appears that a proportionally large section of UB students are not interested in national elections as compared to their compatriots, even mass public age cohort without higher education. These statistics may reflect a certain political apathy in Botswana, particularly amongst the youth.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

The study further examined differences in participation in voting between students and mass public age cohort. A Chi-square test was performed and reading the Fisher's Exact test value, (DF=7, n =1200 and p =0.00), p<0.05 indicates that there is a statistically significant association and the Cramer's V value is 0.323≈0.3, which indicates that the association is strong. Therefore, students are strongly more likely to vote than the Batswana mass public age cohort without higher education. Closer analysis will be needed to determine what accounts for this difference.

f. National Elections: UB students in international comparison

As illustrated by figure 11, participation in voting varies across UB and the three HERANA universities. A proportion of 62% of each of UCT and UDSM students and an overwhelming majority of 79% of UON students voted in their last general elections, compared to only 45% of UB students. It is evident that UCT and UB students participate proportionally lower in elections than UON and UDSM students, and UB students participate lowest in elections. Moreover, students participate

proportionally more than mass public age cohorts (except in Tanzania) but less than general mass public in all four countries. Tanzanian general mass public (83%) and mass youth cohort (81%) participate considerably higher than the 62% of UDSM students. The South African and Batswana youth age cohort (23% and 28% respectively) participate lower in general elections than their respective general mass publics and students, even lower than the comparative cohorts from Kenya and Tanzania (see Figure 11).

Figure 11 indicates that East Africans are proportionally more active in voting compared to their Southern African counterparts. Comparatively, Kenyans appear to be a nation of citizens considerably interested in participating in elections across all the three groups. There were smaller differences between Kenyan mass publics (81%), students and mass public age cohort (72%) that participated in the 2008 elections that heralded coalition government in Kenya. Political science literature suggests that political participation heightens where stakes are high, as was the case Kenya in the 2008 elections (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 22), and as Heywood (2002) indicates, the more consolidated a democracy, the lower the turnout for elections.

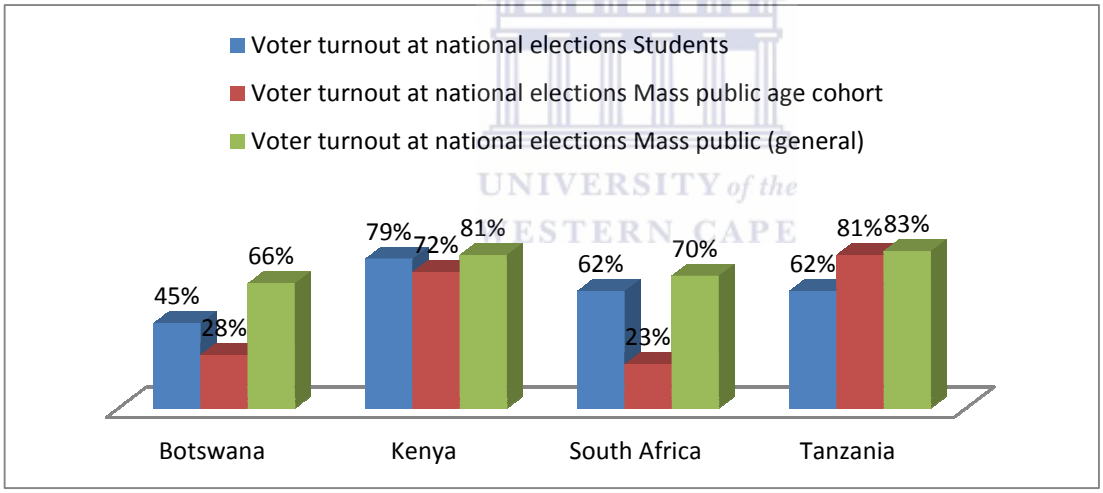


Figure 11 Voter turnouts in national comparison

Generally, the student bodies of all the three universities in the HERANA study turned out to vote in more substantial numbers compared to UB's measly 45% turnout at the 2009 general elections. The much celebrated democracy in Botswana does not feature high levels of participation in electoral procedures, judging by the behaviour UB students. There are a considerably higher proportion of UB students who did not vote in the SRC and general elections than any of its comparable flagship universities.

In summary, the study has established that students participate proportionally higher than mass public age cohort except in Tanzania but less than general mass public in all the four countries. Only one-third and one-quarter of UB and UDSM students, respectively, against two-thirds of both UCT and UON students, voted in their 2009 SRC elections. UB and UCT students and youth age cohorts in both South Africa and Botswana also showed low participation in their national general elections. However, poor participation in elections is not limited to students and youth age cohort in Botswana as Batswana mass publics also participated lower than mass publics of the other three nations in their most recent general elections. This poor showing in elections in Botswana may be understood in terms of the claims of the political literature that participation in electoral procedures tends to decline with the increasing strength of a democracy.

g. Freeness and fairness of national elections in comparison

The study probed perceptions of the freeness and fairness of the 2009 general elections by asking students "On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the 2009 national elections? The response categories were the same as for SRC elections.

Generally, the vast majority of the students endorsed the 2009 general elections despite not having voted. A mean of $\bar{x} = 0.79; SD = 0.4$ corresponds to the rating "*free and fair*" elections. There is a normal distribution for freeness and fairness of the 2009 general elections.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Figure 12 shows that 79% of UB students indicate that the 2009 elections in Botswana were free and fair while the remaining 21% indicate that there elections were not free and fair. Both student leaders and non-leaders despite their disparities in participation during elections confidently endorse the 2009 elections. Of the 49 student leaders or 91% said the 2009 Botswana general elections were free and fair; while 79% of the 353 student not in leadership endorsed the elections.

In comparison to their compatriots, almost as many Botswana general mass public (80%) and mass public age cohort (78%) also endorse the 2009 Botswana general elections by indicating that the elections were void of intimidation and were accessible. There is a one percent difference between mass age cohort (78%) and UB students (79%) in endorsing elections.

In comparison with the other African students, figure 12 shows that UB students endorse 2009 Botswana general elections proportionally higher. Students at UB (79%) and UCT (74%) endorse the

general elections in their respective countries higher than UDSM (44%) and UON students (7%). UB and UCT students also endorse general elections proportionally more than youth without higher education (South African mass public age cohort 53%) of their respective countries, while a higher proportion of mass public age cohort (70%) and general mass public (70%) in Tanzania endorsed general elections than students (44%) at UDSM. Tanzanians consistently endorse their 2009 elections considerably as free and fair if one takes cognizance of the fact that they proportionally participated considerably more in the election than nationals of the other three nations (see Figure 11).

Despite participating in high proportions in the 2008 elections, Kenyans were the unhappiest of all the four nationals with regards to their elections in 2008. Only 7% of each of UON students and Kenyan general mass public and 5% of mass public age cohort said elections had been free and fair, which technically means a vast majority of more than 90 percent of Kenyans feel that the 2008 elections were not free and fair. Such perceptions of poor quality elections in Kenya may be attributed to the alleged rigging and violence involved in these elections and their aftermath.

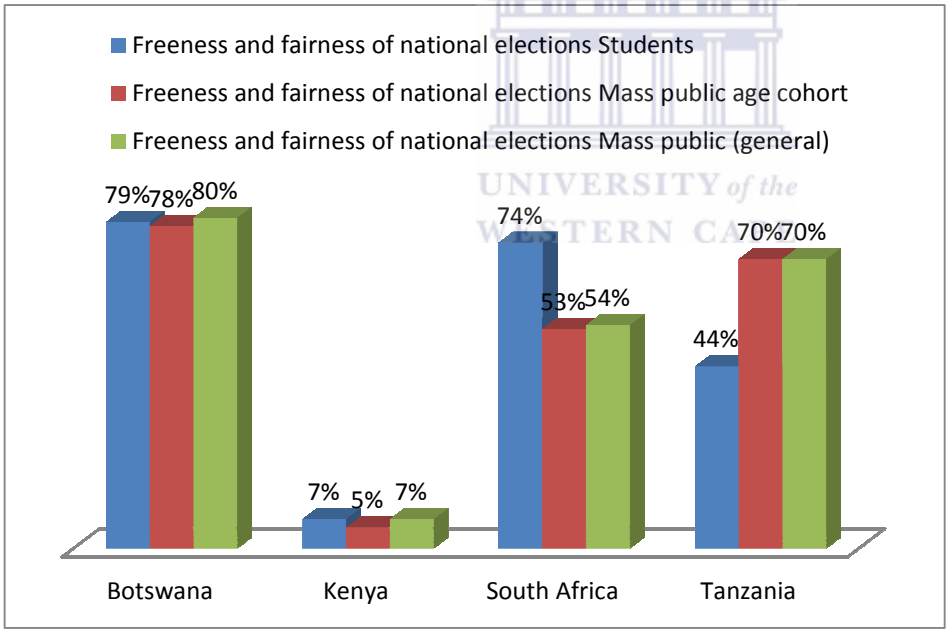


Figure 12 Freeness of elections in international comparison

In conclusion, this section probed UB students' political participation in voting both on and off campus in comparison with mass public age cohort, general mass public and students and mass publics from other countries. The section also sought students' perceptions on the freeness and fairness of their campus-based SRC election and national general elections. It has not found any consistent picture in the various comparisons it has attempted. In terms of participation in voting it

may be surprising that lower proportion (45%) of students at UB participated compared to 66% Batswana mass public. It is also evident that generally elections are regarded free and fair by both UB students and Batswana mass publics, at a proportionally much higher level than nationals of the three other countries (with the Kenyan elections of 2007/08 fairing the worst).

The study further probes students' awareness of the political environment, notwithstanding the dismal participation in elections. The study probes students' interest in public affairs, discussion of and engagement with politics, media usage and knowledge of politics, which could be underlying factors which influence students' participation in democratic process and engender perceptions toward democracy.

5.7.1. Students' political activism and cognitive awareness

Mattes and Mughogho (2009) say that democracy works better if citizens are well-informed through engaging in various ways with politics, such as using news media. The importance of media in engendering cognitive awareness cannot be overemphasized. "Cognitively aware citizens are less likely to defect from democracy due to adverse short-term trends because they have come to understand democracy as an ongoing game with an ever-extending horizon" (Axelrod, 1984, as cited by Bratton and Mattes, 2007, p. 202). This section probes cognitive awareness such as interest in politics and media usage which could be underlying factors for support of democracy. First, the study probes students' interest in public affairs, discussion of politics, media usage and knowledge of politics. In the second part, the study further probes students' civic engagement in activities such as communing, for example, participation in political meetings, active participation in demonstrations and or protests.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

5.7.2.1 Interest in public affairs/politics

Interest in public affairs is a critical aspect for support of democracy. Bratton and Mattes (2007) note the importance of being cognitive engaged with respect to interest in public affairs/politics; "…cognitive engagement (a combined sense of interest in politics and political discussion), develops the cognitive skills that people can use to identify, store and retrieve data about democracy" (Bratton and Mattes, 2007, p. 202). This study first establishes students' political awareness by asking them how much interest they have in politics and general issues about governance in their university and their country. Students were asked "How interested are you in public affairs (especially in politics and government)?" The response categories were "not interested at all", "not very interested", "somewhat interested" and "very interested" in order of increasing rank. There substantive cognitive awareness if students show high interest in politics.

A mean of $\bar{x} = 0.65; SD = 0.48$ corresponds with rating "interested" in public affairs (especially in politics and government) and the population distribution was normal. Table 27 shows that a two-thirds majority of UB students (65%) said they are "somewhat/very interested" in public affairs, while the other third, about 134 students representing 35%, said that they have "no interest at all" or are "not very interested" in public affairs. The mean and percentage proportions indicate that UB students, on average, are considerably interested in politics and public affairs.

Table 27 Interest in politics by student leadership

	All students	Student Leaders	Students not in leadership
Not interested at all/ not very interested	134 (34.9%)	0 (10.6%)	119 (35.1%)
somewhat interested/very interested	250 (65.1%)	42 (89.4%)	220 (64.9%)
Total (N-valid)	384 (100%)	47 (100%)	339 (100%)

a. Student leadership and interest in public affairs

Furthermore, it is evident from Table 27 that student leaders are proportionally more likely to be "somewhat/very interested" in public affairs than students not in leadership. To establish whether the difference in interest in public affairs proportions between student leaders and students not in leadership is significant, the test results show the following: Pearson Chi Square test results (DF=2, *n* =386, 0.003), $p < .005$. Cramer's v value was $0.180 \approx 0.2$. The results therefore indicate that there is a statistically significant, moderate association between interest in public affairs and student leadership. Student leaders are moderately more likely to have an interest in politics and governance than students not in leadership.

b. Interest in politics in national and international comparison

Figure 13 presents comparative cross national and university results. Figure 13 shows that Batswana mass publics (71%) are proportionally more likely "somewhat/very interested" in politics than UB students (65%) and the mass public age cohort (63%). But, UB students are proportionally less interested than UCT (75%), UON (70%) and UDSM (69%) in the HERANA surveys. South African students at UCT are proportionally the most interested in politics, although the margins are small. However, Afrobarometer data shows that Batswana mass publics are proportionally more "somewhat/very interested" in public affairs against mass public of South Africa (55%), while Kenya (72%) and Tanzania (85%) they are more "somewhat/very interested" in public affairs. Only in South Africa are UCT students considerably more "somewhat/very interested" in politics than both mass

publics and youth cohort without higher education. In both Kenya and Tanzania, students are less "somewhat/very interested" than mass public youth cohort without higher education of their respective countries, while the reverse is the case for both Botswana and South Africa.

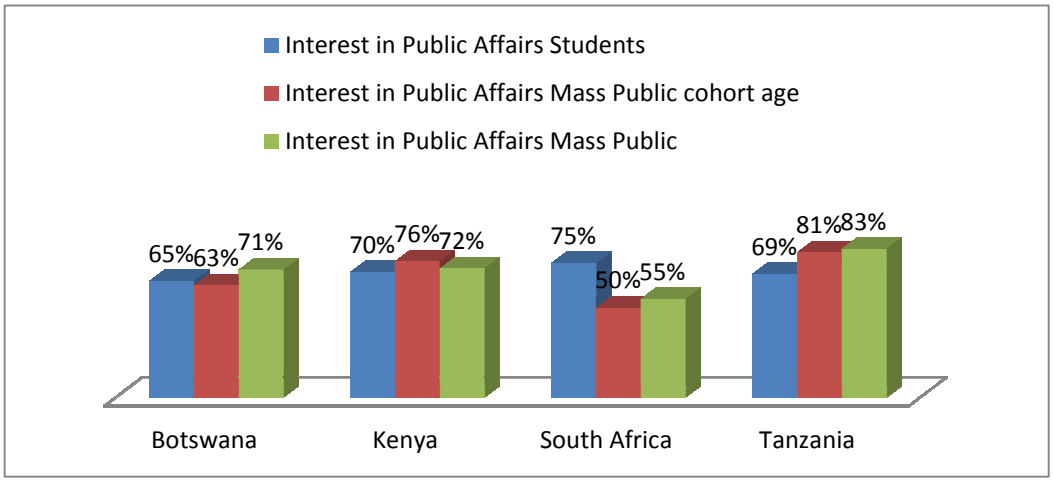


Figure 13 Interest in Public affairs (international comparison)

In summary, the findings indicate that there is considerable interest in politics and public affairs by both mass publics and students at UB and in comparison with the three other African universities and countries. Most notable is the finding that UB student leaders are proportionally more interested in public affairs than students not in leadership. This and related findings will need to be considered in terms of the notion of a 'student leadership pathway to democratic citizenship' (see chapter 3).

5.7.2.2 Media usage

Several scholars have highlighted the importance of media as a factor that influences support for democracy (Mutz, 1998; Evans and Rose, 2007b; Mattes and Mughogho, 2010). Mutz (1998) claims that enhanced use of media influences attitudes towards democracy by increasing the ability to notice democratic flaws and make sound judgements. Media influences political behaviour because they serve the critical role of disseminating news and other important information on political and government matters. Therefore, students' cognitive awareness and engagement with media to accumulate knowledge is of vital importance to support for democracy. Bratton and Mattes (2003) sum it up as follows:

> "News media tell people about not only the outcomes of political competition (for example, the delivery of economic and political goods), but also the process by which these outcomes occur. People gain some basic awareness of procedures such as candidate nominations, working electoral

> systems, cabinet deliberations, parliamentary debates, and judicial scrutiny [through media] "(Bratton and Mattes, 2003, p. 199).

Mattes and Mughogho (2010) found that use of media is a predictor of political participation and influence than higher education, all other factors being held constant. Mattes and Mughogho's 2009 argument is that as long as one has basic literacy and information processing skills, thanks to primary and secondary education, engagement with media around issues involving politics may be meaningful. Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012), however, argue that basic education is not enough: though it influences political behaviour; higher education engenders the critical skill necessary to hold corrupt leaders accountable:

> [H]ighly educated citizens in Africa are significantly more critical and better informed as they obtain political news from a greater variety of news media than less educated citizens" (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012, p. 1).

Moreover, Evans and Rose argue: "Heightened political awareness via mass media consumption leads to demands for greater political involvement…" (Evans and Rose, 2007b, p. 3).

The study therefore probes media usage, asking, how often do you get news from the radio? How often do you get news from TV? How often do you get news from newspapers (including the student newspaper)? How often do you get news from the internet (online news)? The response categories for all the questions were "never", "less than once a month", "a few times a month", "a few times a week" and "every day" with "never" indicating the least frequency of usage and "every day" indicating highest frequency of regular media usage.

Out of 400 participants, there were 383 responses to the question "How often do you get news from the radio", and the mean and standard deviation $(\overline{x} = 3.18; SD = 1.01)$; 385 responses for the question "How often do you get news from TV" and the mean $(\overline{x} = 3.22; SD = 0.98)$; 383 responses for the question "How often do you get news from newspapers including the student newspaper" with mean and standard deviation ($\overline{x} = 2.84; SD = 0.92$); and lastly, there were 391 responses for "How often do you get news from the internet (online news)" with mean and standard deviation ($\bar{x} = 3.08; SD = 1.03.$). The distributions of the responses for all media (Radio, TV,

Newspaper and Internet) were normal.

The means for the use of TV, radio, and internet correspond to the rating of "every day", and for newspapers "a few times a week". A media use index computed by an average of means of the four media sources corresponds to every day usage of a variety of news media($\overline{x} = 3.38; SD = 0.81$).

Table 28 provides the details for students' media use.

Table 28 Students' media use and standard deviations

	Radio	TV	Newspaper	Internet
Students	($\overline{x} = 3.18; SD = 1.01$)	($\overline{x} = 3.22; SD = 0.98$)	($\overline{x} = 2.84; SD = 0.92$)	($\overline{x} = 3.08; SD = 1.03.$)
Mass public	($\overline{x} = 2.87; SD = 1.46$),	($\overline{x} = 2.10; SD = 1.76$).	($\overline{x} = 1.89; SD = 1.54$)	N/A[2]

0-0.9 (never); 1.0-1.9 (a few times a month); 2.0-2.9 (a few times a week); 3.0-3.9 (every day)

a. Student leadership and media usage

Figure 14 shows that there is considerable media use by UB students with the degree of media use differing across media types. A higher proportion of student leaders consistently use news media than students not in leadership across all the four media types.

Student leaders use the internet (98%) and radio (90%) "*Every day/a few times a week"* and thus proportionally more frequently than the other two media types. Students not in leadership have a different mix of media use: they most use radio (81%) and TV (81%) "*every day/a few times a week*", while the frequent use of the internet (78%) and newspapers (68%) for getting news is less frequent. The least frequently used medium to acquire news for both groups is newspapers (see Figure 14).

[2]Internet was not included in the Afrobarometer questionnaire

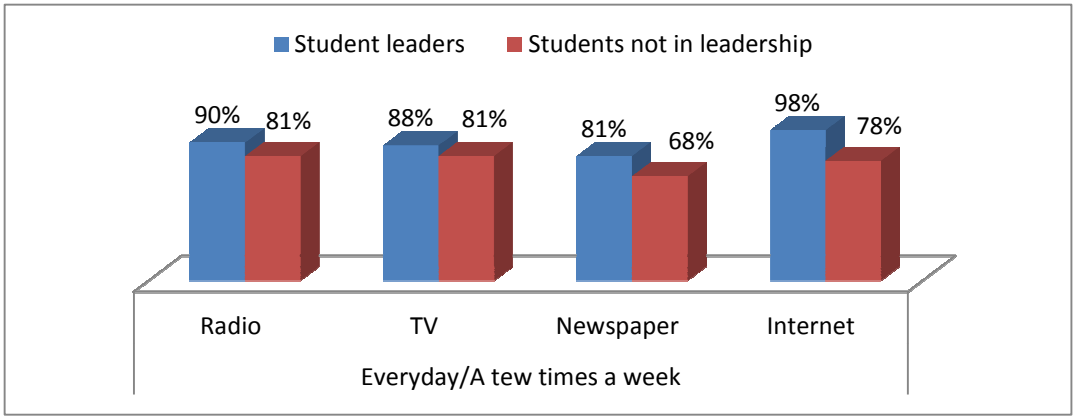


Figure 14 Student leadership and media use

A series of Chi-square tests were conducted to establish whether there are statistically significant differences in using any of the media sources between student leaders and students not in leadership. The results for use of internet (DF=4, *n* =393; p= .022, p <.05), indicate that there is an association between student leadership and internet use. Cramer's v value was 0.17≈0.2 indicating that the association is moderate. Therefore student leaders are moderately more likely to use the internet than students not in leadership.

For reading newspapers (DF=4, *n* =386, p= .019 <.05), Cramer's v value was 0.18 ≈ 0.2 indicating that there is a moderate association between student leadership and reading newspapers to get news. Therefore student leaders are moderately more likely to use newspapers than students not in leadership. Despite newspapers being the least preferred by both groups, the Chi-square test nevertheless suggests that student leaders use newspapers moderately more than students not in leadership. The Chi-square test did not show any association between student leadership and either radio or TV usage.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

b. News media usage in national comparison

For Batswana mass publics, the results reveal that there were 1200 participants who responded for radio with mean and standard deviation $(\overline{x} = 2.87; SD = 1.46)$, 1200 participants for TV with mean and standard deviation $(\overline{x} = 2.10; SD = 1.76)$, and 1199 respondents for newspaper use with mean and standard deviation $(\overline{x} = 1.89; SD = 1.54)$. Internet use was not included in the Afrobarometer round four surveys. The distributions of the responses for all media (radio, TV and newspaper) were normal. The means for radio (2.87), TV (2.10) and newspaper 1.76 correspond to "few times a week" for radio and a "few times a month" for both TV and newspaper. The media use index for Batswana

mass publics with a mean and standard deviation of $(\bar{x} - 2.29; SD - 1.26)$ indicates that on average, the Botswana mass publics use media only a "few times a month" to get news about politics and public affairs, which compares with $(\bar{x} = 3.38; SD = 0.81)$ or "every day" news media use for UB students. Figure 15 illustrates the finding that Batswana general mass public and mass public age cohort use media considerably less frequently than UB students. TV is the most frequently used media source while newspapers are least used form of media by the three groups.

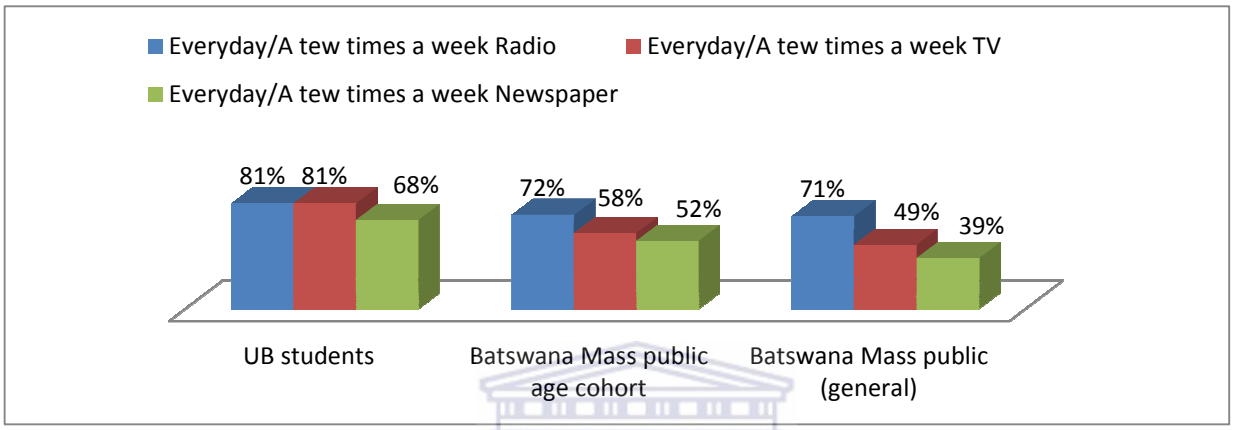


Figure 15 Media use in Botswana

A Pearson's Chi-square test indicates that UB students are weakly more likely to use TV than youth without higher education (DF=4, = .041, p <.05). Cramer's v value was 0.09≈1. The test has proven that there is no statistically significant difference between students and the mass public age cohort in using newspapers and radio.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

c. News media usage in international comparison

In a comparison with students from other universities in the HERANA study, Figure 16 shows that, generally, students from the four universities use media "every day/a few times a week", with TV and radio the most frequently used while newspapers are the least frequently used in Southern Africa and the internet the least frequently used medium to get news in East Africa. Though there is frequent use of media across all these universities, a higher proportion of UON students (86% for both TV and radio) and UDSM students (TV 92% and radio 93%) use media *"every day/a few times a week"* to get news than both UCT students (65% for TV and radio 72%) and UB students (81% for both TV and radio). UCT students appear to be the least engaged in media while UDSM students are the most engaged.

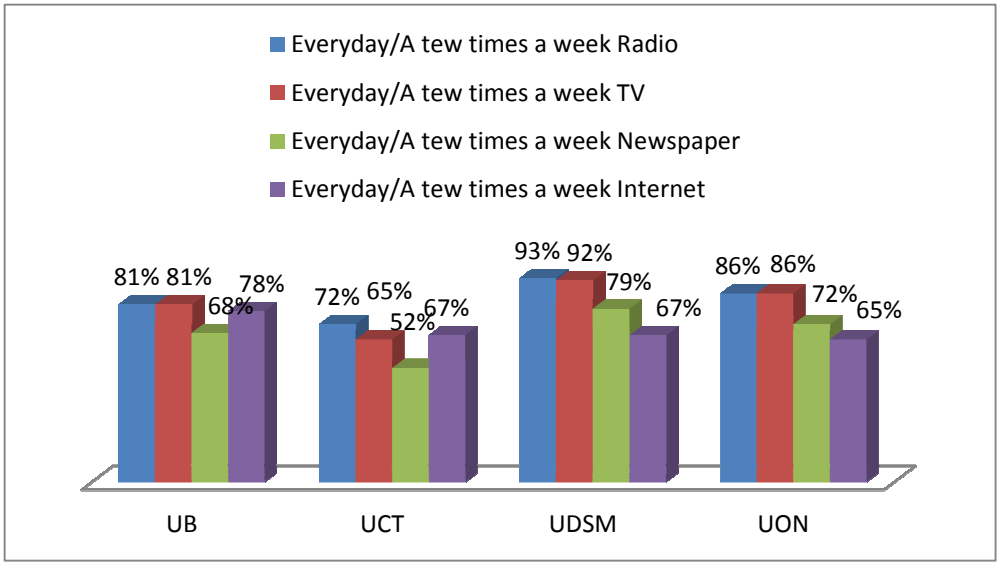


Figure 16 Media use in international comparison

In summary, the findings indicate that UB students use media very frequently, using radio and TV most frequently. Student leaders appear to use media even more frequently than UB students in general. UB students use media "every day/a few times a week", more frequently than Batswana mass public and mass public age cohort. In comparison with students from other universities, it appears that students from UDSM and UON students use media more frequently than UB students. Use of internet for news purposes is highest among students at the University of Botswana.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

5.7.2.3. Discussion of and engagement with politics

A combination of propensity of interest politics and regular discussions of politics complimentarily develop cognitive skills about democracy (cf. Bratton and Mattes, 2003, 2007). As Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012) added previously, highly educated African citizens engage with politics more than less educated citizens. The study probes this by looking at how often students discuss political and public issues of interest with different family and friends. Students were asked this question: "How often do you discuss politics with friends, fellow students or family?" The response categories in order of lowest to highest were: "never", "occasionally" and "frequently".

323 UB students responded with mean and standard deviation $(x = 1.07; SD = 0.63)$; the responses were normally distributed. The mean corresponds with the rating "occasionally", thus demonstrating that on average UB students discuss only occasionally matters related to politics. A proportion of 84% indicated that they discuss politics "frequently/occasionally" while 17% indicated that they never discuss politics. In other words, close to one-fifth of UB students, portray parochial tendencies by avoiding or never discussing politics

a. Discussion of politics and student leadership

By comparison, forty-six student leaders (representing 96% of responding student leaders) and an 83% majority of the 340 students not in leadership indicate that they discuss politics "frequently/ occasionally" with peers and families. Only a small proportion, 4%, of student leaders (two students) compared with 17% of students not in leadership "never" discuss politics with their friends and families.

A test of association between the frequency of discussing political affairs and student leadership was done using a Pearson's Chi-square test. The Chi-square test (DF=2, n =388) = .000, p <.001) indicates that there is a statistically significant association between student leadership and discussion of political and public affairs and Cramer's v value was 0.180≈0.2, indicating that this association is moderate. Therefore student leaders are moderately more likely to discuss political and public affairs (politics and governance) frequently than students not in leadership.

b. Students' discussion of political affairs in national and international comparison

The findings show that 1200 participants responded to the Botswana Afrobarometer questions. Responses have a mean and standard deviation of $(\bar{x} = 1.31; SD = 1.07)$ with a normal distribution. The mean corresponds to the rating "occasionally" which means that on average Batswana mass publics only occasionally discuss politics amongst themselves. This finding indicates that UB students (mean=1.07) and Batswana mass public (mean=1.31) discuss politics at a similar frequency.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Figure 17 shows that almost equal proportions of Batswana mass public age cohort (65%) and general mass public (69%) by comparison with 83% of UB students discuss politics "frequently/occasionally". On the other hand, 35% of mass public age cohort, 31% general mass public and 17% UB students evidently "never" do so. It is observable that the proportion of those who discuss politics is higher amongst students than mass public youth cohort and general mass public, but it is statistically insignificant.

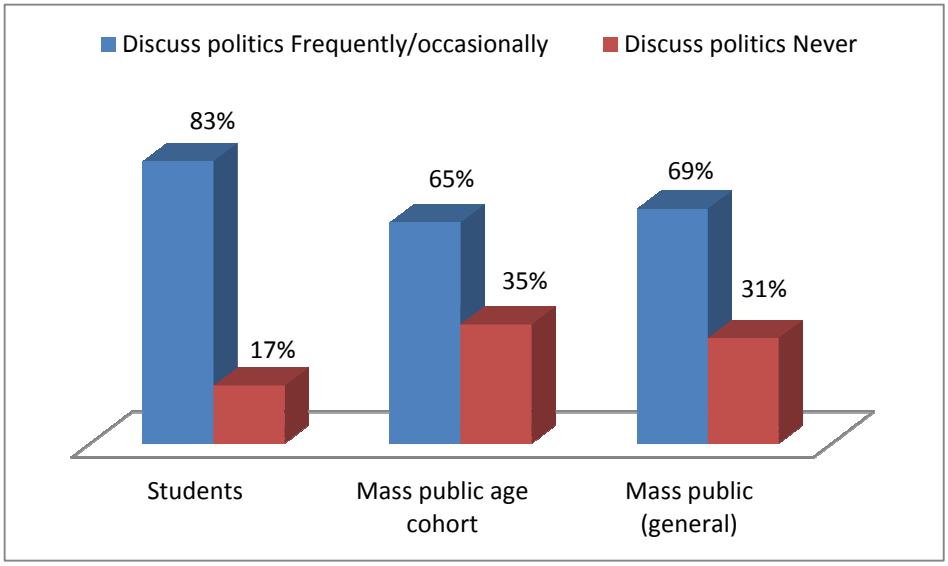


Figure 17 Discussion of politics in national comparison

Examining HERANA data, it can be seen that students from the other three African universities discuss politics more often than UB students. The results indicate that there were 398 responses at UON with mean and standard deviation $(\overline{x} = 1.30;\ SD = 0.54)$, for UCT, all the 400 students responded, mean and standard deviation $(\overline{x} = 1.27;\ SD = 0.56)$, and $(\overline{x} = 1.29;\ SD = 0.55)$, for UDSM. All the means correspond to the rating "frequently" compared to a mean 1.07 for UB students which corresponds to the rating "occasionally".

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Figure 18 shows that students from all the four universities discuss politics proportionally more frequently than their general mass public and mass public age cohort compatriots. However, UB students (83%) are proportionally the least to discuss politics "frequently/occasionally" while more students from UON (96%), UDSM (95%) and UCT (94%) do so. Conversely, 17% of UB students "never" discuss politics while negligibly smaller proportions of UCT (6%), UDSM (5%) and UON (4%) students respond "never" (See also Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). The general mass public and their respective mass public age cohorts discuss politics proportionally with more or less the same frequency in all four countries. But it is evident that the Batswana and South Africans general mass public and mass public age cohorts are the least to discuss politics "frequently/occasionally".

The fact that students in the three HERANA case studies discuss politics with their peers and families more often than UB students perhaps to some extent makes students in the three universities more cognitively aware of their political surroundings than are UB students, and this in turn perhaps explains why UB students participate less in elections than those at UCT, UON and UDSM.

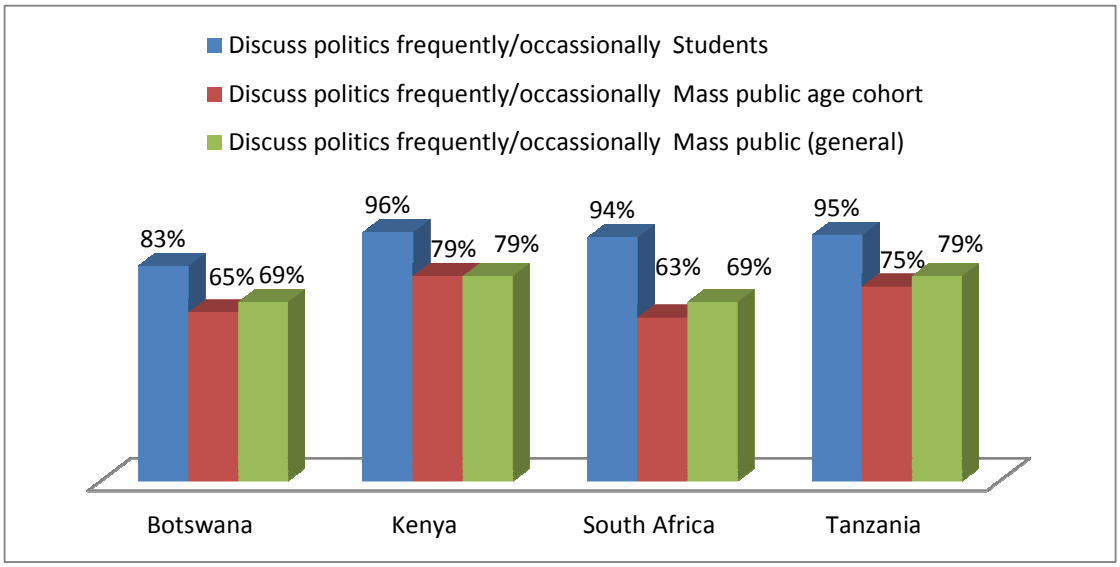


Figure 18 Discussion of politics in international comparison

In summary, it appears that UB students discuss politics more frequently than the Batswana general mass publics and youth without higher education. Student leaders at UB discuss politics moderately more than student not in leadership. However, the proportion of students that discuss politics "frequently/occasionally" is lowest at UB in comparison to UON, UDSM and UCT students. This perhaps explains why UB students participate less in elections as compared to students from UCT, UON and UDSM. Lastly, general mass public and mass public age cohorts from Botswana and South Africa are proportionally the least to discuss politics "frequently/occasionally" in comparison with their Tanzanian and Kenyan counterparts.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

1.9.1.1 Knowledge about incumbents

The ability to identify key political leaders, such as members of parliament, is an important aspect of political awareness, since it links with cognitive awareness (and with other indicators such as knowing the functions of government and political institutions) (Bratton et al., 2005; Bratton and Mattes, 2007). Bratton et al. (2005) found that "knowledge of leaders has a greater influence on commitment to democratic ideals than formal education" (p. 219). As indicated, previously, cognitive hooks could be provided by having more political information such as ability to name correctly incumbent leaders and their office (Bratton and Mattes, 2007). In their earlier study, Bratton and Mattes (2003) posited that knowledge of key political offices creates a path of contact between citizens and the political system. On the other hand, Lipset (1958) asserts knowing how the political system works and the people who run the government can enable citizens to better follow the process of decision-making.

Having noted that students occasionally discuss politics with family and friends and use a diversity of media daily or almost daily to get news on public affairs, the question is whether this translates into basic knowledge of political leaders and office incumbents? The study asked respondents to name key national political incumbents, university leaders, and some basic knowledge about institutions that govern the University of Botswana and the nation in general. In particular students were asked "to name the state president, SRC president and their vice chancellor, their member of parliament, and the political party which has the most seats in parliament". The response categories included "Don't know", "Know but can't remember", and names of incumbents.

The answers were coded in terms of wrong or right answer. The distributions of all the responses were normal except for "Can you tell the name of the president of Botswana" and "Do you happen to know which political party has the most seats in parliament" which were both negatively skewed. The means from highest to lowest are $2.98, 2.85, 2.46, 2.19, 2.01$ *and* 1.90. The means for president of Botswana, political party with most seats in parliament, and member of parliament president correspond respectively to the rating of "know" the incumbent, while for UB the name of the vice chancellor, constitutional office term limits for an individual to become president, and name of SRC president, the means correspond respectively to the rating of "don't know" the incumbent. It is evident that UB students know the name of the head their national level politics, the President of Botswana, as almost all (99%) responded with Lt General Ian Khama. The UB SRC president is the least known leader, however, with only 56% of UB students giving the correct name of the SRC president while 20% of the students knew the SRC president but could not remember his name. Two-thirds of UB students (67%) correctly named the vice-chancellor of UB. The vice-chancellor of UB is therefore better-known than the SRC president among students.

A majority of the students, 290 representing 72%, also correctly named and identified their MP. While some supplied the name of the MP for the constituency in which they originate or stay currently, in most instances, students named the MP for the constituency in which the University of Botswana is situated, Gaborone Central, Honorable Dumelang Saleshando. A majority of students were well versed in some basic information about national politics. A majority (93%) knows which party is in government and also half of the students (50%) know the number of legal terms an individual may serve as president.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Table 29 Knowledge of politics and incumbents

Knowledge of:	Mean and Standard deviation	N valid
The state president	$(\bar{x} = 2.98; SD = 0.17)$	377
Political party in government	$(\bar{x} = 2.85; SD = 0.61)$	377
Member of Parliament	$(\bar{x} = 2.46; SD = 1.06)$	369
Vice Chancellor	$(\bar{x} = 2.19; SD = 1.19)$,	384
Presidential constitutional terms	$(\bar{x} = 2.01; SD = 1.17)$	374
SRC president	$(\bar{x} = 1.90; SD = 1.29)$,	387

Where 0-1.9 (Don't know), 2-4 (Know)

a. Awareness of incumbents and student leadership

When student leaders are compared to students not in leadership, a proportion of student leaders (94%) and (78%) students not in leadership correctly named their area MP. The most notable difference is perhaps knowledge of the UB vice-chancellor, as 66% of 339 students not in leadership that responded knew and correctly named the vice chancellor while all but one of the 46 student leaders did so. However, there is less contrast between student leaders and students not in leadership about knowledge of national politics. A majority of students not in leadership (93%) and 98% student leaders who responded knew which party was in government while half of students not in leadership (49%) but close to two-thirds of student leaders (60%) knew the number of legal presidential terms in office. There were no statistically significant associations between student leadership and knowledge of politics and incumbent leaders except for knowledge of the UB vice-chancellor.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Pearson's Chi-square test results (DF=3, *n* =388 p= .004, p<0.05) confirm that there is a statistically significant association between student leadership and knowing the vice-chancellor and Cramer's v value 0.190≈0.2) confirms that the association is moderate. Therefore student leaders are moderately more likely to know the name of the vice chancellor than students not in leadership.

b. Students' knowledge of political incumbents in national and international comparison

In comparison with their compatriots, only the question "name Member of Parliament" appeared in both Afrobarometer and student surveys therefore comparison with mass public is limited to this question. For the Botswana mass public, it was found that there were 1200 participants who

responded with mean and standard deviation $\bar{x} = 0.74; SD = 0.43,$ the distribution was normal. The 0.74 mean in this dummy variable corresponds to the rating of *"know"* MP which is the same rating for knowledge of MP by UB students. 76% Batswana general mass public and 69% mass public age cohort know their MP in comparison with 72% of UB that indicated that they knew their MP. Pearson's Chi-square test results DF=1, p= .003, $p<0.05$ and Cramer's v value of $0.09 \approx 0.1$ indicate there is a statistically significant weak association between UB students and knowledge of their MP which means UB students are weakly more likely to know their MP than is the mass public youth age cohort.

In comparison, Figure 19 shows that students from other African flagship universities, UCT, UDSM and UON appear to be proportionally more knowledgeable about their incumbent political leadership than UB students are of theirs, except for their respective presidents. Students from the three studied universities in the HERANA study know the presidents of their respective countries--UCT (95%), UON (98%) and UDSM (99%)--just as many as UB students (99%) know President Ian Khama. It is also evident that 67% UB and 69% UCT students know the vice chancellors of their respective universities, proportionally less than the 83% of UON and 80% of UDSM students who supplied the correct names of their vice chancellors. Vice chancellors also appear proportionally better known than the SRC presidents in all the universities.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

East Africans continue to show their political knowledge, since higher proportions of students at UON (82%) and UDSM (62%) knew their SRC presidents, compared with only 56% of UB and only 30% of UCT students. In terms of national leadership, 87% of UON students and 70% of UDSM students correctly named and identified their member of parliament, which compares with 72% of UB students that did so. (The South African electoral system is not comparable with regards to members of parliament).

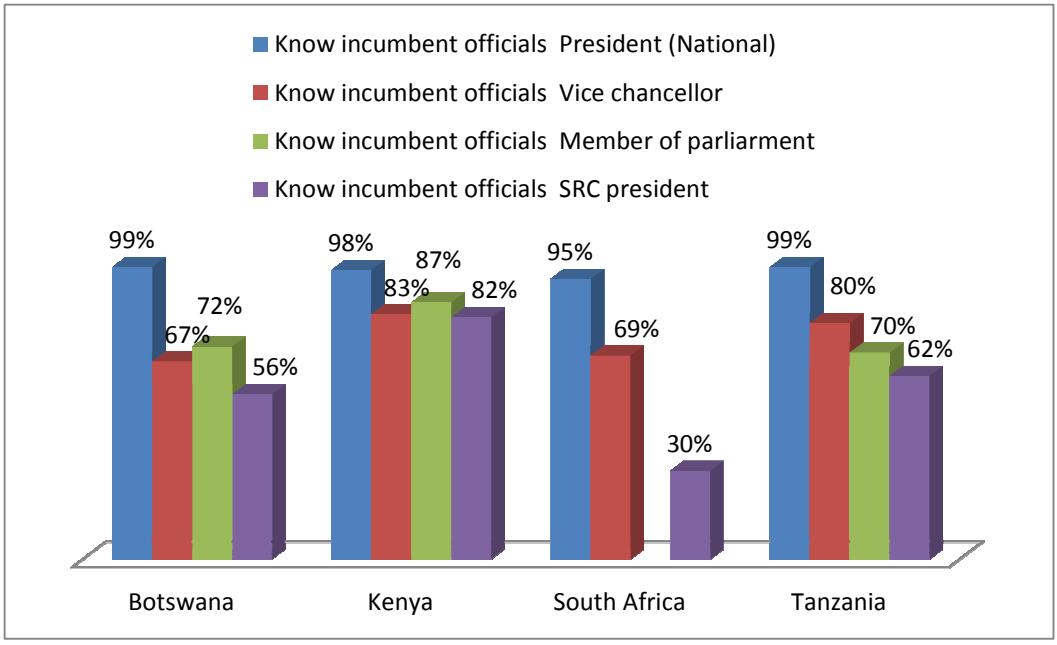


Figure 19 Knowledge of incumbent political leadership and political information

In summary, UB students know and are able to identify their key political leaders. They also have basic political knowledge about their local politics and Botswana's constitutional legislation on presidential terms. However, the findings showed that while national leadership, for example, the President is very popular, student leadership, for example, the SRC president is less popular amongst students. In comparison with their counterparts from other universities UCT, UDSM and UON students, an equally overwhelming proportion of these students indicated that they know their respective home country's incumbent presidents, even proportionally higher than UB students. Similarly, it is evident that student leadership is proportionally the least popular in the three other universities with the UCT SRC president being the least popular. On the whole, UB students generally appear to be proportionally less aware of their incumbent leadership in comparison with other universities while UON students appear to be considerably knowledgeable about their leadership.

The next section attempts to establish how students participate in strengthening democracy by taking part in civic activities other than engaging in electoral procedures (for example, voting during elections). The study probes whether UB students' democratic participation tallies with their low level of participation in elections. The section will probe students on whether they attend political meetings, demonstrations and/or whether they articulate their grievances by means of writing letters to newspapers both on and off campus.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

5.7.2. Active civic participation: communing, contacting officials

Democratic participation and engagement is not only limited to electoral procedures such as voting. Participation in the democratic process involves taking part in a wide array or combination of practices within and beyond the community. Lekorwe (2009) posits that support for democracy involves a complex combination of procedures and frameworks. For Almond and Verba (1963) say that participation in various mixes of activities of the democratic system is entrenched in the civic culture of many societies. Participating actively in such activities is a key aspect of democratic engagement and contribution to citizenship. When citizens do not make an effort to engage leaders, they are neglecting their civic responsibility, which counters the ideals of a functional participatory democracy. "Democratic politics affords citizens with a range of other avenues and channels, beyond voting, participating in the system (Mattes et al., 2000, p. 68), in order to contribute meaningfully to the democratic process.

It has been shown that a considerable proportion of UB students (22%) define democracy by equating it with popular participation (see Table 5). The study probes civic participation by asking students whether they actively engage in civic activities on and off campus. The study asked students "Have you been involved in any of the following activities in the past year?"

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

- Attended a political meeting of student and or outside campus
- Contacted a senior university/government official to raise an issue / complain
- Wrote a letter to a student/local/national newspaper/pamphlet
- Attended a student/national demonstration/protest march

The response categories were "Often", "Several times", "Once or twice", "Never, but I would probably if had a chance" and "I would never do this". "Often" demonstrates the highest level of political participation and "I would never do this" indicates the least level or no participation at all.

Figure 20 shows the extent to which UB students participate in civic and political activities such as attending meetings, attending demonstrations with other community members, and contacting officials. The figure shows that 54% of UB students have attended a political meeting "once or twice/several times/often" in the university while 53% attended political meetings "once or twice/several times/often" outside campus. 18% said they have *"Never"* attended a meeting on

campus and 28% said "Never, but I would probably if had a chance". Almost the same percentage said they "Never" attended a meeting and 28% said "Never, but I would probably if had a chance" outside campus as well. When it comes to protesting with others on campus, 50% of UB students indicate that they have at least "once or twice/several times/often" joined a protest while another 50% indicated that "I would never do this/Never, but I would probably if had a chance".

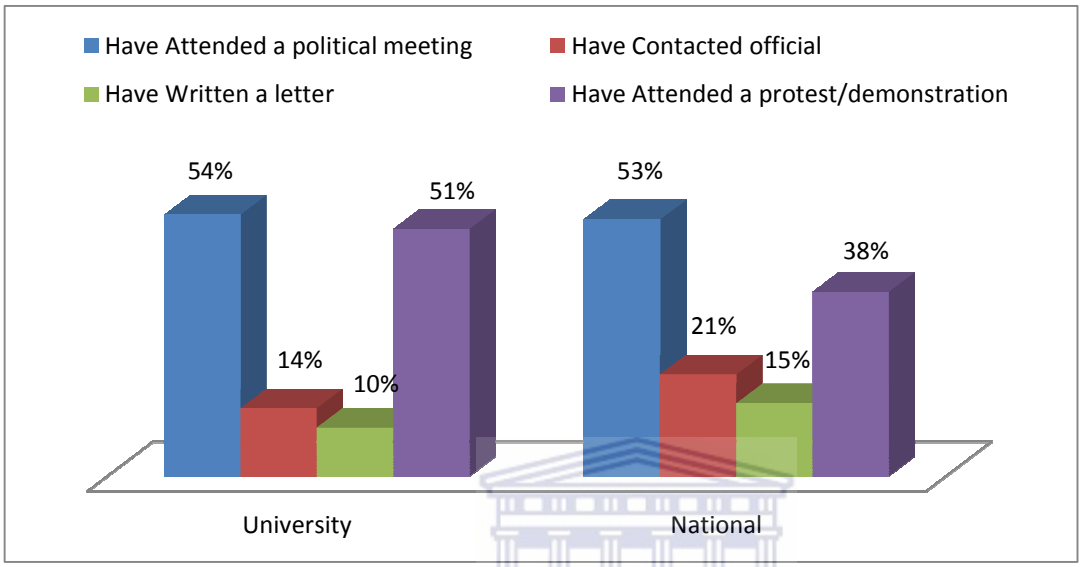


Figure 20 University of Botswana students' civil participation in and outside the university

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

It appears that students are consistent in their political participation and undertaking when it comes to communing behaviour both on and off campus. Figure 20 show that 51% of the students said they have joined other students during demonstrations on campus while just over a third, 38% of UB students have been involved "once or twice/several times/often" in a national protest march in the past year. Demonstrations are not uncommon at UB: the latest protest was at the beginning of 2012 when students demonstrated against the decision of the university management to suspend SRC members (Keoreng, 2012).

Contacting officials and writing letters to newspapers are the two most unpopular activities amongst University of Botswana students, both on and off campus. Only 14% and 21% of UB students have contacted officials at the university and national levels respectively, while a mere 10% and 15% of UB students have written a letter "once or twice/several times/often" at the university and national levels respectively. However, a large proportion of UB students, 65% and 53% indicated that they would probably if they had a chance "contact a senior university official" and "write a pamphlet for protest" respectively on campus.

In summary, UB students are consistent in their political participation both at the university and off campus at national level. It appears that collective participation such as attending political meetings and attending protests is popular both on and off campus while individual participation such as contacting officials and writing a pamphlet/letter for protest are unpopular practices amongst UB students. Thus, UB students are more collectivistic than individualistic when it comes to civil participation. However, it is evident that UB students would participate in all the activities when accorded an opportunity.

a. Student leadership and civic participation both on and off campus

Because UB students proportionally participate more on collective activities, both on and off campus and participate poorly on individual activities, the study further probes whether student leadership influences participation in collective activities. Figure 21 show that there are differences in the way students not in leadership and student leaders commune both in the university and nationally. A majority of student leaders (84%) have attended political gatherings "once or twice/several times/often" on campus compared to only 54% of students not in leadership. Proportionally, more student leaders (80%) join others in demonstrations on campus "once or twice/several times/often" compared to student not in leadership (50%).

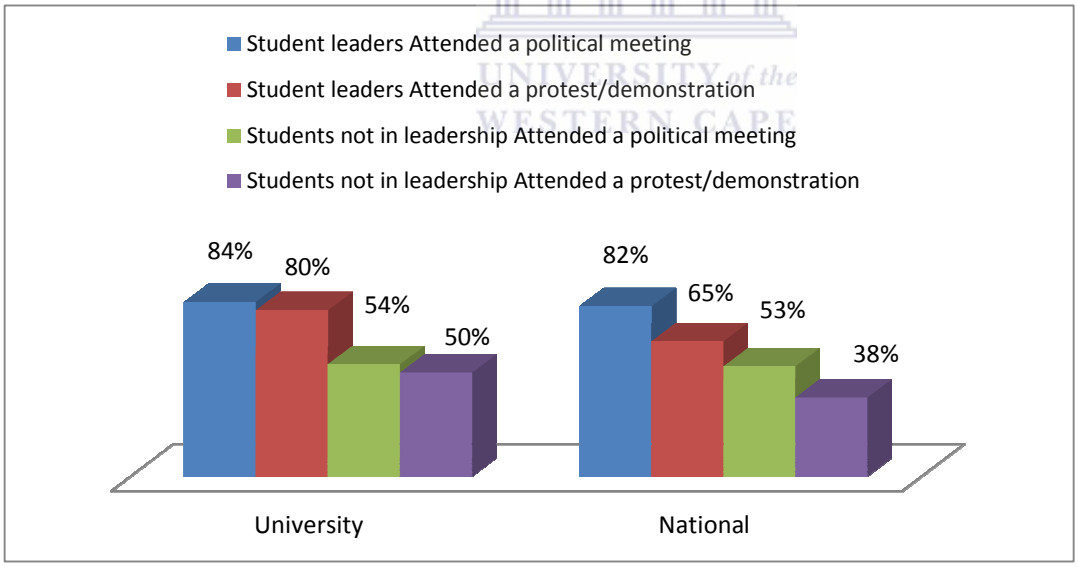


Figure 21 Civic participation and student leadership

To establish whether there is an association between participation in student leadership and communing on campus, Pearson's Chi-square tests were performed. The results indicate that there is a statistically significant association between student leadership and attending political gatherings on campus (DF=4, n =378 and p =0.000), with p<0.001 and the Cramer's V value of 0.313≈0.3, indicates that this association is significant and strong. Therefore, student leaders are strongly

more likely to attend political gatherings on campus than students not in leadership.

And finally, the results indicate that there is a statistically significant association between student leadership and joining others in a demonstration or protest. Reading the Pearson's Chi-square value, (DF=4, n =380 and p =0.002), p<0.005 and the Cramer's V value of 0.208≈0.2 indicates that this association is moderate. Therefore, student leaders are moderately more likely to join others in a demonstration and/or protest than students not in leadership. Despite individual participation on campus being a very unpopular exercise amongst UB students, the study tested for any association to prove that student leaders nevertheless participate significantly more in individual activities than students not in leadership. Reading the Fisher's test results indicates that there is a statistically significant association between student leadership and contacting university officials. Reading the Fisher's exact test value (DF=4, n =369 and p =0.000), p<0.001 and the Cramer's V value of 0.420≈0.4, indicates that this association is very strong. Therefore, student leaders are very strongly more likely to contact senior university officials than students not in leadership. This makes a lot of sense, as it is *inter alia* the role of student leaders to act as a bridge between the student body and university officials.

Finally, Chi-square test results indicate that there is also a statistically significant association between student leadership and writing a letter to a newspaper/student publication. Reading the Fisher's exact test value, (DF=4, n =366 and p =0.000), p<0.001 and the Cramer's V value of 0.256≈0.3, indicates that this association is strong. Therefore, student leaders are strongly more likely to write a letter to a student publication than students not in leadership.

Civic participation off campus and student leadership

Figure 21 shows that off campus student leaders are also communing proportionally higher than students not in leadership, albeit slightly lower than on campus. A proportion of 82% student leaders and 53% students not in leadership have attended political meetings "once or often/twice/several times" outside campus. Student leaders are still 'rebellious' as 65% attended demonstrations "once or often/twice/several times" regarding national politics compared to just a third or 38% of students not in leadership.

To establish whether there is an association between student leadership and communing off campus, several Pearson's Chi-square tests were performed for the various political activities. The test results

indicate that there is a statistically significant association between student leadership and attending political gatherings: (DF=4, n =386 and p =0.000), where p<0.001 and Cramer's V value of 0.27≈0.3, indicate that this association is significant and strong. Therefore, student leaders are strongly more likely to attend political gatherings off campus than students not in leadership.

Lastly, as far as attending demonstrations off campus is concerned, the results of the Chi-square tests indicate that there is a statistically significant, strong association between student leadership and attending a demonstration (DF=4, n =382 and p =0.000, p<0.001 and the Cramer's V value is 0.26≈0.3). Therefore, student leaders are strongly more likely to attend attend a demonstration outside the institution than students not in leadership.

Similarly to civic participation on campus, it appears that despite individual participation off campus being very unpopular amongst UB students, student leaders nevertheless participate significantly more individually than do students not in leadership. For contacting government officials, the results indicate that there is a statistically significant association with student leadership. Reading the Pearson's Chi-square value, (DF=4, n =380 and p =0.000), p<0.001 and the Cramer's V value at 0.278≈0.3, indicates that this association is strong. Therefore, student leaders are strongly more likely to contact government official off campus than students not in leadership.

UNIVERSITY of the

The results also indicate that there is a statistically significant association between student leadership and writing a letter to a local newspaper. Reading the Pearson's Chi-square value, (DF=4, n =381 and p =0.001), p<0.005 and the Cramer's V value at 0.22≈0.2, indicates that this association is moderate. Therefore, student leaders are moderately more likely to write a letter to a local newspaper than students not in leadership.

In summary, there are significant differences between student leaders and students not in leadership with respect to civic participation, communing (attending meetings and protests), contacting officials, and writing letters to newspapers, both on and off campus.The study established that student leaders participate more significantly in civic activities on and off campus compared to students not in leadership. Both on and off campus, student leaders are strongly more likely to attend political gatherings, to contact government officials, and to attend demonstrations. The results also indicate that student leaders are moderately more likely to write a letter to a local newspaper/student newspaper.

b. Civic participation in national and international comparison

In comparison with students from other African universities, there are considerable differences in participating in political activities across all the four universities. Attending political meetings and demonstrations are popular activities while writing letters and contacting university officials are most unpopular amongst African university students.

Figure 22 shows that attending political meetings is the most popular activity amongst all the university students: at UDSM (61%), UON (58%), UB 54% and UCT 37% students have attended political meetings "once or twice/several times/often" on campus in the past year. Protesting appears to be most popular at UB while UCT students are least likely to take part in protests. 54% at UB, 50% at UDSM, 29% at UON and 21% at UCT have attended a protest "once or twice/several times/often" in the past year. Contacting university officials is less popular across all four universities but it appears that students in the two East African universities contact university officials proportionally more than their Southern African counterparts. These proportions of UDSM (18%), UON (17%), UB (14%) and UCT (8%) students have penned a letter/placards "once or twice/several times/often" in the past year. Writing placards on campus is the least popular form of civic engagement among students of all the four universities.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

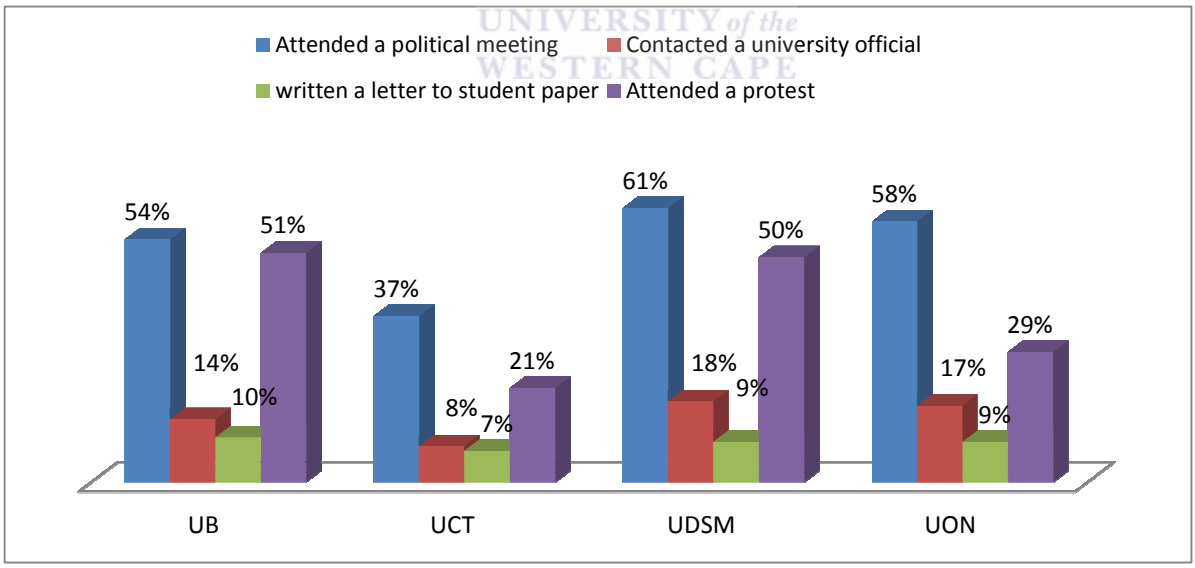


Figure 22 Students' civic participation in international comparison

In summary, the study has established that, as with UB students, students from the other three universities proportionally participate more on collective activities both on campus and off campus and participate less in individual activities. Attending political meetings and demonstrations are popular activities, UCT students doing so least on campus in the past year while UB students

are the most engaged, proportionally, in demonstrations. The two East African universities contact university officials proportionally more frequently than their Southern African counterparts and they proportionally more often attend political meetings in their communities.

In the following section, the study further probes whether students engage differently in civic participation when compared with their mass publics in their respective countries. However, the study concentrates more keenly on the two civic exercises that are popular amongst students, attending political meetings and demonstrations.

As far as attending community meetings is concerned, Figure 23 indicates that mass publics and mass public age cohort of all the four countries are proportionally more active in attending community meetings than students. Batswana, Kenyan and Tanzanian mass publics showed the highest participation while South Africans are the least participatory. A considerable proportion of Batswana mass public (77%) and mass public age cohort (64%) compared to 53% of UB students indicated that they have attended political meetings in their communities "once or twice/several times/often" in the past year.

Though they attend community meetings proportionally less often than their Tanzanian and Kenyan mass public compatriots, UDSM (59%) and UON (57%) students attend community meetings "once or twice/several times/often" more than UB students and very much more than UCT students (33%).

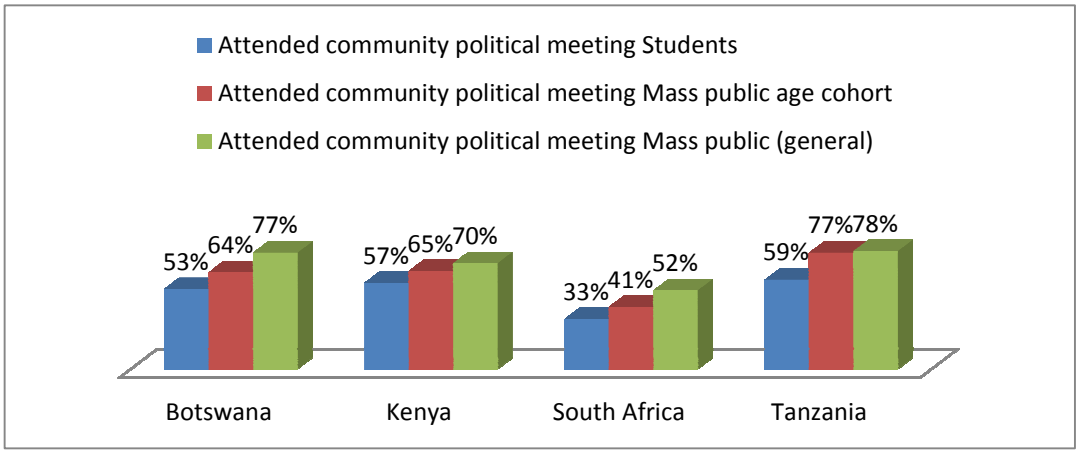


Figure 23 Student' participation in political meeting in comparison with mass public

Though students appear to shun attending political meetings, a totally different picture is evident when attending protests is looked into. Intriguingly, students appear to be proportionally more 'rebellious' and inclined to taking part in demonstrations than in community

meetings when compared to mass publics. Despite students participating proportionally lower in community meetings, students in all the universities except for UCT attend protests proportionally higher than their mass publics and mass public age compatriots. UB students are proportionally more inclined to take part in protests in comparison to students from UCT, UDSM and UON. While they attend political meeting considerably more often than students, mass publics appear to be conservative and content and to abstain from protests.

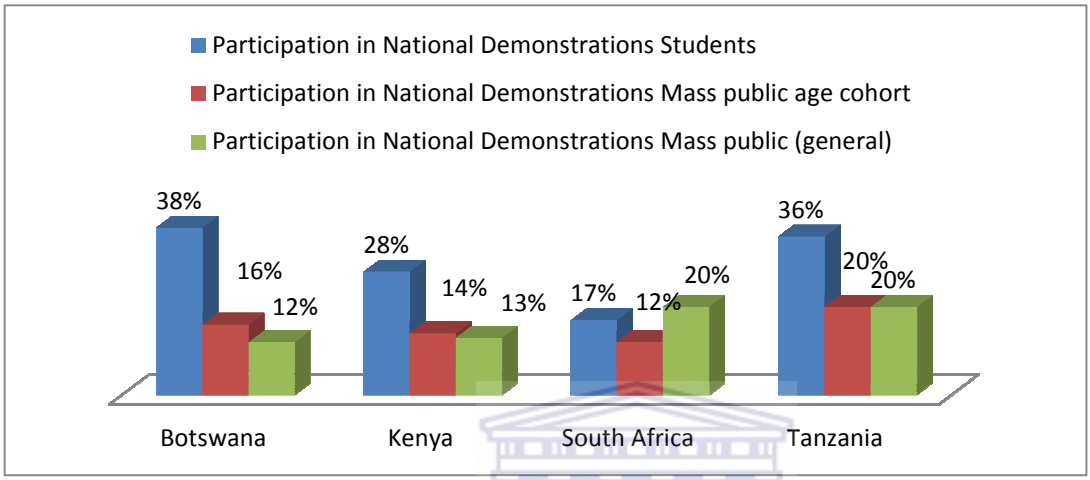


Figure 24 Students' participation in demonstrations in comparison with mass public; international perspective

Figure 24 indicates that UB students participate in protests proportionally higher than mass public age cohort, Botswana general mass public and students from the other three universities. UB students (38%), participated in national protests "once or often/twice/several times" proportionally twice more often than mass public age cohort (16%) and three times more than the Botswana general mass public (12%). Though Batswana youth appear to be attending demonstrations than their compatriots, it is evident that the proportion of those with higher education that attended protests "once or twice/several times/often" twice more than the mass public age cohort.

In comparison with other countries in the study, South Africans appear the least engaged in protests, but, contrary to UB students, a higher proportion of South African mass publics (20%) engage in protests "once or twice/several times/often" compared to mass public age cohort (12%), while 17% of the participating students had engaged in protests "once or twice/several times/often" in the past year. UDSM and UON students attend protests almost twice more often than the mass publics of their respective countries. The high degree of attending meetings by UB students could have been influenced by the fact that the data at UB was collected immediately after a public service strike that attracted more local attention.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

To establish whether the observed difference in attending community meetings between UB students and the Batswana mass public age cohort without higher education is statistically significant, a Pearson's Chi-square test was performed and the results indicate that there is a statistically significant association between students and attending political gatherings. Reading the Pearson's Chi-square value, (DF=3, n =1200 and p =0.000), p<0.001 and the Cramer's V value of 0.191≈0.2, indicates that this association is moderate. Therefore, UB students are moderately more likely to attend political gatherings than is the mass public age cohort. To establish whether there is a difference in attending a public protest/demonstration between UB students and their counterparts without higher education, a Pearson's Chi-square test indicated that there is no statistically significant association.

5.7.3. Summary and conclusion

In conclusion, the findings in this section have shown that UB students participate politically more off campus than inside the university. However, UB students do not participate at a high level in elections, as only about a third (36%) voted in the 2009 SRC elections and below half (45%) in the 2009 general elections respectively, despite students indicating that regular elections are among the key elements of a democracy.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The findings also show that UB students participate collectively (attending political meetings and attending protests), both on and off campus more often than they participate individually (contacting officials and writing a pamphlet/letter for protest). However, they indicate that they would participate in all kind of activities if given an opportunity to do so. Student leaders participate significantly more in civic activities on and off campus as compared to students not in leadership. Even though students are interested in public affairs and discuss politics occasionally, they do not appear to be as interested in attending community political meetings as are the mass public and mass public age cohort; but they attend protests more often than do mass publics and their peers.

Though more Batswana youth attend demonstrations than their older compatriots, it is evident that the proportion of UB students that attended protests is twice that of the youth without higher education. When comparing UB with other universities, students from the other three universities proportionally participate more in collective activities on campus and participate least in individual activities, just like UB students. The study also found that UB students take part in demonstrations proportionally more than UCT, UDSM and UON students.

5.8. Executive summary of findings and chapter conclusion

The following is an 'executive summary' of the findings, compiled after analysing the collected data on the basis of the questions posed.

5.8.1. Demand for democracy

Demand for democracy has been measured by an aggregation of understanding of, and knowledge about, democracy, preference of democracy, and rejection of non-democratic alternatives to democracy.

a. Understanding and awareness of democracy

- An overwhelming proportion, over nine out of ten students, gave a positive and valid, comprehensible and positive definition of democracy while only around 1% gave definitions with negative connotations.
- The findings indicate that over a third of UB third-year students (40%), defined democracy by equating it to political rights and civil liberties.
- In aggregation, it is evident that almost two-thirds of students (62%) have a liberal conception of democracy as a set of civil liberties, political rights, and related political processes (especially electoral processes), and popular participation in decision making. Very few hold substantive definitions involving notions of equality, justice, and the like (cf. Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011).
- There are no significant differences between students not in formal student leadership and student leaders in terms of how they conceptualize democracy.
- However, it is evident that, proportionally, student leaders (11%) gave slightly more often definitions of democracy that connote free and fair elections and other electoral procedures, while only 4% of their counterparts define democracy in this way.
- It appears that freedom of speech is almost synonymous with democracy to the same degree to both groups, that is, one-fifth of student leaders and the same proportion for students not in leadership. This finding is important in relation to findings on the 'supply of rights' (see below).
- Contrary to a majority of UB students defining democracy in terms of political rights and civil liberties when using their own words, the same students, when they are provided with a list of options, conceptualize democracy more readily in terms of social democratic values, such as those bearing economic implications and aimed at social quality. UB students, like UCT and UON students, have a liberal conception of democracy, while UDSM students

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

focussed more on popular participation (see Figure 2).

- Afrobarometer data from Botswana indicates that Batswana mass publics have a procedural conception of democracy, such as multi-party elections, even when they are given a wish list of elements to rank as essential to democracy. UB students (83%) ranked basic necessities higher than other elements compared to just over half (52%) of mass publics.

b. Preference for democracy

The study also probed support for democracy by establishing students' preference for democracy over non-democratic regime alternatives:

- Almost four-fifths of UB students (79%) prefer democracy while 14% are indifferent to what kind of government they have. Less than a tenth (7%) indicate that "in some circumstances a non-democratic government can be preferred".
- 79% of students not in leadership and 87% of student leaders indicate that they prefer democracy as a form of political government over its alternatives.
- 82% of the Batswana youth age cohort without higher education and 85% mass public also indicate preference for democracy, but there are no significant differences in preference for democracy between UB students and Batswana mass public age cohort.
- Preference for democracy is generally high among students from the four universities (see also Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011), although it is proportionally highest at UB 79%, UCT 73%, and UON 71%, and lowest at UDSM 65%.
- UB students reject presidential rule (94%) proportionally higher than military rule (91%) and one party rule (86%).
- On the one hand, UB students least rejects one party rule when compared to the two other non-democratic alternatives; on the other hand, though regarded as an essential element of democracy, multi-partyism is nevertheless ranked the least essential of all the essential elements of democracy.
- Student leaders consistently reject all three non-democratic regime alternatives proportionally higher than students not in leadership.
- Both student leaders and their counterparts not in leadership reject one party rule less than strong man rule and military rule.
- 98% of student leaders and 86% students not in leadership 'Strongly disapprove/Disapprove' of one party rule. Student leaders are weakly more likely to disapprove of one party rule than students not in leadership but there is no statistically significant association between rejection

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

of strong man rule, military rule and participation in student leadership.

- Batswana mass publics also reject undemocratic alternatives considerably high. The trend of rejection among mass publics is similar to that shown by students, that is, most rejected is presidential rule and least rejected is one party rule.
- The mass public age cohort (youth without HE) reject undemocratic alternatives proportionally lower than UB students; 91%, 84% and 73% reject presidential rule, military rule and one party rule respectively.
- There is considerable rejection of authoritarianism across all four university student bodies, but rejection of each undemocratic alternative varies from one university to the other. On average, UCT (91%) has the highest proportion of students rejecting all three non-democratic alternatives, followed by UB (90%), UDSM (89%), and lastly UON (82%).
- UB and UCT students have more in common with each other than with the East African students with regards to rejection of undemocratic alternatives.
- A large proportion of UB students reject any compromise of freedoms by the government, such as restrictions on expressing political views either by speech or through the media.
- Freedom of speech is proportionally the highest demanded political right.
- A vast majority of UB students (88%) agree that people should be able to voice their political views while more than a two-thirds majority of UB students (71%) consider freedom of association as critical.
- As with UB students (88%), the Batswana mass public (86%) demand freedom of speech proportionally higher than freedom of press (79%) and freedom of association (76%).
- The average demand for the three political rights is highest at UCT (80%), with UB (78%), UON (72%), and UDSM lowest with 61%.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

c. Commitment to democracy

Whereas a vast majority of students reject authoritarianism, and there is also a high proportion of students that prefer democracy, a more stringent way of measuring support for democracy are to consider whether such preferences are expressed consistently. By definition 'committed democrats' refers to 'always preferring democracy' and 'always rejecting non-democratic regime alternatives' (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 12). The study has shown that:

- More than two-thirds (69%) of UB students qualify as committed democrats. That proportion is revealing for various reasons.
- Firstly, it is considerably higher than among students of other national flagship universities,

for example, UCT (54%), UON (45%), and UDSM (with only 36%).

- Secondly, the proportion is different between student leaders (83% committed democrats) and students not in leadership (69%). However, there is no statistically significant association between commitment to democracy and student leadership. Thirdly, the proportion is similar to that of Batswana general mass public (67%) and thus is also considerably higher than youth without higher education (56%). However, again, no association of commitment to democracy and attending university could be found.

5.8.2. Students' perceptions of supply of democracy in Botswana

The notion of supply of democracy measures the extent of democracy and the institutionalization of democracy. Evaluations of the supply of democracy also serve to measure how critical citizens are, since it has been argued that higher education contributes to citizenship by increasing citizen's critical abilities (cf. Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela 2012). Students' perceptions of the supply of democracy have been measured to discover to what extent this is true in Botswana. These findings were established:

- Though many studies indicate Botswana as a consolidated and exemplary democracy in the context of sub-Saharan Africa standards, there is evidence that a considerable proportion of UB students are not content with the extent of democracy in Botswana.
- Only 54% of UB students say that Botswana is "a democracy with minor problems/a full democracy", 46% indicating that Botswana is largely a democracy with serious problems, "not a democracy/a democracy with major problems'.
- A proportion of 78% student leaders against just under half (47%) of students not in leadership perceive Botswana to be "a democracy but with minor problems/a full democracy". However, there is no statistically significant association between involvement in student leadership and perceptions of the extent of democracy.
- While just over half of UB students (54%) say their country is a "full democracy/ a democracy with minor problems", far fewer students at the HERANA case universities think thus about their country, at 15% of UON students, 34% of UDSM students, and 48% of UCT students. Thus, UB students are the least critical (and most satisfied) with democracy as it works in their country.
- In comparison to UB students, the Batswana mass public is even less critical. An overwhelming majority of 93% of the Batswana general mass public and 92% of the Batswana mass public age cohort say Botswana is "a full democracy/ a democracy with minor problems", compared to just slightly above half of UB students. Similarly, in terms of

satisfaction with democracy, UB students are again proportionally more critical: only 48% of UB students as against 78% of the mass public age cohort and 83% of the general mass public indicate satisfaction with the way democracy functions in Botswana.

- UB students' perception of the supply of political rights generally suggests a good supply of rights. Students are most critical about their freedom of speech. Yet, 65% of student leaders and about half of students not in leadership (47%) say that they can freely express their political views. There is no statistically significant association between perceptions of the supply of rights and involvement in student leadership.
- UB students are more critical of the supply of rights than Batswana mass publics. The latter feel generally freer than do their UB student counterparts. For instance, a proportion of 98% of mass publics say they are free to join any political organization and 98% say they are free to vote for their preferred candidates during elections,
- Students at the other universities show much more scepticism about the supply of freedoms (and freedom of speech) than do UB students (See Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). However, overall, UCT students consider themselves freer than do their peers at UB, UON and UDSM.
- The right to vote preferred candidates appears to be guaranteed in all the four countries. There is considerably higher perceived supply of freedom to vote across all the four universities. Only 6% of UB and 11% of UCT students compared to 22% at UDSM and almost a quarter of UON (24%) students feel that their freedom to vote is compromised.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

5.8.3. Political participation and cognitive awareness

The notions of demand for and supply of democracy do not capture succinctly how actively students are engaged in democracy or – to put it differently – whether they support democracy by investing time and effort in being cognitively and actively engaged. More than a fifth of UB students (22%) defined democracy in terms of popular participation, and the matter of democratic engagement in practice was probed, leading to the following results:

- UB student do not participate widely in elections. Only 36% voted in the 2009 SRC elections despite regular elections being ranked as the third most essential element of democracy.
- A proportion of 71% student leaders and 44% students not in leadership voted in the 2009 general elections. There is a significant association between student leadership and voting in national elections.
- While overall only 45% UB students that said they voted in the 2009 general elections, this is high in comparison to a mere 28% Batswana mass public age cohort; but low in comparison to

the two-thirds, or 66%, of Batswana general mass public who say they voted. There is a statistically significant, strong association between being a student and participation in voting in general elections.

- Almost 80% of Batswana endorse the 2009 general elections as free and fair, an assessment shared by all datasets (UB students 79%; Botswana general mass public 80%; and mass public age cohort 78%).
- In terms of general elections, participation in voting varies across the four flagship universities. UCT students (67%) participating in student elections, compared to UON (59%) and UDSM (25%) and only a third of UB students.
- East Africans are proportionally more active in voting in national elections compared to Southern Africans. Comparatively, Kenyans appear to be a nation of citizens considerably interested in participating in elections across all the three groups.
- There is considerable interest in public affairs and politics. A two thirds majority of UB students (65%) say they are interested in public affairs, and they use a diversity of news media *daily or almost daily* for news.
- TV and radio are used more frequently than other sources of information by UB students, Batswana mass publics, and students in other African flagship universities, while newspapers are the least used. Student leaders use the internet and newspapers significantly more than students not in leadership.
- TV and radio are the most frequently used media sources across all the four institutions; while newspapers are the least frequently used in Southern Africa the internet is the least used to get news in East Africa.
- Almost an equal proportion of Batswana mass public age cohort (65%) and general mass public (69%) say they discuss politics "frequently/occasionally" (as against 83% of UB students).
- UB students are acquainted with their national level political leadership, that is, 99% know the correct name of the incumbent president of Botswana.
- The UB vice-chancellor is more popular than the SRC president among students. Only just over half (56%) of UB students know their SRC president by name while 67% know the name of the UB vice-chancellor. There is a statistically significant link between student leadership and knowing the name of the UB vice-chancellor.
- 76% Batswana general mass public, 69% mass public age cohort, and 72% of UB know the identity their MP. There is a statistically significant association between UB students and this

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

information. UB students are weakly more likely to know who is their MP than mass public youth age cohort.

- In comparison with other universities, except for their respective presidents, UCT, UDSM and UON appear to be proportionally more knowledgeable of their incumbent political leadership than UB students. UON (82%) and UDSM (62%) and only 30% paltry of UCT students who knew SRC Presidents of their respective universities knew their SRC president.Vice-chancellors appear proportionally more popular than the SRC presidents in all the other three universities.
- UB students participate more off campus in terms of voting, but they protest proportionally higher on campus than off campus.
- In terms of civic participation, collective participation such as attending political meetings and attending protests is popular both on and off campus unlike individual forms of political participation such as contacting officials and writing a pamphlet/letter for protest. Contacting officials and writing letters to newspapers are the two most unpopular activities amongst university of Botswana students, both on and off campus. Only 14% and 21% of UB students have contacted officials at the university and national level respectively, while a measly 10% and 15% of UB students ever wrote a letter of protest to a newspaper.
- Student leaders are significantly more actively communing off campus than students not in leadership.
- Though students seem to be interested in public affairs and discuss politics occasionally, they appear not to be interested in attending community political meetings as much as are the mass public age cohort.
- Though Batswana youth appear to attend demonstrations more than their older compatriots, the proportion of students who attend protests is twice as high as among the mass public age cohort.
- Attending political meetings is the most popular activity amongst students. 61% of students at UDSM, 58% at UON, 54% at UB and 37% at UCT have attended political meetings “once or twice/several times/often” on campus in the past year.
- Students from all four universities appear more ‘rebellious’ and inclined to taking their frustrations and grievances to the streets than are the mass publics of their respective countries. In all the universities except for UCT, students attend protests proportionally more often than do their mass publics and mass public age compatriots. It is perhaps surprising that UB students are proportionally more likely to participate in protests than students from the other

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

three universities.

Other than trying to show the extent of support for democracy of UB students – on measures of demand for, supply of, and participation in democracy--the analysis in this chapter has compared the political attitudes and behaviours of UB students with those of mass publics, particularly the general public of Botswana and the Batswana youth of the same age cohort without higher education. In the next and conclusive chapter, the study attempts to respond to the research questions posed at the outset, as well as to consider whether there is evidence in the survey for higher education as a pathway to democratic citizenship and leadership (compare Chapter 3). The next chapter also presents a summary of the dissertation as a whole and considers its limitations and implications for further research.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Chapter 6

Conclusions, Recommendations and Implications

6.1. Introduction

The aim of the study was to establish the contribution of higher education to democracy. It was designed to approach this in relation to four research questions:

1. What are the attitudes and behaviours of UB students towards support for democracy?
2. Are there significant differences in attitudes towards support for democracy between students not in leadership and student leaders?
3. Are there differences and/or similarities towards support for and supply of democracy between students and Batswana in general, including youth without higher education?
4. How do attitudes in support of democracy between UB, UON, UDSM, and UCT compare and contrast with each other?

The study is predominantly situated in both public opinion study literature, particularly in Africa, and literature on student politics. The study analyses attitudes in support of democracy in Botswana by comparing the attitudes of UB third-year students with those of mass publics, namely, Batswana in general and Batswana youth without higher education. The study further compares UB findings with findings from three other universities, UCT, UDSM, and UON. The study used a quantitative research design to seek to explain the contribution of higher education to support for democracy. A questionnaire based on the HERANA student surveys (in turn based on the Afrobarometer questionnaire) was used for data collection and descriptive statistics were used to investigate the 'higher education-democracy nexus' in the context of Botswana and undergraduates at UB.

Chapter 1 presented the approach and scope of the study by introducing the study and its general debates. It also presented the research problem and the significance of the study and its research questions. Chapter 2 is an extensive and in-depth discussion and review of the 'higher education-democracy nexus' and other debates of essence to the study, such as democracy and its relation to student politics. In this chapter, the emphasis was on the contribution of higher education to democracy and it therefore also introduced the concepts of 'demand for democracy' and 'supply of democracy'.

Chapter 3 presented the study's conceptual framework, presented a way in which 'support for

democracy' could be studied and analyzed based on the work of Rose et al. (1998), Mattes et al. (2000), Mattes and Bratton (2003), Bratton et al. (2007) and Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011). The chapter presented a systematic way of establishing support for democracy using students' opinions focusing on critical aspects of 'demand for democracy', as well as matters more typically studied as 'supply of democracy', such as cognitive engagement with politics and active participation in democratic practices. With reference to Nie et al. (1996) and Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011), the chapter further presented 'pathways' through which education impacts on the democratic attitudes and behaviours of citizens in terms of their 'social network centrality'.

Chapter 4 presented the research design and methodology of the study, including sampling, target population, instrumentation and questionnaire design; data collection and several other important steps were discussed and justification for adopting such procedures was given.

In Chapter 5, the study presented and analyzed the survey data collected from students at the UB in relation to data collected by the Afrobarometer and HERANA surveys. The main findings, as was the case with the HERANA study, indicated that higher education contributes to democracy by producing highly critical citizens. The study shows that students are proportionally more critical of the delivery and institutionalization of democracy. The study also established that students not only understand what democracy is, but also prefer it over undemocratic alternatives. UB students and Batswana in general have similar attitudes towards democracy, due perhaps to Botswana's democratic culture.

In this concluding chapter, the study attempts to answer the research questions one by one based on the study findings and to contextualize this study's contribution within the existing literature. It first considers the question of a 'student leadership pathway' and whether there is a significant difference in support for democracy between students not in leadership and student leaders. It then considers the differences in support for democracy between students, on the one hand, and, on the other, Batswana in general (mass publics) and Batswana youth without higher education. It also considers whether there are significant differences in support for democracy between students at the UB and students from other African universities. Having examined the responses to these sub-questions, it will then also be possible to address the question of what the attitudes and behaviours of UB students in support of democracy mean in terms of higher education's contribution to democracy.

6.2. Differences in support for democracy between students not in leadership and student leaders

Over and above studying overall attitudes and behaviours of students towards support for democracy, the study sought to establish evidence of three pathways introduced in Chapter 3: a cognitive pathway, a positional pathway and a student leadership pathway (see chapter 3). First, the cognitive pathway holds that education generally enhances political reasoning and understanding of social discourses and political issues. Over and above the discipline-specific knowledge that students acquire in their learning, students also, through their various interactions, acquire ideals of citizenship and democracy. Though it is evident that Batswana in general are cognitively aware of their political environment, students appear significantly more cognitively aware, politically, in comparison to the Batswana mass public age cohort. A vast majority of Batswana (including students) endorsed the 2009 general elections as free and fair. The use of diverse sources of media to acquire information and current affairs is testimonial to the cognitive awareness by students. As Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012) argue, using a wide range of media to obtain information on political affairs appears to increase critical views among Africans. Furthermore, the argument of Nie et al. (1996) that an additional number of years studying enable one to engage more meaningfully through their cognitive vantage is generally confirmed.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

With regards to the positional pathway, Nie and colleagues conceptualize this pathway as education placing individuals within certain networks in society. A citizen's position and alignment in the social network enhances chances of a more central involvement in politics. With this argument in mind, higher education compares favorably to lower levels of education in placing an individual closer to societal networks and higher up the political ladder (Nie et al., 1996). Students appear more influential in the general political landscape and when partaking part political discourses and engagements. While youth from the four countries considered in this study appear to be attending demonstrations more frequently than their older compatriots, it is evident that the proportion of students that attended protests is even higher than among the mass public age cohort (same age youth without higher education). This perhaps indicates how the positioning of students influences their zeal to take part in community political practices.

Finally, the study investigated the student leadership pathway by comparing the attitudes of student leaders with those of students not in leadership. A student leader pathway proposed by Luescher-

Mamashela et al. (2011) suggests that participation in student leadership inculcates democratic attitudes in students that actively participate in student leadership programmes. Student leaders already have a greater 'network centrality' than ordinary students on campus, and a higher level of political participation on campus, together with such behaviours, it is argued, are likely to be transmittable to national level politics (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 9). Thus, variation between the two groups in certain variables may be taken to indicate whether or not participation in formal student leadership and governance influences support for democracy. It was found that a higher proportion of student leaders is engaged in electoral procedures, is cognitively aware, participates in political processes, and is committed to democracy compared to a smaller proportion of students not in leadership. Student leaders are also proportionally slightly more critical of the supply and institutionalization of democracy than students not in leadership (compare Chapter 5). However, contrary to Altbach's (2006) argument that participation in politics engenders inclination in support of democracy, surprisingly, there is no statistically significant correlation between involvement in student leadership on campus and commitment to democracy, voting both on and off campus, and participation in community meetings off campus.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

6.3. Differences in support for democracy between students and Batswana in general (mass publics) as well as Batswana youth without higher education

The contribution of higher education to democracy could be demonstrated in several ways. As indicated in Chapters 1 and 2, higher education's salient contribution to democracy may be established by comparing mass publics, particularly the mass public without higher education of the same age group, with the university students (see Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011; Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012). Thus, the differences and similarities in participation in political activities, cognitive engagement and interest in political affairs, between citizens in general and particularly the age cohort without higher education on the one hand, with its student counterpart on the other, could be attributed to higher education (or the lack thereof). The comparison between students and their peers without higher education may be read as demonstrating, for example, that it is not youthfulness but contact with higher education (or the lack thereof) that influences support for democracy.

The subtle differences in terms of political engagement and participation in the democratic process between UB students and the Batswana mass publics--particularly, the youth age cohort without higher education--perhaps provide leads in the direction of assessing the contribution of higher

education to democracy. In short, the findings provide some basis for asserting that higher education inculcates support for democracy, even if this is limited. On the more general measure of preference for democracy, the lack of deviation in support for democracy between students and their peers without higher education could perhaps be attributed to the general democratic culture prevalent in Botswana. Although students have the benefit of higher education, they also live in the same democratic environment as do the respondents to the Afrobarometer mass public surveys. Setswana democratic culture perhaps plays a more critical role in shaping democrats within Botswana than does higher education, which serves only to reinforce attitudes and behaviours towards support for democracy. In this respect, the influence of higher education on support for democracy is evident when the study considers the more stringent measure termed 'commitment to democracy' as a touchstone. It is evident that UB students are proportionally somewhat more committed to democracy than their counterpart age peers without higher education or the national mass public.

The contribution higher education makes towards support for democracy comes mainly, perhaps, through its ability to create more critical citizens, as Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012) have argued in relation to the HERANA work on higher education and democracy. This study's findings show that UB students are far more *critical* in their regime performance evaluations than their compatriots, particularly their age mates without higher education. UB students indicated that they were more critical of the institutionalization of democracy as it works in Botswana (see Chapter 5). UB students show a preference for democracy and rejecting authoritarian alternatives at more or less the same level as their compatriots and peers without higher education, but what distinguishes them as democratic citizens is therefore their being more critical towards regime performance.

Furthermore, there are also enough grounds to argue that higher education inculcates more democratic attitudes in some measures. This study shows that students are politically more active and cognitively aware than their peers without higher education. Students are also significantly more likely to participate in political activities such as attending political meetings, and they protest significantly more often than their peer compatriots without higher education. In addition, UB students use various forms of news media more frequently and are proportionally more politically aware about political incumbents and institutions than youth without higher education. The study thus confirms, to some extent, that "the uneducated man or the man with limited education is a different political actor from the man who has a higher level of education" (Almond and Verba 1963, p. 315). The findings also support Luescher-Mamashela et al.'s (2011) argument that the university provides a good opportunity to inculcate support for democracy by cognitive and organizational engagement with politics.

6.4. Differences in support for democracy between students at the University of Botswana and students from other African universities

The four countries from which the universities in the HERANA study and in this study were selected have undergone different political trajectories. Nonetheless, there are commonalities of attitudes in support of democracy between students from the universities of Botswana, Cape Town, Dar es Salaam, and Nairobi. This study has shown that a vast majority of students from all four universities have an understanding of what democracy means. The vast majority of the students also defined democracy with positive connotations. In aggregation, a majority of the students at these universities have a liberal (and rather procedural) conception of democracy as a set of civil liberties, political rights, and related political processes as well as popular participation in decision making. However, UDSM students' conceptions focused more on popular participation. Only a small proportion conceives democracy in terms of substantive notions of equality, justice, and so forth. Students also profess preference for democracy as a form of governance over alternative non-democratic forms of rule. Students from all the universities markedly reject authoritarianism proportionally more than mass public and youth without higher education in their respective countries.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Considering the notion of 'committed democrats', a majority of UB students are unreservedly committed to democracy, while only a minority of UCT, UON and UDSM students qualify as committed democrats. Moreover, only UB and UCT students are more committed to democracy than their respective national age cohorts without higher education and general mass publics, while students from UON and UDSM appear to be *less* committed to democracy (on this stringent measure) than their respective national peers without higher education and general mass publics (compare Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011). When comparison is made between UB students and students from the three other universities, UB students also have a more liberal conception of democracy, as do the UCT and UON students (see Figure 2). UB and UCT students appear to share more characteristics in common in terms of their attitudes towards democracy when they are compared with the East African students. However, UB students see themselves as less free (in terms of freedom of speech and association) than UCT students.

Furthermore, demand for freedoms and civil rights are considerably higher in all the four universities than among their peers without higher education in their respective countries. Another more positive finding is that students are more critical than their mass public counterparts when evaluating regime

performance. UB students are more critical than Batswana in general, but comparably less so when in international comparison with the other three universities; the national context appears to influence criticism towards an absolute level, although not when compare to compatriots without higher education. Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) conclude; "The most plausible explanation for certain student-typical commonalities must therefore be that higher education, the university, and distinctive features of student life, which predispose students to certain typical political attitudes and behaviours" (p. xi). There are also seemingly student-related abilities (critical, activist; but not fully committed democrat) which enable students to engage meaningfully in politics, particularly in comparison with their peers without higher education.

6.5. Students' attitudes towards democracy and their perceptions of the way democracy works in Botswana

Different models are used to explain how education, or rather higher education in this study, influences or contributes to democracy. Pathways such as those proposed by Nie et al (1996) and Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) are some of these models. Nie and colleagues propose positional and cognitive pathways while Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) propose a student leadership pathway as the third model to explain how education influences attitudes towards democracy (see Chapter 3). The study has used these models in a loose sense to attempt to investigate in what ways higher education may influence the attitudes of young citizens as far as support for democracy is concerned.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

In keeping with the Afrobarometer model, the notion of 'demand for democracy' provides a way of conceptualizing political attitudes in terms of regime support, and 'supply of democracy' refers to satisfaction with democracy, thus providing a way to measure the 'criticalness' of students. Combined with measures for political participation and cognitive engagement, it is therefore possible to describe the roles which higher education at the UB plays in the same terms as used by Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012), in that higher education plays

> […] important roles with regard to access to political information, information gathering skills, and levels of political knowledge; the ability to offer opinions and critical perspectives on politics and the economy; and levels of democratic values and democratic action (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela 2012, 139).

From the overall findings, there is substantive evidence that UB students understand democracy and have a high demand for democracy. An overwhelming proportion, over nine out of ten students, is able to produce a positive and comprehensible definition of democracy. The findings indicate that over a third of UB third-year students (40%), defined democracy by equating it to civil liberties and political freedoms, including freedom of speech, freedom in general, human rights and peace etc. In terms of democracy as a preferred political regime, a vast majority (79%) of UB students prefers democracy, while the rest are either neutral or thinks that sometimes a non-democratic government may be preferable.

Just as Lekorwe (2009) found regarding the Batswana general public on the Afrobarometer data set, UB students also significantly reject all forms of authoritarianism. Students reject presidential rule proportionally higher than they reject military rule and one party rule. Though this finding is not unexpected for a country that has practiced multi-party democracy for over forty years, it is equally intriguing that UB students reject strongman rule despite the country neither having experimented with it nor experienced it. Although this has not been investigated closely, there are plausible indications that the executive powers vested in the President and the proclivity of the previous and incumbent presidents "to flaunt the long established tradition of Therisanyo (consultation)" could possibly be engendering rejection of strong man rule tendencies (Lekorwe et al., 2001, p. 2). It also appears that the single dominant party system that has existed for a long time in Botswana mimics de facto one party rule which has thus induced comparably lesser approval for one-party rule by comparison with the two authoritarian alternatives, military rule and presidential rule. Strong rejection of one-party rule, one man rule, and military rule regimes is patently substantive evidence that students regard democracy, in the words of Linz and Stepan (1996, p. 15) words, as "the only game in town".

The study established that even though there is proportionally high preference for democracy, only a few of UB students qualify as unreservedly committed to democracy. The notion of commitment to democracy describes those citizens who always prefer democracy and always reject non-democratic regime alternatives in the questionnaire. Commitment to democracy is used as a reference point for assessment of the extent of support for democracy (Shin, 2007; Bratton et al., 2005 p. 30). Although a vast majority of students professed their preference to democracy over its alternatives, and an equally large majority rejected non-democratic regime alternatives, only around two-thirds of UB students (but even fewer in the other three universities) qualify as committed to democrats.

In terms of students' perception of the supply of democracy and their critical evaluation of the performance of democracy in Botswana, UB students are far more critical of the delivery and institutionalization of democracy in Botswana than the general mass public and the comparable mass public age cohort without higher education. Only 54% of UB students compared to a resounding majority of more than nine out of ten Batswana general mass public (93%) and Batswana age cohort (92%) said Botswana is 'a full democracy/a democracy with minor problems'. Moreover, only below half (48%) of the students against 78% of the mass public age cohort indicated that they are satisfied with the way democracy works in their country. This therefore indicates that a majority of UB students are not satisfied with the way democracy functions in Botswana.

UB students have unequivocally indicated that they are pro-democratic. In comparison to their compatriots, UB students have shown comparably higher criticalness on the performance evaluation of their national regime. Perhaps, as Mattes and Mughogho (2010) and Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012) indicate, the impact of higher education on democracy is that higher education creates citizens who are more critical towards regime performance evaluations. Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012) state:

> [I]ncreased schooling not only enables Africans to offer more opinions, it also allows them to offer more critical opinions. AT the same time, the contributions that formal schooling made toward enabling a more critical citizenship could be potentially be mitigated by the confounding effects of higher levels of political information and, sometimes, the effects of news media use" (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012, p. 157).

Highly educated citizens appear to have propensity to use a wide range of media to obtain information on political affairs than less educated citizens, thus their ability to be critical citizens. However, UB students' participation is low in elections both on campus and in national general elections, and they also attend political meetings proportionally less frequently than the mass public and youth without higher education. This is despite a considerable proportion of students equating democracy with popular participation when they are asked to define it in their own words. Instead, UB students appear more actively rebellious: they have shown a propensity to protest more than often students from other three universities, and more than their compatriots, be it Batswana in general or their peers without higher education. In conclusion, though UB students appear politically enlightened, as Luescher-Mamashela and colleagues put it,

> [T]he findings are also consistent with a potential 'hothouse effect' whereby high levels of citizenship involvement might disappear once a student leaves university and loses the advantages for cognitive engagement and political participation offered by the university" (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. xvi).

In summary, it can be concluded that the findings of this study are consistent with similar HERANA studies, which indicate that higher education contributes in a positive way to support for democracy primarily through creating more critical citizens. Students emerged as the greatest critics of government as they are not content with the way their government functions. In addition, though Batswana generally appear to reject undemocratic alternatives, UB students are proportionally slightly more rejecting of non-democratic alternatives when compared to both mass publics and youth without higher education. Batswana generally prefer democracy over its alternatives and a majority qualifies as committed democrats. Furthermore, participation in student governance and leadership programmes exposes student leaders to the political realm which appears to engender political attitudes and support for democratic ideals. Therefore, student leaders appear to be numerically superior in both political and electoral participation as compared to students not in leadership. However, it also appears that participation in student leadership neither influences support for nor commitment to democracy.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

6.6. Recommendations and further research

This section highlights key areas for consideration either as future research opportunities. Some implications refer to different aspects of the conceptual framework such as political participation and cognitive awareness. The university clearly accords students the opportunity not only to gain academic qualifications but also to participate in various civic and political activities that engender political and cognitive awareness. The findings of this study indicate that the university or higher education enables students to become more critical citizens. Further investigation could be done to establish what, within higher education, increases criticalness. This analysis could include variables that would help establish the exact influence of specific curricular and co-curricular activities on commitment to democracy and criticalness. The recommendation of this study re-iterates the point made by Luescher-Mamashela et al (2011) that:

> [L]ooking at students' political attitudes and behaviours, particularly at political participation, there is clearly a potential for the university to act as a training ground for an emerging democratic leadership" (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. 111).

The above quotation proposes that by "looking at students' political participation" one can perceive that the university could potentially "act as a training ground for democratic leadership" (Luescher-Mamashela et al., 2011, p. xvii). Yet, the notion of "training ground" could be extended more broadly to the development of students as responsible citizens through teaching, learning, community engagement and extra-curricular activities. Such citizenship development should include a conscious inculcation of democratic principles.

In this study, student leaders appeared to be proportionally more committed to democracy and to be more critical towards regime performance evaluations than students not in leadership. Student leaders are more politically inclined as evidenced by their very participation in student politics, in student leadership programmes, and their propensity to take part in democratic and electoral process as compared to students not in leadership. But the fact that political participation of student leaders is not statistically significant calls for more interrogation and further analysis.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

There is evidence that warrants university institutional planners, student affairs managers and university leadership tapping into the potential of higher education to act as a ground to train students in general, and student leaders in particular, in democratic citizenship and leadership. In particular, since UB student leaders are shown to be proportionally more committed to democracy, to engage in political debates and are increasingly more demanding of democracy, promoting student leadership and other strategic extra-curricular civic- related activities presents an opportunity to inculcate democratic values and the conditions for support of democratic ideals. Evans and Rose (2007b) also confirm the importance of university by indicating that a measurable way in which higher education contributes to democracy is through influencing political behaviour and attitudes of university attendees. It is thus recommended that the University of Botswana increase participation in student politics and leadership programmes, because at the moment only a mere 1% of the 16,000 students are formally involved in meaningful leadership responsibility on campus.

There are yet other areas which could be considered in future studies. The study has adopted a narrow scope, examining only students' political opinions, and this is among the limitations of this study. In

retrospect, a wider array of issues should have been taken into consideration: students' engagement with questions of global citizenship, diversity, and social justice, both in the classroom and outside it, on and off campus. Engagement with such questions would perhaps make connections between what specific activities, both in and out of class, contribute to which attributes of citizenship? Therefore the study recommends further research to look into such aspects by increasing the sample and drilling down into activities related to courses, levels of class, and other specific activities.

Moreover, the study could be done in different ways, moving beyond surveys and including qualitative methods of data collection. Conversely, the study could use a different dependent variable and ask what it is that participation in student politics, student leadership and other extra-curricular activities contributes to? For example, does such participation contribute to students' employment prospects after graduation?

This study limited the sample to third-year undergraduate students but the sampling, in future research, could include students across all undergraduate years as well as postgraduate students. In this way it would be possible to assess whether higher education progressively, year on year, adds to the greater criticalness observed among the third-year students in this study. Furthermore, resources and time permitting, a census of the university enrolment would be more appropriate and would enable a more conclusive and reliable results.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Further studies could also be longitudinal, by being repeated every two years or so, to have a clear sense of the contribution of higher education over a longer period of time. Surveys could be run for longer periods of time during the different times of the academic year and not only at one particular time. Because political events that raise political fervor happen at certain times, they may well influence attitudes in support of democracy (as was the case with the Kenyan student survey conducted by HERANA and referred to in Chapter 5).

The sampling could also include students from other universities or higher education institutions in the same country, to compare institutional effects within the country. This would help establish whether it is higher education in general within the country or the institutional environment and citizenship development activities within a particular university that account for certain attitudes and behaviours. In this respect, and as mentioned above, further studies could investigate issues of extra-curricular activities *and* the curriculum, in and out of class activities, and so forth, to compare between institutions.

Lastly, further analysis of the particular dataset collected for this study could be done to include more complex analytical techniques, such as factor analysis or logic regressions, to interpret the data and improve the quality of the argument. The study had its challenges and its rewarding parts. The analysis enabled the researcher to answer the study questions as expected. Only where there were difficulties, such as correct proportions of students per faculty relative to the faculty enrolment, does the study recommend better and more correct procedures as recommendations for further research.

6.7. Limitations of the study

The above recommendations imply limitations of the study which add to other conceptual, methodological, and analytical limitations encountered during the research process. First of all, the study of the contribution of higher education to democracy is an evolving and changing ongoing process and theory is still being developed. Especially within the context of relatively young democracies in the developing countries and 'new' democracies (as noted by Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012), have theoretical and conceptual arguments not been unwaveringly established.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

As indicated in the methodology chapter, the research design and instruments adapted for and used in the study have inherent limitations. Surveys are less satisfactory when trying to explain why people think or act the way they do. They may show the proportions or statistics of the studied units, but these statistics do not provide information of why the statistics are so. Using different qualitative research designs for triangulation would serve an important role in interpreting and strengthening results and perhaps would also offset the limitations of the survey. Thus, methodological triangulation and adding other data collection technique--such as interview sessions or focus groups--would perhaps add depth to the data analysis and interpretation.

A second methodological limitation was using a cross-sectional survey for the study, which gives only a snapshot of the students' attitudes at that particular time. The results are only as accurate as the impact of political events at a particular time or events just before and during the time of data collection (as mentioned above).

A third methodological challenge is the representativeness of the sample, which is entirely a function of other factors such as the accuracy of the sampling frame, technique used etc. As noted in Chapter 4, the study sampled third-year students on the basis of a random sample of classes per faculty. A recurring difficulty was posed by some departments not having classes large enough to meet the

required minimum student quota. In such instances, extra classes were requested from the same faculty/department to set off the deficit, which could have affected the sampling frame. This was compounded by the occasional (and legitimate) reluctance by some students to participate in the survey. Even though the questionnaire had been shortened in order to reduce the time spent filling it in, some students were reluctant to participate. Students either complained of their time not being spent productively or of being over-surveyed already. This was due to other studies by different researchers that were running concurrently with this study. This was the real challenge and it possibly had an impact on the level of keenness applied to filling in the survey

Finally, an analytical limitation was that the study focused mainly on descriptive statistics. Much of the analysis is drawn from univariate analyses such as means, frequencies, and other descriptive statistics, bivariate analyses such as crosstabs, tests of association, and significance tests. Complex statistical analyses including several variables in regressions and factor analysis might help improve the findings and strengthen the conclusions. Controlling for other factors in the regressions, for example, media usage, could provide evidence of what and how factors influence support for democracy.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

6.8. Conclusion

The evidence in this study does not explain conclusively the contribution of higher education to democracy. This is largely due to the methodological limitations of the Afrobarometer framework. Notwithstanding these limitations, the study has provided important findings and has proposed a number of avenues for further research. It has also recommended that university national leadership put more emphasis on students' participation in student politics and leadership programmes, as the university seems to act as a training ground for democratic citizenship and leadership and is particularly valuable as a site for increasing students' ability to be critical of the level of democracy that has been achieved in Botswana.

2

References

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., & Robinson, J. (2002). 'An African success story: Botswana'. In Rodrik D. (Ed): *In Search of Prosperity: Analytical Narratives on Economic Growth.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Afrobarometer (2013). *Official website of the Afrobarometer*. Available online at http://www.afrobarometer.org (Retrieved: 28 May 2013).

Albaum, G. (1997). 'The Likert scale revisited'. *Journal-Market Research Society*, 39, 331-348.

Allison, P. D. (2003). 'Missing data techniques for structural equation modeling'. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 112(4), 545-557.

Almond, G. A., & Verba, S. (1963). *The Civic Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Altbach, P.G. (2006). 'Student Politics: Activism and Culture'. In Forest, J.D.J. & P.G. Altbach (eds.), *International Handbook of Higher Education.* Dordrecht: Springer.

----------. (1991). *The racial crisis in American higher education*. New York: SUNY Press.

Babbie, E., & J. Mouton. (2001). *The Practice of Social Research.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press, Southern Africa.

Badat, S. (1999). B*lack student politics, higher education & apartheid: From SASO to SANSCO 1968-1990*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Bartlett, J. E, Kotlik, J. W, and C.C. Higgins (2001). 'Organizational research: Determining Appropriate Sample Size in Survey Research'. *Information Technology, Learning, and Performance Journal,* Vol. 19 (1). Retrieved on 27 August 2013

Bertram, D. (2007). *Likert scales*. Alberta: Calgary. Retrieved May, 20, 2012. Available at: http://poincare.matf.bg.ac.rs/~kristina//topic-dane-likert.pdf.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Biesta, J. J. G. (2007). 'Towards the knowledge democracy? Knowledge production and the civic role of the university'. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 26(5), 467-479.

Biesta, J. J. G. (2011). Learning Democracy in School and Society: Education, Lifelong learning, and the Politics of Citizenship. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Bloom, D. E., Canning, D., & K. Chan. (2006). *Higher education and economic development in Africa.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

Bloom, D. E. (2006). "Beyond Private Gain: The Public Benefits of Higher Education", Springer International Handbooks of Education.

Bollen, K. A. (1986). 'Political rights and political liberties in nations: An evaluation of human rights measures, 1950 to 1984'. *Human Rights Quarterly* No. 8, 567-591.

Bollen, K. A. (1990). 'Political democracy: Conceptual and measurement traps'. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 25, 7-24.

Botswana International University of Science and Technology. Available from https://dumela.biust.ac.bw. Accessed: 22 May 2012

Bratton, M., & Mattes, R. (2001). 'Support for democracy in Africa: Intrinsic or instrumental?' *British Journal of Political Science,* 31(03), 447-474.

----------. (2003). 'Support for economic reform? Popular attitudes in Southern Africa'. *World Development*, 31(2), 303-323.

Bratton, M., Mattes, R. B., & E. Gyimah-Boadi. (2005). *Public opinion, democracy, and market reform in Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bratton, M. & N. van de Walle (1997). *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Brink, P.J., & Wood, M.J. (1998). *Advanced design in nursing research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks , Sage.

Carmines, E., & R. Zeller. (1979). *Reliability and Validity Assessment*. California: Sage.

Castells, M. (1994). 'The university system: Engine of development in the new world economy'. In *revitalising higher education,* (Eds). J. Salmi and A.M. Verspoor, (Pp. 14–40). Oxford: Pergamon

----------. (2002). 'Local and global: Cities in the network society'. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, 93(5), 548-558.

Clark, B. R. (1983). *The higher education system: Academic organization in cross-national perspective*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cloete, N., Bailey, T., Pillay, P., Bunting, I., & P. Maassen (2012). *Universities and Economic Development in Africa.* Wynberg: Centre for Higher Education Transformation.

Cloete, N. (2004). Equity & Development in Post-Apartheid South African Higher Education. In Cloete., N., Pillay., P, Badat., S, & T. Moja. (Eds) *National Policy & a Regional Response in South African Higher Education*. (Pp. 51-76) Oxford: James Currey.

Cook, A., & J, Sarkin. (2010). 'Is Botswana the miracle of Africa-democracy, the rule of law, and human rights versus economic development?' *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems*, 19 (3), 453.

Council on Higher Education (2004). *South African Higher Education in the First Decade of Democracy*. Pretoria: Council on Higher Education.

Creswell, J W. (2005). *Educational research; Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research (2nd edition)*. New Jersey: Pearson.

Cronbach, L. (1990). *Essentials of psychological testing*. New York: Harper & Row

Dahl, R. A. (1971). *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

----------. (1989). *Democracy and its critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Danevad, A. (1995). Responsiveness in Botswana politics: Do elections matter? Journal of Modern African Studies 33 (3): 381-402

Denzin, N, K. & Y.S. Lincoln. (Eds.) (2003). *The landscape of Qualitative Research. Theories and Issues*. Thousand Oaks: Sage

Diamond, L., Linz, J.J, and Lipset, S.M, (1988) (eds) Democracy in Developing Countries: Africa. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Diamond, L. (1992). 'Economic development and democracy reconsidered'. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 35(4-5), 450-499.

…….. (2002). 'Thinking about hybrid regimes'. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 21-35.

Drost, E. A. (2011). 'Validity and Reliability in Social Science Research'. *Education Research and Perspectives*, 38 (1), 105-123.

Du Toit, P. (1995). *State building and democracy in Southern Africa*; Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Erik-Lane, J. (2004). Democracy in Comparative Perspective. *Working Paper* No. 25. Retrieved on 22 May 2008. Available from: http://portal.uam.es/portal/page/portal/UAM_ORGANIZATIVO/Departamentos/CienciaPoliticaRelacionesInternacionales/publicaciones%20en%20red/working_papers/archivos/25_2004.pdf

Evans, G., & P. Rose. (2007a). 'Support for democracy in Malawi: Does schooling matter?' *World Development*, 35(5), 904-919.

UNIVERSITY of the

----------. (2007b). 'Education and support for democracy in sub-Saharan Africa: Testing mechanisms of influence'. *Afrobarometer Working Paper,* No. 75.

Fails, M, D. (2009). Does substantive democratization create more committed democrats? Surprising evidence from Africa. *Democratization*, 16 (5), 841-866

Fernández, Ó. (2005). 'Towards European citizenship through higher education?' *European Journal of Education,* 40(1), 60-68.

Freedom House (2011). *Country profiles.* Available: http://www.freedomhouse.org/country/botswana Date retrieved 20 April 2012

Gassie, E. W. (1968). 'On generalizing research findings'. *Journal of Extension. Vol 6 (3).* Retrieved on 26 August 2013 from http://www.joe.org/joe/1968fall/1968-3-a3.pdf

Gaventa, J., & C. Valderama. (1999). Participation, citizenship and local governance. Background Note for the Workshop "Strengthening Participation in Local Governance," *University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies*, 21.

Gerring, J. (2011). 'Democracy and Development: Legacy Effects' in N.J. Brown (Ed.), *The Dynamics of Democratization: Dictatorship, Development, and Diffusion.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Glaeser, E. L., Ponzetto, G. A., & A. Shleifer. (2006). 'Why does democracy need education?' *Journal of Economic Growth*, 12(2), 77-99. Available from; http://www.nber.org/papers/w12128

Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding Reliability and Validity in qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 8 (4), 597-607. Retrieved 28 August 2013 from http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-4/golafshani.pdf.

Good, K. (2003). Bushmen and diamonds: (Un)civic society in Botswana. *Discussion Paper* no. 23. Nordic Africa Institute.

Kenneth Good. "Autocracy, insecurity and pre-modernity in Botswana", Commonwealth and

Comparative Politics, 07/2010; 48 (3): 320-347

Good, K., & Taylor, I. (2006). 'Unpacking the "model": Presidential succession in Botswana', pp 51-72. In Southall, R. & H. Melber, (Eds) *Legacies of Power.* Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute.

Groves, R. M. & Lyberg, L.E. (1988). An overview of non-response issues in telephone surveys'. pp. 1191-212. In Groves, R. M., Biemer, P.P., Lyberg, L. E., Massey, J. T., Nicholls II, W. L., & J. Waksberg. (eds). *Telephone Survey Methodology*. New York: Wiley.

Hall, T., Williamson, H, and Coffey, A. (1998). "Conceptualizing citizenship: young people and the transition to adulthood", Journal of Education Policy, 13:3, 301-315

Harkavy, I. (2006). The role of universities in advancing citizenship and social justice in the 21st century'. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 1(1), 5-37.

Harrison, L. E., & P.L.Berger. (2006). *Developing cultures: Case studies*. New York: Routledge.

Harkavy, I. R., Benson, L., & J.L. Puckett. (2007). *Dewey's dream: Universities and democracies in an age of education reform: Civic society, public schools, and democratic citizenship.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Heywood, A. (2002). *Politics. (2nd edition).* Houndmills: Palgrave Foundations.

Hillygus, D. S. (2005). 'The missing link: Exploring the relationship between higher education and political engagement'. *Political Behaviour*, 27(1), 25-47.

Ho, L. C, Sim, J. B., & T. Alviar-Martin. (2011). 'Interrogating differentiated citizenship education: Students' perceptions of democracy, rights and governance in two Singapore schools'. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 6(3), 265-276.

Holm, J. D. (1988). Botswana: a paternalistic democracy. In Democracy in developing countries: Africa, (Eds). L. Diamond et al. (1988). Boulder; Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Hungler, B., & D. Polit. (1999). *Nursing research*: *Principles and methods*. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Inglehart, R., Welzel, C., Haerpfer, C., & P. Bernhagen. (2009). *Democratization*. Oxford: Oxford University Publishers.

Joppe, M. (2000). 'The Research Process'. Retrieved 26 August 2013 from http://www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/rp.htm

Keorapetse, D. L. (2012). 'Regime Change and Succession Politics in Africa: Five Decades of Misrule'. *Monopoly politikos,* 14 (9), 217.

'

Keoreng, E. (2012). 'UB students on strike. Mmegi online'. www.mmegi.bw. DOI http://www.mmegi.bw/index.php?sid=1&aid=121&dir; Date retrieved 9 April 2013

Kimenyi, M. S. (2011). 'Contribution of higher education to economic development: A survey of international evidence'. *Journal of African Economies*, 20(3), iii14-iii49.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Koen, C., Cele, M., & A. Libhaber. (2006). 'Student activism and student exclusions in South Africa'. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 26(4), 404-414.

Kothari, C. (2009). *Research methodology: Methods and techniques*. New Delhi: New Age International.

Landman, T., & N. Robinson. (2009). *The SAGE handbook of comparative politics*. London: SAGE.

Le Compte, M. & J. Preisesle. (1993). *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in educational Research*. London: Academic Press Inc.

Lekorwe, M. (2009). 'Demanding Democratic rule: Batswana Support Democracy and Rejecet Non-Democratic Alternatives'. *Afrobarometer Paper No. 14*. Available at: http://www.afrobarometer.org/files/documents/briefing_papers/AfrobriefNo61.pdf. Retrieved

May 20, 2011.

Lekorwe, L., Molomo, M., Molefe, W., & K. Moseki. (2001). 'Public Attitudes Toward Democracy, Governance and Economic Development in Botswana'. *Afrobarometer Paper No. 14*. Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa. Available at. www.afrobarometer.org/papers/AfropaperNo14.pdf. Retrieved on 20 May 2011.

Lerman, K., & R. Ghosh. (2010). 'Information contagion: An empirical study of the spread of news on digg and twitter social networks. Proceedings of 4th International Conference on Weblogs and Social Media (ICWSM)', held in Washington DC, USA.

Lijphart, A. (2002). 'Negotiation democracy versus consensus democracy: Parallel conclusions and recommendations.' *European Journal of Political Research*, 41(1), 107-113.

Linz, J. J. & Stepan, A. C., (1996). 'Toward consolidated democracies'. *Journal of Democracy*, 7(2), 14-33.

Lipset, S. M. (1959). Democracy and working-class authoritarianism'. *American Sociological Review*, 24, 482-501.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Lipset, S. M., & Altbach, P. G. (1969). *Students in revolt*. Boston: Beacon.

Lucas, R. E. (1990). 'Why doesn't capital flow from rich to poor countries?' *The American Economic Review*, 80(2), 92-96.

Luescher, T. M. (2005). *Student governance in Africa; A thematic review of literature on African student politics*. CHET Project; Improving Governance and Student Leadership. South Africa. Wynberg: Centre for Higher Education Transformation. Retrieved November 26, 2011, from www.chet.org.za

Luescher-Mamashela, T. M. Kiru, S., Mattes, R. Mwollo-ntallima, A., Ng'ethe N.,and Romo, M. (2011). *The University in Africa and Democratic Citizenship: Hothouse or Training Ground?*: Wynberg: Centre for Higher Education Transformation.

Makgala, C. J. (2012). "The Basutoland Congress Party in Exile: 1974-1986", *African Historical Review*. 44 (2), 78-97

Maletta, H. (2007). *Weighting*. Retrieved May 20, 2012, from http://www.spsstools.net/Tutorials/WEIGHTING.pdf.

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Masire, Q. K. J (2007). Masire: Memoirs of an African democrat: very brave or very foolish? Palgrave: Macmillan.

Mattes, R. B., Bratton, M., & Davids, Y. D. (2003). 'Poverty, survival, and democracy in southern Africa'. *Afrobarometer Working Paper,* number 23. Retrieved on 23 May 2011. Available from; http://www.afrobarometer.org/publications/working-papers/item/52-poverty-survival-and-democracy-in-southern-africa

Mattes, R., & Luescher-Mamashela, T. M. (2012). 'The Roles of Higher Education in the Democratization of Politics in Africa: Survey Reports from HERANA'. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*. 10 (1), 139-170.

Mattes, R., & Mozaffar, S. (2011). *Education, Legislators and Legislatures in Africa.* Research report prepared for the Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa (HERANA). Wynberg: Centre for Higher Education Transformation.

Mathers, N., Fox, N. & Hunn, A. (2007). *Surveys and Questionnaires*. The National Institute for Health Research Research Design Service for the East Midlands/ Yokshire and the Humber. Retrieved on 25 June 2011. Available from: http://www.rds-yh.nihr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/15_Using-Interviews-2009.pdf

Maundeni, Z. (2005). 'Civic society and democracy in Botswana'. In Ed Z Maundeni (2005). *40 Years of Democracy in Botswana: 1965 – 2005*. Gaborone: Mmegi Publishing House.

Mayring, P. (2007). 'On Generalization in Qualitatively Oriented Research'. *Qualitative Social*

Research, *8* (3). Retrieved on 25 August 2013. Available from: http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0703262.

Mokopakgosi, B. T. (2008). 'Self-reliance and the history of higher education: The Botswana university campus appeal (BUCA)'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(2), 293-304.

Moller, H. (1968). 'Youth as a force in the modern world'. *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 10(3), 237-260.

Molutsi, P. (1991). 'Political parties and democracy in Botswana'. In Molomo, B. G, & Mokopakgosi, B. T., (Eds) *Multiparty Democracy in Botswana*. Harare: SAPES.

Molutsi, P. (2004). 'Botswana: The path to democracy and development'. In Gyimah-Boadi, E. (Ed) Democratic Reform in Africa: *The Quality of Progress*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner.

Munene, I. (2003). 'Student activism in African higher education'. In Teferra, D. & Altbach, P. (Eds) *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mutz, D. C. (1998). *Impersonal influence: How perceptions of mass collectives affect political attitudes*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mwollo-Ntallima, A. (2011). 'Higher Education and Democracy: A study of students' and student leaders' attitudes towards democracy in Tanzania'. (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Western Cape. Cape Town.

Ng'ethe, N., & Subotzky, G. (2003). *Higher education innovations in sub-Saharan Africa: With specific reference to universities.* New York: The Partnership for Higher Education.

Nie, N. H., Junn, J., & Stehlik-Barry, K. (1996). *Education and Democratic Citizenship in America.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ogunniyi, M. B. (1992). *Understanding Social Science Research*. Ibadan: University Press.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Okello, J. B. (2009). 'Managing Successful Free and Fair Elections. A presentation for a course at The Police Training School'. Kabalye-Masindi. Retrieved 28 May 2012. Available at; http://www.ec.or.ug/docs/Jenny%20Presentation%20To%20Police.pdf

Pallant, J. (2005). *SPSS survival Manual: A Step by Step Guide to Data Analysis Using SPSS for windows. 4th edition*. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Inc.

Payne, J. L. (1968). 'The Oligarchy Muddle'. *World Politics*, 20 (3), 439-453.

Payne, G. & Williams, M. (2005). 'Generalization in Qualitative Research'. *Sociology* 39 (2). 295-314.

Petrakis, P. E., & Stamatakis, D. (2002). 'Growth and educational levels: A comparative analysis'. *Economics of Education Review*, 21(5), 513-521.

Picard, L. (1987). *The Politics of Development in Botswana: A model for Success?*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Pillay, P. (2010). *Linking higher education and economic development: Implications for Africa from three successful systems African Minds*. Wynberg: Centre for Higher Education Transformation.

Polit, D. F, & Hungler, B. P. (1997). *Essentials of Nursing Research: Methods, Appraisal and Utilisation, 4th edition.* Philadelphia: Lippincott.

----------. (1999). *Nursing Research: Principles and Methods.* Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Psacharopoulos, G. (1985). "Returns to investment in education: A Further International Update and Implications". Journal of Human Resources, 20 (4): 583-604.

…….. (1989). 'Time trends of the returns to education: Cross-national evidence'.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Economics of Education Review, 8(3), 225-231.

----------. (1994). 'Returns to investment in education: A global update'. *World Development*, 22(9), 1325-1343.

----------. (2004). 'Returns to investment in education: A further update'. *Education Economics*, 12(2), 111-134.

Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

----------. (1999). 'Minimalist Conception of democracy: a defense'. In Shapiro, I. & Hacker-Cordon, C. (Eds) *Democracy's Value*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Republic of Botswana (2008) *Tertiary Education Council Policy of 2008.*

Republic of South Africa Government Gazette, (2008). *Higher Education Amendment Act* of 2008.

Rose, R., Mishler, W., & Haerpfer, C. (1998). *Democracy and its alternatives: Understanding post-communist societies.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rose, R. & Shin, D. C. (2001). 'Democratization Backwards: The problem of third-wave Democracies'. *British Journal of Political Science*, 31 (2), 331-354.

Southern African Regional Universities Association (SARUA. www.sarua.org/files/publications/TACF/Chapter3_full.pdf

Schafer, J. L., & Graham, J. W. (2002). 'Missing data: Our view of the state of the art'. *Psychological Methods*, 7(2), 147-177.

Schedler, A., & Sarsfield, R. (2007). 'Democrats with adjectives: Linking direct and indirect measures of democratic support'. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(5), 637-659.

Schedler, A. (2009). 'Electoral Authoritarianism'. In Landman, T. & Robinson, N. *The SAGE*

Handbook of Comparative Politics. London: Sage Publications.

Schmitter, P. C., & Karl, T. L. (1991). 'What democracy is... and is not. *Journal of Democracy*, 2(3), 75-88.

Schumpeter, J. (1943) *Socialism, Capitalism and Democracy*. London: Allen & Unwin,

Sebudubudu, D., & Molutsi, P. (2008). 'Botswana's democracy: Explanations for success'. *Politeia: Journal for the Political Sciences*. 27(1), 47-64.

Shin, D. C. (2000). *Mass politics and culture in democratizing Korea*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

----------. (2007). 'Democratization: Perspectives from global citizenries'. In Dalton, R & Klingemann, H (Eds). *Oxford Handbook of Political Behaviour*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Siphambe, H. K. (2008). "RATES OF RETURN TO EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA: RESULTS FROM THE 2002/2003 HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND EXPENDITURE SURVEY DATA SET", South African Journal of Economics, 76 (4), (2008), 641-651

Southall, R., & Melber, H. (2006). *Legacies of power: Leadership change and former presidents in African politics*. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press.

Taylor, I. (2003). 'As Good as it Gets? Botswana's "Democratic Development'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies,* 21 (2), May, 215-231

Teferra, D., & Altbach, P. G. (2004). 'African higher education: Challenges for the 21st century'. *Higher Education*, 47(1), 21-50.

Terre Blanche, M, Durrheim, K. & Painter D. (Eds) (2006*). Research in practice: Applied methods for social sciences (2nd edition).* Cape Town; University of Cape Town Press.

Thumberg-Hartland, P. (1978). *Botswana: An African Growth Economy*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Tilak, J. B. (2003). Higher education and development in Asia. *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, 17*(2), 151-173.

----------. (2005). 'Post-elementary education, poverty and development in India'. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27(4), 435-445.

Transparency International (2012). *Corruption Perceptions Index 2012*. Available at . Retrieved June 23, 2013

Trow, M. (1970). 'Reflections on the transition from mass to universal higher education'. *Daedalus*, 99(1), 1-42.

Tsie, B. (1991). *Election, democracy and hegemony in Botswana. Multi-Party Democracy in Botswana*. Harare: Southern Africa Political Economy Trust

University of Botswana. (2010). *The official University of Botswana Prospectus, 2010.*

----------.(2011) *Fact Book 2011*. Available from: http://www.ub.bw/content/id/1965/pid/1965//Facts-and-Figures; Date retrieved 26 May 2012

----------.(2013). *Vision and Mission*: Retrieved: May 28, 2013. Available from http://www.ub.bw/content/id/1576/Vision,-Mission-and-Values/.

Urdal, H. (2007). 'The demographics of Political Violence: Youth Bulges, Insecurity and Conflict'. In Brainard, L, & Derek, H. (Eds) *Too Poor for Peace? Global Poverty, Conflict and Security in the 21st Century*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press.

Uys, H. H., & Basson, A. A. (1991). *Research methodology in Nursing.* Cape Town: Kagiso Tertiary.

Wangenge-Ouma. G. (2008). 'Globalisation and Higher Education funding policy shifts in Kenya. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 2008, 30, 215-229.

Weber, H. (2012). 'Demography and Democracy: The impact of Youth Cohort Size on Democratic

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Stability in the World'. *Democratization*, iFirst. 1-23.

West-Burnham, J. (2009). *Rethinking Educational Leadership: From Improvement to Transformation.* New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Wiseman, J. A. (1977). Multi-partyism in Africa: the case of Botswana. African Affairs 76 (302): 70-79

…… (1998). The slow evolution of the party of the party system in Botswana. Journal of Asian and African studies 33 (3): 241-264

World Bank (2012). *Tertiary Education (Higher Education).* DOI: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTEDUCATION/0,,contentMDK:20298183~menuPK:617592~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:282386,00.html#. Retrieved on Oct 12, 2012.

World Bank (2007). *Botswana Policy of Education of 1977*. World Bank.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study Research: Design and Methods Fourth ed.*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Zaller, J. (1992). *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Zhang, X and Li, S. (2013) "Modelling of Evaluation in the Social Contribution of Higher Education Based on K-K-T Optimization", Canadian Social Science. Retrieved 25 September 2013

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

3 Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

HIGHER EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY IN BOTSWANA:

Attitudes of students and Student leaders towards democracy

Survey Questionnaire

What is the purpose of the project?
This questionnaire serves as a tool to collect data for a Master's Thesis. This instrument is designed to gather the views of students about the way Botswana is governed and students are involved in university governance.

Who participates in the survey? How can I participate?
A sample of third year undergraduate students (from all faculties) and student leaders is asked to participate in the survey. Students are not selected directly; rather a number of third year courses in each faculty were randomly chosen in the sampling process and all students taking that course are invited to participate. Participating in the survey means filling in the questionnaire. This happens either during a lecture or a tutorial or, in some cases, during a special session organized outside of teaching time for a period of time not more than 20 minutes.
Participation in this survey is voluntary and privacy and anonymity are guaranteed. Those who participate in the survey do so anonymously, as the information obtained is only used in aggregate form and no individual student can be personally identified through the survey.

What will the data collected by means of the survey be used for?
The data collected will be used for academic purposes only and it will also be made available to organizations who conduct research on students' attitudes towards support for democracy.

Where can I get more information, complain or follow-up on the results?
Supervisors;
Dr Nico Cloete. By phone: +27 21 7637100 and email: ncloete@chet.org.za.
Dr Thierry Luescher. By phone: +27 83 350 5959 and email: thierryluescher@hotmail.com.
Student Researcher; Mr Lucky Kgosithebe. By phone. +2675442995, cell. +26771685617
Email; baggiolucky@yahoo.com

Questionnaire

Instructions
→ *Please read carefully and answer all questions.*
→ *Circle the answer which is the **best match** to your current view, e.g.* (Yes) ; (3) *or write your answer in the space provided.*
→ *If you make a **mistake**, please **cross out the wrong** and circle the better answer, e.g.* (X) → (10)
→ *Unless it is specified otherwise, circle only one answer per question.*

Section A: Some Facts about Yourself

To start out we would like to ask a few questions about your personal and academic background, and your interest in politics and government.

Respondent no.	
Institutional code	
Course code	

A1. Please provide your academic and personal background information		
a. Faculty of study	Please write here:	
b. Degree and programme of study		
c. Year of Study (1st year, 2nd year…?)		
d. I am mainly/fully funded by: (choose one)	Government (no pay-back)	1
	Government (some pay-back required)	2
	The university (no pay-back)	3
	The university (some pay-back required)	4
	Private scholarship/bursary	5
	Family/personal funds	6
	Bank /study loan	7
	Other (please specify):…..	8
	Don't know	999

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

e. Gender	Male 1	Female 2
f. Age (in Years)		
g. Place of origin (before joining the institution)	Rural 1	Urban 2
h. Nationality	Please write here:	
i. Parents' Occupation	A. 1. Self employed 2. private company 3.government 4. parastatal 5.retired 6.other (please state) _____	
j. Parents' level of Education	B 1. Primary education 2.secondary education 3. vocational education 4. tertiary education 5. none	

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

A2. Please indicate your <u>current</u> and <u>former</u> student leadership positions <u>at university level</u>.

	Yes	No
a. Are you currently a student leader in your university?	0	1
b. Were you previously a student leader or student representative at university?	0	1

A3. Please circle <u>all</u> the student leadership positions you are <u>currently</u> holding and have <u>previously</u> held at university level: *(Circle **<u>all</u>** the applicable positions.)*	
Class representative	0
Student leader/representative in the faculty (e.g. Faculty committee)	1
Student leader/representative in a student residence (e.g. hostel Committee)	2
Member of the Student Assembly	3
Member of the Students' Representative Council (SRC)	4
Student representative in Senate	5
Student representative in Council	6
Student representative in another University body (e.g. Student Affairs Committee)	7
Editor of a Student Publication	8
Other (please specify):	9

A4. Do you have any religious affiliation? *(Please only circle one).*	
CHRISTIAN GROUP/DENOMINATION	
a. Roman Catholic, Orthodox,	0
b. Mainstream Protestant (Reformed, Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist, , Baptist)	1
c. Other Protestant (e.g. Evangelical/Pentecostal, Born Again)	2
d. Others (Jehovah's Witness, 7th Day Adventist,) Please specify:	3
e. Christian only (without specific denomination)	4
MUSLIM GROUP/DENOMINATION	
e. Sunni	5
f. Shia	6
d. Muslim only (without specific subgroup)	7
OTHER GROUPS	
g. Traditional African Religion/Ethnic Religion	8
h. Hindu	9
i. Jewish	10
i. Other religion (please specify):	11
j. Agnostic (don't know if there is a god)	12
k. Atheist (don't believe in god)	13
l. Don't know	999

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

A8. How often do you get news from the following source?						
	Everyday	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know
A. Radio	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. TV	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Newspaper (including student newspaper)	4	3	2	1	0	9
D. Internet (Online News)	4	3	2	1	0	9

A9. How interested are you in public affairs (especially in politics and government)?	
Very interested	3
Somewhat interested	2
Not very interested	1
Not interested at all	0
Don't know	9

A10. When you get together with fellow students, friends or family, do you discuss political matters?	
Frequently	2
Occasionally	1
Never	0
Don't know	9

A11. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you approve of the following alternative?						
	Strongly approve	Approve	Neither approve nor disapprove	Dis-approve	Strongly dis-approve	Don't know
A. Only one party is allowed to stand for election and hold office	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. The army comes in to govern the country	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Elections and parliament are abolished so that the president can decide everything	4	3	2	1	0	9

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

A12. What do you understand by the word "democracy"? Please provide up to three different ways in which you understand "democracy".
(a) _____
(b) _____
(c) _____

A13. How important is religion to your life?	
Not at all important	0
Not very important	1
Somewhat important	2
Very important	3
Can't tell	8
Don't know	9

A14. How important is your ethnic group / language group in your life?	
Not at all important	0
Not very important	1
Somewhat important	2
Very important	3
Can't tell	8
Don't know	9

Section B: Your Involvement in Student Politics

In this section, we would like to ask you about your views on student politics, your participation in student politics on campus and your assessment of student representation in the university's decision-making processes.

B1. Do you feel close to the SRC?	
Yes, I feel close.	1
No, I don't feel close	0
Cannot tell	8
Don't know	9

B2. Are you involved in any of the following? (in what capacity?)					
	Official leader	Active member	Inactive member	Not a member	Don't know
A. Student political organisation (e.g.UBCD, BNF Mass, BDP GS 26) *please specify*: _____	3	2	1	0	9
B. Non-political student associations (e.g. sport club, religious society, academic, professional)	3	2	1	0	9

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

B3. Have you been involved in any of the following activities in the past year? *If not, would you do this, if you had a chance?*						
	YES, I did that			**NO**		Don't know
	Often	Several times	Once or twice	But I would probably if had a chance	I would never do this	
A. Attended a political meeting of students (e.g. a mass meeting)	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Contacted a senior university official (e.g. Vice-Chancellor) to raise an important issue or submit a complaint	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Wrote a letter to a student paper or make a pamphlet to protest about an issue	4	3	2	1	0	9
D. Joined others in a student demonstration or attended a protest march	4	3	2	1	0	9

B4. Can you tell me the name of:				
	Please write here:	Don't know	Know but Can't Remember	
A. The President of the SRC?	Name:	0	1	
B. The Vice-Chancellor?	Name:	0	1	
C. The Director/ Dean of Student Affairs at this institution?	Name:	0	1	

B5. Do you happen to know:				
	Please write here:	Don't know	Know but Can't Remember	
A. Which university body holds the Vice-Chancellor accountable?	Name of Body:	0	1	
B. Who (which group of members) constitutes the main membership of the University's Senate?	Name:	0	1	
C. Which body appoints students as representatives to the University Council and the University Senate?	Name of Body:	0	1	

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

B6. With regard to the last SRC elections (2009), which statement is true for you?	
There was no election	0
I voted in the election	1
I decided not to vote	2
I could not find a polling station	3
I was prevented from voting	4
I did not have time to vote	5
Did not vote for some other reason	6
Don't know/ can't remember	9

B7. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last SRC election? Was it…:	
Completely free and fair	3
Free and fair, but with minor problems	2
Free and fair, with major problems	1
Not free and fair	0
Do not understand the question	8
Don't know	9

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Section C: Your Views on Student Representation and University Governance

In this section, we would like to ask you to ask question about the university community, your assessment of the performance of those entrusted with taking decisions and your preferences for the way the university should be run.

C6. There are many ways to govern a university. Would you agree or disagree of the following alternatives (or models) for running a university?						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither approve nor disagree	Dis-agree	Strongly dis-agree	Don't know
A. The management runs the University operating on corporate business principles	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. National government makes all decisions in the university in the national interest.	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Students have the predominant voice and run the university responsive to student interests.	4	3	2	1	0	9
D. Professors decide without interference from others based on intellectual criteria.	4	3	2	1	0	9

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

C7. If you had to choose one, which of the following should be the most important for the University?							
	Provide me with the qualification to get a good job	Maintain the highest inter-national standards	Offer a wide variety of sport and social activities	Open the doors to anybody who wants to learn	Contribute to national develop-ment	Non e of them	Don' t kno w
A. Most important?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Second most important?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Least/not at all important?	0	1	2	3	4	5	9

C9. What do you think is the purpose of a university and the role of different groups in its decision-making? Do you agree or disagree with the following statements as alternative models?						
	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Dis-agree	Disagree strongly	Don't know
A. The university is first and foremost an academic facility and learning community made up of teachers and students.	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Students lack the competence to make decisions that concern the university. They must concentrate on their studies.	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Professors should be the main decision-makers in the university because they have the most expertise.	4	3	2	1	0	9
D. The university's main purpose is national development.	4	3	2	1	0	9
E. The university is such an important national resource that national government must take the decisions affecting the university.	4	3	2	1	0	9
F. Student representation in university decision-making is really only training students in leadership skills.	4	3	2	1	0	9
G. A university is like any community where people live and work together; it should be governed democratically.	4	3	2	1	0	9
H. Students should have the same rights and powers to participate in university decision-making like all other university members.	4	3	2	1	0	9
I. If students disagree with it, the university should not be able to implement a decision.	4	3	2	1	0	9
J. The university is first and foremost a service provider. Courses and degrees are its products. To be financially viable it must be run like a private business.	4	3	2	1	0	9
K. Students are like clients of the university. They must pay for their education and in turn have the right to complain when they don't get the best value for money.	4	3	2	1	0	9
L. University management (e.g. the Vice-Chancellor) must run the University like a business. Management must fire professors who are not profitable.	4	3	2	1	0	9

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Section D: Your Interest and Involvement in National Politics

More than half the way already. We now turn to general questions about governance and more specific ones about politics in Botswana including questions about your interest and involvement in national politics.

D1. Have you been involved in any of the following activities in the past year? *If not, would you do this if you had a chance?*						
	YES, I was involved			**NO**		
	Often	Several times	Once or twice	But I would probably if had a chance	I would never do this	Don't know
A. Attended a political gathering/meeting	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Contacted a government official to raise an issue or make a complaint	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Write a letter to a local/national newspaper about an issue	4	3	2	1	0	9
D. Attended a demonstration or protest march	4	3	2	1	0	9

D2. Do you feel close to any particular political party?	
No, I do not feel close to any party	0
Yes, I feel close to a party (please specify: _____)	1
Cannot tell	8
Don't know	9

D3. Are you personally involved in any of the following? In what capacity?					
	Official leader	Active member	Inactive member	Not a member	Don't know
A. A political party off campus (e.g. BNF, BDP, BCP) (Please specify: _____)	3	2	1	0	9
B. A religious group (e.g. church, mosque) off campus	3	2	1	0	9
C. Other voluntary association, sport club or community group off campus	3	2	1	0	9

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

D4. With regard to the last national general election (2009), which statement is true for you?	
I was too young to vote	0
I voted in the election	1
I decided not to vote	2
I could not find a polling station	3
I was prevented from voting	4
I did not have time to vote	5
I did not vote for some other reason	6
Don't know/ can't remember	9

D5. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national general election (2009)?	
Completely free and fair	3
Free and fair, but with minor problems	2
Free and fair, with major problems	1
Not free and fair	0
Do not understand the question	8
Don't know	9

D7. In this country, how free are you…					
	Not at all free	Not very free	Somewhat free	Completely free	Don't know
A. To say what you want?	0	1	2	3	9
B. To join any political organisation you want?	0	1	2	3	9
C. To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?	0	1	2	3	9

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

D 8. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?	
Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government	2
In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable	1
For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have	0
Don't know	9

D 9. Can you tell me the name of:				
	Please write here:	Don't know	Know but can't remember	
A. The President of Botswana	Name:	0	1	
B. Your Member of Parliament	Name:	0	1	
C. The Minister of Finance	Name:	0	1	

D10. Do you happen to know:				
	Please write here:	Don't know	Know but Can't Remember	
A. Which political party has the most seats in Parliament?	Name of political party:	0	1	
B. How many terms can a person constitutionally hold office as President?	Write number of terms:	0	1	
C. Whose responsibility is it to determine whether or not a law is constitutional?	Name of body:	0	1	

D11. In order to call a country a 'democracy', please tell me which ones of the following features below do you think is essential or not important at all?					
	Absolutely essential	Somewhat Important	Not very important	Not at all important	Don't know
A. Majority rule	3	2	1	0	9
B. Complete freedom for anyone to criticise the government	3	2	1	0	9
C. Regular elections	3	2	1	0	9
D. At least two political parties competing with each other	3	2	1	0	9
E. Basic necessities like shelter, food and water for everyone	3	2	1	0	9
F. Jobs for everyone	3	2	1	0	9
G. Equality in education	3	2	1	0	9
H. A small income gap between rich and poor	3	2	1	0	9

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Section E: Your Views and Assessment of Politics and Government in Botswana

In this section we would like to ask you some general questions about your views on politics and government in Botswana.

E1. If you had to choose, which of the following things should be a government priority in your country?						
	Maintaining order in the nation	Giving people more say in government decision	Protecting people's right to live freely	Improving economic conditions for the poor	None of these	Don't know
A. Most important?	0	1	2	3	4	9
B. Second most important?	0	1	2	3	4	9
C. Least/not at all important?	0	1	2	3	4	9

E2. In your opinion how much of a democracy is Botswana today?	
A full democracy	3
A democracy, but with minor problems	2
A democracy with major problems	1
Not a democracy	0
Do not understand question/do not understand what 'democracy' is	8
Don't know	9

E3. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Botswana? Are you…	
Very satisfied	4
Fairly satisfied	3
Not very satisfied	2
Not at all satisfied	1
Country is not a democracy	0
Don't know	9

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

E4. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? *Do you agree/disagree strongly?*						
	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Dis-agree	Disagree strongly	Don't know
G. Government should be able to ban any organisation that goes against its views.	4	3	2	1	0	9
H. People should be able to start and join any organisation they like, whether the government approves it or not.	4	3	2	1	0	9
I. Government should be able to close newspapers that print stories it does not like.	4	3	2	1	0	9
J. The news media should be free to publish any story that they see fit without fear of being shut down.	4	3	2	1	0	9
K. Government should <u>not</u> allow the expression of political views that are fundamentally different from the views of the majority.	4	3	2	1	0	9
L. People should be able to speak their minds about politics free of government influence, no matter how unpopular or extreme their views may be.	4	3	2	1	0	9

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

E10. Think about how elections work in practice in Botswana. How well do elections:					
	Very well	Well	Not very well	Not well at all	Don't Know
A. Ensure that the members of parliament reflect the views of voters.	3	2	1	0	9
B. Enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want.	3	2	1	0	9

End. Thank you for participating in this survey! We hope you enjoyed it.

Appendix 2: Concept Map

The University of the Western Cape

Faculty of Education, Bellville, Cape Town, South Africa

HIGHER EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY IN BOTSWANA:

Attitudes of students and student leaders towards democracy

Conceptual Map to the Survey Questionnaire

Lucky Kgosithebe (2010)[i]

Topic	Conceptual Family	Concept	Item in Student Governance Questionnaire
Attitudes towards Democracy	**Understanding Democracy**	**SL/NL-Definition of democracy**	A 12a. Own Conception of 'democracy'
			A 12b. Own Conception of 'democracy'
			A 12c. Own Conception of 'democracy'
		NL-Essential features of democracy	D 11a. Majority rule
			D 11b. Complete freedom to criticise the government
			D 11c. Regular elections
			D 11d. At least two political parties competing with each other
			D 11e. Basic necessities like shelter, food and water for everyone
			D 11f. Jobs for everyone
			D 11g. Equality in education
			D 11h. A small income gap between rich and poor
	Demand for Democracy	**SL-Support for student representation**	C 8a&b. Voice in appointing academics/management vs. respect for authority **[also in SGT]**
			C 8c&d. Representation in Council/Senate/committees vs. tokenism **[also in SGT]**
		NL-Support for democracy	D 8. Support for democracy

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Topic	Conceptual Family	Concept	Item in Student Governance Questionnaire
			E 5a&b. Choose leaders through elections vs. other methods
			E 5c&d Multi-party system vs. many parties create confusion
		SL-Reject non-representative university governance	C 6a. Reject managerialism **[also in SGT]**
			C 6b. Reject state control **[also in SGT]**
			C 6c. Reject student control (student university) **[also in SGT]**
			C 6d. Reject professorial rule **[also in SGT]**
		NL-Reject authoritarianism	A 11a. Reject one party rule
			A 11b. Reject military rule
			A 11c. Reject presidential dictatorship
	Supply of Democracy	**SL-Performance of student representation**	B 7. Freeness and fairness of recent student election
		NL-Performance of democracy	D 5. Freeness and fairness of recent national election
			E 2. Extent of democracy
			E 3. Satisfaction with democracy
Attitudes to Civil Society	**Civil Society Org's Attitudes**	**SL-Associational membership**	B 2b. Member of non-political student org/club/society
			A 3. (choice 9) Editor of a student publication
		NL-Associational membership	D 3b. Member of a religious org off campus
			D 3c. Member of other org/club/society off campus
		SL- Party identification/member	B 1. Identifies with student political organisation
			B 2a. Member of student political organisation

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Topic	Conceptual Family	Concept	Item in Student Governance Questionnaire
		NL-Party identification/member	D 2. Identifies with a political party
			D 3a. Member of a political party
Attitudes to Citizenship	**Identity**	**Social Identity**	E 4c&d. Leaders should not favour own group vs. favour
			A 13. Importance of Religion (Religiosity)
			A 14. Importance of Ethnic Group (Tribalism)
	Cognitive Awareness	**SL/NL-Cognitive Engagement**	A 9. Interest in public affairs in general
			A 10. Discuss politics in general
		SL/NL-Media use	A 8a. Radio
			A 8b. TV
			A 8c. Newspaper (incl. student papers)
			A 8d. Internet (online news)
		SL-Political Awareness - Incumbents	B 4a. Know President of Student Union/SRC
			B 4b. Know Vice-Chancellor
			B 4c. Know Dean of Students
		NL-Political Awareness - Incumbents	D 9a. Know the President of the Republic
			D 9b. Know Member of Parliament
			D 9c. Know the Minister of Finance of the Republic
		SL-Political Awareness - Institutions	B 5a. Know highest governing body (Council)
			B 5b. Know Senate composition
			B 5c. Know SRC representative role
		NL- Political Awareness - Institutions	D 10a. Know political party with most seats in parliament
			D 10b. Know presidential term limitation

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Topic	Conceptual Family	Concept	Item in Student Governance Questionnaire
			D 10c. Know role of courts
		SL/NL-Awareness of 'democracy'	A 12. Able to supply definitions of 'democracy' **[also in Attitudes towards Democracy]**
		NL-Clientelism	E 4a&b. Question actions of leaders vs. respect for authority **[also in Accountability]**
			E 4c&d. Leaders should not favour own group vs. favour **[also in Attitudes to Citizenship – Social Identity]**
			E 4e&f. Govt like parent vs. People should be the bossses
			E 5i Students as emerging patrons
	Political Participation	**SL-Political leadership positions**	A 2a. Current student leadership involvement
			A 2b. Previous student leadership involvement
			A 2c. Stood as a candidate for a student leadership position
			A 3. Current and previous student leadership positions held
		SL-Electoral	B 6. Voted in last student election
		NL-Electoral	D 4. Voted in the last national election
		SL-Communing / Contacting	B 3a. Attended a political meeting of students
			B 3b Contacted a senior university official to raise an issue / complain
			B 3c. Wrote a letter to a student paper/pamphlet
			B 3d. Attended a student demonstration/protest march
		NL-Communing / Contacting	D 1a. Attended a political gathering/meeting
			D 1b. Contacted a government official to raise an issue / complain
			D 1c. Wrote a letter to a local/national newspaper
			D 1d. Attended a demonstration/protest march
Freedoms and Rights	**Demand for Rights**		

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Topic	Conceptual Family	Concept	Item in Student Governance Questionnaire
		NL-Freedom of Association	E 4g&h. Right to start and join organisation regardless of govt approval
		NL-Freedom of Press	E 4i&j. Right of press to publish without fear of closure
		NL-Freedom of Speech	E 4k&l. Right to express views unpopular with government
	Supply of Rights		
		NL-Freedom of Association	D 7b. To join any political organisation you want?
		NL-Freedom of Speech	D 7a. To say what you want?
		NL-Freedom to vote w/out pressure	D 7c. To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?
Accountability	**Demand for Accountability**	**SL-Citizen Responsibilities**	C 5a. Responsibility for ensuring student leaders do their job?
			C 5b. Responsibility for ensuring academics do their job?
			C 5c. Responsibility for ensuring top managers do their job?
	Supply of Accountability	**NL-Electoral System**	E 10b. Electoral system enables voters to remove unresponsive leaders
Responsiveness	**Demand for Responsiveness**	**SL-Policy Demands**	C 7a. Most important University priority
			C 7b. Second most important University priority
			C 7c. Least important University priority
		NL-Policy Demands	E 1a. Most important national priority
			E 1b. Second most important national priority
			E 1c. Least important national priority

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Topic	Conceptual Family	Concept	Item in Student Governance Questionnaire
		NL-Electoral System	E 10a. Electoral system ensures that National Assembly reflects voters.
Propositions on Student Governance (SGT)	**University 'Visions'**	**Market-Based University**	C 6a. Support for managerial rule/business practices **[also in Attitudes to Demo]**
			C 9j. University as service provider/private business
			C 9k. Students are paying clients/may demand value4money
			C 9l. Top management runs the University & can fire professors.
		Prestigious National University	C 6b. Support for state control/national interest **[also in Attitudes to Demo]**
			C 9d. University as tool for national development
			C 9e. Government must take decisions
			C 9f. Students representation as leadership training
		Student University	C 6c. Support for student rule/student democracy **[also in Attitudes to Demo]**
			C 9g. University as democratic community
			C 9h. Students must have equal rights to decide
			C 9i. Students must have veto
		Community of Scholars	C 6d. Support for professorial rule **[also in Attitudes to Demo]**
			C 9a. University as academic community
			C 9b. Students lack competence; must study
			C 9c. Professorial rule; academic expertise-based authority
Demographics of Respondent		**Academic faculty**	A 1a. Faculty of study
		Academic programme	A 1b. Degree and programme of study

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Topic	Conceptual Family	Concept	Item in Student Governance Questionnaire
		Academic year of study	A 1c. Number of years at university
		Financial status	A 1d. Main source of financial support for studies
		Gender	A 1e. Gender
		Age	A 1f. Age (in Years)
		Place of Origin	A 1g. Place of origin (before joining the institution)
		Nationality	A 1h. Nationality
		Ethnicity	A 1i. Home Language / Ethnic Group
		Race	A 1j. 'Racial group' (if applicable)
		Religion	A 4a-m Religious group affiliation
		Religiosity	A 12. Importance of religion
		Tribalism/Racialism	A 13. Importance of ethnicity/language group
		Parents' Occupation	A. Means of income for the family
		Parents' level of Education	A. parent's Value of education

[1] Lucky Kgosithebe (2010) adapted from Luescher (2009) which itself was an adaptation of the Conceptual Map of Round 3 Afrobarometer.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Appendix 3: Consent Form

CONSENT FORM
- I agree to participate in this research project. - I noted the information on the project and had an opportunity to ask questions about it. - I agree to my responses being used for research purposes on condition that my privacy is respected. - I understand that my personal details will be used in aggregate form only so that I will not be personally identifiable. - I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project and that I have the right to withdraw at any stage.
_X_____ Signature of Participant & Date

_____

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE