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Political and Social Participation among Namibia's Youth

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The IPPR Youth and Politics Survey 2000 explored the extent to which young Namibians are active in social and political life. In this paper, we search for a better understanding of who does what with regard to political and civic activity. Cluster analysis is used to identify clusters (or groups) of young Namibians that engage in social and political activity in similar ways and to similar degrees across three dimensions of participation: attendance of civic meetings and events, attendance of political meetings and events, and participation in acts of protest. Based on these three dimensions we identify four types of participants: potential protesters, social participants, political participants and those that are lethargic or inactive. The final section of the paper describes the composition of each of these clusters by means of biographical and attitudinal variables. It concludes that the absence of the youth (especially those better-off living in urban areas) from political activities hold serious implications for the consolidation of democracy.

1. Introduction

The IPPR in collaboration with Research Facilitation Services (RFS) conducted a sample-based household survey among Namibians aged 18 to 32 years. All interviews (a total of 1200) were conducted at the respondents' place of residence as face-to-face interviews. The sample was stratified by region, gender and area of residence (urban/rural). Included in the final analysis were 1199 cases.

This Briefing Paper reports on the sections of the survey that deals with political and social participation. In a previous paper¹, we looked at trends in the variables² that comprise social and political participation and explained the degree to which variance occurs across these variables. In this paper we dig deeper. Using a statistical technique called Cluster Analysis³ we seek to explore the degree to which clusters or groups of young Namibians conform and differ in their patterns of participation. The focus here is on the classification of cases (and not variables). Once we have determined what kinds of participation takes place, we seek to identify who does what. Thus, we classify young Namibians (cases) and not participation (variables).

2. Why should the youth participate?

Young citizens that are active in politics are good for democracy (IDEA 1999:13-14). Firstly, if more young people vote the overall level of voter turnout is likely to be higher. In Namibia, the youth is the largest group (as a percentage of eligible voters) and if turnout amongst this group is

low it is likely to depress the overall turnout. Secondly, the youth may have political interests that are different from those of other groups in the country and if they do not participate these interests will not be represented. Thirdly, it is important that the youth should get into the habit of voting at an early age. It is part of their socialisation as citizens in a democracy and they should gain experience with the institutions and processes of a democracy. Fourthly, if the youth does not participate they have less chance to exercise political influence.

3. Participation

In order to use Cluster Analysis, we first had to determine the dimensions of participation. For this we used Factor Analysis⁴. The questions in Table 1 were entered into the Factor Analysis:

Table 1: Variables for Factor Analysis

VARIABLE	SCALE
Frequency of Political Participation*	4-point
Frequency of Political Discussions**	3-Point
Interest in Public Affairs***	4-Point
Protest ****	5-Point
Most likely action to defend democracy*****	4-point

* In the past year, did you attend any of the following ___ and how often?

**When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters .../

*** Some people seems to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs ___

**** Here are a number of different actions people might take if government were to do something they though was wrong or harmful. For each of these, please tell me whether you have engaged in this activity or not.

***** If any of the above (q47-q50) had to happen and therefore democracy was threatened, what would you do to defend it?

Of the five variables entered into the Factor Analysis, three proved not suitable for analysis.⁵ They were: frequency of political discussions, interest in public affairs and most likely action to defend democracy. Thus, our analysis is henceforth based on the remaining two variables. The Factor Analysis identified three dimensions of participation. These are presented, with the respective factor scores, in Table 2.

Table 2: Three dimensions of participation

	FACTOR		
	1	2	3
Meeting/event by political party		0,771	
Meeting/event by trade union		0,656	
Meeting/event by church			0,440
Meeting/event by community group		0,651	
Music/dance show			0,825
Play with actors			0,760
Meeting/event by family/friends			0,543
Meeting/event by Ministry		0,696	
Participation in demonstration/protest march	0,740		
Participate in boycott	0,840		
Participate in sit-ins, disruption govt. meeting/offices	0,805		
Using force, violent methods to protest	0,644		

Note: Factor loads < 0.5 are not included.



Factor 1: Protest

There are different forms of protest ranging from passive resistance to violent confrontation. Protest activities are different from other forms of political activities. These activities require relatively high-cost actions to obtain specific political goals. All five variables load strongly on this factor showing that they constitute the same dimension of participation, i.e. protest. Protest of this kind is legal and constitutional in Namibia with the exception of the last type (using force or violent methods to protest). Protest is different from other types of participation in at least three ways. Firstly, the costs (and risks) associated with protest are higher than for most other types of participation. Secondly, protest suggests a deeper involvement with the issue at hand. It requires stronger feelings and in some instances a real sense of deprivation. It is commonly associated with greater levels of dissatisfaction and commitment. Thirdly, protest is perhaps the most dramatic and visible form of participation. It is often done with and on behalf of others and includes such activities as sit-ins, marches and occupation of buildings and offices. Violence or some degree of physical confrontation is not excluded.

Factor 2: Political Participation

The concept of political participation is used to describe a wide range of activities in the public sphere. It ranges from attending meetings with a public and political agenda to writing letters with political content to the print media. Activities are undertaken for a variety of purposes: to gather information, to influence policy, to elect public representatives and to influence the opinions of others. It is different, albeit in theory only, from social participation because of its purpose. It is motivated by and deliberately directed toward political objectives. It is different from protest in both method and intensity but not necessarily in goal.

Factor 3: Social Participation

Social participation describes a range of individual and group activities that are undertaken for social reasons. These include attending church meetings and services, music and theatre shows, family events and get-togethers with friends. These activities are undertaken for a variety of reasons ranging from entertainment to spiritual worship and including friendly get-togethers for no reason other than “having a good time” and meeting family commitments. It has no political or public agenda or purpose.

4. Clusters of participation

Cluster Analysis is used to establish whether or not there are similarities and/or differences among certain groups of respondents with regard to the three dimensions of participation. This type of analysis groups together cases as clusters that show common participation characteristics and allow the composing elements of these clusters to be analysed in a systematic manner.

For our purpose here, Cluster Analysis is used to determine how young Namibians group together around the three dimensions (factors) of participation. The three factors meet the conditions for a cluster analysis.⁶



For practical reasons 20% of respondents were chosen randomly from the total sample to form the basis from which clusters were identified.⁷ Once that was done, a follow-up Cluster Analysis was conducted with all 1 199 cases to confirm the validity of the initial clusters. All clusters were identified using the "Single Linkage" procedure as summary method. Based on the outcome of the analysis, four clusters were identified. The factor scores of the four clusters are presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Factor scores by cluster

FACTORS	CLUSTERS			
	1	2	3	4
Active Protest	2,31	-0,32	-0,16	-0,17
Political Participation	0,03	-0,40	-0,66	1,24
Social Participation	-0,14	-0,75	1,10	0,17

Note: Z-standardized Factor scores, Mean=0; St.Dev=1 for totally sample.

Once clusters are generated, the main task of the researcher is to interpret them. This has to be done firstly in a manner that systematically analyses the differences between the various clusters and secondly, do so in a manner that makes conceptual sense. Cluster analysis will be incomplete if it cannot be shown that the various clusters are conceptually different and that these differences have conceptual and analytical meaning.

At this point a caveat is in order. For the description and analysis of the clusters, it has to be kept in mind that the sample was merely stratified by region, area type and gender and not by home language, education level or household income. Accordingly, one must be careful with the interpretation since the sample is clearly not representative of all social and economic groups that comprise the total population of Namibians between 18 and 32 years of age. Therefore, one cannot use inference statistics (i.e. one cannot draw direct, statistically sophisticated conclusions from the answers of the sample to the total population). We can, however, indicate and highlight trends that add to our understanding of the issue at hand. Therefore, the following statements about under- and over-representation are meant to indicate trends. If Group A is over-represented in Cluster X, it does not mean that all members of Group A are in Cluster X, nor does it mean that all members of Cluster X are necessarily members of Group A. It simply means that there are, on average, more members of Group A than Group B or Group C in Cluster X.

Our cluster analysis identified four clusters (see Table 3 above). Based on their factors scores on the three dimensions of participation we have identified the clusters to be:

- Cluster 1: The Protesters
- Cluster 2: The Apathetic
- Cluster 3: The Social Participants
- Cluster 4: The Political Participants

Approximately 10% of young Namibians or one-in-every-ten young Namibians are Protesters whilst approximately four-in-every-ten young Namibians (40%) are apathetic toward social and political participation; one-in-every-four (25%) participate socially; and a similar number (25%) engage in political activities. In the subsections that follow we analyze these clusters in more detail.



The Protesters

The Protesters are those young Namibians that have participated in protest activities in the near past. Although it is statistically possible that some of the political participants might also have undertaken protest activities this possibility is small enough for us to ignore them for this cluster. Thus protest activity is what makes the Protesters unique and different from all other young Namibians (Table 4 Row 1 below). Protesters do engage in other political activities but only slightly more than the average (0.03) (Table 4 Row 2). They are, however, less likely than the rest to engage in social activities. There are few Protesters among the Namibian youth – only about 10% (9.1%) of the total sample and as such it is the smallest of all four clusters.

Table 4: The Protesters

FACTOR	CLUSTER SCORE	SAMPLE
Active Protest	2,31	0,0
Political Participation	0,03	0,0
Social Participation	-0,14	0,0

Who are the protesters? The first step toward answering this question is to look at the regional distribution of protesters. Table 5 below compares each region's share of Protesters against its share of the sample. For example, of the total sample 9% of respondents resided in the Caprivi region whilst in the Protester cluster 11.6% were from the Caprivi region. Therefore, this region is slightly over-represented. From the analysis it is clear that Caprivi, Kavango, Omusati and, to some degree, Oshana are over-represented in manner that could be regarded as statistically meaningful. These regions' contributions to the Protester cluster are above average. Erongo and Oshikoto have least Protesters and are under-represented.

Table 5: Protesters by Region

	PROTESTERS	TOTAL SAMPLE
Caprivi	11,6%	9,0%
Erongo	0,0%	9,0%
Hardap	8,4%	6,9%
Karas	6,3%	7,4%
Kavango	6,3%	2,8%
Khomas	13,7%	12,4%
Kunene	8,4%	5,3%
Ohangwena	4,2%	10,5%
Omaheke	6,3%	5,1%
Omusati	14,7%	9,3%
Oshana	9,5%	6,8%
Oshikoto	2,1%	8,8%
Otjozondjupa	8,4%	6,7%
	100,0%	100,0%

The main conclusion to be drawn from Table 5 is that none of the regions can be regarded as a 'breeding place' for protesters. All regions (except Erongo) have youth with protest potential



despite the fact that some regions have more of them than others. Furthermore, there seems to be no clear regional patterns as far as Protesters are concerned. Regions firmly under control of the ruling party (e.g. Oshikoto, Ohangwena, Omusati and Oshana) show no consistent pattern, and neither do those regions in which opposition parties enjoy substantial support (Erongo, Hardap, Kunene, Karas and Caprivi). Next we entered a number of socio-biographical variables to assess the impact of social structures on protest. The following findings were recorded:

- The impact of the rural/urban divide on Protest activity is insignificant (i.e. neither urban nor rural areas are more or less likely to host Protesters).
- Our analysis reveals a gender gap with regard to protest as form of participation. Most Protesters are male.
- Protesters are generally poorer than the rest. Their household income levels were generally the lowest of all the clusters. This was true for both rural and urban areas.
- Overall, Protesters are generally slightly less educated than the rest. This difference in schooling is very small and most probably insignificant compared to the difference in income. However, if we control for the influence of the rural/urban divide an interesting pattern is revealed. In urban areas, Protesters are better educated than the rest whereas in rural areas their education level is below average. This would suggest that economic deprivation and not the level of education is the primary motivation at work among the Protesters. In fact, one would be able to argue that economic deprivation over-rides the impact of education.

The Apathetic

One often hears complaints about the apathetic nature of the Namibian youth. Although some studies have presented evidence to this effect⁸, none compared the youth with older age groups to contextualise and/or confirm this argument. We cannot address the validity of this argument here since our data represents the youth only. What we can do here, however, is determine the relative size of the group or cluster that can be considered apathetic.

Table 6 shows that the defining characteristic of apathetic cluster is their lack of activity on all three dimensions of participation. This is evident from their negative scores (i.e. below average scores) on all three dimensions.

Table 6: The Apathetics

FACTOR	APATHETICS	TOTAL SAMPLE
Active Protest	-0,32	0,0
Political Participation	-0,40	0,0
Social Participation	-0,75	0,0

This is by far the biggest cluster of the four under discussion here. Some 40% of respondents belong to this cluster, which suggest that almost four-in-every-ten young Namibians can be classified as apathetic. This lends further (incomplete) support for the general assumption that the Namibian youth has withdrawn from political life after independence.⁹



Who are the Apathetics? Table 7 shows the distribution of members of this cluster by region.

Table 7: Apathetics by Region

	APATHETICS	TOTAL SAMPLE
Caprivi	12,8%	9,0%
Erongo	5,2%	9,0%
Hardap	4,5%	6,9%
Karas	6,9%	7,4%
Kavango	1,2%	2,8%
Khomas	11,2%	12,4%
Kunene	5,5%	5,3%
Ohangwena	17,8%	10,5%
Omaheke	5,7%	5,1%
Omusati	7,6%	9,3%
Oshana	2,6%	6,8%
Oshikoto	13,3%	8,8%
Otjozondjupa	5,7%	6,7%
	100,0%	100,0%

The regions of Ohangwena and Oshikoto are most over-represented in this cluster. Together with Caprivi, these two regions are host to the largest concentration of apathetic youth. All other regions with the exception of Omaheke are on par or under-represented. There are, hence, no real regional patterns of inactivity.

Our analysis of this cluster revealed the following socio-biographical patterns:

- There is more apathy in rural areas than in urban areas.
- There is no real significant gender gap, suggesting that apathy is equally distributed across the two genders.
- Education levels account in no meaningful way for membership of this cluster.
- Household income for members of this group is slightly lower than for the rest, but this is unlikely to have any real significant influence.

Apathy cuts across all social divisions and is in no meaningful way connected to or influenced by any of these dividers (or cleavages). Thus, we would argue apathy exists extensively and apart from the influence of social structures. It is, therefore, difficult to explain the reasons and sources of apathy by means of socio-biographical variables. At this point we cannot explain apathy by simply looking at who people are, where they live and under what conditions. All we can say is that apathy is widespread across the country and that no section of the youth is excluded from it.



Social Participants

Social participants engage actively in those activities that have social purpose and value. These activities have no political agenda and include activities such as church meetings, music and theatre shows, family gatherings and events with friends. Approximately one-in-every-four (25%) young Namibians are social participants. Table 8 shows that social participants are not inclined to protest or engage in political participation. Thus, the Social Participants are not active in the political sphere, and as such, there is little difference between them and the Apathetics (except for their level of social engagement).

Table 8: Social Participants

FACTOR	SOCIAL PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL SAMPLE
Active Protest	-0,16	0,0
Political Participation	-0,66	0,0
Social Participation	1,10	0,0

Table 9 contains the regional breakdown of social participation. The regions of Caprivi and Ohangwena are most under-represented (i.e. their average scores are lower than that of the sample). Erongo, Hardap, Karas and Khomas are regions that are over-represented.

Table 9: Social Participants by Region

	SOCIAL PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL SAMPLE
Caprivi	1,6%	9,0%
Erongo	19,8%	9,0%
Hardap	12,1%	6,9%
Karas	11,7%	7,4%
Kavango	3,5%	2,8%
Khomas	16,0%	12,4%
Kunene	5,4%	5,3%
Ohangwena	1,2%	10,5%
Omaheke	5,4%	5,1%
Omusati	5,1%	9,3%
Oshana	4,3%	6,8%
Oshikoto	5,8%	8,8%
Otjozondjupa	8,2%	6,7%
	100,0%	100,0%

The differences between urban and rural areas are striking (Table 10). Urban areas are significantly over-represented and rural area significantly under-represented. This means that most Social Participants reside in urban areas.

Table 10: Social Participants by urban/rural areas

	SOCIAL PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL SAMPLE
Urban	55,6%	36,3%
Rural	44,4%	63,7%
	100,0%	100,0%

It is hardly surprising that most Social Participants are urban dwellers since urban areas offer most (albeit not exclusive) opportunities for these activities. This raises the question as to whether or not the variance in social activity among the regions can be explained by residents' urban or rural residence within that region. When area type was introduced as control variable, Khomas region's over-representation disappeared whereas Erongo remains highly over-represented in both rural and urban areas. Also, Karas and Hardap are over-represented in rural areas only; and Caprivi is under-represented in both urban and rural areas. These patterns are supported by the analysis of language groups: Oshiwambo speakers are under-represented in both urban and rural areas; Damara and Nama speakers are over-represented in rural areas. Afrikaans speakers are over-represented in both urban and rural areas.

Further analysis with socio-biographical variables shows that:

- Women are over-represented meaning that women are more active in social activities than men. Given that this group is unlikely to engage in political activity or protest, it renders some support for the general notion that women are less active in the political sphere (but more active in the social sphere) than men.
- The Social Participants have the highest household income both in urban and in rural areas. They are second in terms of education level in both rural and urban areas, and first if the average for the two area types are combined. This cluster also seems to have two components, of which the larger one is the urban population in general and the smaller one is the rural population of the southern regions. Both have a comparably high household income and high level of education in common.

The Social Participants are, hence, comparatively well-off and well-educated. They come mostly from urban areas and are more likely to be women. Together with the Apathetics, the Social Participants do not engage in political activity. Collectively these two clusters account for some 65% of the Youth, i.e. almost two-thirds of the overall youth population. The evidence presented here also suggests that the propensity for social participation increases with increased levels of income and education.

Political Participants

Political Participants engage in political activities and that is their distinguishing feature. Approximately one-in-every-four (25%) young Namibians form part of this cluster. In the previous three subsections we saw that none of the other three clusters really engage in activities other than what defines their cluster. Table 11 shows that Political Participants are slightly different. Political participants are also active in the social sphere although much less so than in the political sphere.



Table 11: Political Participants

FACTOR	POLITICAL PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL SAMPLE
Active Protest	-0,17	0,0
Political Participation	1,24	0,0
Social Participation	0,17	0,0

Table 12 shows that two regions are strongly over-represented in this cluster: Omusati and Oshana. Erongo, Hardap and Karas as well as Khomas, Kunene and Omaheke are under-represented. No clear pattern emerged from the analysis of the regions.

Table 12: Political Participants by Region

	POLITICAL PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL SAMPLE
Caprivi	9,3%	9,0%
Erongo	7,8%	9,0%
Hardap	5,2%	6,9%
Karas	4,5%	7,4%
Kavango	3,3%	2,8%
Khomas	10,4%	12,4%
Kunene	3,7%	5,3%
Ohangwena	10,0%	10,5%
Omaheke	3,3%	5,1%
Omusati	14,1%	9,3%
Oshana	14,9%	6,8%
Oshikoto	7,1%	8,8%
Otjozondjupa	6,3%	6,7%
	100,0%	100,0%

The patterns become clearer once area type is added to the analysis. Table 13 shows that the rural population is over-represented in this cluster. This shapes the regional distribution of the cluster. Kavango and Khomas as well as the two North-Central regions with urban areas – Oshana and Oshikoto - are over-represented in terms of urban areas, while Karas, Hardap, Omaheke and Otjozondjupa are under-represented, though one still has to be careful because of the relatively small numbers of cases for some regions. In terms of rural areas, Oshana is strikingly and Omusati slightly over-represented, with everything else being below average.

It seems urban political participants come from the two North-Central regions and from Khomas, and not from the South. The picture for the rural political participants is more difficult, but there also seems to be a trend towards the North-Central regions, which is actually supported by the findings from the language analysis.



Table 13: Political Participants by Area Type

	POLITICAL PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL SAMPLE
Urban	24,9%	36,3%
Rural	75,1%	63,7%
	100,0%	100,0%

Socio-biographical features of this cluster include:

- Men are slightly over-represented and women slightly under-represented. Although this would appear to support the notion that women are less active in politics than men, the differences between the sexes are too small to attach real significance to them.
- When we control for urban/rural area, the education level of Political Participants is similar to that of the Social Participants. Whatever differences exist between the two clusters' education level is likely to be a result of the Social Participant cluster having a larger urban component.
- In terms of household income, the Political Participants score below average in rural areas and just about average in urban areas. Overall, this cluster scores just below average on income.

5. Conclusion

This paper has analysed the way in which young Namibians cluster together with regard to social and political participation. By means of Factor Analysis we identified three dimensions of participation: political, social and protest. We then employed Cluster Analysis to group respondents around these three dimensions. The Cluster Analysis revealed four groups. These we then analysed according to their size and by means of their socio-biographical features.

We found that the four clusters are unequal in size. Only about 10% of young Namibians have high protest potential. Given the costs and risks involved in protest action one would not expect this cluster to be large. Protesters seem to be primarily driven by a sense of economic deprivation. Protesters come from all regions, both urban and rural areas and from the lower income groups. Other socio-biographical features do not have a significant impact on protest potential. There is thus no single social group or region that has significantly more or less protest potential than the rest. From this we conclude that protest potential is not dependent on ethnic or regional identity, gender or education level. This we regard as positive since it confirms that there is no sense or perception of deliberate systematic neglect or marginalisation of any region or group. We have also established that aside from protest, this cluster does not engage significantly in political or social activities.

The largest cluster consists of apathetic young Namibians. Approximately 40% of young Namibians do not engage in protest, social or political activities and hence do not contribute to the stock of social and political capital in the country. Compared with and relative to the other clusters, this one is large. Apathy occurs across Namibia and is not confined to any socio-biographical group or region. It is, however, difficult to give judgement on whether the size of this cluster is disproportionate by any international standards but we would argue that it nevertheless is cause for concern. For all practical purposes, this cluster does not participate in activities that contribute



to the general political good in the country, nor are they exposed to important agents of public and political socialisation. It is likely that this cluster has no or little interest in public affairs, has low levels of interest in matters political and they would be quite apathetic about the political system and regime. If members of this cluster do not change their behaviour as they become older (and we cannot predict that they will) it does not bode well for the consolidation of democracy in the country.

The third cluster consists of those individuals that engage in social activities. They have no real inclination to participate in protest or political activities. Approximately 25% of young Namibians belong to this cluster. If we group them together with the previous cluster on the basis that they do not engage in political activity, the extent of political apathy among the youth appears quite substantial. Together the two clusters comprise some 65% of the youth. Social Participants come predominantly from urban areas. This is quite ironic since urban areas are better endowed with political resources (e.g. information, media, organisational capacity etc.) than rural areas. Urban areas also provide more opportunities for political and social activity. Members of this cluster thus show a clear preference for the social over the political. It is not a case of not having access to political resources and opportunities. An additional cause of worry is the fact that it is better-educated and wealthier sections of the youth that prefer social over political activity. There is a gender-gap in this cluster: women are socially more active than men.

The remaining 25% of the youth engage primarily in political activity. Rural areas seem to be more politically active than urban areas. Urban areas, we showed above, are more socially active. This position we regard as ironic given the fact that rural areas provide less opportunity for political participation and are less well endowed with political resources. There is a slight and perhaps insignificant gender-gap in this cluster with men slightly more active than women. Political Participants share one feature with the Protesters; they are both at the lower end of the income scale.

Our analysis suggests that political participation among the youth is low although we do not have a clear yardstick against which to measure it. It is commonly accepted that high levels of political participation spread across a broad section of the population is good for democracy. Citizens that are politically active use the opportunities that democracy provides. Only when democracy is actively pursued will it have real meaning. Our evidence suggests young Namibians are rather indifferent about it all and, as such, they might be losing out on opportunities to exercise political influence and have their specific interests represented.

The fact that the wealthier, better educated, urban dwellers are more inclined to participate socially than politically is another reason for concern. It means that those with sufficient resources (financial and educational) to participate do not do so. Our data suggests that those resources might rather be used for social participation. This raises the potentially serious problem of an inactive middle-class. This is bad for democracy for at least two reasons. Firstly, democracy needs a strong, active middle class to provide political and economic stability. The reverse is also true: as the class that stand to lose most under non-democratic alternatives, the middle class needs democracy. Although the middle class needs democracy for a number of different reasons, it is the right to private property that is arguably their most important concern. Our data suggest that unless the young middle-class engages more frequently and with greater purpose in political activities, they might find their interests superseded by that of others. The second reason why apathy is bad for democracy is that apathy is bad for the development of the kind of civil society that makes democracy prosper. In many respects civil society is the domain of the urban middle class (in Africa at least) that seek to have their interests organised and presented from outside the



state. An inactive middle class will no doubt hamper or at least slow down the development of a vibrant civil society and that in turn will slow down the prospects for consolidated democracy.

¹ IPPR Briefing Paper No. 2, May 2001

² Variables are empirical properties that take two or more values (e.g. gender, support for democracy etc.). Variables can change in value (e.g. household income) or kind (e.g. gender).

³ Cluster analysis is an exploratory data analysis tool for solving classification problems. "Its object is to sort cases (people, things events etc.) into groups or clusters, so that the degree of association is strong between members of the same cluster and weak between members of different clusters. Each cluster thus describes, in terms of the data collected, the class to which its members belong; and this description may be abstracted through use from the particular to the general class or type (Clustan at www.clustan.com/what_is_cluster_analysis.html)

⁴ Factor analysis is "a statistical approach that is used to analyse interrelationships among a large number of variables and to explain these variables in terms of their common underlying dimensions (factors). It is a tool for data reduction because a large number of variables are classified into a smaller number of factors (Nachmias and Nachmias 1987:483).

⁵ A main component analysis with Varimax rotation was executed. The Anti-image covariance matrix revealed that the "most likely action to defend democracy" as well as "frequency of political discussion" and "interest in public affairs" showed the weakest KMO – criterion (each case scored <0.7) and were excluded from the Factor Analysis. All other variables scored > 0.7 and were included in the analysis. Each of the remaining variables proved significant (<0.01) on the Bartlett test on sphericity. According to Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin criterion (MSA) these variables are "middling" (MSA = 0.757; Backhaus, 1996, 206) and therefore are suitable for Factor Analysis. In the anti-image covariance matrix (AIC), approximately 18% of the non-diagonal elements are <0.09, which meets the level of less than 25% proposed by Dziuban and Shirkey. (Backhaus, 1996, 205). In the anti-image correlation matrix the diagonal values indicating the MSA criterion for each of the variables analysed, one of the variables scored between 0.6 and 0.7, which indicates a "mediocre" effect for factor analysis. However, because of good interpretation value of this variable it was decided to maintain it. All other variables showed MSA-scores above >0.7 or >0.8. The Eigen value criterion (Eigen value >1), suggested extracting three factors. They explain approximately 55% (54,84%) of the variance existing in the variables included.

⁶ The different factors constructed by the Factor Analysis are not correlated ($r=0.000$) and they are scale variables.

⁷ Given the fact that the sample size is 1199 cases and that hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis links cases from the finest partition (every case is a cluster) through a successive summary procedure that finally summarizes all cases in one cluster, it is simply not practical to conduct the procedure with 1199 cases. Therefore, a random sample selected from all cases is used simply because it is more manageable.

⁸ See for example Keulder 1998 (NDI report). Scott (1999) also hints at this.

⁹ To be fair, one has to say that this assumption cannot be tested because we have no pre-independence data on the levels of participation. What we have is a perception that the youth was more active simply because of their involvement in the various organisations that contributed to the liberation struggle. This would without doubt caused the youth's participation to be more visible but this does not mean that the youth was generally more politically active.

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