

**INVESTIGATING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PROTEST
POLITICS BETWEEN 1991 AND 2001**

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degree of Master of Arts (Political Management) at the University of
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STATEMENT

I, the undersigned hereby declare that the work contained in this assignment consists of my own original work, and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

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Signature

26 / 11 / 2003
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Date

Abstract

The involvement of women in both conventional and unconventional forms of political participation in South Africa has over the past 10 years, and often at present, been experienced as problematic and limited. Exacerbating the problem of limited access and information, the study of, and literature about, women's participation in unconventional forms of politics have also been limited. It is the aim of this study to contribute to our knowledge in this area.

This study investigates women's participation in unconventional politics between 1991 and 2001. This period is specifically important, as it makes possible the examination of trends in women's political participation before and after the democratic transition in 1994. This makes it possible for us to speculate about the influence of transition on women's political participation.

I propose and evaluate two main hypotheses in which I; firstly, expect women's participation in protest politics to decrease between 1991 and 2001, and secondly, expect to find women's levels of participation in protest to be consistently lower than that of their male counterparts. The complex set of variables influencing women's participation is evaluated according to the socialization and structural approaches, which offer different assumptions about the reasons for the trends in women's participation.

In conclusion, I offer the main findings of my research, as well as suggesting possible areas still to be investigated within the field, as deduced from the questions arising out of my analysis in this project.

Opsomming

Die betrokkenheid van vroue in beide konvensionele en onkonvensionele vorme van politieke deelname in Suid Afrika, was oor die laaste 10 jaar, en is steeds ervaar as problematies en beperk. Wat die probleem vererger, is die beperkte toegang tot informasie, die studie van, en literatuur oor, vroue se deelname in onkonvensionele vorme van politiek. Dit is in die strewe na die oorkoming van hierdie leemtes, dat hierdie werk aangepak word.

Hierdie werk ondersoek vroue se deelname in onkonvensionele politiek tussen 1991 en 2001. Hierdie periode is spesifiek belangrik, omdat dit die demokratiese transisie na 1994 insluit, en om neigings in vroulike deelname voor en na 1994 te bestudeer. Dit maak dit moontlik om oor die invloed van die transisie op vroue se politieke deelname te spekuleer.

Ek stel, en evalueer twee hoof hipoteses waarin ek; eerstens, verwag dat vroue se deelname in protes politiek sal verminder tussen 1991 en 2001, en tweedens, verwag ek om te vind dat vroue se vlakke van deelname in protes, deurentyd laer sal wees as die van mans. Die komplekse stel veranderlikes wat vroue se deelname beïnvloed, word ge-evalueer in terme van die sosialisering- en strukturele benaderings, wat verskillende voorstelle oor die motivering van die geobserveerde neigings in vroue se deelname oplewer.

Ten slotte, bied ek die hoof bevindinge van my navorsing aan, so wel as voorstelle ten opsigte van moontlike areas vir verder ondersoek binne die veld.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The involvement of women in both conventional and unconventional forms of political participation in South Africa has over the past 10 years, and often at present, been experienced as problematic and limited. Exacerbating the problem of limited access and information, the study of, and literature about, women's participation in unconventional forms of politics have also been severely limited. Gouws (in Fick et al, 2002: 117), states about this dearth of research that "little documented information on women as voters -much less as registrees- is available and this demonstrates how women in these roles remain unacknowledged within political processes".

Information, study and documentation of women involved in the political sphere, in any shape or form, especially unconventionally, remain scarce. In this respect we find that "not much is known about the political attitudes of South African women" (Gouws in Fick et al, 2002: 122), let alone their actions. It is then the aim of this study to contribute to our knowledge in this area.

As can later be seen in my problem statement, I endeavor to examine how exactly women's participation in protest politics has changed between 1991 and 2001. Specifically, I am interested in assessing if there has been an increase or decrease in their participation. As will be explained more comprehensively later in this work, I expect to find firstly; a decrease in women's participation over this ten year period, and secondly, I expect to find a consistently lower level of participation of women in protest politics in comparison to men. My problem statement is posed in the endeavor to find answers to the following questions; why do we find differences between different groups of women, and why is there a difference between men and women, in terms of their participation in protest politics?

Other questions fueling my investigation are; why do women find themselves involved in unconventional politics, rather than using the more conventional forms of political participation at their disposal? Why do they feel mobilized to participate politically by means of these particular types of activities? Should the societal

stereotypes of passivism¹ associated with women not prevent their interaction in unconventional politics? Also, in addition to this we will be investigating how women's participation in protest politics, differs from men's participation in the same type of activities, between 1991 and 2001.

In order to adequately discuss the issues related to women's political participation, we need to distinguish between what exactly is meant by 'conventional' and 'unconventional' political participation. Conventional political participation will, for the purposes of discussion and analysis in this study, "include behaviour such as voting, campaign activity, communal activity, and contacting officials on personal issues" (Gouws in Fick et al, 2002: 118). Therefore, those activities that over the years have been considered the correct and accepted ways in which to interact with the political system.

Unconventional participation in politics, on the other hand, involves participation in political processes such as; "protests, demonstrations, boycotts, political strikes, occupations, street blockades, etc" (Dalton, 1988: 67 in Kim, 2001: 3). Signing petitions, joining boycotts, attending lawful demonstrations, joining unofficial strikes and occupying buildings or factories have also been included as part of unconventional participation by other authors.² Therefore, unconventional activities are those less accepted by society as the correct ways in which to interact successfully and in a responsible manner with the political system, also often termed 'protest politics'.

In this study we look at specific variables examining the above-mentioned processes or activities, to ascertain in which way the participation of women has been affected over the period ranging from 1991-2001. We will be using data collected by the World Values Survey (WVS), which is a study assessing changes in values, socio-cultural trends and political change. It claims to be the "largest cross-national

¹ Women are viewed as nurturers and caregivers within the private sphere, and are therefore "usually characterized as showing a lack of initiative and as shying away from conflict" (Gouws in Fick et al, 2002: 118).

² See Norris, 2001, Chapter 10 and Kotze, 2001.

investigation of social change that has ever existed” (Kotze, 2001: 1). It can therefore be successfully used to gauge the possible trends of mass belief systems of particular countries over time.

The reason why the selected period suits our needs is, because it conveniently includes and records opinions of South African respondents during a period before 1994, when the new constitution was adopted, and beyond as well. This is useful, as it allows us to use the findings as indicative of how democratic change has affected public sentiment and values of the South African populace in general, but also women specifically, over the last ten years. We are aware of the fact that political participation does not occur in a vacuum and many variables influence it. Therefore, when evaluating the affect of specific variables on women’s political participation; this will be done with consideration of the context within which it occurs.

Women have always found it difficult to engage with the political process, due to cultural and traditional norms of society limiting them exclusively to the private sphere. These norms today still play a role in women's involvement in politics. Ideology and cultural norms continue to not only influence, but also, often direct their type of participation in politics. In support of this statement, Gouws & Hassim, (1998: 56), find that "ideological assumptions about women's 'appropriate' roles, have a direct impact on their public capabilities".

By limiting many women to the private sphere, by means of either culture, or as was the case before 1994, by law, their capabilities in terms of interaction in conventional politics, thought to be located in the public sphere, have been severely limited. Therefore, even if women have now been granted the opportunities to participate in all the institutions of politics, the quality of that participation has been negatively affected, leaving women in a disadvantaged position when we consider the resources needed to participate meaningfully in the processes of ‘conventional’ politics. In this respect, we find that meaningful democratic inclusion, and the discrimination women experience, “remains a serious problem despite legal and constitutional advances and government attention to this issue” (Women's International Network News, 1996: 10).

Years of exclusion from conventional political activities have left many women, especially those living in rural areas, with a clear and noticeable disadvantage when trying to interact meaningfully with the political system. We can postulate that women participate in unconventional politics because they have no other channels for political participation. That is why many had to turn to the activities classified as unconventional. Kotze, (2001: 3), in support of this argument, states that “in political systems where people do not have the access to conventional forms of participation, they have to resort to unconventional methods in order to influence political decisions”. Citrin, (1979) and Citrin et al, (1975), in similar vein, notes the same trend.³

Over the past ten years, and definitely to a larger extent in the years preceding that, the political participation of women has been a problematic issue. The need for clarification of the problems experienced by women trying to participate in the conventional forms of politics, and the establishment of their feelings in relation to politics in general, and how it has changed over the past ten years, is critical. This will help us to ascertain how the structures available for participation at present can be effectively altered to render the political processes of participation more accessible to women today.

This study will focus particularly on the women of South Africa. By offering additional explanation of the factors influencing women's political participation, the study will contribute to our understanding of women involved in protest politics, and what should be done to facilitate their participation in conventional politics. Also, I aim to ascertain how their participation in conventional politics has been affected since the acceptance of the new constitution in 1994, and in comparison to the participation observed from their male counterparts.

One of the factors contributing to the lack of participation of women in conventional politics, is that they have certain political rights, but are often unaware of these rights.

³ They assert that “political alienation leads to a willingness to participate in unconventional political activity” (Citrin, 1979 and Citrin et al, 1975 in Tyler; 1991: 34).

This is usually due to inadequate educational opportunities to inform them of their rights, combined with the widely held belief that action in the political arena is reserved for men. In this respect, we find that “ women’s apparent disengagement from politics results not from an internal disinclination born out of acceptance of a privatized role, but from growing awareness that the environment can be inhospitable to one’s attempts to be political” (Rinehart, 1992: 23). Social exclusion plays a large role in preventing women from participating in the political arena.

In addition to not being adequately informed of their political rights, they are often also unaware of the various structures available for them through which they can claim these rights⁴. Government seems to ignore the fact that having rights is not equal to the successful translation of those rights into political participation. They need to recognize that "formal inclusion will not serve the democratic purposes of stability as long as it fails to be the basis for addressing socio-economic inequalities" (Hassim & Gouws, 1998: 58).

The purpose then is to make available helpful structures to facilitate the conventional political interaction of women. In some areas this has been done, and one witnesses a real commitment to changing the situation of women. For example the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL), (1993: 9), suggested “for a network of development centers and input into the male-dominated forums on the national, regional, and local levels”. Further, all their actions are aimed at co-coordinating networks for women to facilitate easier interaction and facilitation to promote the use of political institutions and processes.

The creation and the institutionalization of the Office on the Status of Women (OSW), was done with the aim of more adequately addressing gender concerns. It is responsible for implementing the National Gender Policy. The Commission on Gender Equality (CGE), a supporting body to the OSW, serves to consistently evaluate the institutions within government, in terms of its treatment of women within

⁴ The African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL), (1993: 9), is intensely aware of this problem and they note that, “there is a danger that women will become politically liberated but without the means of transferring their rights into positions of power”.

governmental structures, as well as the degree to which government fulfills its responsibility to facilitate increased participation and access for women within political processes.

Women's issues, particularly at the grassroots are not considered by government as directly important to politics, often due to the socio-economic nature of the concerns of these women. But, as is illustrated by Gouws and Hassim above, solutions to these concerns are fundamental to democracy. By ignoring the importance of addressing socio-economic concerns, government is committing an act in direct violation of the democratic ideals as set out by our constitution.

Also important for consideration and evaluation in this study, as mentioned earlier, it is critical to investigate the popular notion of those actions constituting 'conventional' and 'unconventional' political participation. In the evaluation of the literature available, as well as in the examination of the data, I find a need for a re-examination of the adequacy of these conceptualizations of politics in terms of the types of political action today.

Many have argued that the social is political, and women find themselves assigned to participate in unconventional politics just because the issues that interest them are situated in the social sphere. We find that, “when politics is redefined to include the notion that the 'personal is political' (issues of the home and family are also political issues) evidence shows that women are very often involved in unconventional political behaviour such as protest politics, demonstrations, and even revolutionary politics” (Gouws in Fick et al, 2002:119). These activities in which women are found to be very active, have proven to be very legitimate channels through which women could participate effectively with the political system. Furthermore, there are also arguments that advocate for women’s participation to be examined and classified in relation to the various issues they find interesting.

Also, in consideration of the various influences on participation, Dalton, (1984) ascribes participation in unconventional politics to arise not only from external

societal cues, but also from an increasing dependence on cognitive mobilization⁵. Barnes, Kaase et al (in Dalton, 1984: 266), to this extent proposes that “higher levels of cognitive mobilization may be leading more citizens to direct action methods - citizen action movements, neighborhood associations, single issue groups, and protest behavior”. At present, the voting public, particularly in the West, but not confined only to the West, seems to depend more on independent information, rather than basing their participation on partisanship. This could also explain why women would be more involved in unconventional politics before the period 1994, as they were excluded from participating or joining in the activities of political parties, which was considered more conventional. Instead of receiving cues for mobilization from their parties, they had to rely on mobilizing factors outside of the conventional political arena. In support of this hypothesis, Dalton (1984: chapters 10 & 12), notes the issue-oriented nature of participation in unconventional politics.

We then find a definite need to reclassify or reconceptualize the notions of what exactly comprises conventional and unconventional, as it holds important repercussions and implications for literature and study about participation. This problem is illustrated when we find “cross-cultural data [that] has shown that women’s political participation, when it is conventionally defined, is overall less than that of men” (Meintjies and Simons in Fick et al, 2002: 11). If the divide between what is considered conventional and unconventional remains the same, we could have a much distorted perspective in relation to the political reality, and the actual nature of women's political participation in South Africa, as is experienced today. A fact that is

⁵ This reasoning advocates that, increasingly citizen’s mobilization for participation in any shape or form is more reliant on cognitive factors rather than party identification and societal cues, as was traditionally the case. The theory focuses on the psychological involvement of citizens in terms of their political mobilization, and advocates that citizens possess the necessary political skills and resources to become politically active without dependence on external cues. This is assumed to be due to the overall increase in the levels of education of the general populace over the years. The cognitive mobilization theory emphasizes the “contribution of factors such as value priorities, social structure, and generational change to current patterns of political mobilization” (Dalton, 1984: 266). This change in the factors influencing mobilization, is also according to Dalton, characterized by an expansion of citizen participation to more unconventional forms of politics.

succinctly pointed out by Pateman, (1989: 90), “a fundamental question for any study of political life is that of the proper conceptualization of the ‘political’ itself”.

In the next chapter, we focus on the approaches important to the discussion of political participation in general, and women’s political participation, in particular. I will highlight the most important assumptions, and then describe the approaches thought to be most appropriate for use in my study and analysis. I will explain why I choose to use the specific approaches, and how they serve as a framework within which my propositions are developed.

Chapter 2: Discussing approaches

2.1 Introduction

In trying to analyse unconventional political participation, we need to look at important issues and aspects that influence its nature, and political behaviour in general. Previous literature and research dealing with the issues surrounding unconventional political participation have covered mainly the following aspects, conceptualization of the term, the influence of socialization, and structural implications. These issues will be explained and evaluated in this chapter.

We find different approaches, which offer explanations for women's participation in protest politics, basically falling into three categories. Firstly, we have approaches that assign problems to gauging women's participation in protest politics to the actual conceptualization of the terms 'conventional' and 'unconventional'. Then, we find those of a structural nature that evaluate and describe women's participation in terms of the structure of societal institutions and how this influences their political behaviour. Lastly, we also find those concerned with issues of socialization, and how this influences women's eventual participation in politics. These are also linked to various approaches about socio-psychological influences on political behaviour. I will be examining women's participation by looking at; and drawing from the theories found within the aforementioned three approaches.

2.2 Conceptualization

2.2.1 Issues of conceptualization

Firstly, we examine the issues dealing with the conceptualization of the terms conventional and unconventional participation. This argument, concerning the correct or incorrect way in which to conceptualize the terms 'unconventional' and 'conventional' participation, informs most of the other arguments and findings of previous research in relation to protest politics. Literature concentrating on this aspect, offers various arguments, which lead to the main conclusion that, what has been, over the years considered and termed conventional, might not be applicable to the type and frequency of political behaviour evident today.

Theories and assertions found within the conceptualization approach demand a different explanation of what can be termed conventional and unconventional when considering political participation. As supported by Norris, (2001, chapter 10¹: 1), “traditional theoretical and conceptual frameworks derived from the literature in the 1960s and 1970s, and even the definition of what we mean by ‘political participation’ need to be revised and updated to take account of how opportunities for civic engagement have evolved and diversified over the years”.

Norris also notes the conceptualization of unconventional political participation as important in the setting of, and common knowledge concerning ‘repertoires’. This refers to the commonly supported and perpetuated notions and descriptions or explanations, associated with a specific issue, such as participation. In other words, because “much of the traditional literature on political participation has focused extensively upon conventional repertoires of civic engagement” (Norris, 2001; chapter 10 :2), peoples’ conception of the correct way of interacting with the political system is directly influenced in a certain manner. Peoples’ interpretation of issues, and the behaviour triggered by that, concerning the correct ways of interacting with the political system, is informed by these traditional conceptions.

What exacerbates the problem of adequate conceptualization is the difficulty of understanding and documenting what exactly constitutes unconventional political participation, due to the nature of protest politics. We find that, the “major challenge facing attempts to understanding and document[ing] the extent of protest politics is that these activities are often situational rather than generic” (Norris, 2001; chapter 10: 5). Therefore, these behaviours seem to happen in an unsystematic way, which makes them difficult to predict and study. We understand very little about the personal motivations behind individual political mobilization, especially mobilization to take part in unconventional politics.

¹ The reason I use chapters in the referencing of particular Norris text, is because the online version of the book is used. Referencing in terms of the pages would therefore not coincide with the referencing of page numbers with regards to the original text.

2.2.2 Issue-based versus unconventional participation

Associated with the problems experienced in conceptualization, we find the argument that women's participation should be viewed as issue-based, and not unconventional. In this respect, Norris, (2001; chapter 10: 5), finds that "demonstrations, occupations and unofficial strikes are often triggered in reaction to specific events and particular issues...rather than reflecting the distinctive social or attitudinal profile of citizens". This argument suggests that women's participation in unconventional politics should not be seen as reflective of an inherent predisposition of women as a social grouping², to participate in protest politics, but should however, be judged in relation to the specific issues at hand.

We should understand that socio-economic problems often act as the vantage point for women's political motivations. In support of this notion, women should be seen as motivated by issues rather than the inherent unconventional nature of protest politics. As shown by Budlender, (2001: 2), "socio-economic rights are particularly important to poor people and to women because, without them, equality does not mean nearly as much".

The nature of socio-economic issues lends themselves to expression through unconventional means. Randall, (1987: 58), notes this in her discussion of unconventional participation, when she asserts that "ad hoc participation...typically... focus[es] on issues of local or community concern". For example, we find in many countries that, the community action movement "essentially...focuses on local issues and combines elements of self-help with pressure on the authorities" (Randall 1987: 59). There is a need for a direct and quick response in relation to the problems experienced, and therefore direct-action strategies are viewed as effective in ensuring that result.

² Otten & Bar-Tel, (2002: 267), uses the term social grouping, defined as those "similar to the self", based on demographic, emotional or other criteria. We therefore, define social grouping as the group to which people belong based on demographics, and certain beliefs and values. In other words then, a group in society into which people may be categorized in order to aid explanation or analysis. This categorization may be done by individuals themselves, or as mentioned, used by the researcher as an analytic tool to aid easier explanation and analysis.

We find that even though women as a social grouping would not be associated with unconventional politics, they do participate in these actions. This is possibly not because they feel more comfortable with protest tactics, but, as mentioned earlier, the nature of issue-based political participation can be seen as such that it lends itself to convenient expression in unconventional forms. Due to the sporadic nature of the actions that ensue from mobilisation in terms of these issues, as well as the importance of issues in the socio-political sphere, they need quick and intense attention. Women's participation should not be judged therefore, as dependent on their belonging to a certain social grouping. Some factors of mobilisation sometimes seem to override women's avoidance of protest politics. Women's participation in protest politics seems a complex phenomenon.

Women, as mentioned earlier, are often mobilised by grassroots issues, and the nature of these issues are often sporadic. We see that even as early as the 1940's, when there was still much dispute and uncertainty in relation to women's role within the political sphere, "women were often very active in the grassroots campaigns" (Walker, 1982: 75). Therefore, if their participation could be classified as directed and influenced more directly by the issue at hand, rather than by the particular types of political action they participate in, we could come much closer to adequately understanding the complex interaction of variables influencing their eventual participation.

As mentioned earlier, the political action associated with issue-based politics tends to fall in the category of unconventional. The importance of the issues tend to change often, and because women want to make an impact quickly, 'unconventional' politics, or so-called protest politics is often found as very effective in affecting popular awareness about an issue and hopefully political change with regards to the specific issue at hand. This view is supported by Kim, (2001: 4), when he states that "protest can focus on specific issues or policy goals and can convey a high level of political information with real political force". Protest then, seems to suit the needs of women in relaying the importance of their political message effectively.

Women's seeming preference for this type of action is seen in the fact that "direct action strategies have...broadened towards engaging in life-style politics, where the

precise dividing line between the ‘social’ and ‘political’ breaks down even further” (Norris, 2001; chapter 10: 3). They find an effective form of expression that straddles both the political and social sphere, a position in which they are constantly situated. There again we find the ultimate battle between what should be termed social and political. By defining the issues women felt important as having to be dealt with in the private realm due to its social nature, women were effectively excluded from participation in the conventional political realm. That is why it was, and still is important for the concrete inclusion of women in politics, that “women’s organisations continued to articulate the problems of domestic subordination as a political issue to be addressed within mainstream politics” (Albertyn, Hassim and Meintjies in Fick et al, 2002: 31).

Contrary to the earlier argument, we also find studies that assert that some countries and cultures are more prone to protest. According to this reasoning, the probability for any one group to be involved in protest politics, can be discovered and inferred from their belonging to a certain group in society. This argument states therefore, that women’s probable participation in protest politics should be deduced and examined by looking at the social grouping in which they are situated. For example, Kotze, (2002:), finds in his examination of exactly the same data used in this study, the World Values Survey (WVS), that “unconventional political participation has consistently enjoyed more support among black people than among coloureds, Indians or whites... [as] there seems to be a remarkable absence of a protest culture among whites, coloureds and Indians. It seems that the socialisation patterns in these groups are of such a nature that it is difficult for them to develop a predisposition towards unconventional political participation”. We find then, data in support of the notion that the probability, or predisposition to participate in protest politics **can** be inferred from an individual belonging to a certain social grouping.

The above statements contradict the notion that unconventional political participation cannot be linked to a specific culture or social grouping. But one should remember that this data should be considered in terms of the context and also, one should not forget that these results are time bound. Keeping in mind that all black women should not be seen as a homogenous group, influenced by exactly the same forces, and

mobilised by exactly the same issues, according to the data presented above, we could expect to find a higher percentage of participation in protest politics with black women. Therefore, showing that due to exactly their culture, stemming from belonging to the traditional black community, they as women have a greater propensity to take part in protest politics, if compared to other social groupings. Again, one should not forget that this should be considered in terms of the South African context, and these trends are resultant from a particular political history.

2.2.3 The Resource Model

This model supports arguments advocating the problems experienced with conceptualization. The resource model advocates that protest politics should not be viewed as directly linked to emotions, and therefore likened to sudden and sporadic activities committed by frustrated incumbents. Instead, it should be viewed as just another form or resource for conventional political participation.

The problem in gauging unconventional participation, according to this view therefore, lies in the perspective taken to analyse and discuss participation. If protest politics can be viewed as just another way in which the populace can affect political decision-making, it would be easier to gauge the effects and degree of unconventional political participation within a country. Women did not possess the option of conventional participation as a resource for action, therefore they turned to unconventional forms as an avenue for engaging with the political process.

This argument is similar to Tilly, (1975), and Lipsky, (1968), who also prescribe a view of “unconventional action...as a normal part of the political process as competing groups vie (*sic*) for political power” (Kim, 2001:6). Protest politics should therefore, be viewed as just another tool available for use by the public to try and change or influence the actions and decisions of actors within the present government. This, as mentioned before, can be linked directly to the issues of conceptualisation, where researchers advocate the need for protest politics to be removed from conceptualisation as unconventional. We should rather aim at defining participation according to the different types available, rather than as purely conventional or

unconventional. Due to the fact that participation was crudely classified as either being conventional or unconventional, a large percentage of women's engagement with the political system was made invisible, and thereby disregarded.

2.3 Socialization

We turn now then to discussing approaches concerned with the influences of socialisation³. This has over the years been a very popular way of explaining the type of political participation women were involved in. We find that "explanations why women have commonly been less engaged in the past have been based on theories of sex role socialization, and the persistence of traditional attitudes towards women and men's roles in the private and public sphere" (Norris, 2000: 3).

These theories explain and examine women's political participation in terms of their socialization and therefore societally enforced predispositions to interact with the political system in a certain manner. It argues that socialization is such a pervasive part of our growing up and preparation for interaction, that it overrides all other factors of society in determining women's eventual political interaction.

According to socialization approaches, due to their traditional roles, women find it very difficult to take part in all forms of politics, be it conventional or unconventional, in comparison to their male counterparts. As is shown in Randall, (1987: 67), "women's participation in conventional political activities, of a grass-roots or rank and file kind, is less than men's...". According to this reasoning then, women often themselves do not consider their participation in any type of politics to be suitable conduct. This mindset is fostered within the consciousness of both men and women by socialization, assigning specific roles to individuals, based on their sex.

It is important to note that, the issues of socialization influences the issues discussed in structural theories as well. The patriarchal system responsible for the way in which women were socialized, influenced, and still today influences the structural obstacles

³ When we discuss socialization in this paper, we are referring not only to just the acquiring and learning of basic values, norms and behaviour, "but also to the development of structures of values and behaviour, that is, belief systems or ideology and roles" (Sapiro, 1983:45).

to, and opportunities available for, women in terms of interaction in any societal sphere. According to this reasoning then, as a result of socialization, women are considered inadequate within the political sphere, and therefore, effectively marginalized⁴ from political action. Women live their 'rightful' roles within society, as prescribed by male norms. Men, according to the notions of patriarchy, are thought of as more effective and suited for action within the political realm.

The above view has been criticized profusely by feminists⁵, as they assert that there are many other variables, which influence the type and nature of women's political behaviour. To look only at the influences of socialisation, according to them, would render us with a very crude interpretation, lacking understanding of the nature of women's political attitudes and behaviour. To highlight the view that women's participation is complex and influenced by factors other than just socialization, Jonasdottir, (1988: 159), asserts that "the fact that, considered from a gender perspective, our society is male-dominated in all areas does not mean that women have no influence at all; what they lack is authority-as women". We cannot assign women's lack of power, participation and agency to only the influences of socialization underpinned by patriarchy.

2.3.1 Citizenship

Even though we do acknowledge that the aforementioned feminist critiques are well founded, we should realise that socialization does play a large role in the creation and definition of citizenship, women's political rights, and behaviour in relation to citizenship. Citizenship can be described as the definition of the roles assigned to a particular social grouping in terms of their rightful place, with implications for their participation or exclusion from participation, within societal structures. We find that due to socialization, "women's citizenship is structured around their identity as

⁴ We define 'marginality' as "the state in which one 'lives in two different worlds simultaneously', where one "is a participant in two cultural systems, one of which is, by prevailing standards, regarded as superior to the other" (Sapiro, 1983:6).

⁵ The patriarchal system that underpins socialization within our society, and the assertions that accompany it, has been repeatedly criticized by feminists, as it serves to perpetuate assumptions about the rightful place of women within the political sphere. According to general theories found within feminist works, "systematic and institutionalized inequality and oppression of women has emerged historically..." (Jonasdottir, 1988: 157), in congruence with the system of patriarchy.

homemakers, mothers, and sexual beings” (Gouws in Fick et al, 2002: 18), effectively acting to remove their rightful position in society to influence political processes, from them. It is easy to see then that participation in protest politics runs contrary to these notions.

The only way in which women can be considered a part of the world of politics, is to focus on their integration into the systems open for political participation, by facilitating and improving methods to mobilise them. In other words, we should focus on ways in which to fully politically integrate women into the political community as citizens. According to Sapiro, (1983: 7), this can only be achieved if “citizenship entails the liberty, even the responsibility, to share in the governance and political life of a community”.

Women’s limited participation in protest politics is therefore, by these theories, explained in relation to the influences of socialization, which classifies any interaction within the political sphere as unsuited for women. Women are at present faced with the double standard of being expected to perform well within the private **and** public sphere; while judgement of good performance in the former, is often dependent on their exclusion from participation in the latter. It is in this paradox that we find much of the complexities experienced in explaining their participation. Their increased involvement within the sphere of politics is supported by male and female politicians, as well as society at present, but their overall success is judged by their action within the private sphere as well.

This paradox complicates women’s political participation, and also highlights the difficulties experienced in the research concerned with their participation, in terms of explanation, analysis and study. In this respect Sapiro, (1983: 7), finds that society expects “the actions of women in politics... [to be] derived from their central private concerns of wifeness, motherhood, and homemaking, although in the public world of politics these concerns are seen as peculiar and to a large degree, inappropriate”.

2.3.2 The nature of protest politics

According to theories advocating that the nature of protest politics directs the type of individuals involved in it, the difference between the nature of protest- and conventional politics causes men to be more active in protest than women. Specifically, the nature of unconventional political participation, is considered a severe limiting factor to women's participation in unconventional politics. The often confrontational style of this type of participation is found as limiting probable participation. These theories advocate that women, due to their docile and unfrontational nature, will not find it easy to participate in protest politics. This is supported in present findings by Norris, (2000: 2), who states that "studies commonly suggest that women remain less involved in more demanding forms of civic engagement".

This reasoning assumes that the more physically demanding political activities become, the less we will find women participating, regardless of their rights to participate. So even after women had the right to participate in all kinds of political activities, we would, due to the nature of unconventional politics, still expect to find their participation to be less than that of men. The ANC Women's League notes this phenomenon.

We found that even after democratic inclusion, "women still found themselves in a disadvantaged situation: they lacked skills and education; they were responsible for their children and their households; and the traditional image of women as weak dependent creatures hampered real involvement of women in ... [political] structures and policies" (ANCWL; 1993: 3).

So, because of their lack of skills and experience to interact with the political system, they often had to revert to making their voices heard in participation in protest politics, even if it is thought of as an unlikely avenue for women to express their political sentiments.

2.3.3 An attempt to create responsive political institutions?

Due to socialization and their roles in the private sphere, women have often been excluded from the public sphere. Even after democratisation, it has influenced the ways in which society has included women in the public sphere. Often presence within the system has not lead to concrete inclusion, or the creation of institutions responsive to gender. Therefore, in reaction to the institutions of politics as directed by our patriarchal system, women's participation in protest politics may also be seen as an attempt to redefine the terms upon which they are included within the political realm.

They therefore, often express themselves in unconventional forms, to make clear the specific ways in which they want to be made a part of political participation in a broader sense. Thus, we could consider women's participation in protest politics as an attempt to create political institutions specifically responsive to the participation and inclusion of women. Protest may be considered as aimed at showing government that legal inclusion does not always translate into practical inclusion. As Pateman argues, it is important that "women are not simply included, but the full diversity of women's identities and interest is encompassed" (Hassim, 1999: 2)

In line with theories of socialization, we find that "women have less power in society and are therefore, less able to exert their influence on politics and the public service" (Public Education Office Report (PEO), 2001: 3). Women's perception of their degree of power stems directly from socialization. Our patriarchal society has left women with feelings of inadequacy in relation to interaction in politics placed in the public sphere, to which they have very limited access. Even if they have access, it is given and defined in terms of what males deem as important for women.

Due to political exclusion, either by legitimate or social means, women's action in protest politics can also then be seen as an attempt to create political strategies sensitive, in terms of gender. In other words, political institutions and mechanisms that serves to enable and make access easier for women. Sapiro, (1983: 122), supports

this notion when she asserts that “participation in demonstrations is the most public, assertive, and ‘hardest’ act of communication of all and it is also the act of political communication most dependent upon women’s roles”. We see that historically, in most countries, women acquired the vote and access to conventional political structures after men. This “meant that women came into institutions that had already developed procedures and conventions that were literally ‘man-made’” (Albertyn, Hassim and Meintjies in Fick et al, 2002: 25). There is definitely a need to alter and influence the processes of politics to be more accessible and responsive to women.

“If social policies support institutional structures and pressures that limit women’s access to resources necessary for political integration, if they help make the norms of women’s private lives inconsistent with those of a political life...those policy-making agencies are impeding women’s opportunities to take the opportunities ‘guaranteed by statements of political rights’” (Sapiro, 1983: 174).

2.4 Structural approaches

“Structural explanation emphasize that social and demographic inequalities- based on educational qualifications, socio-economic status, gender and age- lead to inequalities in other civic assets, like skills, knowledge, experience time, and money” (Norris, 2001; chapter 5: 2). According to this reasoning then, due to the inequalities afforded to women in the classification of their rightful roles and values within society, they are structurally ill-equipped to participate within the political sphere.

Theories within this approach, explain and examine women’s political participation in terms of the structure of society, which firstly function to place women in a certain position in relation to politics, and secondly, renders them with specific resources, or the lack thereof, for use within the political sphere.

These theories have a lot in common with socialization theories and resource theory, which also look at the way in which society and the specific value system that accompanies it, directs the way in which women participate politically. Socialization theories differ from structural theories in that the former focus more on the psychological and historical affects the patriarchal value system has had on women’s participation, whereas the latter, tend to focus on the position that this value system has placed women within society. Structural theories, examine women’s position in

relation to all spheres of life, and the resources they are left with to act within these spheres as result of socialization.

These theories endeavour to illustrate that due to the structure of society women are rendered with less access to education and the labour market, and this puts them in a certain position in relation to their ability to participate in politics. This view is supported by Tripp, (2001: 33), when she asserts that women have almost been forced to express their political perspectives in a certain manner, by the “gendered divisions of labour, gendered organizational modes and the general exclusion of women from both formal and informal political arenas...”

We will briefly examine the concepts associated with structural approaches in this section, by looking at the deprivation approach^{1 2} of Gurr³ used by Kim, (2001). We decide to use Kim’s perspective on this approach, as it offers explanations for the motivations behind participation in protest politics, as examined specifically within a structural framework. The theory’s basic suggestion is that unconventional political activity should be more common among groups who have reasons to feel deprived or dissatisfied with the political system (Kim). Kim thus bases his description and analysis of unconventional participation on the more elaborate deprivation theory of Gurr.

Also, his use and explanation of the theory is fairly simplified, and this aids in making conceptualization and explanation within our study, easier. As we are only interested in using the basic assertions associated with the theory, and not so much extended theories and assumptions, his perspective serves us well. Extended conceptualizations

¹ Other perspectives on the deprivation approach also concentrate on “deprivation as a motivating factor for social movement activity” as Kerbo and Shaffer note of earlier theories of deprivation, (Kerbo & Shaffer; 1986: 1046).

² Other authors note that there are alternative patterns of relative deprivation, such as; decremental, aspirational and progressive. For a more detailed explanation of these terms, the reader is referred to Mason & Park’s work, *The Developmental parameters of Relative Deprivation Theory*, (1986), based on the earlier work of Ted Gurr. It describes the various situations under which relative deprivation occurs, leading to the eventual collective action.

³ According to Gurr, (1970, 12-13) the “primary causal sequence in political violence is first the development of discontent, second the politicization of discontent, and finally its actualization in violent political action against political objects and actors” (Kim, 2001: 6). Gurr advocates that groups feeling deprived in comparison to other groups in society, will act on this discontent in the form of participation in protest activity.

might serve to explain the term better, but it would complicate its usage within this study, which does not have as its main aim the explanation of the deprivation theory.

We therefore only need a theory that is well explained, but simplistic, because we are only interested in stating and basing our assumptions on the basic tenets of the approach. Kim's assertions, with regards to relative deprivation, therefore serves our purposes well. He also manages to illustrate the comparative aspect of deprivation quite well, and explains how women experience a sense of relative deprivation in comparison to other groups within society, specifically men.

2.4.1 Deprivation approach

The deprivation approach presents an interesting view of participation, and states generally that women's participation in protest can be explained by the fact that they were previously according to law excluded from the conventional avenues for political participation, as well as by the societal norms which today still play a role. It bases its theory on feelings of alienation and frustration that women feel with regards to the political system, and therefore explain their participation in protest politics as a reaction to these feelings. We should, according to this reasoning, look at feelings such as political dissatisfaction, political efficacy⁴, and political alienation etc. to predict interaction in protest politics. According to Mason and Park, (1986), deprivation occurs, when lacking capabilities of a group of individuals threatens the capacity to satisfy their needs. The gap between expectations and achievements, "emerges as the psychological basis for individual participation in a revolution or other forms of group based civil conflict" (Mason and Park, 1986: 89).

In terms of its comparative aspect, it "is a theory about the feelings raised by intragroup inequalities" (Stark; 1990: 211). Therefore, deprivation is experienced in comparison to another group in society, bringing about the above-mentioned feelings

⁴Political efficacy has been defined by Zimmerman, (1989: 554), as the "belief that one has the skills to influence the political system". Seeing as this holds implications for the individual's perception of his or her competence within the political sphere, there is no doubt as to the importance of this factor in determining political participation. As is also noted by Caldeira & Gibson, (1992: 649), "those who have the greatest confidence in their ability to influence the political system express great interest in politics...".

of dissatisfaction, alienation etc. Women, according to this perspective, take part in protest activities in response to these feelings associated with deprivation.

This theory does hold merit in trying to explain women's participation in protest politics. We see that before 1939, "the pressures on African women were enormous. The need for finding a voice to give expression to their frustrations and demands was growing more urgent, but the obstacles preventing this from taking a political direction were still considerable" (Walker, 1982: 43). Women, at that time, found themselves in a politically frustrating time, and this proved a great mobilising force that needed outlet by some means. In this instance, the channel of unconventional participation seemed the only recourse to political frustration.

Sapiro, (1983: 120), also notices that "one of the most important strategies of women's political influence has been the use of protest, demonstration, and boycott". Michael Lipsky in Sapiro (1983: 120), agrees with this assessment, when he states that "protest is perhaps the only effective strategy for political influence among resource-poor groups", a description which certainly fits women.

In line with the deprivation approach, due to these feelings of political inadequacy, women were forced into action in so-called protest politics. Historically, they were forced into these 'unconventional' forms of participation, due to their political exclusion. It could have seemed the only legitimate means at their disposal through which they could influence decision-making at that time. For women, even at present, it has been "hard to gather fuller representation within the (conventional) structures of power, [that] by far the larger number of women have contributed to democratisation while remaining outside the formally recognised political and policy-making structures" (PEO Report, 2001: 29). So, even though they were "excluded from the political process, oppressed groups made themselves politically relevant by conscious mobilisation and action in the public realm" (Gouws in Fick et al, 2002: 17).

If we look at participation in protest politics from a historical viewpoint, unconventional political participation has proved to be a very effective avenue for use by women to voice their political sentiments. For example, women's involvement "during the 1950s demonstrations against pass laws and the introduction of Bantu

Education spurred nation wide protest and demonstration... [also] the FSAW played a leading role in these protests, the most famous of which was the march of 20 000 women to the Union Buildings on 9 August 1956” (Albertyn, Hassim and Meintjies in Fick et al, 2002: 29).

We can see that women throughout the years never stood aside for the challenge of political activism. As is illustrated by African women’s political action during the 1950’s, especially during the anti-pass campaign, which was effectively planned and vociferously taken part in (Walker, 1982: 125). Participation in these campaigns served to strengthen women’s feelings of political efficacy at that time. These protests, served to encourage South African women to be more aggressive in terms of attaining their rightful positions, according to the rules of democracy, within South African politics.

Women’s participation in protest politics, historically and still at present therefore carries a deeper significance transcending the mere political action. As is illustrated by Walker, (1982: 195), with reference to the protest action of women in the 1950s, “the fact that it was women who had organised and carried out so impressive a demonstration challenged stereotyped assumptions about women and their lack of political initiative”. This could therefore, be offered as a viable explanation why we find women still today active in unconventional forms of political action, even though the conventional avenues for participation are open to them now.

Even before the 1950s, the trade union movement, and women’s increasing infiltration into the economic sphere, also helped in installing women with confidence and the political expertise to take part in politics. This trend is also noticed by Walker (1982: 57), when she states that the trade union movement acted as a training ground for working women who then were able to rise to leadership positions within their union. They could then be drawn from these positions into wider political involvement. Women through the years have found their feet and become increasingly confident in participating within the political sphere.

As we can see “within the popular struggles of the 1980s...a new conception of grass roots participatory politics and the notion of ‘organs of people’s power’ emerged to create a new democratic framework for liberation” (Albertyn, Hassim and Meintjies

in Fick et al, 2002: 30). Not only did women's active engagement in the processes of liberation act as effective in creating a base for further participation, but it achieved a renewed realisation and definition of the degree and understanding of what true participatory democracy meant. Also, this served to challenge the traditional notions of what should be considered conventional and unconventional ways in which to influence the political processes and decision-making of government.

Within the deprivation approach, there is also an argument for the need to view women's participation in protest politics as stemming directly from issues of agency.⁵ This is in line with the hypotheses of structural approaches, which explains women's difficulties in interacting with the political system by looking at the specific political resources; time, political knowledge, money etc, available to women in their endeavour to participate.

These theories examine women's political participation in terms of the structural obstacles and opportunities available to them, as prescribed by society. Not only do the patriarchal notions of society, by means of socialisation, exclude women in their endeavour to participate politically, they are also structurally limited due to the inferior position to men. We find that "many women have reportedly complained that they could not vote for the party of their choice because, husbands, fathers and in-laws, or chiefs told them whom to vote for" (Ballington in Fick et al, 2002: 65).

2.5. Conclusion

Also, except for the general theories concerned with the influences of socialization and structure on participation, discussed thus far, we find other explanations which try to describe and explain women's political activity. Women's participation in protest politics has fluctuated over the years, similar to that of men. The stage of development of a specific country, especially in relation to political stability, is also seen as having an influence on their eventual participation. That is why many studies see the participation of the citizenry of a specific country as indicative of confidence in, and legitimacy of that country's government. According to this reasoning, and contrary to

⁵ This concerns "the organizational structures through which people mobilize for political expression" (Norris, 2001; chapter 10: 1).

the resource model, unconventional political participation does not serve as a legitimate means through which citizens should interact with the political system. It is taken as being indicative of underlying problems with the political system of a country, or government.

We need to realise importantly though, that all women in society do not share the same experiences. That is why we can expect to find differences in the levels of participation of women according to race, economic status and education. Conover (1988: 996) rightfully asserts that “it is misleading to consider women as an undifferentiated group. Women differ in how they think of themselves- in the strength of their feminist identity- and such differences may well be related to variations in values and issue preferences”. The failure to come to this realisation can be seen as one of the fundamental reasons for the decline of the FSAW. After 1954, the organisation realised that not “all women in society share a common experience or identity” (Walker, 1982: 276). Overlooking this important point contributed a lot to the problems and difficulties in understanding, in terms of the differences between women of different cultural backgrounds, experienced between women within the organisation, and also its eventual decline.

In analysing the data, we can therefore expect to come across interesting findings in support and contradiction of the many hypotheses offered by researchers. We do not try to prescribe only one right explanation or suggestion. In this study, we endeavour to bring a clearer understanding of the myriad of variables, and the way these aspects influence, and sometimes direct, the way in which women choose to interact with the political system.

After examining the statements and assertions in terms of the approaches discussed thus far, I feel that all the approaches, to some degree, explain the influences concerned with the eventual political participation of South African women. In an endeavour to find support for my propositions, I will test the assumptions of the structural and socialization approaches. Unfortunately, even though I feel that the conceptualization approach explains the issues related to women’s participation in protest politics well, I will not be testing the proposition due to lack of data.

The variables in the WVS are extremely limited with regards to its assessment and recording of 'conventional' participation. After evaluation of the questionnaire, I do however, find one variable that indicates 'conventional' participation. It measures 'active membership' in a political party. It is very risky to base analysis on only one item. It would not adequately explain the construct. In order to successfully and comprehensively test the conceptualization proposition, I would have to have good indicators for both 'conventional' and 'unconventional' participation.

By testing both the propositions offered in the structural and socialization approaches, the study encompasses and considers explanations in terms of various issues, and their impact on eventual participation in unconventional politics. We have suggested thus far that, women as a social grouping are influenced, in their endeavour to participate, by many variables. Therefore, with regards to examining and analysing their participation, I find it appropriate to use a methodology inclusive of many variables, in my analyses and study.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the basic propositions to be tested. We will test the various sub-propositions as framed by the structural and socialization approaches. In testing the sub-propositions, I will better be able to evaluate which approach best describes the trend apparent in South African women's participation in protest politics between 1991 and 2001, in chapter 6.

Chapter 3: Methodology & Problem Statement

3.1 Introduction

In this section I will discuss the way in which the analysis of the data will be conducted in order to help us explain and ascertain the various impacts on women in their endeavor to participate in protest politics. I will first, briefly explain the data set to be used. Then, I will describe in detail the research methodology, in order to lend transparency to the methods used to describe and analyze the data. This is very important as it has direct bearing on the degree of validity of the eventual findings. Lastly, I will present the problem statement upon which the analysis of the data will be premised.

It is important here for the reader to note that this is a descriptive¹ study. More emphasis is then placed on estimation and explanation, rather than testing. Therefore, I will not be presenting hypotheses to be tested; rather I will suggest propositions to be examined with regard to specific variables thought to have an impact on women's participation in protest politics.

3.1.1 World Values Survey

In order to gauge the changes in women's political participation over the years, I will be examining data obtained from the South African World Value Survey, (WVS). This is a survey conducted by Markinor, a South African research company, concerned with sourcing information, as well as, in certain areas, providing information consultancy. I will be using the data gathered for South Africa, from the 1991, 1995 and 2001 surveys.

The World Values Survey is conducted worldwide. It is a study gauging socio-cultural and political change. In other words, the questions included in the study are aimed at recording the values and attitudes of the respondents on a range of societal issues; politics, family, environment etc. The data gathered in the WVS is very

¹Neuman refers to this type of research as one in which one "paints a picture with words or numbers, presents a profile, outlines stages, or classifies types" (1999: 508).

relevant to the purposes of this study. It “claims to be the largest cross-national investigation of social change that has ever existed” (Kotze, 2002: 1). The reason we find this survey useful, is the ability it gives the researcher to analyze and draw conclusions about possible and past change in socio-cultural and political change across all social groupings. We will only be using the South African data set, as we are only at this stage, interested in evaluating and describing South African women’s involvement in unconventional political participation between the period of 1990 and 2001.

Another reason why it is easy and convenient to use this particular data set, is the already constructed protest index in all the data sets. These serve to gauge the degree of involvement of the respondents in protest politics. These indices have been constructed for all three the data sets used in this study, and therefore its use is convenient. The reliability of the indices have already been ascertained, so comparison across data sets are made easier, comparable and therefore, more reliable.

Furthermore, due to the fact that this type of research is time series² research, it also suits my purposes well, since I am interested in evaluating change over time, and possible trends. In other words, it is “a longitudinal study in which the same type of information is collected on a group of people or other units across multiple time periods” (Neuman, 2003: 31). The same type of data is collected on different groups of people over time, and we compare these results in our research.

This data set has also been used by Norris, in her work, the *Democratic Phoenix*, which has been used extensively to inform much of my study. This work concentrates on evaluating participation of the electorate in protest politics, but my research is an extension of that, in that it focuses on gauging women’s experiences with regards to participation, in particular, in unconventional politics. Similar to the items used in Norris then, I will look at examining protest activism, using four items in the World Values Survey, including joining boycotts, attending lawful demonstrations, joining unofficial strikes, and occupying buildings or factories.

²There are different types of time series research methods, or approaches. They are cross-sectional, where “researchers observe at one point in time... [or] longitudinal [where researchers] examine features of people or other units at more than one [point in] time” (Neuman, 2003: 31).

Different to Norris' study though, I will not use the item of 'signing a petition', because this is not so much considered a reflection of protest potential and actual physical involvement in unconventional politics anymore. Also, due to the high illiteracy rate³ in South Africa, it would not be an adequate indicator of involvement in protest activity. Within the South African context, non participation in signing petitions could therefore be more indicative of low literacy rates, than an aversion to protest.

The specific questions included in the study will be explained in more detail at a later stage. First, I will discuss the sample used within this study.

3.2 Sample

I think it is important to briefly diverge, to consider and explain the sample under study. It is important for the reader to be cognizant of the amount of respondents, in order to get a more informed and realistic view of the gravity of the percentages presented. This is important, so that the reader may be cognizant of the extent to which the researcher may generalize to the wider population.

3.2.1 WVS 1991

The total sample size of this component of the data being examined is 2736 respondents. The reader is reminded here, that this is only the South African component of the data set. The data set is composed out of 1258 male, and 1478 female respondents. In our computations, we work with only the valid cases, of which there are no missing values.

To give the reader a more accurate view of the nature of the sample, I found it important to also note the distribution in terms of ethnic grouping. Of the 2736 respondents; 1236 were white, 1100 were black, 200 were asian and 200 were

³ Statistics obtained in an article appearing in Reading Today, South Africa's readathon, it is reported that in South Africa we are "faced with an extremely high adult illiteracy rate-some 65 percent..." Other sources report this percentage to be even higher. According to Hayden, (2003: 5) South Africa is a "country that is 10 years into the start of a democratic society--a country that has experienced decades of apartheid and has a 70% illiteracy rate".

colored. It is important to note, that here the accurate demographic profile of South Africans are not represented, as white respondents make up the largest part of the sample. If it were to be demographically representative of the South African population, black respondents should have made up the largest percentage of participants. Readers, should keep in mind then, that in the 1991 survey, blacks were not fully represented, and their responses to participation in protest politics, should be interpreted while keeping in mind this background.

3.2.2 WVS 1995

The sample size in this survey, was larger than the previous wave, and is therefore more generalizable to the wider South African public, in terms of size. The total sample size (N), was 2899.

In this sample, 1435 were male- and 1464 were female respondents. Just like the previous WVS in 1991, women make up a slightly larger percentage of respondents. Of these 2899 respondents, 725 were white, 1592 were black, 196 were asian, and 386 were colored. We see a marked increase in the percentage of colored and black respondents. This sample is a relatively accurate demographic illustration of the public of South Africa, because blacks make up the largest percentage, and because of the increased sample size and number of valid cases, the sample has increased its representivity.

3.2.3 WVS 2001

Here again, the degree of generalizability of the results obtained from the analysis of the data is increased. The sample size is 3000 respondents. In this sample, we again use weighted data. Of these 3000 respondents, 1500 are male and 1500 are female. Unlike the previous two surveys, women and men equally make up the total number of respondents.

Also, 1303 of the respondents were black, 899 were white, 299 were asian and 499 were colored. This seems to again, be a very accurate demographic representation of the South African public.

It is important to note here that I present the unweighed number of cases(N), but in my analysis and computations, I work with weighted data. While interpreting the data presented in each year then, the reader should keep in mind the background with regards to the sample size, as well as the gender- and ethnic distribution presented here.

3.3 Problem Statement

I endeavour to investigate the way in which women's participation in protest politics has changed over the last ten years. In other words, I am interested in learning whether their propensity to participate in unconventional politics has increased or decreased over time.

Based on the assumptions already presented up until this point, I expect to find a difference between the levels of male and female participation. Specifically I expect to find consistently lower levels of female participation in comparison to males. I am unsure if I will find a decrease or increase in women's participation in protest. We need to ascertain then, what influences women's political participation, so that we can ascertain why we find the noticed fluctuations in women's participation in protest politics.

We will be investigating various variables, and their effect on women's propensity to participate unconventionally in politics. Generally then, I expect that in relation to their scores on the protest index, taken as indicative of their level of involvement in protest politics, we will find that women will answer more neutrally. In other words, they are more prone to give answers of 2(might do), 3 (would never do), and 9(don't know). Therefore, they will score low on the protest index, and have a low level of participation in protest in comparison to men. They will be more likely to fall in the medium and low categories for protest.

The essential problem facing the researcher then is; why do we find differences between different groups of women in terms of their participation in protest politics. Secondly, why is there a difference between men and women's participation in protest

politics? In order to answer these questions, we will examine various variables, and how they influence participation in protest politics. By doing this, we might be able to suggest possible reasons as to why we find the noticed trends.

3.3.1 Propositions

According to the theorization offered in terms of the conceptualisation explanations, I would expect, and therefore propose increased participation of women between 1991 and 2001. We expect this because the increasing conceptualization of protest politics as conventional could lead to increased condoning and participation of women in protest politics. However, in consideration of the socialization and structural approaches, and the identified influencing factors or variables in terms of women's political participation, I find that a more realistic set of propositions would be based on the assertion that we expect **less** participation of women in protest politics between 1991 and 2001. On another level, I expect to find this trend due to the specific context of South African politics, and women's specific role in it. These propositions would be more realistic, as they, according to the needs of the study, more adequately and comprehensively make it possible to address the questions posed at the start of this thesis.

Even though the conceptualization explanation is quite plausible, we doubt that we would find support for our propositions based on this approach. The structural and socialization explanations, I feel, are more illustrative of enduring patterns of behaviour over time, and it is with this in mind that I find it more plausible to use propositions based on the assertions of these approaches.

If we structure our propositions in terms of these approaches, we would see the enduring influences on women's political participation. Even though, in terms of conceptualization of unconventional political participation, there may have been changes in the rhetoric, these approaches point to the structure and culture of society, which, no matter the changing rhetoric, constantly, and consistently influence behaviour over time.

In accordance with the structural approach, we firstly expect to find a decrease in women's participation in protest politics between 1990 and 2001, because in terms of the structural position women are in society, not much has changed. Secondly, we expect to find women's participation in protest politics to be consistently lower than that of men, between 1991 and 2001. They may be by law mandated to participate, but this may have no real effect on the grass-roots level where they are still faced with many of the structural limitations to participation, which were prevalent during the apartheid era.

In accordance with the socialization approach, we firstly expect to find a decrease in women's participation in protest politics, because although we are in a politically liberated society, factors and the effects of patriarchal socialization are still prevalent. These factors have an enduring impact on any type of behaviour. Secondly, we expect to find a pattern of consistently lower participation of women in protest politics in comparison to men. We assert that women will continue to be subject to many of the socialization norms of patriarchy, even if only less so in today's day and age. As a result of these effects on behaviour we will expect to find the above two trends.

Many propositions have been offered up to this point, but specifically then, the propositions important to this study are as follows;

- Proposition 1 (P1): We expect to find a decrease in women's participation in protest politics, between 1990 and 2001.
- Proposition 2 (P2): We expect to find women's participation in protest politics to be consistently lower than that of men, between 1990 and 2001.

My propositions will be examined from the vantage point that, due to the divide between the public and the private sphere; and women's resulting ascription to roles within the private sphere, they are positioned within society with fewer resources to participate in the public sphere.

According to the conceptual approach then, we would find support for my first proposition, in the fact that, due to the conceptualization of the terms 'conventional'

and ‘unconventional’, we will find women less involved in protest politics over the years. Earlier in this study, this was referred to by Norris as ‘repertoires’, which concerns the popular conceptions of what constitutes conventional and unconventional participation. Protest politics has always been classified as unconventional. As soon as women were democratically included, they participated more in conventional forms of politics. In relation to the second proposition, this approach would assign the cause of women’s lower participation with structural, as well as socialization influences. Because unconventional participation was conceptualized as being unsuited for women, they participated less in this form of politics.

Unfortunately, we will not be able to evaluate these propositions from the vantage points of the conceptualization perspective. The WVS is severely limited in the respect of having a good indicator to measure conventional participation. As we would need good indicators for both constructs to test the proposition, we cannot evaluate this approach. As mentioned in chapter 2, there is one variable measuring conventional participation, variable 10@5 in the WVS of 1995 (‘active membership in a political party’), but it is extremely risky to base assumptions, or proof on only one indicator.

I decide not to test the conceptual argument, because there are not enough variables to create a good indicator for participation in conventional politics within the WVS. Also, it would make sense to describe and investigate the conceptual argument in relation to more mature democracies. South Africa has not been a democracy long enough to argue that the conceptualisation of the terms ‘conventional’ and ‘unconventional’ could influence participation.

According to the structural approach, we will find support for the first proposition in the fact that, due to the decrease of women’s structural limitations to participate in conventional politics between 1991 and 2001, there will be a decrease in their unconventional participation over the years. Secondly, women will be found to participate in unconventional politics consistently at a lower percentage over the years than men, due to structural limitations to their participation within the public sphere.

According to the socialization approach, we will find support for the first proposition in the fact that, due to socialization influences, women have decreasingly been less involved in unconventional politics, because there is no longer such a great need to rebel against society in relation to women's unequal position in it. Secondly, women will be found to participate consistently less in protest politics due to socialization, which defines this type of participation as not suitable for women.

3.4 Research Methodology

As mentioned earlier, we will be using four items (questions) in the WVS to evaluate the South African respondents' degree of involvement in protest politics. These items will be combined to form an index to gauge participation in protest politics. We have chosen to use these items, as they include measurement indicating actual participation in these behaviors, rather than only the potential to participate in such behaviors. This would not be as valuable, as potential does not necessarily result in actual behavior, and can only be used as indicative of *attitudes* in relation to performing certain behaviors.

3.4.1 Methodology

The specific type of analysis used in this study, can be referred to as secondary analysis, as it involves the use of already collected data. Where primary research uses experiments, surveys, content analysis etc, secondary analysis has as its focus "analyzing rather than collecting data" (Neuman, 1999:305). More specifically, I will be making use of descriptive analysis.

I will first look at the percentages of participation of women, in comparison to men, in protest politics. This will be done for every year; 1991, 1995 and 2001. We are doing this to ascertain if the levels of participation have changed over this specific period, in the light of especially, the democratic change in 1994. We expect that there will be a concomitant change in the levels of participation in unconventional politics, as a result of democratic change. We also, expect that the percentage of participation in protest politics will decline after the advent of democracy in South Africa after 1994.

This expectation is based on the assumption that, due to the conventional channels of political participation being available for use by all citizens, more of them will chose to take part in a conventional, rather than unconventional manner.

I will use the already developed protest indices to ascertain the levels of participation of all respondents, male and female, and then assess and try to analyze and explain the differences, if any, between the levels of participation in the one group in comparison to the other. After I have established that, and followed the trend with relation to the three periods, the trend apparent within the female component of the study will be highlighted and analyzed.

This will be done to ascertain if there are differences in the levels of participation between the subgroups of the female component according to variables such as; race, (V110) age, (V93) and gender, (91). I will, after analyzing the results, propose and present support for why I think the apparent trends occur.

3.4.2 Validity

Validity and reliability are both methods used to increase the objectivity of any research. We find that in order to assess the objectivity⁴ of a study, understood as the "freedom from bias and error, independence from irrelevant circumstances, freedom from value judgments, impartiality, neutrality and /or detachment" (Smaling, 1992: 71), one first needs to establish the reliability and validity thereof. See footnote for Neuman's definition of this term.⁵

We also endeavor to clearly and accurately represent the data and its analysis in such a manner that it represents a true reflection of the respondents' attitudes. The striving for objectivity is based on the need to lend credibility and academic quality to the

⁴ Objectivity can also be understood more fundamentally as the "endeavor both to let the object speak and not to distort it...doing justice to the object of study" (Smaling, 1992: 77). In other words, we will judge the degree of objectivity of this study according to the extent to which our analysis does not distort the responses of our respondents, as well as the degree to which it is found free of bias and error. Other definitions of objectivity equate it with ethical neutrality, Bowen, (1977).

⁵Objectivity, according to Neuman, (2003: 74), has two requirements, "that the observers agree on what they see and that science is not based on values, opinions, attitudes, or beliefs". He also notes that objectivity is ensured through the internalized norms of the scientific community.

research. In every study, it is very important to ascertain the degree of validity of firstly, the data, and then necessarily following from that, the validity of the assumptions and deductions made in analysis of that data.

Validity of propositions following from a study is based firstly, on the degree of believability of the assertions reached (face validity). In other words, validity in this respect can be referred to as “the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers” (Silverman, 1993: 149). Then also, the degree to which the use of the methodology for study, and the research instrument, comes close to actually answering the questions raised with the research problem. This is often referred to as content validity⁶. In other words, the degree to which the methodologies of the study has achieved to investigate and answer the questions it set out to answer. Also, measured or assessed according to the degree to which the measure succeeds in fully and comprehensively representing the construct under study. The latter type of validity is usually judged as the most important to assure, as it is usually the standard according to which, those involved in research in the academic community judge the quality of the resulting data obtained from a study.

3.4.3 Reliability

Whereas validity looks at issues of usability and the degree of confidence with which one can use the data and the deductions based on them, reliability looks at issues of usability and accuracy across time. In other words, when using the measurement instrument, we should be looking at “the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions” (Silverman, 1993: 145). We find that the concept of reliability is often associated with terms such as; accuracy, stability⁷, consistency and repeatability.

⁶ Content validity refers to the procedures and the measuring instruments used. Therefore, “questionnaires or observation charts are valid as regards content if they are really suitable for researching the intended aspects of the phenomenon studied” (Smaling, 1992: 83-84). According to Neuman, (2003: 531), content validity is a subset of “measurement validity that requires that a measure represent all the aspects of the conceptual definition of a construct”.

⁷ When concerned with issues of stability, it can be referred to as ‘diachronic reliability’. In other words, we are here concerned with establishing “the stability of observation through time” (Silverman, 1993:145).

Put slightly differently, when we look at issues of reliability, we are interested if the use of the specific methodology and measuring instrument would render the same results over time, and repeated applications of the measuring instrument. This is important for ascertaining and establishing the usability of the results of the study and also the quality of the assertions flowing from the study. It is important to ensure that the results can be reproduced by other researchers interested in extending or investigating issues within a particular field of study.

3.4.4 Comparability

This can refer to either the degree of correspondence of the questionnaires, indices, and/or the data obtained from it. In this instance, we are interested in the degree of correspondence between the indices developed in each questionnaire. We eliminate the problems associated with the issue of comparability, by using the same questions in each questionnaire. This ensures comparability across questions within each questionnaire. The indices in each data set are constructed in exactly the same manner, and this ensures that we have comparability across indices. We can then, with confidence, use the information or results obtained from the application of the indices of each data set for comparison across data sets. This will be discussed in more detail in the following section, where we explain issues related to the research design.

3.5 Research Design

The type of research design appropriate to this particular study, is a quantitative design. As mentioned earlier, the specific method to be used is longitudinal in nature, specifically a time-series approach. Therefore, we will be examining “features of people or other units at more than one time” (Neuman, 1999: 30). In this instance, the respondents are examined at three points in time; 1991, 1995 and 2001. This is indicative of changes of behaviour over a ten-year period. The historical-comparative nature of the study is seen in the fact that we will be comparing data obtained from three questionnaires conducted over a period of ten years, at three different times.

We base our assumptions on the noticed changes in the data between these periods. The advantage of using this time dimension lays in the fact that it allows “researchers [to] seek answers to questions about social change...” (Neuman, 1999: 30). A time-series approach refers to when we collect similar facts over a certain period of time. In other words, “the same type of information is collected on a group of people or other units across multiple time periods” (Neuman, 1999:31). It is important to clarify here though that this is not a panel study⁸, which would involve examining exactly the same group of people over time. The questionnaire is administered to a representative group of people of the same population over time.

We decided to use variables or questions, included in the protest index, which appear in each version of the WVS questionnaires. In other words, these questions are all asked of respondents in 1991, 1995 and 2001. This makes the data obtained from the application of the questionnaires, at least in terms of these specific items within each questionnaire, comparable over each application of the questionnaires. The items (questions) included in each protest index, are constructed in exactly the same way in each data set and therefore, rendered completely comparable.

The type of research can also be referred to as survey research, since we are using survey data to investigate the nature of a specific construct. We do the analyses by using four questions in the questionnaire, judged as indicative of actual participation in unconventional politics. We will be able to ascertain, over the specific period, how women’s involvement in unconventional participation has changed over the years. We want to ascertain if it increased or decreased, has it fluctuated, and what is the trend in comparison to the male component. Also, what is the noticeable trend when looking only within the female component of the data set?

3.5.1 Target Population

All females and males between the ages of 16 and 60 questioned in the WVS of 1990, 1995 and 2001 will be considered the population. The sample to be used, will be

⁸ A panel study can be defined as “a form of longitudinal research in which a panel of respondents or subjects is selected and then followed or interviewed over time” (Nelson-Thomson learning, 2003:2).

drawn from this population. We will only be examining the South African component of the worldwide data set, since we are interested in ascertaining trends of women's political participation in South Africa. We decide to include even the respondents as young as 16, since participation in unconventional politics is not limited to children older than 18, as voting, a conventional avenue for political participation, is for example.

We can expect to find a possible gender gap when analysing the data found within the male and female groups respectively. Generally, a gender gap can be seen as a disparity between men and women in relation to political opinion, attitudes and action. Most explanations of the gender gap⁹ is premised on the notion that, "for whatever reason, women have different values and priorities than men" (Conover, 1988: 1004). According to this reasoning then, we can expect to find a gap between the participation of men and women due to their gender. Here referring to gender as the role associated with a particular sex according to socialization.

3.6 Construction of the Protest Index

Before we move on to the specific characteristics of our index, it is important to understand exactly what an index is. That is why we concentrate now on explaining the process.

The construction of an index involves the combination of various items by the researcher¹⁰. He or she chooses items considered to be indicative of the same dimension or characteristic (searched-for construct), and combine them into a single indicator. The specific items (questions) in the questionnaire, which the researcher considers to be indicative of the presence of a particular construct (characteristic), are combined to form a measuring instrument. This measuring instrument measures the

⁹ Conover, (1988) presents an interesting view about the gender gap, when she asserts that the gender gap between feminist women and men is greater than the gap between non-feminist women and men. Therefore, she concludes that feminist women contribute most to the creation of the gender gap.

¹⁰ The protest indices for the WVS 1991, 1995 and 2001 used in this paper, are those constructed by Kotze, 2001, in his article examining unconventional participation. The complete reference for this article is found in the bibliography.

degree or the level of presence of a particular construct, in our case, ‘involvement in protest politics’. The respondents’ level of involvement in protest politics can then be placed on a scale and rated. Rating is then made possible by the construction of an index, which serves to make the previously immeasurable construct, measurable.

To construct the protest index, selected items (questions) in the questionnaire were grouped together, which were established, through a series of tests (for example, factor analysis¹¹), are indicative of the same construct (‘involvement in protest politics’). Because they all indicate the presence of the construct, we can confidently combine them into a measurement instrument to indicate the level of ‘involvement in protest politics’ of the respondents. These items, can therefore, with confidence be combined as indicative of only one underlying component.

A complete factor analysis was conducted for each of the protest indexes within each World Value Survey data set. The protest index created in each data set is completely comparable then. Protest activity has been established as the clear construct. All the items load highly together¹², and are indicative of only the one construct. The process of factor analysis is described in more detail later in this section.

3.6.1 Questions used to assess levels of participation in protest politics

The specific questions are variables 47@2 – 47@5 in the WVS of 1991 and 1995, and V135 – V138 in the WVS 2001. These questions assess responses in terms of different types of unconventional political action in which the respondent has participated. The index measures the respondents’ degree of involvement in protest politics. This ranges from placement within the ‘low protest’ category to the ‘medium protest’ category, and then finally the ‘high protest’ category.

¹¹ For a table presenting the component matrix produced by the factor analysis, see Appendix A, Figure 3.1.

¹² The Cronbach’s Alpha’s for the chosen items in the World Values Survey for 1991, 1995 and 2001, respectively are; .8262, .8165, and .7922. These are all high factor loadings, showing that these items are highly indicative of the chosen construct. The Cronbach Alpha measures the degree to which the separate items, when combined in an index, are indicative of one or more constructs. The closer the loading is to 1, the more confidence can be put into the assertion that the chosen items are indicative of one construct. It is a “model of internal consistency, based on the average inter-item correlation” (SPSS for windows, 2003: Tutorial)

We decide to exclude the question related to ‘signing petitions’. The reason for this is firstly, it is not considered so much an overtly unconventional political act, and secondly because it requires literacy. The latter precondition would exclude a large segment of our target population, as we find that proportionately to men, women are much more illiterate. The index therefore includes the variables; ‘joining in boycotts’, ‘attending lawful demonstrations’, ‘joining unofficial strikes’, and ‘occupying buildings or factories’.

It is useful to use these specific variables to gauge and investigate respondents’ level of involvement in protest politics, as it also requires an answer in relation to actual physical participation, and not only potential or an inclination to do so. If we would use items which show only inclination or potential, this would render us with information indicating possible behaviour and not actual behaviour. That is why this study focuses on those specific acts that people report to have actively taken part in, “taken as the most accurate and reliable indicator of protest activism...”(Norris, 2001; chapter 10: 5).

3.6.2 Questions used to assess structural variables

Employment status¹³ will be assessed by using q97 in the WVS 1991 and 1995, and V229 in WVS 2001. The educational level¹⁴ of respondents will be determined by using q94 in the WVS of 1991 and 1995, and V226 in WVS 2001. The number of dependents of the respondents will be determined by using q29 in the WVS of 1991 and 1995. In the 2001 survey there is no measure for the number of dependents¹⁵ of the respondent. The respondent’s locus of control¹⁶ will be measured by q20 in the WVS 1991 and 1995, and V82 in the WVS of 2001.

¹³ The complete question reads: “Are you employed now or not?”

¹⁴ The complete question reads: “What is the highest educational level of education you personally have achieved?”

¹⁵ The complete question reads: “Have you had any children? If yes indicate...”

¹⁶ The complete question reads: “How much freedom of choice and control do you feel you have over the way your life turns out?”

3.6.3 Questions used to assess socialization variables

The importance of family¹⁷ in the life of the respondent will be assessed by q1@1 in the WVS of 1991 and 1995, and V4 in the WVS of 2001. Marital status¹⁸ will be determined by q28 in the WVS of 1991 and 1995, and V106 in the WVS of 2001. Religious membership¹⁹ will be assessed by q72 in the WVS 1991 and 1995, and V184 in the WVS 2001. The importance of politics²⁰ in the respondents' life will be assessed by V1@4 in the WVS 1991 and 1995, and V7 in the WVS of 2001. The influence of race²¹ on the individual's participation in protest politics will be assessed by q110 in the WVS of 1991 and 1995, and V242 in the WVS of 2001.

3.6.4 Factor analysis

This is important in establishing the reliability of using chosen variables together to construct an index, or measurement of a specific construct or phenomenon. Factor analysis is “used to examine whether these activities fall into a distinct dimension...” (Norris, 2001; chapter 10: 5). In other words, it is used to ascertain whether the chosen variables correspond with each other and are therefore indicative of the same underlying construct. In this case, we need to find variables that all cluster together on the same dimension of participation in protest politics.

For all the indices used in each respective year of the WVS, factor analysis has already been done to establish the usability of the indexes in terms of it actually illustrating the presence of our construct. It has been determined that the items, clustered together, showing that they indeed are indicative of one dimension, and therefore could be used to determine the presence of our construct.

¹⁷ The complete question reads: “Family: Indicate how important this is in your life?”

¹⁸ The complete question reads: “Are you currently... married, living together as married, divorced separated, widowed, or single?”

¹⁹ The complete question reads: “Do you belong to a religious denomination?”

²⁰ The complete question reads: “Politics: Indicate how important this is in your life?”

²¹ The complete question reads: “Ethnic group: Black, White, Colored, Indian, Other”

3.6.5 Advantages and disadvantages associated with the use of secondary data

The advantage of using secondary data analysis, is that it saves time and is less costly than gathering and analysis of primary data. The disadvantage is that we will not be “able to control for data collection errors and are constrained in analysis by original objectives of the research” (Mouton; 2001:165). I control for this disadvantage by using variables within the secondary data most similar to the construct I want to explore, thereby aligning the objectives of my research with those of the general objectives of the primary research.

Now that we have discussed and explained the research methodology to be used, as well as the problem statement upon which the particular methodology is premised, we can move on to the actual analysis of the data in terms of the two main hypotheses. The reader should therefore, now be equip to understand my general theoretical assertions, which direct my further analysis. In chapters 4 and 5 then, I will be testing my presented propositions, in terms of both the structural and socialization approaches.

Chapter 4: Testing Proposition One

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will be concerned with testing one of the main propositions, and the already presented sub-propositions, in terms of respectively, the structural and then socialization approaches. I will test the asserted proposition specifically by using the various data analysis techniques found within the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). This package assists the social scientific researcher in the quantification and processing of social science data, in such a way as to make it easily explainable and representable. It aids the researcher in his or her attempt to present findings in an easily understandable format.

In this chapter, specifically, we will evaluate the proposition in which I assert that I expect to find a decrease in the percentage of participation of women in protest politics, between 1991 and 2001.

When considering the percentages in relation to the variables, the reader should keep in mind that we are mainly presenting the findings in terms of only those respondents falling into the high protest category. In the WVS 1991, this makes up 7.5% (n=154) of the overall sample of respondents. In the WVS 1995, the people ranking in the high protest category, makes up 4.6% (n=114) of the entire sample. And in the 2001 sample, the section of people falling into the high protest category, makes up 6.0% (n=158) of the total sample. These percentages exclude the respondents giving responses declared as system missing. For a more detailed explanation of the sample size, and the number of respondents, the reader is referred back to chapter 3, pages 30-32.

By briefly examining the number of respondents falling into the high protest category over the years, we can see a fluctuating trend. To fully explain the reasons behind these trends, and their relative importance, it is important to examine these numbers in terms of gender, and the percentages of the whole it makes up.

In the WVS 1991, women make up 35.7% (n=55) of those respondents falling into the high protest category. In the 1995 survey, women constituted 34.2% (n=39), and in 2001, 31.6% (n=50) of the respondents falling into the high protest category. Just by looking at this trend, one can tentatively suggest that the data support the proposition that women's participation in protest politics has decreased over the years.

Most of the tables, consequently, illustrate the percentages of participation of males and females falling into the high protest category only. For a respondent to fall in this category, he or she would have had to answer yes to taking part in all the protest activities in the index. If he or she falls in the medium or low protest category, it means that the respondent has taken part in some, but not all the protest activities. I find it important to concentrate on the group of respondents consistently and actively taking part in all protest activities, and therefore I evaluate the percentages mainly as observed in the high protest category.

The reader should however, not be lured into thinking that the low protest percentages are an illustration of lack of, or total disinterest in protest activities. Just because a respondent does not fall into the high protest category does not mean that he or she has not at all been involved in protest activities. What it means is that they fall into the medium or low protest category because he or she does not take part in **all** the protest activities consistently over time, like the respondents who do fall into the high protest category.

4.2 Structural explanation

I have explained the assumptions associated with this approach. Basically, it assigns the trends of women's participation in protest politics to the fact that women are, structurally faced, in society, with fewer resources and are at a disadvantage in their endeavour to participate, in comparison to men. As is illustrated by Liebenberg, (1999: 59), "full and effective participation in democratic processes requires that every member of society has access to the basic necessities of life". The unequal distribution of resources has structurally put women in a difficult position in terms of

participation in political processes, and still renders the processes of politics undemocratic. We find that, even at present, the obstacles that women face in interacting with political processes, remain significant and numerous (Rhoda and Watson, 2002: 171).

I will look at specific items within the WVS, which will show the position women occupy in relation to men in terms of their ability to participate. I look at the educational level of respondents, their employment status, their locus of control, and their respective number of dependents. I will discuss the influence of locus of control on participation in chapter 5, as it more clearly relates to the reasoning employed, according to the proposition examined in that section.

The specific independent variables were chosen because I thought them to be illustrative of the structural position of women in comparison to men, and how this eventually influences the differences in levels of participation between the two. By evaluating the effect of these variables on women's levels of participation in protest politics, I will be able to make stronger assertions, based on statistical analysis, about the effects of women's structural positioning on their eventual political participation.

Class, an important independent variable to consider, is a composition of education, financial status, employment status, educational level etc. All the factors, which structurally situates an individual in society. By looking at the effect of these variables separately, we will be able to make informed inferences about the effect of social class on women's participation. It is important to evaluate the various ways in which these variables influence women's participation. In terms of the issue of class, it has been found that "it is women from the middle tiers of the caste (*sic*) hierarchy who participate most" (Randall, 1987: 90). We will investigate if this is the case, by analysing the WVS data in terms of these variables.

What is important for us in this chapter, and this particular section, is to see how the structural variables have influenced women's participation in protest politics over the years. I want to see if the data support the sub-propositions, which are based on the

assumption that, due to the decreasing structural limitations on women's participation in conventional politics, women will participate less in protest politics over the years.

4.2.1 Educational level

This variable is found as item 94 in the WVS 1991, item 94 in the WVS 1995, and as item 226 in the WVS 2001. The question ascertains the respondents' level of education. The categories range from; 'no education', 'some primary school education', 'primary school completed', 'some high school', 'high school completed', 'some university', 'university completed' to 'post-graduate studies'.

When we look specifically at the influence a respondents' level of education has on the percentages of men and women involved in protest politics, we notice the following trends.¹

Table 4.1: Educational level's influence on participation in the high protest category

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	PARTICIPATION IN HIGH PROTEST CATEGORY					
	WVS 1991		WVS 1995		WVS 2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>no education</i>	5.9				9.3	
<i>some primary school</i>	15.5	4.8	3.7	1.3	28.3	3.5
<i>primary school completed</i>	16.9	13.3	6.7	1.8	21.3	5.7
<i>some high school</i>	17.1	11.7	7.9	3.1	12.8	10.8
<i>high school completed</i>	13.5	1.7	4.7	3.2	15.4	4.8
<i>university completed</i>		12	4.9	10	3.6	2.2
<i>Total num. of respondents</i>	1258	1478	1435	1464	1500	1500

¹For separate cross tabulations in tabular form, for each year of the WVS, between gender and education, and education and protest see Appendix A, Figure 4.2. and 4.3.

*WVS 1991: N=2736

- (males=1258, females=1478)

WVS 1995: N=2899

- (males=1435, females=1464)

WVS 2001: (N=3000)

- (males=1500, females=1500)

**The original N's are reported in the above table. The reader is alerted here though; to the fact that the percentages reported in all tables, are based on weighted data. We are therefore, working with the weighted sample. For a more detailed explanation, refer to the notes at the end of this paper.

In the above table, as mentioned earlier, only the percentages of respondents ranking high on the protest index are taken into consideration. We find in 1991, male participation increases with the level of education up till 'some high school', and then there is a decrease in participation in protest politics until 'university completed'. There is a slight increase again in male participation in protest politics, once they have completed their post-graduate studies to 4.8%.²

When we look at women in 1991, we find that there is no one ranking in the high protest category when they have no schooling, but it is noted that their participation in protest politics increases up till 'primary school completed'. Then again, similar to the trend in the male section, we find a decrease in their participation up till high school is completed. After that women's participation increases and rises to a percentage of 12.0% when they complete university. This percentage is above that observed for men when they have completed their post-graduate studies (0%). This lends support to the assertion that "women's participation increases with the level of their educational achievement..." (Randall, 1987: 88).

In 1995, we notice that, for men, participation in protest politics increases as educational level increases up till high school level, and then we find a fluctuation in

² See Appendix A, Figure 4.1, for post-graduate percentages, it has not been included in this table, as there is no item to measure this variable in the WVS of 2001, consequently only the 1991 and 1995 percentages are available, and therefore discussed.

participation as their level of education decreases from that point, with a slight increase at university level. For women, we notice that as their educational level increases their participation increases concomitantly, with the exception of the attainment of a post-graduate degree, where we find a slight decrease from 10% participation to 9.1% participation.

In 2001, for men, we notice the same trend as in 1991, with an increase in participation in protest politics dependent on an increase in educational level. But we find that participation decreases after 'primary school has been completed' straight through to when university has been completed. For women, we notice an increase in participation, with an increase in educational level up till high school level to 10.8%. But then we find a decrease in participation again until university has been completed (2.2%).

This trend is opposite to what is commonly believed, we would expect the levels of participation to increase as educational level increases, but it seems that increased educational attainment increases participation in protest politics mainly till high school level, and then that a further increase in education diverts participation away from protest.

In support of my proposition then, when looking at the participation levels of women between 1991 and 2001, we do find an overall decrease in participation, except in the category of 'some high school' and 'high school completed'. The percentages fluctuate between 1991 and 1995, but when we eventually examine the percentages in 2001, we find an overall a decrease of participation when comparing the percentages noted in 1991.

For a complete table of the percentages observed for all protest categories, see appendix A, Figure 4.1.

4.2.2 Employment status

This variable is found as item 97 in the WVS 1991, item 97 in the WVS 1995, and as item 229 in WVS 2001. The question assesses the respondents' employment status by simply asking them to answer 'yes' if they are employed, and 'no' if they are not currently employed.

Table 4.2: The influence of employment status on participation in protest politics

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	PARTICIPATION IN HIGH PROTEST CATEGORY					
	WVS 1991		WVS 1995		WVS 2001	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Yes	9	4.3	5.2	2.8	17.7	2.7
No	17.9	11.2	7.5	1.6	16.4	7.2

In 1991, we find that if a person has a job, he or she is less likely to fall in the high protest category, than someone who has no job. Therefore, whether you are male or female, you are more likely to take part in protest politics if you do not have a job. In 1995, for the male component of the survey the same as above applies. If you do have a job, you will participate less in protest activities in comparison to if you did not have a job. For the women, we see exactly the opposite.

In 2001, this trend is reversed in the male group; it seems that if you do have a job, you are more likely to take part in protest politics, than if you did not have a job. This difference is not great however, (17.7% and 16.4%). In the female group we find a correspondence with the previous trend, if you do have a job, you are less likely to participate in protest politics.

So, overall, it seems that one is more likely to participate in protest politics if one does not have a job. Because women were in the past, less likely to be economically active, due to their structural positioning in society, it follows that their participation would be less than that of men.

I suggest here that, because structural limitations to women’s employment within the public sphere have declined over the years, after examination of the data, we found an overall decrease of participation in protest politics. We still find that if women have jobs they are less likely to take part in protest politics than if they did not have a job. I speculate that more women are prone to have a job in contemporary times. I base this assumption on the fact that, thanks to affirmative action, improvements in educational levels of women etc, women have greater access to jobs. This could be why we find that they are less likely to be consistently active in protest activities, and therefore less prone to falling into the high protest category. We, therefore, find an overall decrease in participation in protest politics for women, when looking at 1991 and 2001 data.

4.2.3 Number of dependents

This variable is found as item 29 in WVS 1991, item 29 in WVS 1995, and we find in WVS 2001 that there is no item measuring this variable. I still decided to include this variable in the study, even though we will not be able to look at trends between 1995 and 2001, we will still be able to have some insight into the expected trends as deduced from the data examined between 1991 and 1995.

Table 4.3: The influence of number of dependents on participation in the high protest category.

NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS	PARTICIPATION IN HIGH PROTEST CATEGORY			
	WVS 1991		WVS 1995	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
2 children	17.2	10.7	4.4	2.1
4 children	14.5	12.2	1	2.8
5 children	10.7	6.5	3.8	1.5
6+ children	15.7	8		2.6

In 1991, for men, their percentage of participation in protest activity decreases with the number of children the respondent has, until 5 children. After that it increases again. For women, their percentage of participation in protest activity increases if they

have more than 2 children, then decreases again if they have 5 children and then increases again after 6 children.

In 1995, for men, there is a decrease between 2 and 4 children, but participation increases again after 5 children, but if they have 6 children they do not rank in the high category at all. They do rank in the medium protest category though, but this does not mean that they do in actual fact take part in all protest activities, as is mentioned earlier. For women, between 2 and 4 children there is an increase in participation, but if they have 5 children it decreases again, and if they have 6 children it increases. We find then a trend of fluctuating participation between 4 and 6 children then.

I expect to find a decrease in the participation of women between 1991 and 1995, because, regardless of the number of children a woman has, women's mobility and access to the public sphere has increased. Thus, she has less of a feeling of inadequacy within the public sphere at large, and does not feel as repressed by the structure of society, and therefore have less reason to take part in protest activities. This assertion is based on the argument that "political disaffection promotes unconventional political behaviour" (Kinder and Sears, 1985, and Rasinski and Tyler 1986 in Tyler, 1991: 32).

When looking at the variance of the percentages of participation in 1991 and 1995, between the numbers of dependents, we see that the number of children affected more dramatically women's propensity to take part in protest activities. In 1995, we find that the variance is not great between the different numbers of dependents. This supports the finding of Flora & Lynn, who assert that "becoming a mother does not necessarily reduce a women's rate of political participation..." (Randall, 1987: 87). Thus, the number of dependents has less of an influence on women's participation in protest politics, than was the case earlier. Because of an increased exposure to activities in the public sphere, we expect this trend to hold for data in 2001. Thus, we expect that the number of dependents of women, would have less of an impact on their propensity to participate in protest politics in the future.

I postulate then, that women's inadequacy in the activities associated with the public sphere (conventional political participation), has decreased between 1991 and 1995, because women have less of a reason to feel inadequate because of their number of dependents and traditional familial responsibilities to look after the children. Thus, we increasingly find over the years, that they are less driven to protest activities, in response to this inadequacy in terms of the conventional avenues for political participation.

4.3 Socialisation explanation

Here we will concentrate on testing the proposition, by using the socialization approach. We will therefore be using different items thought to be indicative or illustrative of the effects of socialization on political participation. We look at items gauging the values of respondents in relation to various issues, which are all influenced by the way in which individuals have been socialized.

I re-iterate the importance of the effects of socialisation on political participation. Duverger, (1955), although portraying a very stereotypical view of women's behaviour, importantly notes that; of the attributes that shape women's political behaviour, socialisation is very important. Discussed in earlier studies related to women's political behaviour, academics "refer [red] ... to women's 'mentality of minors'" (Duverger in Randall, 1987: 83). This term illustrated the mentality fostered by socialisation, which positioned women in an inferior position in comparison to men.

The importance of the influences of socialisation on political behaviour is found in "the interaction between the social system and an individual, whereby both predisposition for and skills relating to participation in the political sphere are internalised" (Flora and Lynn in Randall, 1987: 83). Thus, attitudes, and potential behaviour is deeply linked to the socialization processes of our society.

The assumption that underlies the socialisation approach is that “political orientation arises within the context of already established sex roles...” (Randall, 1987: 83). That is why we are investigating the influence of variables such as marital status, religious membership, the importance of politics and family in the life of the respondent, the effect of age, and ethnic group. Views in terms of these issues are instilled in an individual through the vehicle of socialisation, as well as the rightly perceived role of politics in relation to these variables for men and women. In studying and analysing the findings in terms of these variables, we will be able to discuss and consider, in an informed manner, the influence of socialisation on political behaviour.

4.3.1 Family values (the importance of family)

Here we expect that the more important family is to the respondent the more prone those individuals will be to participate in protest politics. We base this assumption on the proposition that an individual who finds family important will be more prone to take part in protest to change their situation, to be able to present their family with a better life. See table 4.4. See Appendix A, Figure 4.4, for the tabular illustration of the cross tabulation between the 'importance of family' and 'protest activity'.

Table 4.4: The influence of the importance of family on participation in the high protest category.

IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY	PARTICIPATION IN HIGH PROTEST CATEGORY					
	WVS 1991		WVS 1995		WVS 2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Very Important</i>	14.7	6.9	5.7	2.5	17.5	6.1
<i>Quite Important</i>	13	16.7	6.6	2.7	6.8	7.9
<i>Not very Important</i>			2.9			
<i>Not at all Important</i>			15.4	11.5	63.6	

We notice that people who find family more important, are more inclined to take part in protest politics at a consistent level, than people who do not find family important.

This is important in terms of the effect of socialization on women specifically. As women are associated and socialized to be placed within the private sphere, one could propose that family should be consequently more important to them.

I should remind the reader here, that in the columns where there is no percentage, this does not mean that these respondents do not at all take part in protest activities, they are not included in this table, as we only look at, and report the percentages for those people falling into the high protest category. For instance, in the medium protest category, where respondents answered yes to taking part in most protest activities, we find a 50% participation of women, and a 66.7% participation for men in 1991, where we find no respondents, male or female falling into the high protest category in that specific year. For separate cross tabulations for each year for the importance of family, see Appendix A, Bar charts 1-3.

For women, in 1991 and 1995 and 2001, the more important they find family, the more inclined they were to take part in protest politics consistently. If we look at the trend between 1991 and 2001, there has been a decrease in overall participation of women in protest politics. This supports our proposition, which expects women's participation to decrease between 1991 and 2001.

4.3.2 The Effect of age (socialization effects)

The reason we cannot consider the impact of this variable on political participation, in terms of gender, is because the WVS 2001, does not have a variable for this. Unfortunately, we have no comparative means therefore, or variable then to compare this variable across all surveys. Again emphasizing the descriptive nature of this study, I find it important to briefly discuss the impact of this variable on participation, even though we will not be examining the WVS data.

Statistics South Africa (SSA) data reveals that in 1996, there were more or less equal percentages of male and female individuals in each age group, but “among the older age groups... there is a tendency for females to predominate”. (SSA, 2002: 7). We

propose then that, age will have an effect on the participation of women, via socialization.

Older women will be less prone to participate in protest, due to the patriarchal norms instilled and more prominent in their growing up. These norms are proposed to have less effect on the younger generation, and therefore, the younger a female respondent, the less we would expect her to be bound by societal prescription of women to the private sphere. Thus, I would expect an increased probability or potential for younger females in comparison to older ones, to take part in protest politics. I hope that this question can be examined more carefully with the help of comparative data, but in this paper we are limited to only postulating about possible trends.

4.3.3 Marital status

The investigation of this variable is based on the proposition that socialization prescribes less participation in protest politics for women, if they are married, because of impending familial responsibilities. It was thought more proper for women to leave politics to the men, and especially when married, to devote their actions to support of their men, rather than taking part in protest activities themselves.

Table 4.5: The influence of marital status on participation in the high protest category

MARITAL STATUS	PARTICIPATION IN HIGH PROTEST CATEGORY					
	WVS 1991		WVS 1995		WVS 2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Married</i>	9.8	4.4	4.8	2.5	18.2	4.1
<i>Living together</i>	25	20	4.4	3.9	28	1.2
<i>Divorced</i>	16.7	4.3	4.2	2.6	1.2	0.6
<i>Separated</i>		20	4.5		79.3	9.7
<i>Widow</i>		9.4			20.4	4.1
<i>Single</i>	20.2	11.4	8.3	3.2	11.9	9

In 1991, for men, the lowest percentage of consistently active participation in protest politics occurs when they are married (9.8). This is significantly lower than the percentage observed when the respondent is divorced (16.7). The highest percentages occur when they are living together with their partner (25.0), but this percentage is not significantly higher than the percentage observed when the respondents are single (20.2).

For women, similar to the case of men, a low percentage of consistently active participation in protest politics occurs when the respondent is married (4.4), which is not significantly higher than the percentage observed when the respondent is divorced (4.3). When the respondent is widowed (9.4), the percentage is similar to that when the respondent is single (11.4). Similar to the case for men, the highest percentage of consistent active participation in protest politics is found when the respondent is living together with a partner (20.0), as well as being separated (20.0). This is interesting, as it seems as if being with a partner or being separated makes no difference to women's participation in protest politics during 1991.

In 1995, we notice that, for men, between the period of 1991 and 1995, the lowest percentage of consistently active participation is found when the respondent is divorced (4.2), but in all the other categories the percentage does not vary much. When the respondent is living with a partner the percentage is (4.4), separated (4.5), and married (4.8). Only when the respondent is single, does his participation rise to 8.3. This leads me to the conclusion that marital status, for men, did not have a significant influence on their level of participation in protest politics between 1991 and 1995.

For women, the lowest percentage of consistently active participation is found when she is married (2.5), but this is not significantly higher than when she is divorced (2.6). When she is single it rises slightly to 3.2, and when she is living together with someone it rises again to 3.9. These percentages also do not vary too much between categories, showing that similar to the case of men, between 1991 and 1995, marital

status does not seem to play a very definitive role in women's degree of participation in protest politics.

In 2001, for men, the lowest percentage of consistently active participation in protest politics, is found in the divorced category (1.2). This is significantly lower than the percentages found in all the other categories. The highest percentage is observed in the separated category (79.3). For all the other categories the percentages range between 18.2 - 28.0, showing quite a high level of participation of men in the 2001 survey, therefore between the period of 1995 and 2001.

For women, similar to men in the 2001 survey, the lowest percentage of consistently active participation in protest politics is found in the divorced category (0.6). This is substantially lower than the percentages found in all other marital categories. Similar again to the trend found in the male group, the highest percentage is found in the separated category (9.7), but this is also not substantially higher than the percentage observed in the single category (9.0). For all the other categories the percentages range between 1.2 and 4.1, showing little difference between the married, living together and widow categories. This again, another indicator, that marital status plays a tenuous and fluctuating role in a respondent's propensity to participate in protest politics.

Between 1991 and 1995, for women the lowest percentage of participation is found when they are married. This supports our assumption that marriage status does indeed influence women's propensity to participate. But in 2001, the lowest percentage of participation for women is noticed in the divorced category. This leads me to the conclusion that marital status has over the years come to have less of an impact on women's propensity to participate.

When examining the overall percentages, we find support for our first proposition, because between 1991 and 2001, there is an overall decrease in women's participation in consistent protest activities.

4.3.4 Importance of politics in the life of the respondent

We expect this aspect to affect an individual's level of interest and propensity to participate in political activities. We hypothesise that due to socialization, women would be expected to participate less than men, and their participation in protest politics would decrease. This would not be due to a decreased interest in protest politics over the years, but a decrease in the need for participation in protest politics, due to conventional avenues now being open for use.

Table 4.6: The influence of the importance of politics on participation in the high protest category

IMPORTANCE OF POLITICS	PARTICIPATION IN HIGH PROTEST CATEGORY					
	WVS 1991		WVS 1995		WVS 2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Very important</i>	23.8	15.9	11	3.5	30.7	2.2
<i>Quite important</i>	14.2	11.3	6.8	2.4	17.3	13.1
<i>Not very important</i>	8.1	2.7	4.7	4	9.8	3.5
<i>Not at all important</i>	4.9	1.4	0.9	1	5.3	2.8

In 1991, for men, the lowest percentage of consistently active participation in protest politics is found in the category where the respondent feels that politics is ‘not at all’ important to his life (4.9). This is to be expected, the less important one finds politics in ones life, the less involvement would be expected from that individual in any type of political activity. The highest percentage is observed in the category where the respondent feels that politics is ‘very’ important in his life. We find then, as proposed, that as the level of importance of politics rises for the individual, so also does his propensity to take part in protest politics on a consistent basis.

For women, the same trend as above holds true. The lowest percentage of participation is found in the 'not at all' category, whereas the highest percentage is found in the 'very important' category. Similarly, the respondents' propensity to take part in protest politics rises as the level of importance of politics in her life rises.

In 1995, for men, we find that again the highest percentage of participation in consistent protest politics is found in the 'very important' category (11.0), whereas the lowest percentage of participation is found in the 'not at all' category (0.9). We also note that these percentages are substantially lower than those observed in all categories in 1991, showing us that participation in protest politics at a consistent rate has decreased from 1991 to 1995.

Surprisingly for women, in terms of the importance of politics in their lives, the highest percentage of participation in protest politics is found in the 'not very important' group (4.0), whereas the lowest percentage of participation is found in the 'not at all' category (1.0) again. We find the percentage in the 'very important' group is not substantially lower (3.5), in comparison. The above trend noticed in the male group, then does not hold true for women in the 1995 survey.

In 2001, for men, we find again the same trend. The highest percentage of consistent protest politics participation is found in the 'very important' category (30.7), whereas the lowest percentage is found in the 'not at all' category (5.3). We also note here, that for the male group, the percentages of participation in protest politics in the high protest category, is higher for all categories, than those observed in the 1995 survey. So therefore, between 1995 and 2001, the participation has risen even also to level higher than those observed in 1991. So although participation has declined between 1991 and 1995, the degree of participation has increased over the years between 1991 and 2001, for men.

For women, we do not find the same trend again. The highest percentages of participation are noted in the 'quite important' category (13.1). Surprisingly the lowest percentage of participation is found in the category where the respondents feels

that politics is “very important” in her life (2.2). This might not be a reflection of women’s lack of truth when saying politics is ‘very’ important, it is found that about 86% of them take part in protest politics, but are ranked in the low protest level, meaning that they do not participate in all protest activities, but some. So the lack of correlation with their statements and their actions could be more a function of their roles ascribed to them by society, than their real lack of truthfulness regarding the importance of politics in their lives.

We find that the data supports our proposition with some qualification. We expected to find an overall decrease in women's participation in protest politics between 1991 and 2001, regardless of the importance they ascribed to it, because of the fact that conventional participation would have become more important to them. There has however, been an increase in all the categories, except in the category where women view politics as very important to them. Here women's participation in protest politics has decreased from 15.9 in 1991 to 2.2 in 2001.

We can deduce from this then, that for those women who find politics very important, most of them concentrate their political activities on more conventional politics. We find it interesting to note that those women who do not find politics very important, has had an increase in protest between 1991 and 2001.

4.3.5 Race

The reason we include this variable in the socialization approach, is because we assume that different socialization patterns would have had an influence on the levels of participation of the different groups in terms of race, be they male or female. We want to see if women in a particular race group are more prone to take part in protest politics, than women in a different race group.

Table 4.7: The influence of race on participation in the high protest category

RACE	PARTICIPATION IN HIGH PROTEST CATEGORY					
	WVS 1991		WVS 1995		WVS 2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Black</i>	21.3	11.6	6.7	2.4	23.1	4.6
<i>White</i>	0.8	0.6	1.7	1.1	1.9	1
<i>Coloured</i>		1.4	6.6	6.4	3.9	20.1
<i>Indian/ Asian</i>	9.1	5.3	5.6	2.1	0.6	1.9

Surprisingly we find that the highest percentage of women consistently taking part in protest activities, therefore ranking in the high protest category, is found in the coloured group, except in 1991. We would expect black women to have been more active in protest politics. One would have expected, due to the country's nature and political context, black women would have been the most disadvantaged, and in response to this disadvantage more prone to take part in protest during the period between 1991 and 2001. Black women still have a higher percentage of consistent participation in protest politics in comparison to both Indian/Asian and White ethnic groups.

Over the years Black women's consistent participation in protest politics has fluctuated and now reside in percentages lower than those observed in 1991. Asian women's consistent participation in protest activity has shown a steady decline between 1991 and 2001. Surprisingly, White and Coloured women have basically both increased in their level of participation in protest politics over the years. This could be due to the increased opportunities these women have in relation to their socialization in terms of their rightful roles in society. Black women could be more considerate of their traditional upbringing, which positions them in a less active role in politics.

This is where we find the interlinkedness of the structural and socialization approaches. We could have examined this variable in the structural section above,

because race also historically placed different race groups in an advantaged or disadvantaged position in the activities of society. This could also be proffered as another reason why White and Coloured women have increased their participation, because they had more ability and expertise to do it, and now it is easier for them to interact politically in this manner.

4.4 Summary thus far

Briefly then, if we scan the results or findings obtained during this chapter; we find the following. In terms of educational level, between 1991 and 2001, in support of our hypothesis, we find an overall decrease in women's participation. In terms of employment status, women who are unemployed, are generally more likely to participate in protest politics. In terms of, and regardless of the number of dependents, we find a decrease in participation in protest politics of women, between 1991 and 2001. In terms of family values, the more important women find family, the more involved they are in protest politics, and overall there has been a decrease in women's participation between 1991 and 2001. In terms of marital status, we find its impact has over the years declined, and regardless of a women's marital status, there has been an overall decrease in participation between 1991 and 2001. In terms of the importance of politics, there has been an overall decrease in women's participation. In terms of race, there are fluctuations between percentages observed across the years and between different races.

Amidst the questions fuelled by the above investigation and analysis, we move on to examination of the second proposition in chapter 5. After successful examination of the proposition presented there, we will turn to a brief discussion in chapter 6, summarizing the main findings of the research, as well as presenting questions for further investigation in future research within this field.

Chapter 5: Testing Proposition Two

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will be examining the data, more specifically, in terms of the second proposition. Same as was done in the previous chapter, we will examine it in terms of the structural and socialization approaches. In our evaluation of the different variables then, in terms of the second proposition, we expect to find the participation of women in protest politics to be consistently lower than that of men.

5.2 Structural explanation

As mentioned before, we look at items within the WVS, which we think will give us a good indication of how structural positioning affects women's degree of participation in protest politics.

We find, even in today's less conservative and more modern modes of thought and behaviour, women still participate less than men in the activities of politics. That is why it is important to evaluate and analyze the structural factors influencing and underlying women's participation. The impact of structural limitations on women's participation is illustrated by Black & McGlen (1979), and Lewis (1971), when they assert that "it is the women most sheltered by tradition- older, less educated, religious, rural – who show the greatest divergence in social and specifically political attitudes from their menfolk" (Randall, 1987:85).

5.2.1 Educational level

This variable, as mentioned in the previous chapter, is found as item 94 in the WVS 1991, item 94 in the WVS 1995, and as item 226 in the WVS 2001. In terms of education, it has been found by various studies, that the higher the level of education the higher the degree of participation. Here, we investigate how the level of education of men and women influences their participation in protest politics. As we know women, have, due to structural limitations, been put in a position rendering them with less chances of educational achievement in the past. Now that such limit to education for women is less prevalent, we investigate how this has affected their participation over the years.

Randall, (1987: 88), for instance, in accordance with previous assumptions in terms of education's influence on political participation, asserts that as women's level of education increases, so does their degree of participation, and "often amongst the most highly educated, sex differences narrow to insignificance". We investigate the truth of this assertion, in our following analysis of the influence of education on women's participation in protest politics. We are especially interested in finding out if, regardless of educational attainment, women will still participate less than men.¹

In 1991, women have a consistently lower percentage of participation in protest politics at all educational levels in comparison to men, except in the category for 'university completed' and 'post-graduate studies'. This shows how important the level of education is in terms of equaling the playing fields for both men and women. Education plays a large role in changing women's, often inferior, perception of their participation in the public sphere, in comparison to men.

In 1995, women are also found to have a consistently lower degree of participation in protest activities than men, with again the exception in the categories, 'university completed' and 'post-graduate studies', where women's participation in protest politics, very noticeably, exceeds that of men. This again shows, that education is could be a much stronger indicator of participation than gender. Regardless of gender, people with higher levels of education participate more.

In 2001, we find that women are also found to have a consistently lower degree of participation in protest politics in comparison to men, but here this stays true until university is completed. In terms of our proposition then, we can postulate that the structural limitation to education for women, has had a profound effect on their levels of participation in protest politics between 1991 and 2001.

In response to the above statement, it is important to ask; why do women need higher levels of education for protest? Would one not assume this to be the case in conventional political participation?

¹Refer back to Chapter 4, table 4.1, for an illustration of the effect of education on participation in protest politics. Also see Appendix, Figure 4.1.

I suggest that higher levels of education increases women's overall political participation, be it conventional or unconventional. Increased education affects an individuals feeling of political efficacy, and through this affects his or her propensity to participate in politics. Increased levels of participation in protest politics are therefore more a function of increased levels of education, due to the effect of the latter on overall political participation. In support of this argument, Randall, (1988: 88), finds that “women's participation increases with the level of their educational achievement...[and] often amongst the most highly educated sex differences narrow to insignificance”.

5.2.2 Employment status

Table 5.1: The influence of employment status on participation in the high protest category

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	PARTICIPATION IN HIGH PROTEST CATEGORY					
	WVS 1991		WVS 1995		WVS 2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Yes	9	4.3	5.2	2.8	17.7	2.7
No	17.9	11.2	7.5	1.6	16.4	7.2

*For separate cross tabulations in tabular form, for each years of the WVS, between employment status and protest activity, see Appendix A, Figure 5.1.

The employment status of an individual definitely influences his or her propensity to participate politically, be it conventional or unconventional. It has been found that employment increases the propensity of women to participate. In this regard, Welch (1977), finds that “employment outside the home..is associated with a dramatic increase in political participation..” (Randall, 1987: 86). That is why we find it important to investigate the influence of this variable on the levels of participation of women and men.

We expect to find consistently lower levels of participation in protest politics of women, in comparison to their male counterparts. Because women have over the years had less access to employment outside of the house, this has influenced their levels of participation in unconventional politics.

In 1991, 1995 and 2001, we find that regardless of employment status, women's participation is found to be consistently less than that of men. Whether the individuals are employed or not, seems to have less influence than gender, in terms of the respondents eventual participation in protest politics. Gender therefore, as opposed to employment status is a better indicator of participation.

5.2.3 Locus of control

This variable is found as item 20 in the WVS 1991, item 20 in the WVS 1995, and as item 82 in the WVS 2001. The question assesses the respondents' 'locus of control', by asking the respondent to rank him/herself on a scale ranging from 1 to 10, 1 represents a feeling of 'no control', 5 represents a feeling of some control, and 10 represents a feeling of 'a lot' of control over ones' life. The variable is recoded, by grouping all the responses from 1-4 to represent a feeling of 'a little control'. All the responses from 5-6 are grouped together to represent a feeling of 'some control', and all the responses from 7-10 are grouped together to represent a feeling of 'a great deal of control'.

A person is thought to have an internal locus of control when he or she rates him/herself high on the scale (7-10), and is considered to have an external locus of control when ranking him/herself low on the scale (1-4). This influences the person's feeling of political efficacy and therefore his or her propensity to participate in politics. This notion is supported by Caldeira and Gibson, (1992: 649), when they assert that "those who have the greatest confidence in their ability to influence the political system express great interest in politics...".

Usually people with an internal locus of control is found to be more active in all political activities, be it conventional or unconventional, because he or she feels that they have the ability within themselves to effect change. When people assign the ability to affect change with agents outside of themselves, they are less likely to participate in politics, be it unconventional or conventional. We propose here that women, due to their placement within the private sphere, will feel less able to influence politics, which is situated in the public sphere, and therefore rank

themselves low on the scale, consequently having an external locus of control, and less propensity to take part in protest activities than men.

In other words, I propose, that the more in control an individual feels in relation to the state of his or her life, the more inclined these individuals will be to take part in unconventional politics. People feeling that they have more control over their lives, feel they have more of a chance to influence the outcome of their lives, and if they are unhappy with the present state of their lives will not be scared to take action, even if it is unconventional. As is shown by Fransson and Garling, (1999: 369), amongst other factors, the “factors affecting behaviour appear to be knowledge, [and] internal locus of control (positive control beliefs)..”. These people also have more confidence in the belief that their own actions can actually affect change.

We propose, that people having an internal locus of control would be more likely to participate in protest politics. These individuals feel that they have the personal ability to influence the nature of their environments, and it is based on this feeling that they would be more prone to take part in protest politics, as they feel their activity in such acts, would bring about change. We therefore, also propose that people with an external locus of control, therefore ranking themselves lower than five, will be less prone to take part in protest activity, due to also its physical nature. They are much less inclined to think that they themselves can make a difference, and therefore would less likely take part in protest activity which includes a great deal of physical involvement.

The reason this variable is very important to consider in this study, is the fact that due to the structural position women have been placed within society, they are rendered with a feeling of less control over the course of their lives, whereas the opposite is true for men. Women therefore are expected to fall mostly in the category of those individuals classified as having an external locus of control, and therefore consistently less prone to participate in protest politics, than their male counterparts. Locus of control has impact for one’s eventual ability to participate in politics, as Terje and Eikeland notes (2001: 1), “a number of studies have found a significant relationship between locus of control and level of ability”, which translates into the propensity to pursue consequent behaviour.

Table 5.2: The influence of locus of control on participation in the high protest politics category

LOCUS OF CONTROL	PARTICIPATION IN HIGH PROTEST CATEGORY					
	WVS 1995		WVS 1995		WVS 2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>A little</i>	20.4	10.8	4.2	2.4	24.5	3.4
<i>Some</i>	13	8.3	5.5	2.4	11.1	5.2
<i>A great deal</i>	12.2	6.3	6.6	2.8	17.8	7.9

In 1991, for men, we find that as their locus of control increases, their percentage of participation decreases. This is surprising, as we, according to our reasoning, would expect participation to increase as locus of control increases. For women, there is similarly an overall increase in participation from 6.3% to 10.8% as locus of control decreases. In 1995, for men, their percentage of participation increases as the locus of control of the respondent increases. This trend is more in line with our reasoning and expectation. For women, similar to the trend observed in the male segment, we find that their percentage of participation increases as their locus of control increases. In 2001, we find, for males, a fluctuating trend in participation in terms of locus of control. Their participation shows an overall decrease though, from 24.5% to 17.8% as locus of control increases. For women in 2001, we find the expected trend to be apparent. Their participation in protest, placing them in the high protest category, increases as their locus of control increases.

It is interesting to note that both women and men in 1991 show a trend of decreasing participation in protest politics as their locus of control decreases. We can postulate that before our democratic transition in 1994, locus of control seemed to play less of a role in deciding a respondent's level of participation in protest. Even those respondents who felt that they have no control over their lives, felt mobilized by the political environment of apartheid South Africa to take part in protest regardless of their feelings of control.

After 1994, we find a reverse in the trend observed in 1991. This trend is more in line with our expectations; that as locus of control increases, so too would participation in

protest politics. This trend holds true for women in 2001 as well. Interestingly, we find in the male segment, a reverting back to the trend observed in 1991, that as locus of control decreases, participation in protest politics increases. The scope of this paper, does not allow further examination of this trend, but urges further analysis of this interesting phenomenon, in the endeavor to find answers to the observed trends, especially with regards to locus of control.

In 1991, 1995 and 2001, we find that, in comparison to men, women have a lower percentage of participation. We can postulate therefore, that women, due to the patriarchal structures of society, are rendered with a lesser sense of internal locus of control, and because of this factor, are found to participate less in protest politics in comparison to men.

5.2.4 Number of dependents

A popular conception associated with this variable; is that children prevent women from participation in protest politics. According to this reasoning then, we will find lower levels of consistent female activity in protest politics, in comparison to their male counterparts, due to mothering responsibilities. In support of the above reasoning, Randall, (1988: 85-86), rightly notes that “domestic and mothering responsibilities, that keep a woman housebound and out of the paid workforce, [also] limit her interest and actual involvement in politics”.

In the analysis of the data, I find general support for the above assumptions, as well as my stated proposition. In 1991, we find that women’s participation is consistently lower than that of men. In 1995, the trend is different. If the respondent has 2 children and 5 children, women’s participation is less than that of their male counterparts. However, if they have 4 children, or six children, women’s participation exceeds that of their male counterparts. By evaluating the 1991 and 1995 data, we see that in 1995 the number of dependents of a respondent seems to have less influence on women’s participation in comparison to men. We could not measure the effect of this variable on participation in 2001, because there was no variable to measure it.³

³Refer to table 4.3 in chapter 4, for a complete table of the influence of the number of dependents of a respondent, on their level of participation.

Generally though, we find, with exception in 2 categories in 1995, that women participate at consistently lower levels in protest politics than males. Our assumptions and propositions are therefore supported by our findings in the data.²

5.3 Socialization explanation

This approach, as discussed before, assigns the cause of women's consistently lower participation to their socialization based on the system of patriarchy. Due to the values associated with this system, women are excluded from participation in politics, be it conventional or unconventional. Therefore, according to this approach, we can explain the lower participation of women by looking at the values entrenched through the system of patriarchy, and thereby explain the findings.

In this respect, we find that Verba et al, 1997 (in Hassim, 1999), assert that due to the influences of socialization, the extent of women's general participation in politics, and especially the degree to which they consider themselves 'politically efficacious', or politically competent, is radically different to that of men. Socialization influences the consistent manner in which women are comfortable to participate in politics. We find that these influences can still be detected, even in today's modernized and less conventional modes of thought and behaviour.

5.3.1 Family values (the importance of family)

In terms of this variable, Randall, (1987: 86), finds that "domestic and mothering responsibilities...keep a woman housebound and out of the paid workforce, limit[ing] her interest and actual involvement in politics". According to this reasoning then, we expect to find that regardless of the importance of family values to the individual, women will still consistently participate less in protest politics. We base our expectation on the fact that they are socialized to place more precedence on the importance of immediate familial responsibilities rather than participation in protest politics, in comparison to men.³

² The reader is referred back to chapter 4, page 52 for a cross tabulation illustrating the influence of the number of dependents on the respondent's participation in protest politics.

³ Refer to table 4.4, page 55 in chapter 4 for complete table presenting a cross tabulation between the importance of family to the respondent and their consequent participation in protest politics.

We find that overall, in comparison to the percentages of consistent participation in protest politics, women exhibit a lower degree of participation across the years. This trend holds for all categories, except in the category where the respondents feel that family is quite important to them. In 1991 and 2001, we see that females ranking themselves in this category exceed participation in protest politics in comparison to men. However, the differences are not really that significant, they vary between 1-3%.

So, generally, we find that regardless of the importance assigned to family, women consistently participate less than men. We would expect that females who do not find family important would have more or less the same levels of participation in protest politics when compared to males. Even though females might not find family important, socialization prescribes that they do, and due to this perception, they participate less in protest politics in comparison to males. This supports our main proposition.

5.3.2 The effect of age (socialization effects)

Kim, (2001: 20), notes that “in South Africa the willingness to protest is more common among the older and female than among the young and male”. This statement illustrates the definite, and important impact of age on an individual’s propensity to take part in protest politics.

We include the influence of age under the socialization heading, as we assume that the older the respondent, the more patriarchal socialization values will still inform and influence women and men’s political participation. In this respect we expect to find that the older the female respondent, the less likely she will be to take part in protest politics in comparison to men of her own age. We expect this to become less of a factor in the future, as patriarchal socialization norms might become less profound. Age does have a profound affect on the degree of influence of socialization. This is supported by Randall, (1987: 89), when she asserts that “sex differences in [political participation] are greatest among the elderly”.

5.3.3 Marital status

Refer to table 4.6 in chapter 4 for the complete table illustrating the effect of marital status on political participation of women. In 1991, in the categories for married, living together, divorced and single, women participate at a consistently lower rate than men. Except for the separated and widow category, where we find that women's participation in unconventional politics is substantively larger than that of men. In the separated category, men do not rank in the high protest category, and women have a percentage of participation in the high protest category of 20.0%. In the widow category, men again do not rank in the high protest category at all, and women have a 9.4% participation in protest politics. This could be assigned to the fact that when separated or widowed, less familial responsibility rests on the women, and she feels more independent and able to participate in politics.

In 1995, in all categories, women have a consistently lower percentage of participation in the high protest category, except for the widow category, where neither the men nor the women rank in this category. Their participation is divided between the medium and low protest category. In the 2001 data, measuring values between 1995 and 2001, women's participation is shown to still be consistently lower than that of men in all categories of marriage status. Even in 2001 then, regardless of modernization, and less conservative views of women in relation to society, women are still found to participate less than men, regardless of their marital status.

5.3.4 Religious membership

In terms of this variable, we expect the religious membership of respondents to affect their level of participation. We base this assumption on the fact that different denominations ascribe different levels of autonomy to women in relation to their actions in the public sphere.

We could not include analysis of the Presbyterian and Anglican category across all years, because there were no comparative categories in all the WVS data for all the years. We do realize that this is a very limited analysis of the effects of denomination

or religion on women's participation, but we include it just to illustrate that these differences do indeed exist.

Table 5.3: The influence of denomination on participation in the high protest category

DENOMINATION	PARTICIPATION IN HIGH PROTEST CATEGORY					
	WVS 1991		WVS 1995		WVS 2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Catholic</i>	14.5	14.5	7	4.2	9.3	2.7
<i>Dutch reformed</i>	12.4	6.3	4.8	1.9	62.5	
<i>Hindu</i>	16.9	7	4.8	2.1	0.6	3.9

In 1991, for men, the lowest percentage is found in the Presbyterian category, where we find no participation in the high protest category, followed by the Anglican category (10.2). The highest percentage is found in the Hindu category (16.9). The percentages for the other religious categories range between 12.4 and 14.5. For women, similar to men, the lowest percentage is found in the Presbyterian category, where there is no percentage of participation in the high protest category. Followed by the Anglican and Dutch reformed group (6.3), and the Hindu group with 7.0.

In 1995, there is no variable measuring the Anglican and Presbyterian groups. For men, the lowest percentage is found in the Dutch Reformed and Hindu group (4.8), and the highest is found in the Catholic group (7.0). For women, the lowest percentage is found in the Dutch Reformed group (1.9), followed by the Hindu group with 2.1. The highest percentage is found again in the Catholic group (4.2).

In 2001, there is no variable measuring the Anglican and Presbyterian groups. For men, the lowest percentage is found in the Hindu group (.6). The highest percentage is found in the Dutch Reformed group (62.5), which is quite high. This means that of the Catholic men having taken part in protest politics, 62.5 rank in the high protest category, and have therefore taken part in all the activities for protest politics in the index. For women, the lowest percentage is observed in the Dutch reformed group, where we find no women ranked in the high protest category. The highest

participation is found in the Hindu group (3.9), whereas the lowest percentage is found in the Catholic group (2.7).

Except for one instance in the Hindu category in 2001, we find that regardless of religion, women are found to participate less in protest politics than men. Based on our limited data, we can tentatively suggest that regardless of denomination, religion usually assigns less participation for women in the public sphere. It is because of this nature of religion, that we will find that women will participate less than men, in a consistent manner across time.

In 2001, in the Catholic and Dutch Reformed, women's participation was less than men's, except in the Hindu category, where the percentage of men ranking in the high protest category was on 0.6% compared to women, who had a percentage of 3.9%.

5.3.5 Importance of politics in the respondents' life

The level of importance of politics in the life of men and women differ significantly, and this holds implications for their eventual participation. This is shown in Randall's (1987: 86), assertion that women "ha[ve] less occasion to learn of and discuss political affairs and less time and freedom to undertake political work". Based on this reasoning, we can expect to find a consistent pattern of lower participation of women in protest politics between 1991 and 2001, in comparison to their male counterparts.⁴

In 1991, in all categories evaluating the importance of politics in the life of the respondent, women's ranking in the high protest category is consistently lower than that of men. In 1995, we find basically the same trend. For all the categories, women participated less than men, except for the category where the respondent's feel that politics is 'not at all' important to them in their lives. Here women ranked in the high protest category, marginally exceeds the percentage of men, a difference 0.1%. In 2001, for all the categories, women's percentages in the high protest category are consistently and significantly lower than that of men.

⁴Refer to Chapter 4, Table 4.7, for a complete table investigating the influence of the importance of politics in the life of the respondent, on his or her degree of participation in protest politics.

We conclude then that, regardless of the importance of politics in the life of the respondent, gender is a better indicator of women's propensity to participate in protest politics.

5.3.6 Race

Table 5.4: Influence of race on participation within the high protest category

RACE	PARTICIPATION IN HIGH PROTEST CATEGORY					
	WVS 1991		WVS 1995		WVS 2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Black</i>	21.3	11.6	6.7	2.4	23.1	4.6
<i>White</i>	0.8	0.6	1.7	1.1	1.9	1
<i>Colored</i>		1.4	6.6	6.4	3.9	20.1
<i>Indian/ Asian</i>	9.1	5.3	5.6	2.1	0.6	1.9

In terms of this variable, and in support of our proposition, we expect to find that regardless of race, women will still participate less than men, due to the patriarchal norms underlying socialization in all the different races.

In 1991, we find support for our proposition in the Black, White and Indian/ Asian groups, but the same does not hold for our Colored group. So except in the colored group, we find that women participate less consistently in protest politics than men. After examination of the results, we find that in 1995 this also holds true for all races. Consequently, between the period of 1991 and 1995, we can with confidence assert that regardless of race, gender seemed to play a more prominent role in influencing and determining an individual's degree of involvement in protest politics.

In 2001, we find support for our proposition in the black and white component. Colored and Asian/Indian women, both have a higher percentage of participation in protest politics than their male counterparts. Their participation actually considerably exceeds that of men, as illustrated by the difference between colored men (3.9 %) and women (20.1 %), in their degree of participation in protest politics.

The above findings lead me to a conclusion contrary to my former expectation. I find that socialization in terms of an individual's race, can have a larger impact than gender, on his or her propensity to participate in protest politics. Between 1991 and 1995 I find support for my second proposition, because gender in comparison to race, played a larger role in terms of determining participation in protest politics. Between 1995 and 2001 however, I find that this is gradually changing.

5.4 Summary thus far

Basically, in terms of the proposition we tested in this chapter, we found support for consistently lower female participation in protest politics in comparison to men, with regards to the structural variables. This holds true regardless of level of education, even though increased education lowers this trend. In terms of employment status as well, regardless of the employment status of the respondent, women participate consistently less than men.

In terms of locus of control, we find across all years, that women participate consistently less than men. Even women who have an internal locus of control participate less than men across all years. This shows, that regardless of locus of control, as well, women still participate less than men. In terms of an individual's number of dependents, we find that in 1991, the number of dependents a woman had, played a larger role in her level of participation, in 1995 it played less of a role. Women, still participated less than men, but if the trend observed between 1991 and 1995 continues, we could expect to find the number of dependents to have even less of an influence on a women's participation in protest politics in comparison to men.

In terms of the socialization approach, we find the following. With regards to the importance of family; across all years we find a consistently lower percentage of participation of women in comparison to men. So, regardless of the importance the individual assigns to family in his or her life, women still participate less than men.

Marital status, except for a few differences in some categories in 1991, we find an overall pattern of lower participation of women in protest politics in comparison to

men, regardless of their marital status. In terms of religious membership, with the exception in the Hindu category in 2001, we find a consistently lower level of women participating in protest politics in comparison to men. We can speculate that gender, in interaction with religion, can serve to lower women's participation in protest politics, as both institutions discourage women's participation in the public sphere.

In terms of the importance the individual assigns to politics in his or her life, we observe an interesting finding. One would assume gender to have less of an influence on an individual's level of participation the more important politics is in the life of the respondent. But, we find that, gender again plays an overpowering role in deciding participation. Regardless of the importance of politics in the life of the respondent, women still participate consistently less than men in protest politics.

In terms of the individual's ethnic group, we find the following. I find support for my proposition with some qualification. In the period between 1991 and 1995, I find that gender, in comparison to race, played a larger role in terms of determining participation in protest politics. Between 1995 and 2001, this trend was changing. In some groups women's participation in protest politics actually exceeds that of men. This leads me to the conclusion that race plays a very important role in determining women's propensity to participate in protest. It sometimes even overrides the influence of gender on an individual's propensity to participate.

Similar to our findings in the previous chapter, we have found data contrary to our expectations. In terms of the specific proposition under examination in this chapter, we found, more often than not, support for our proposition through examination of the various variables.

I have aimed to discuss and examine the main influences on the levels of participation of women in protest politics. In the concluding chapter, I will briefly discuss the main findings, and present questions arising out of this study, with the aim to further interest and research in this particular field in an attempt to describe the relationship between gender and participation in protest politics more clearly and comprehensively.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1. Simplifying the results

Table 6.1: Cross tabulation between Protest Index and gender

PROTEST INDEX	WVS 1991		WVS 1995		WVS 2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
High protest	65.50%	34.50%	67.70%	32.30%	75.70%	24.30%
Medium protest	61.30%	38.70%	52.10%	47.90%	60.80%	39.20%
Med. & high protest	46.40%	29.60%	30.30%	23.50%	42.10%	23.50%

The reason I present this table in my concluding chapter is because it serves to simplify and illustrate the basic propositions under examination in this study. Also, it lends further support to my two propositions, with some qualification. I find support for P1 when looking at only the high protest category, which was in any case the category I concentrated on in my research. When looking at women's consistent participation in protest politics, situating them in the high protest category, we can see a steady decline of their level of participation between 1991 and 2001.

In support of my first main proposition then, we find that between the years of 1991 and 2001, when looking at only the female respondents falling into the high protest category, there has been a general decrease in participation in protest activity.

I find support for P2, by evaluating the percentages of female participation in protest politics across all categories, in comparison to their male counterparts. When we look at women's participation in protest politics in comparison to men, across all years and categories, we find that they consistently participate less.

We therefore, find that when looking at only those respondents falling into the high protest category, in other words, those respondents who answered 'yes' to having taken part in protest activity, women consistently have a lower percentage of participation in comparison to men over the given period from 1991 to 2001. This supports our second main proposition. When looking at the sub-proposition

explaining this phenomenon, according to socialization theories, this is the case due to various elements of protest activity, which has been thought inappropriate for women according to their roles assigned within society according to patriarchal norms. In this respect we find that “the confrontational style of protest politics attracts male participants in disproportionate numbers...” (Kim; 2001:7). The confrontational style of protest politics, according to socialization theories, should exclude women from participation due to their unfrontational nature as prescribed by patriarchy.

Due to socialization, women’s participation is expected to be limited, but previously political exclusion forced, and served as a more compelling motivator for participation in unconventional politics, overriding women’s ‘normal’ avoidance of these types of actions. That is why we find that in comparison to the percentages of women taking part in protest politics in 1991, before democratic inclusion in 1994, there is a big difference when looking at the percentages of participation found in 2001. We therefore find that before democratic inclusion women participated more in protest politics, and after their inclusion we find a decrease in participation.

6.2. Examining respondents falling into the high protest category in terms of gender

The following table presents the percentages of males and females falling into the high protest category, across the relevant years of the World Values Survey. Therefore, of those people ranking high in the protest index, so many are male or female. This table clearly shows support for both P1 and P2.

Table 6.2: Males and females in the high protest category

	WVS 1991	WVS 1995	WVS 2001
Female	35.7%	34.2%	31.6%
Male	64.3%	65.8%	68.4%

6.3 Specifying activities within the index

Table 6.3: Gender's influence on separate items in the protest index, within the high protest category

PROTEST ACTIVITIES	WVS 1991		WVS 1995		WVS2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Joining in boycotts	63.00%	37.00%	59.80%	40.20%	70.10%	29.90%
Lawful demonstrations	64.60%	35.40%	62.60%	37.40%	62.80%	37.20%
Joining unofficial strikes	64.60%	35.40%	68.50%	31.50%	73.00%	27.00%
Occupying buildings	57.10%	42.90%	54.30%	45.70%	59.70%	40.30%

6.4 Concluding Remarks

After examination of the data and the findings of chapter 4 and 5, we realize that women's participation in protest politics is a highly understudied field. We need more comparable data sets, and more focus on specifically the determinants influencing women's participation in protest politics.

We have found data in support of my main propositions and also data contrary to them. Here follows a brief summary of my findings with regards to each chapter;

Chapter 4:

-Structural explanation:

- **Educational level:** Between 1991 and 2001, there is an overall decrease in participation of women, except in 'some high school' and 'high school completed'. Percentages fluctuate between 1991 and 1995, in 2002 we find an overall decrease of participation when comparing the percentages observed in 1991.

- **Employment status:** Basically, we found that employment status indeed influences women's propensity to consistently take part in protest politics. Overall, an individual is found to be more likely to participate in protest politics if he or she has a job. As women, due to historical circumstances, are less likely to be employees than men, we found their participation to be less than that of men across all years, and across all categories. Employed or not. When we look at those women who are employed, we find an overall decrease between 1991 and 2001 in their levels of participation in protest politics. We speculate that this could be due to women's decreased feelings of inadequacy within the public sphere, due to increased opportunities for employment over the years.
- **Number of dependents:** We found that regardless of the number of dependents a woman has, her levels of participation in protest politics has decreased between 1991 and 1995, and we expect this to continue in the future, as women has more access to, and support in terms of their participation in the public sphere.

ocialization explanation:

- **The importance of family:** We found that, for women, between 1991 and 2001, the more important they find family, the more inclined they are to take part in protest politics consistently. Regardless of the importance of family for women, we still find an overall decrease of their participation in protest politics between 1991 and 2001.
- **Marital status:** Between 1991 and 2001, there is an overall decrease in women's participation in consistent protest activities, regardless of marital status.
- **Importance of politics:** Contrary to my expectation, we found that there has been an increase in all the categories, except in the category where women view politics as very important to them. Here women's participation in protest politics has decreased from 15.9 in 1991 to 2.2 in

2001. We deduce from this then, that those who find politics very important in their lives, possibly concentrate their political activities to more conventional politics.

- **Race:** Yes, we do find an overall decrease in participation in the Black and Indian/Asian category, but coloreds and White women have increased their involvement in consistent protest politics between 1991 and 2001.

Chapter 5:

-Structural explanation:

- **Educational level:** When looking at the 1991, 1995 and 2001 data, we find in all years a consistently lower degree of participation in protest politics in comparison to men. Educational achievement has therefore a profound effect on women's propensity to participate consistently in protest politics in comparison to men.
- **Employment status:** Regardless of employment status, women's participation is found to be consistently less than that of men. Gender is found, in comparison to employment status, to be a better indicator of participation in protest politics in South Africa between 1991 and 2001.
- **Locus of control:** Consistently, between 1991 and 2001, we found that, in comparison to men, women have a lower percentage of participation. I suggest then that, because of a lesser sense of internal locus of control, (associated with an individual's level of political efficacy), women are found to have less participation in protest politics in comparison to their male counterparts.
- **Number of dependents:** In 1991 we find women's participation to be consistently lower than men's. In 1995 the number of dependents a respondent has, seems to have less influence than the trend observed in

1991, on their thereafter ensuing participation in protest activities for men, in comparison to men.

-Socialization explanation:

- **Importance of family:** Regardless of the importance assigned to family, women consistently participate less than men. This is a surprising finding - we would expect those women who do not assign family a high importance, to have similar levels of participation in protest politics in comparison to men. This could be due to the possible threat that protest may pose to family.
- **Marital status:** From 1991 to 2001, in most categories, women are found to participate consistently less than men in protest politics. In 1995 and 2001 this is true for all categories. Only in 1991 we find an exception to this trend in the separated and widow category.
- **Religious membership:** Except for one instance in the hindu category in 2001, we find that regardless of religion, women are found to participate less in protest politics than men. This could be a function of the fact that, regardless of denomination, most religion usually assigns less participation for women in the public sphere.
- **Importance of politics:** Regardless of the importance of politics in the life of the respondent, gender is a more powerful indicator of an individual's propensity to participate in protest politics.
- **Race:** Between 1991 and 1995, gender in comparison to race, played a larger role in terms of determining participation in protest politics. Between 1995 and 2001 however, this is gradually changing.

After examination of the various findings within each chapter, we are faced with the same type of assertions presented at the beginning of this work. Women's political participation, and specifically unconventional political participation is a complex phenomenon. To adequately address these complexities, one needs to approach the study of their political participation with the knowledge that no single approach is sufficient to explain the influences and variables with regards to unconventional participation.

This study has illustrated the gap within the literature concerning women's participation in unconventional politics. I urge further research and literature in this field to take cognizance of the myriad of variables to be considered in terms of women's political participation. And also suggest the use of more than one approach in its study, so that the concept and issue can be more adequately and comprehensively examined in the future. Removing obstacles to the accurate conceptualization of this term should become a main objective of researchers in this field. Only through this process can the obstacles to the active participation of women within protest politics be overcome.

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APPENDIX A

Figure 3.1
Factor analysis of variables included in the protest index

1991

Component Matrix

	Component	
		1
JOINING IN BOYCOTTS	.854	
ATTENDING LAWFUL DEMONSTRATION	.853	
OCCUPYING BUILDINGS	.695	
UNOFFICIAL STRIKES	.839	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
1 component extracted.

1995

Component Matrix

	Component	
		1
JOINING IN BOYCOTTS	0.812	
ATTENDING LAWFULL DEMONSTRATIONS	0.812	
OCCUPYING BUILDINGS	0.835	
UNOFFICIAL STRIKES	0.761	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
1 component extracted.

2001

Component Matrix

	Component	
		1
JOINING IN BOYCOTTS	0.768	
ATTENDING LAWFUL DEMONSTRATIONS	0.808	
JOINING UNOFFICIAL STRIKES	0.825	
OCCUPYING BUILDINGS OR FACTORIES	0.748	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
1 component extracted.

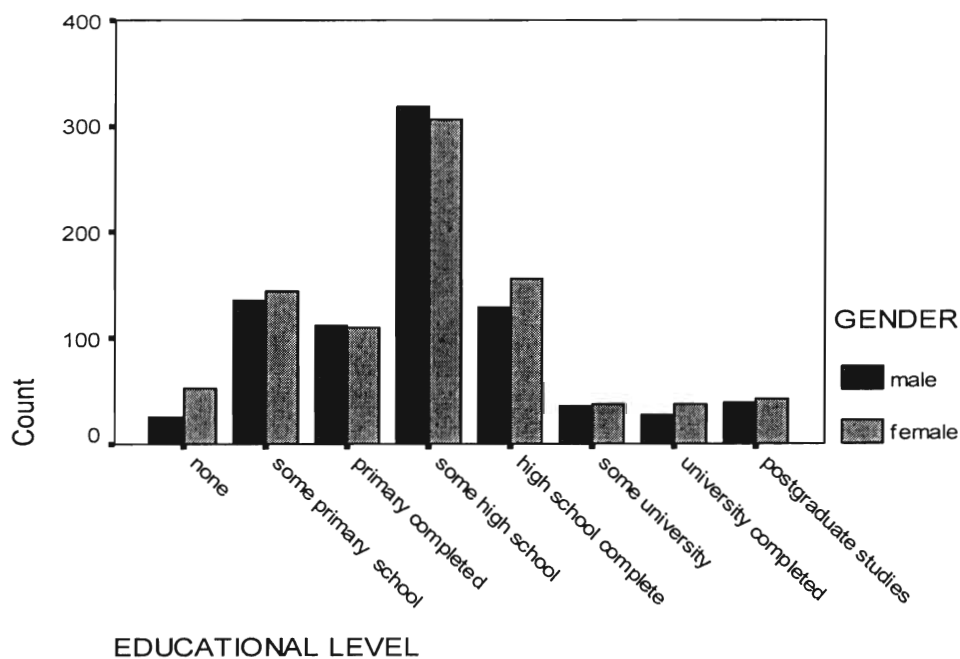
Figure 4.1
Complete cross tabulation between; gender, education and the protest politics index

<i>If you had no education</i>						
	1991		1995		2001	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
low protest	82.40%	90.00%	72.90%	85.60%	82.00%	89.70%
medium protest	11.80%	10.00%	27.10%	14.40%	8.80%	10.30%
high protest	5.90%				9.30%	
<i>If you had some primary school education</i>						
	1991		1995		2001	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
low protest	49.50%	74.30%	73.60%	77.40%	50.10%	77.00%
medium protest	35.00%	21.00%	22.80%	21.30%	21.60%	19.50%
high protest	15.50%	4.80%	3.70%	1.30%	28.30%	3.50%
<i>If you completed primary school</i>						
	1991		1995		2001	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
low protest	51.90%	62.70%	64.90%	72.30%	49.10%	89.80%
medium protest	31.20%	24.10%	28.40%	25.90%	29.60%	4.50%
high protest	16.90%	13.30%	6.70%	1.80%	21.30%	5.70%
<i>If you had some high school</i>						
	1991		1995		2001	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
low protest	40.20%	59.20%	64.00%	70.90%	60.60%	72.20%
medium protest	42.70%	29.10%	28.10%	26.00%	26.60%	17.00%
high protest	17.10%	11.70%	7.90%	3.10%	12.80%	10.80%

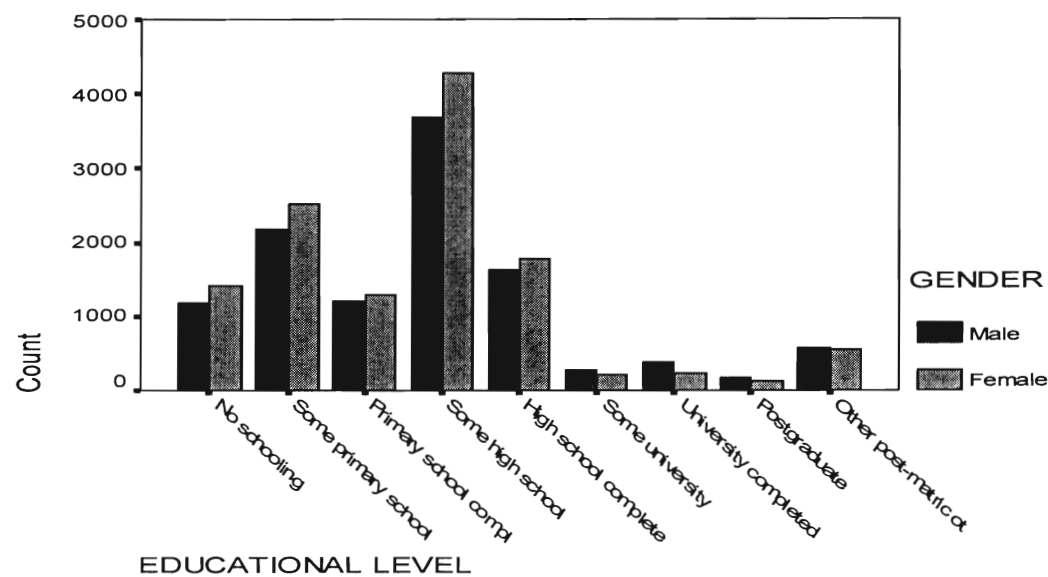
<i>If high school completed</i>						
	1991 male	female	1995 male	female	2001 male	female
low protest	56.70%	82.60%	72.50%	81.10%	56.30%	68.40%
medium protest	29.80%	15.70%	22.90%	15.70%	28.30%	26.90%
high protest	13.50%	1.70%	4.70%	3.20%	15.40%	4.80%
<i>If you had some university</i>						
	1991 male	female	1995 male	female	2001 male	female
low protest	58.10%	77.90%	69.00%	86.10%	<i>no item for WVS 2001</i>	
medium protest	32.30%	19.10%	15.70%	10.60%		
high protest	9.70%	2.90%	15.30%	3.40%		
<i>University completed</i>						
	1991 male	female	1995 male	female	2001 male	female
low protest	69.60%	72.00%	77.40%	77.80%	76.80%	87.70%
medium protest	30.40%	16.00%	17.70%	12.20%	19.50%	10.10%
high protest	1.50%	12.00%	4.90%	10.00%	3.60%	2.20%
<i>Post-graduate studies</i>						
	1991 male	female	1995 male	female	2001 male	female
low protest	70.60%	83.90%	77.30%	83.30%	<i>no item for WVS 2001</i>	
medium protest	23.50%	12.90%	19.00%	7.60%		
high protest	5.90%	3.20%	3.70%	9.10%		

Figure 4.2
Cross tabulation between gender and education for WVS 1991, 1995 and 2001.

WVS 1991



WVS 1995



WVS 2001

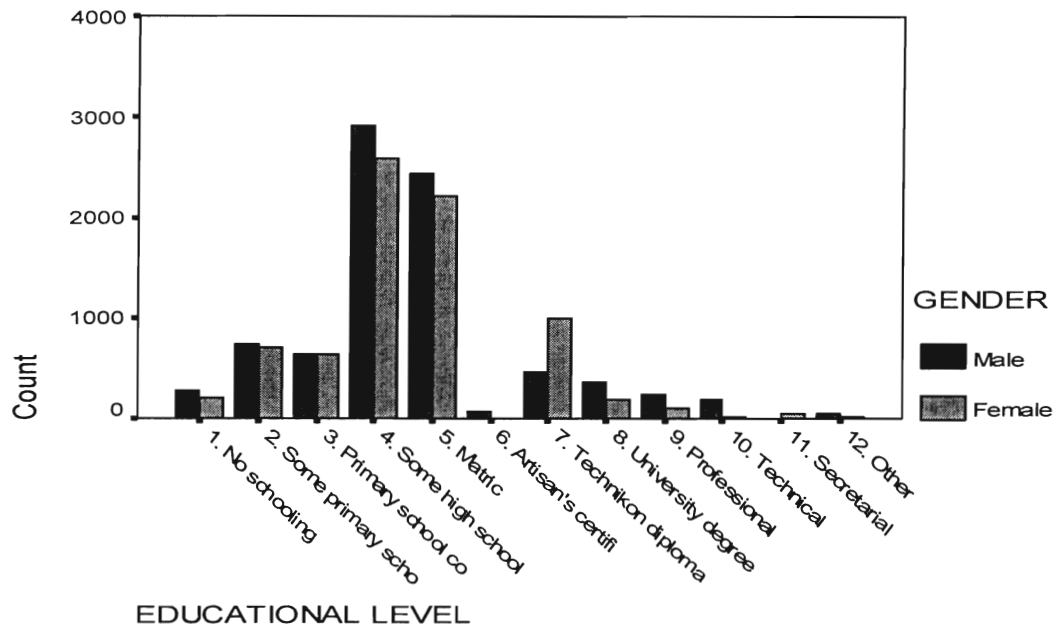
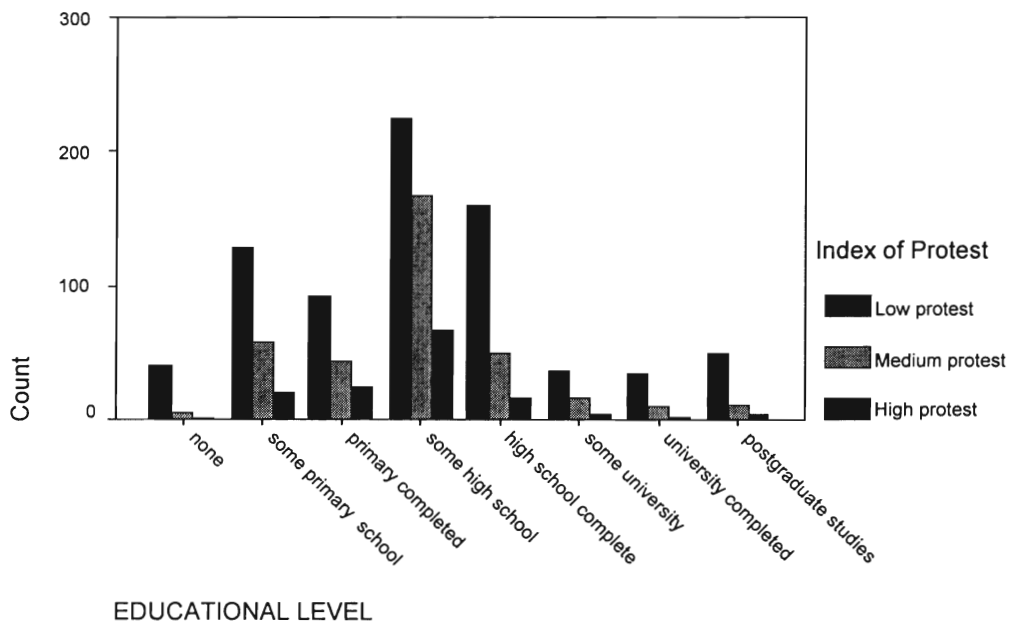
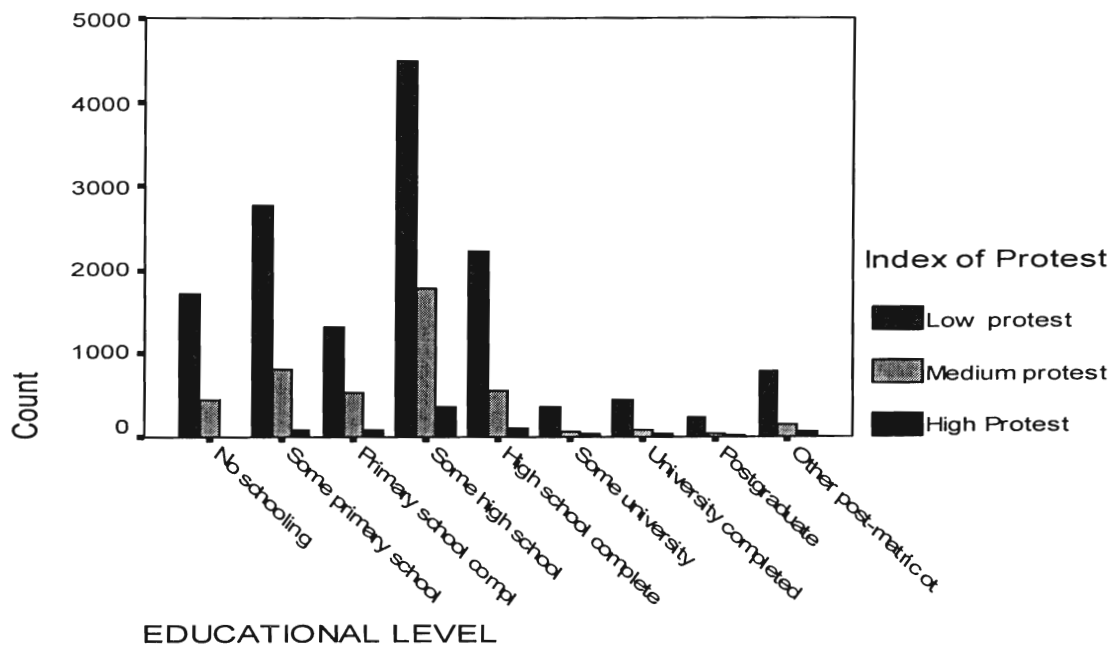


Figure 4.3
Cross tabulation between education and protest politics (WVS 1991, 1995 and 2001)

WVS 1991



WVS 1995



WVS 2001

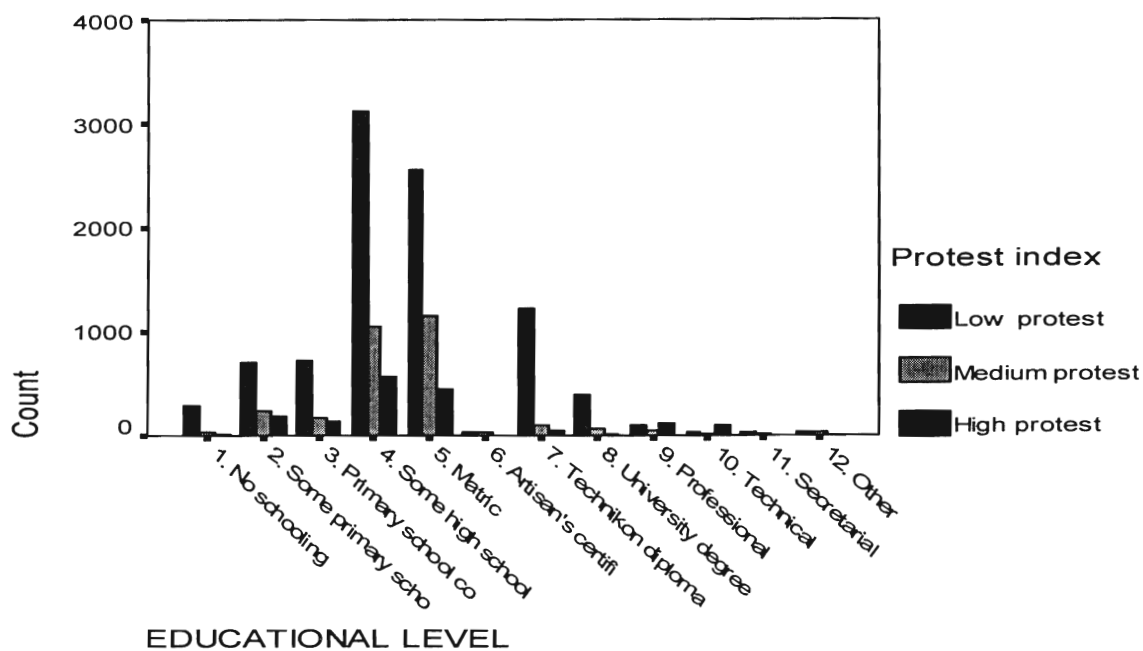
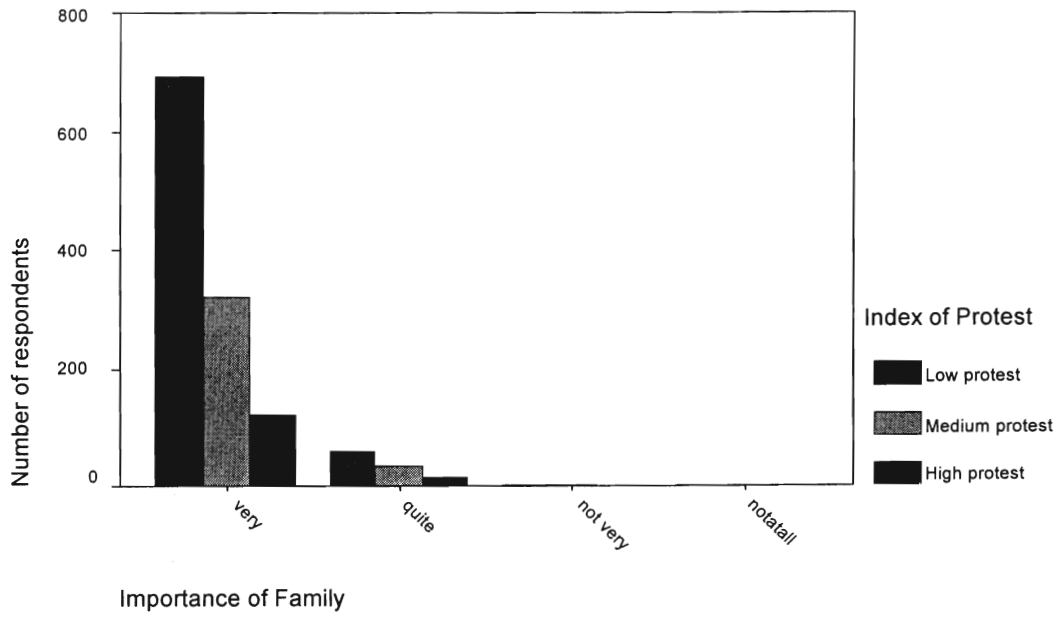
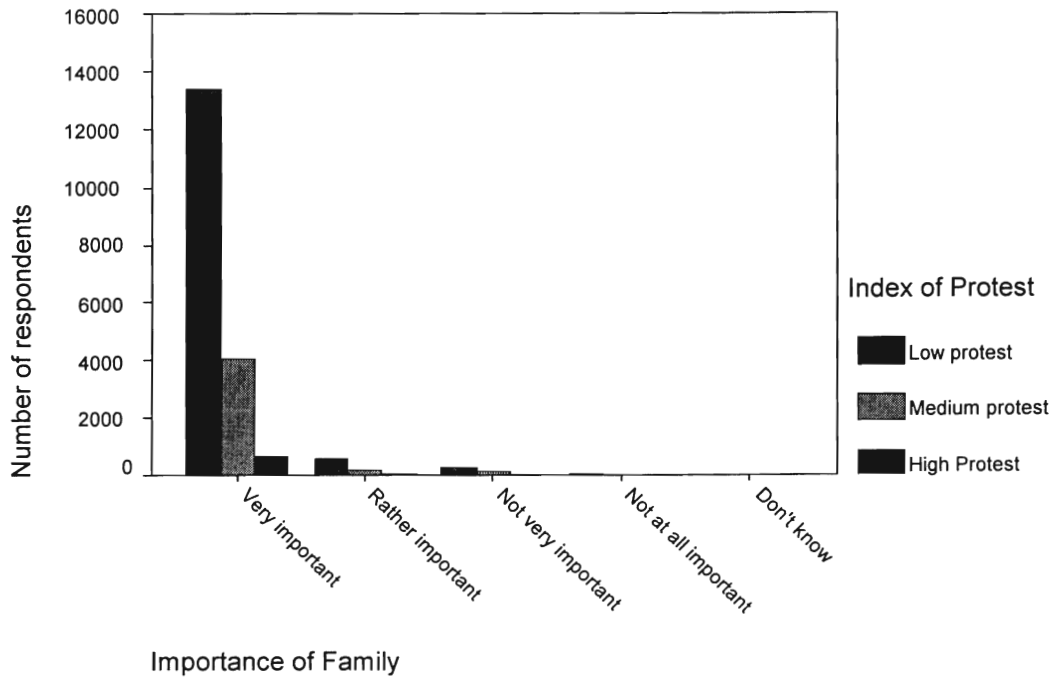


Figure 4.4
Cross tabulation between importance of family and protest politics
WVS 1991



WVS 1995



WVS 2001

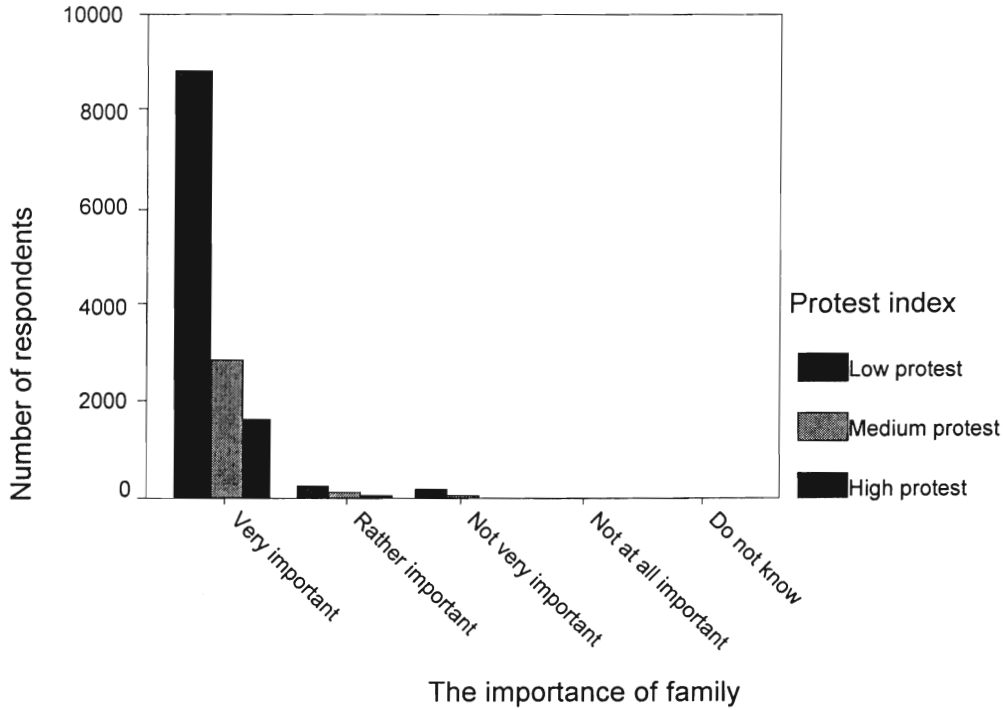
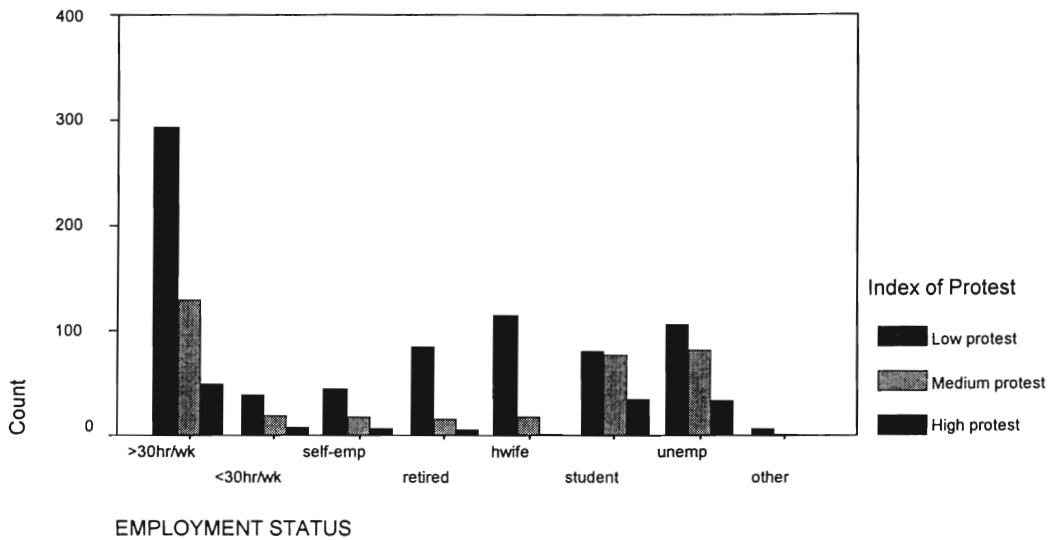
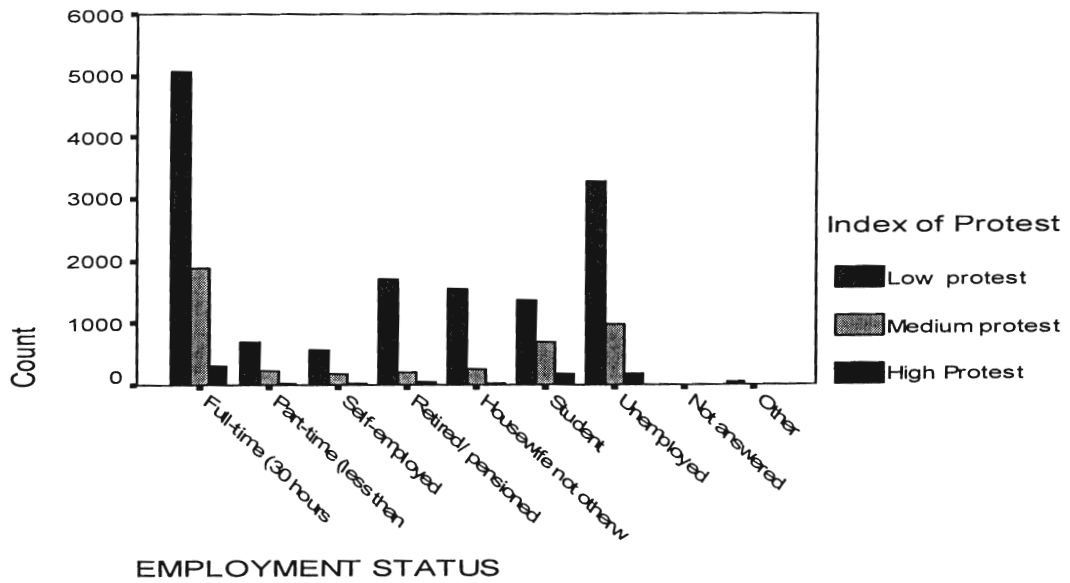


Figure 5.1
Cross tabulation between employment status and protest (WVS 1991, 1995 and 2001)

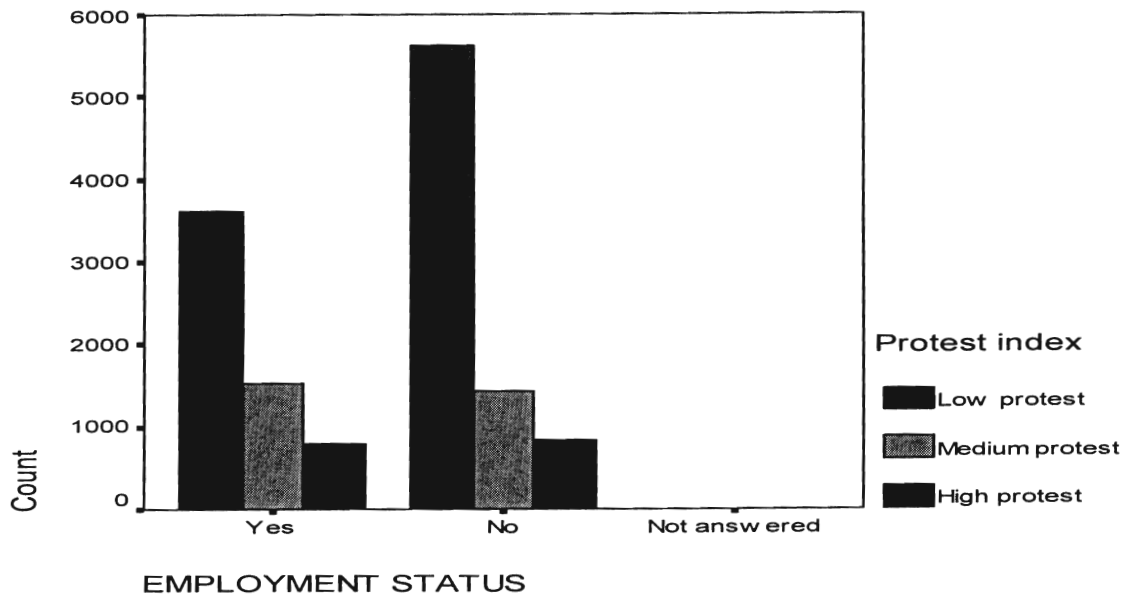
WVS 1991



WVS 1995



WVS 2001



Notes

1. Even though we present the reader with the unweighted number of respondents (N's) in each year of the WVS, in the computation and analysis of the data, the weighted data, or sample is used.
2. In the tables, only valid percentages are given. Valid cases exclude respondents answering don't know, and not answered.
3. In the construction of the locus of control index, as well as in the use of the protest index, I did not replace the missing values. Due to the manipulation the data had already undergone in the creation of the index, I found it more illustrative of the real nature of that data, to not replace the missing values. To illustrate the data as accurate as possible then, I only present the valid percentages, therefore excluding missing values.
4. In the WVS 1991, the total number of respondents are 2736. The valid cases are 2064, and 672 are declared system missing. The missing cases make up 24.6% of the sample.
5. In the WVS 1995, the total number of respondents are 2899. The valid cases are 2499, and 400 are declared system missing. The missing cases make up 13.8% of the sample.
6. In the WVS 2001, the total number of respondents are 3000. The valid cases are 2621, and 379 are declared system missing. The missing cases make up 12.6% of the sample.
7. The complete questions offered, are the ones obtained in the WVS 2001 version, except for the variable assessing the number of dependents of the respondent, as there is no such variable in the 2001 survey. The 1995 version of the question, was consequently used. The 1991, 1995, and 2001 question wording of all questions differ slightly between the different waves of the survey, but they essentially assess the same variables.