



Dissertation

By

**ABU SIDIKIE
MANSARAY**

**UNIVERSITY OF SIERRA
LEONE**

**POLITICAL CULTURE IN SIERRA LEONE:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE
POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF UNIVERSITT AND
SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN
FREETOWN**

MAY 1993

04.04.0
MAI
627E

**POLITICAL CULTURE IN SIERRA LEONE:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL
ATTITUDES OF UNIVERSITY AND SECONDARY
SCHOOL STUDENTS IN FREETOWN**

Programme de Petites Subventions
ARRIVEE
Enregistré sous le no 7681
Date 29 JUIN 1993

BY

ABU SIDIKIE MANSARAY

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE
FOURAH BAY COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF SIERRA LEONE**

MAY 1993

ABSTRACT

The current study of the Political culture of Sierra Leone, has as it's RAISON D'ETRE to provide empirical data which would test against experiential findings the validity of the proposition that, given the vulnerability of students to the same objects of the political system, major differences exist between University and Secondary School students in Freetown with regard to their cognitive and affective orientations toward political objects. Utilising the Civic (Participant) culture approach as our theoretical perspective, data was gathered from ten (10) Secondary Schools and Fourah Bay University College, Freetown, reflecting: the cognizability of political Leaders among University and Secondary level students, students frequency of reading newspapers and magazines, students frequency of listening to radio, the degree of Students political alienation from the bureaucracy and the police, Students frequency of political discussion and finally freedom of political discussion among University and Secondary School students in Freetown.

In order to establish if any significant differences exist between the political orientations of University and Secondary School Students in Freetown and to determine whether any positive correlation exist between such demographic variables as sex, age, religious affiliation, area of birth and ethnic identity on the one hand, and students cognizability of political leaders, and their feeling of alienation toward selected output structures and input processes of the political system, on the other hand, a non-Parametric statistical technique, chi-square (X^2), was used to conduct a test of dependence or independence between variables.

The results of our analysis validate the central proposition of this study: major differences exist in the political knowledge and feelings among University and Secondary Students in Freetown.

On the whole, while Political cognition is high among students, Cognizability of Political leaders among students in Freetown expands with increase in level of education and contracts with a fall in

educational level. University Students were able to name more political leaders than their secondary school counterparts. About 92% of the University Students could name some cabinet ministers while 86.8% Secondary Students could name some Ministers.

A significant result regarding political cognition among students in Freetown is that of the asymmetrical nature of the sex-selectivity of the cognizability of political leaders among students. In other words, the distinctness of the sex selectivity of the cognizability of political leaders among students in Freetown notwithstanding, its nature (sex selectivity), is not isomorphic for university and Secondary school Students in Freetown.

Among University Students, sex selectivity of the cognizability of political leaders is female-oriented. This means that more females are able to name political leaders (cabinet ministers) than male University Students probably on account of the proximal distance and social relations which the former has managed to maintain or forge with political leaders primarily for economic reasons.

On the other hand, among secondary level students, the sex selectivity of the Cognizability of Political leaders is male-oriented signifying that more males than females are able to cognize political leaders. This male-oriented sex selectivity of the cognizability of political leaders is perhaps rationalised by the interest which male secondary school students show for politics and political leaders which finds expression in some of their hero-worship political discussions in class (while the Teacher is yet to come) or out of class.

Largely, out of the proximity to the centre of and holders of political power, city-country side differential was observed in cognizability of political leaders among University Students. Those students who were born in the city (65.4% of them) greater than their rural counterparts could name 5 or more cabinet ministers while those born in the country side (Eastern, Northern and Southern provinces) - 17% of them - could name 5 or more cabinet ministers, in the University sample.

Another conclusion in relation to political cognition relates to the

frequency of reading newspapers and magazines. This was higher among University Students than Secondary School Students because the former depend on newspapers and magazines as supplementary materials to lecture notes.

More university students claim to listen frequently to radio than their secondary school counterparts.

The feeling of alienation toward the governmental bureaucracy and the police, its general pervasiveness among students notwithstanding, crystallized more among University than secondary school students in Freetown; more university Students do not expect to be treated fairly by the bureaucracy and the police than secondary school students.

More University students frequently indulge in political discussions nearly everyday than secondary school students; however, the frequency of political discussion among the entire students was sex selective but articulated in favour of the males. Male students frequently indulge in political discussion than female students.

However, it was found that freedom of political discussion contracts with increase in level of education and expands with decrease in educational level. More Secondary School Students (27.9%) said they felt free in discussing political and governmental affairs with anyone than their University counterparts (17.3%).

A final significant conclusion of this study is the distinctness of the ethnic selectivity of the freedom of political discussion. A very strong and positive correlation was found between ethnic identity and freedom of political discussion. This ethnicization of political discussion was sharply in favour of the limba identity, where a large proportion of students who belong there (57.1%) confessed that they felt free in discussing politics with anyone. On the other hand, this ethnicization of political discussion was articulated more unfavourably against the Creole identity where, the largest proportion of students who confessed that they don't feel free to discuss politics with anyone, belong (21.6%).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Primarily, I wish to express my profound gratitude to the Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa, (CODESRIA), for giving me a thesis grant which facilitated the preparation of this work.

I wish , also, to thank Dr. Ahmed R. Dumbuya, Head of Political Science Department, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, for his numerous suggestions and moral support. I thank Mr. Pallo Bangura and Dr. Abubakarr Kargbo, Lecturers in the Department of Political Science, not only for their keen interest in my work but also the supervisory role they played to see the work through.

Mr. Samuel Sepha, an Assistant Librarian at Fourah Bay College, deserves my thanks for allowing me to often encroach on his precious time which he used to make some relevant documents available to me. I am indebted to Mr. Shem-Gbay Mohamed Swaray and Mr. H.J.M. Tommy, Lecturers, Department of Mechanical Engineering, for assisting me to have my work typed using a word processor.

Mr Saffa Sam, initially a friend, now my brother deserves my thanks not only for his moral support for this work but also for his constant alacrity to "loose himself in order to find me".

Finally, I wish to thank my wife, Messie Mansaray, for patiently taking care of the domestic problem which might have spilled into this work.

Abu Sidikie Mansaray

May 1993.

DEDICATION

To my late father, Abdulai Mansaray, who always cherished democratic ideals.

To my mother, Fatmata Mansaray, whose capacity for patience knows no limit.

and

To those days when Africa will have forged stable democratic political Systems.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	(i)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	(iv)
DEDICATION	(v)
List of Tables	(vii)
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION:	
OBJECTIVES, SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY	1
1.1 Rationale and Objectives of the study	1
1.2 Scope of the study	4
1.3 Conceptual framework	5
1.4 Definitions of terms	7
1.5 Statement of the hypothesis	10
1.6 Methodology	13
1.6.1 Sources of data	13
1.6.2 Characteristics of the Sample	16
1.6.3 Analytical Techniques	22
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON POLITICAL CULTURE AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION	24
2.1 Introduction	
2.2 Review of some literature on political culture and political socialisation	24
CHAPTER 3: POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE AMONG STUDENTS	46
CHAPTER 4: FEELINGS TOWARD GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS	77
4.1 Introduction	77
4.2 Feelings toward the output agencies of government	78
4.3 Feelings toward political Communication	96
CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	111
5.1 Introduction	111
5.2 Major Findings of the Study	111
5.3 Possible application of the results of the study	120
5.4 Suggestions for future Research	123
List of References	124
Appendix A - Letter Introducing Researcher to Principals	128
Appendix B - Chi-squared Table	
Appendix C - Illustration of Chi-square Computation	130
Appendix D - List of Names of Secondary Schools	131

Appendix	E - Members of APC Cabinet under President J.S. Momoh	132
Appendix	F - University/Secondary School Questionnaire	134

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.1	Secondary school students response rate to Questionnaires	15
1.2	University students response rate to Questionnaires	16
1.3	Distribution of students by sex and institutional affiliation	18
1.4	Ability to state age among University and Secondary School Students	19
1.5	Frequency distribution of Students by Quinquennial age group	19
1.6	Frequency distribution of students by area of birth	19
1.7	Frequency distribution of respondents by ethnic identity and institutional affiliation	21
1.8	Frequency distribution of respondents by institution and Religious affiliation	21
3.1	Ability to name the first Prime minister of Sierra Leone	48
3.2	Ability to name the current head of State	48
3.3	Ability to name the current Head of State's Party	50
3.4	Ability to name the Mayor	50
3.5	Ability to name the Chief justice	52
3.6	Ability to name the four political leaders - Prime Minister, President, Mayor and Chief Justice	53

3.7	Students ability to name Cabinet ministers	53
3.8	Relation between sex of Secondary School Students and their ability to name Cabinet ministers	55
3.9	Relation between sex of university students and their ability to name Cabinet ministers	56
3.10	Relation between University students area of birth and their ability to name Cabinet ministers	59
3.11	Relation between age of university students and their ability to name Cabinet ministers	61
3.12	Relation between religion and Secondary School Students ability to name Cabinet ministers	62
3.13	Relation between religion of University Students and their ability to name Cabinet ministers	62
3.14	Relation between Secondary school students ethnic identity and their ability to name Cabinet ministers	63
3.15	Relation between University Students ethnic identity and their ability to name Cabinet ministers	63
3.16	Students frequency of reading newspapers and magazines	66
3.17	Relation between University students area of birth and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines	68
3.18	Relation between age of University Students and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines	69
3.19	Relation between sex of Secondary School Students and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines	71

3.20	Relation between sex of university students and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines	71
3.21	Relation between Secondary School Students ethnic identity and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines	72
3.23	Relation between secondary School Students Religion and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines	73
3.24	Relation between university Students religion and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines	73
4.1	Students expectation of treatment by the governmental bureaucracy	79
4.2	Relation between sex of students and their expectation of treatment by the bureaucracy	81
4.3	Relation between students ethnic identity and their expectation of treatment by te bureaucracy	82
4.4	Relation between students religion and their expectation of treatment by bureaucracy	83
4.5	Amount of consideration expected by students for point of view from bureaucracy	84
4.6	Relation between sex of students and the amount of consideration they expect for point of view from bureaucracy	86
4.7	Relation between students ethnic identity and the amount of consideration they expect for point of view from bureaucracy	87
4.8	Relation between students religion and the amount of consideration they expect for point of view from	

	bureaucracy	88
4.9	Students expectation of treatment by police	90
4.10	Relation between sex of students and their expectation of treatment by police	91
4.11	Relation between Students Ethnic identity and their expectation of treatment by the Police	92
4.12	Relation between students religion and their expectation of treatment by the Police	92
4.13	Amount of Consideration expected by students for point of view from the Police	93
4.14	Relation between Sex of students and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the Police	95
4.15	Relation between Students ethnic identity and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the Police	95
4.16	Relation between Students Religion and the amount of consideration that they expect for the point of view from the Police	96
4.17	Students frequency of discussing politics with other people	97
4.18	Relation between sex of Students and their frequency of discussing politics with other people	99
4.19	Relation between students ethnic identity and their frequency of discussing politics with other people	101

4.20	Relation between students religion and their frequency of discussing politics with other people	102
4.21	Students feeling of restriction in discussing political and Government affairs	103
4.22	Relation between sex of students and their feeling of restriction in discussing political and governmental affairs	106
4.23	Relation between students ethnic identity and their feeling of restriction in discussing Political and governmental affairs	107
4.24	Relation between students religion and their feeling of restriction in discussing political and governmental affairs.	109

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: OBJECTIVES, SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 Rationale and objectives of the study

This is a study of the Political culture of Sierra Leone. Specifically, it deals with two dimensions of the political culture of university and Secondary School students in Freetown - the cognitive or knowledge and beliefs, the affective or feeling dimensions of political culture. The third dimension - the evaluative, or judgement dimension - whose pattern of distribution in conjunction with those of the previous other two, make up the political culture of a nation, will not be treated in this study. Systematic Research into Political behaviour which embraces the study of Political culture and Political socialisation, dates as far back as the Post World War II era, specifically in the 1950s¹. This relatively new sub-discipline of political science utilises a research technique labelled by Stein Rokkan and Angus Campbell as MICRO POLITICS² which puts accent on the political attitudes and motivations of individuals as Universe unto itself and the relationship of the latter to the way the political system works. This approach has been contrasted with Macropolitics, the more traditional concern of Political Scientists with the structure and function of political systems, institutions, and agencies and, their effect on public policy. Macropolitics "deals with political collectivities rather than the individuals who make up those collectivities."³

With the emergence of the behavioural revolution in politics which ushered in quantification, the mathematical and statistical analysis of political phenomena and the great strides in the techniques of survey

¹ See Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialisation, (Boston, 1969), P12, and David d. Laitin, "Religion, Political culture and the Weberian Tradition," World Politics Vo.30, No.4, July 1978, P. 563.

² See Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in five nations, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), P.32.

³ Ted Robert Gurr, Politimetrics: An Introduction to Quantitative Macropolitics, (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), P.1.

societies as a result of which much literature of both theoretical and empirical focus on political culture and political socialisation has accumulated due mainly to American and British scholars.⁴

Notwithstanding the popularity of this sub-discipline the study of Political Culture and Political socialisation remain virtually unexplored in Sierra Leone, as very little if any work has been done to throw light on the political subjectivities of the Sierra Leonean. This neglected field - the study of Political culture and political socialisation - is very important as it enhances our understanding of the stability of political systems. Political culture constitute a significant independent variable of the political system as maintained by Almond and Verba as follows:

"How people feel about their political system is an important component of political culture. The State of feeling or political emotion in a country is perhaps the most important test of the legitimacy of its political system. It is also the most important measure of political alienation and aspiration."⁵

The current study therefore aims at making a contribution in this direction by focusing on the political knowledge and feelings of University and Secondary School Students in Freetown. The study was originally focused on Bo and Freetown, but because of the rebel incursions into the country that severely hit the Southern and Eastern part of the country, it was deemed necessary to leave Bo out of the study as most of the people living in that part of the South had left

⁴ See, among others, such path-breaking works as: Herbert A. Hyman, Political Socialisation: A study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour (The Free Press, 1959). Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, (Princeton University press, 1963). Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man: Where, How and Why Democracy Works in the Modern World, (New York, Double Day S Co., Inc., 1960), V.O. Key Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961), Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney. The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, (Aldwin Publishing Company, 1967), Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialisation, (Boston, 1969), and Stanley Allan Renshon (ed.) Handbook of Political Socialisation Theory and Research, (The Free Press, 1977). See also leading political Journals (World Politics, British Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, Journal of Politics, Comparative Political studies, etc.), for the remarkable contributions made by American and British scholars

⁵ Almond and Verba, *OpCit*; P. 100.

part of the country, it was deemed necessary to leave Bo out of the study as most of the people living in that part of the South had left their homes and schools had been closed just at the time the research was about to start in that area. The study therefore was concentrated in Freetown Secondary Schools and Fourah Bay University College, Freetown.

The RAISON D'etre of the study was to conduct a survey in Freetown in order to generate empirical data that would provide us with home insights into the political knowledge and feelings of Sierra Leone Students in general and particularly University and Secondary School students in Freetown.

On the one hand, the study was comparative in that the data that was gathered in the few secondary schools and in the University facilitated the comparative analysis of the political knowledge and feelings of University and Secondary School Students in Freetown. On the other hand, the study was exploratory - descriptive in that this is one of the first empirical studies dealing with political culture of Sierra Leone. And attempts were made to test hypothesis regarding the relationship between [political knowledge and feelings on the one hand and such background variables as sex, ethnic identity, level of education, age, religious affiliation and area of birth on the other hand. Hypotheses were developed which could be tested further in subsequent research.

The major objectives of the study is to gain some insight into the nature of students political knowledge and feelings in Sierra Leone. The other objectives of the study include:

- (1) To critically review some existing literature on Political culture and political Socialisation,
- (2) To compare the level of university and Secondary School Students political knowledge with respect to certain political leaders,
- (3) To compare university and Secondary School Students frequency of

reading newspapers/magazines and their listening to radio,

- (4) To compare University and Secondary School Students feelings toward some output agencies of government - the police and bureaucracy,
- (5) To compare University and Secondary school Students frequency of discussing politics with other people,
- (6) To compare University and Secondary School Students feeling of restriction in discussing political and governmental affairs,
- (7) To Test some hypotheses derived from 1,2,3,4,5 and 6 above
- (8) To examine the policy implications of the findings of this study.

1.2 Scope of the Study

This study will be restricted to students. This is not to say that other relevant population groups such as, Civil Servants, market women, etc, could not have been investigated. It was only felt that the learning place, school or university etc., being a melting pot of various cultures would suffice to give us a handle on the political culture of the country generally. The study, therefore, deals with the political culture of University and Secondary school students in Freetown. However, we shall utilise the results derived from these samples and make generalisation about the political culture of the entire students in the country, albeit with some caution.

Moreover, we shall not deal with all the dimensions of Political culture - cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations. We shall be restricted to the first two, cognitive and affective orientations of students.

Nor can we pretend to offer a complete political "cognitive maps" of students or give an exhaustive account of the affective orientations of students. We shall deal with very limited measures of the cognitive

and affective orientations of University and Secondary School Students in Freetown.

Regarding the cognitive orientations of students, we shall be interested in knowing whether students can name certain key political figures, and how frequently they read newspapers and magazines and how frequently they listen to radio and their frequency and freedom of political discussion.

To gain some insight into the affective orientations of students, we shall explore the state of students feeling toward the Governmental Bureaucracy and the Police.

And more significantly, we shall be interested in comparing the cognitive and affective orientations of University and Secondary School Students, and testing certain hypotheses with respect to these orientations.

1.3 Conceptual Framework

The theoretical perspective guiding this study, hinges on the Civic culture/participant culture model popularised by Almond and Verba⁶ in their Classic five nation study including United States, United Kingdom, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Mexico.

The Civic or participant culture approach assumes that norms and values can be used as independent variables to explain the possibility of stable democracy.

This approach conceptualises Political culture in terms of the "distribution of patterns of orientations toward political objects."⁷ There are three such orientations: cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations. The cognitive orientations refer to the knowledge and

⁶ Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture; Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations., (Princeton, N.T., Princeton University Press, 1963).

⁷ Ibid, P.14.

beliefs people hold about the objects of the political system, the affective orientations concerns the feelings individuals have toward the objects of the political system, while the evaluative orientations denote the judgements about the objects of the political system.

Peoples knowledge of political objects can either be accurate or inaccurate. Their feelings can either be favourable or unfavourable toward the objects of the political system. And their judgments may be positive or negative about political objects.

The Political objects or objects of the political system include, the political system as a whole, the input objects, the output objects and the self or individual as a political object (see section 1.4 for definitions of these terms).

According to the Civic culture approach, there are three main types of Political culture according to the distribution of cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations toward the four main objects of the political system: Parochial, Subject and Participant political cultures.

Parochial political culture is one in which the orientations of peoples to the objects of the political system is zero.

Subject political culture is one in which individuals are oriented to the political system as a whole and to the output objects but have little or no orientations toward the input objects and to the individual as an object of the political system.

Finally, in the Participant Political culture, individuals are oriented toward all the political objects. However, there are variations on the above three types.

The Civic culture approach has been criticised by some scholars. In particular, Barry (1970)⁸, Pateman (1971)⁹, and Rogowski (1974)¹⁰, have

8. Brian Barry, Sociologists, Economists and Democracy, London: Macmillan, 1970).

drawn attention to the circular nature of the arguments provided by the articulate exponents of the approach - Parson, Almond, Verba and Ecstein. These critics point out that the research designs used by Almond et al, did not indicate any way of discerning whether political norms influence and direct political structures or vice versa. Moreover, Frankel (1981)¹¹ criticises the approach on the grounds that political culture is insufficient to explain politics. According to him,

"Political culture, loosely defined as the subjectivities brought to political behaviour, is in itself insufficient to explain politics. This insufficiency is because the link between political consciousness and action is always mediated by leadership and organizational factors, the specific nature of situations and,....by social structures,"¹²

In spite of these limitations of the approach, we consider it appropriate because if the attitude structures and behavioural patterns of a country are known, they can be moulded to suit a democratic type of polity. It is in fact more relevant to the study of developing societies like Sierra Leone which is still struggling to develop stable democratic political system.

1.4 Definitions of terms

In the context of the present study, the following terms should be understood as defined:

⁹ Carole Pateman, "Political Culture, Political Structure and Political Change," British Journal of Political Science, 2, July 1971.

¹⁰ Ronald Rogowski, Rational Legitimacy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

¹¹ Philip Frankel, "Political culture and Revolution in Soweto," The Journal of Politics, 43(3) August, 1981, PP831-849.

¹² Ibid, P. 831.

Political Culture

This is " the distribution of patterns of orientations toward political objects among the members of the nation."¹³

Orientations

This is the sum total of the attitudes and motivations of individuals in a nation. There are three types of orientations: Cognitive, affective and evaluation orientations. Cognitive orientations is the knowledge individuals hold about the objects of the political system. Affective orientations is the feeling of individuals toward the objects of the political system. Evaluative orientation is the judgments about political objects.

Objects of the Political System

This include the political systems as a whole, the input and output objects and the individual as a political object.

Input Objects

This denote those agents and structures involved in the conversion of the demands of society into policies, for example, political parties, interest groups, media of communication.

Output Objects

This refers to those agents or structures concerned with the application and enforcement of policies, for example, bureaucracy, courts, police.

Political system

This refers to that system of interaction to be found in all

¹³ Almond and Verba, op cit, P.14.

independent societies that perform the function of integration and adaptation (both internally and vis-a-vis other societies) by the means of the employment, or threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion.

Political Socialisation

This denotes the process by which political culture is transmitted from one generation to the other.

Agents of Political Socialisation

This refers to all those individuals and or institutions that transmit political culture, directly, from one generation to the other eg. the family, peer group, Political party, school, e.t.c.

Micropolitical Analysis

This is an approach to research that deviates from the more traditional concern of the student of politics with the analysis of whole political systems, institutions such as legislative, Bureaucracy, constitutions etc. In micropolitical analysis, the political attitudes of individuals as members of a group is stressed; the orientations of individuals are viewed in relation to the operation of the political system as a whole.

Macropolitics/Macropolitical Analysis

Macropolitics deals with political aggregates or collectivities instead of the individuals that make up those collectivities.

Students

This denotes both pupils in Secondary Schools in Freetown from form one through form 6 and those in Fourah Bay University College from preliminary year through final year.

1.5 Statement of the hypothesis

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the degree of political knowledge and feelings of students in Freetown and present empirical data that could provide some insight into the political culture of Sierra Leone. Although the study sample is drawn from ten (10) secondary schools in Freetown and Fourah Bay University College, it is hoped that the conclusions will be of such a general nature that they would be true of the majority of students in most secondary schools and the University in Freetown.

The major hypotheses of the study is, therefore stated as follows:

Although all University and secondary school students in Freetown are exposed to the same objects of the political system, there exist major differences among them in the extent or degree of their political orientations toward these objects.

In order to test the validity of the central hypothesis, the following sub-hypotheses are also proposed:

- (1) There is higher degree of Political knowledge among University students than their secondary School counterparts.
- (2) There is a positive correlation between sex of students and their ability to name political leaders.
- (3) There is a positive correlation between students area of birth and ability to name political leaders.
- (4) There is a positive correlation between age of students and their ability to name political leaders to name political leaders.
- (5) There is a positive correlation between religious affiliation and students ability to name political leaders.
- (6) There is a positive correlation between ethnic identity of

students and their ability to name cabinet ministers.

- (7) University students are more aware of politics than secondary school students.
- (8) There is positive correlation between student's educational level and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines.
- (9) There is a positive correlation between students area of birth and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines.
- (10) There is a positive correlation between students age and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines.
- (11) There is a positive correlation between students sex and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines.
- (12) There is a positive correlation between students ethnic identity and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines.
- (13) There is a positive correlation between students religious affiliation and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines.
- (14) University students listen more frequently to radio than their secondary school counterparts.
- (15) There is a positive correlation between students area of birth and their frequency of listening to radio.
- (16) There is a positive correlation between age of students and their frequency of listening to radio.
- (17) There is a positive correlation between sex of students and their expectation of treatment by the governmental bureaucracy.
- (18) There is positive correlation between students ethnic identity

and their expectation of treatment by the bureaucracy.

- (19) There is positive correlation between students religious affiliation and their expectation of treatment by the bureaucracy.
- (20) There is a positive correlation between Sex of students and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the bureaucracy.
- (21) There is positive correlation between ethnic identity of students and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the bureaucracy.
- (22) There is a positive correlation between students religion and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the bureaucracy.
- (23) There is a positive correlation between Sex of students and their expectation of treatment from the police.
- (24) There is a positive correlation between students ethnic identity and their expectation of treatment by the Police.
- (25) There is a positive correlation between students religion and their expectation of treatment by the police.
- (26) There is a positive correlation between Sex of students and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the police.
- (27) There is a positive correlation between students ethnic identity and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the police.
- (28) There a positive correlation between students religion and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from

the police.

- (29) There is positive correlation between sex of students and their frequency of discussing politics.
- (30) There is positive correlation between students ethnic identity and their frequency of discussing Politics.
- (31) There is a positive correlation between students religion and frequency of discussing politics.
- (32) There is a positive correlation between students sex and their feeling of restriction in discussing politics.
- (33) There is a positive correlation between students ethnic identity and their feeling of restriction in discussing Politics.
- (34) There is a positive correlation between students religion and their feeling of restriction in discussing politics.

1.6 Methodology of the study

1.6.1 Sources of Data In addition to books and local newspapers, the data for this study was generated by the use of questionnaire. A self-administered questionnaire embodying mainly those questions developed by Almond and verba in their five (5) nation study was utilised for the collection of relevant data on the Political attitudes and orientations of University and Secondary School students in Freetown. The questionnaire had items of fixed alternatives to elicit uniform answers from students. Questions were intended to invite responses that would give a picture of the degree of political knowledge and feelings among students.

In all three hundred (300) questionnaires were administered in ten (10) secondary schools in Freetown (see table 1.1.). Out of these, two hundred and four (204), 98%, questionnaires were duly completed and returned. The 32% non response rate was due to the fact that schools

were actually not in 'normal' session. The rebel war had hit some part of the country which had resulted in the closing down of many schools there. The effect of this spilled over into the rest of the country. In the city, too, some students were not turning up for classes thinking that their teachers would not show up to teach. Therefore, only the most popular schools (in terms of academic standards) held relatively 'normal' sessions and therefore were included in the Secondary Schools Sample. The distribution of the returned questionnaires by school stood as in table 1.1. below.

As can be seen from the table, the response rate was good. The Albert Academy and the Prince of Wales Secondary schools gave the highest response rate, 100%. The smallest number of respondents came from Rokel Secondary school with only 10 respondents out of a total of 30 questionnaires.

For the University sample, Sixty (60) questionnaire were administered among students in the five (5) faculties - Faculty of Economic and Social Studies, Faculty of Pure and Applied Science, Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Engineering, and the Faculty of Law. The response rate is presented in table 1.2. below.

It is clear that the Faculty of Economic and Social Studies and the Faculty of Arts gave the highest response rate (100%), while the Faculty of Pure and Applied Science gave the lowest response rate, 66.7%.

On the overall, the response rate for the University sample was very good, out of a total of 60 questionnaires, 52 usable questionnaires were returned, a response rate of 86.7%.

Thus out of a total sample of 360 Students (including both those from Secondary Schools and the University) 256 duly completed and returned their questionnaire, an overall response rate of 71.1%.

The questionnaires were personally administered by the researcher in the ten schools and in the University with the co-operation of the

school teachers and the Lecturers in the five faculties of the University in which the questionnaires were administered. It was relatively easier to collect information from the University students because the researcher is a member of staff in the Faculty of Economic and Social Studies at Fourah Bay University College where the University sample was drawn.

It took a day to administer a set of questionnaires in each of the schools while the administration of the University questionnaire lasted for 6 days.

TABLE 1.1: SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS RESPONSE RATE TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Secondary School	Distributed	Returned	Usable
Albert Academy	30	30	30
Prince of Wales	30	30	30
Ahmadiyya Muslim	30	20	20
Government Model	30	18	18
Freetown Girls	30	22	22
St. Edwards	30	12	12
Annie Walsh Memorial	30	23	23
Bishop Johnson	30	15	15
St. Joseph Convent	30	24	24
Rokel Government	30	10	10
Column Totals	300(100)	204(68)	204(68)

TABLE 1.2: UNIVERSITY STUDENTS RESPONSE RATE TO QUESTIONNAIRE BY FACULTY

Faculty	Distributed	Returned	Usable
Economic and Social Studies	12	12	12
Pure and Applied Science	12	8	8
Arts	12	12	12
Engineering	12	10	10
Law	12	10	10
Total	60(100)	52(86.7)	52(86.7)

The entire data collection exercise lasted from May 3 to May 30, 1991. Letters of introduction were sent to the principals of the Secondary Schools in which the questionnaires were administered to facilitate the gathering of the necessary information. The letters explained the purpose of the research being conducted and indicated when the schools would be visited.

1.6.2 Characteristics of the Sample

A total of 256 usable questionnaires of which 52 were obtained from the University and the rest from the Secondary Schools, were analysed.

While the sample seems small, the result, we believe, will be relevant and will enhance our understanding of the political culture of Freetown and Sierra Leone, just like other Studies based on small samples but have significantly thrown light on the phenomena, that they have studied¹⁴. It is not the size of the sample, sometimes that is crucial

¹⁴ See, for example, Edward G. Banifield, The Moral Basis of a Backward Society, (Glencoe, Illinois, The free Press, 1958). Banifield's purpose was to investigate the correlates of extreme poverty and backwardness in a single village in Southern Italy -Montegrano. In addition to published materials, Banifield and his wife interviewed only 70 Montegrano Peasants (The name Montegrano existed only in the figment of their imagination, it should be noted) in the village. Based on these materials, they were able to trace backwardness and underdevelopment to a syndrome (an ethos) which they labelled as AMORAL FAMILISM: lack of public spiritedness and tendency away from corporate action and attachment to only familial ties. These findings were not only significant for Montegrano Peasants or Italians but also to underdeveloped societies generally. This is a prototype of studies of wider ramifications based on small samples and unsophisticated sampling methodologies

but the representativeness and heterogeneity of the elements drawn into the sample. As long as a sample is representative of the population from which it is drawn, the result arrived at may be significant and inferences may be made from sample statistics to Population parameters.

Our sample, while it did not benefit from any very rigorous sampling technique, is somewhat representative of the entire student population of Freetown. It included respondents from various age groups, ethnic identities, residence (area of birth), sex and religious affiliation in the country.

Thus the university sample comprised of 78.8% male respondents and 21.2% female respondents. The Secondary School sample, on the other hand, consisted of 68.6% males and 31.4% females. Males respondents dominate in both the University and secondary schools. (see table 1.3.).

About 98% of our respondents could state their ages, in completed years. (see table 1.4). The distribution of the respondents by Institutional affiliation and quinquennial (five year) age groups is presented in the four by two (4x2) contingency table below. (see table 1.5).

According to this matrix table, ~~our~~ respondents range from age 10 to age 25 and above. A large proportion of our respondents fall in the 15-19 five year age group, 61.7%, followed by 10-14 age group, 18.4%. the least number of respondents fall in the 25+ age group.

Our 52 University respondents range from age 15 to age 25+, while our Secondary School respondents range from age 10 to age 25+. More respondents from the Secondary schools fall in the 15-19 age group than those from the University fall in both the 20-24 and 25+ age groups, not surprisingly.

In terms of the distribution of our respondents by area of birth, table 1.6 show that the highest proportion of our respondents were born in the Western Area, 54.7%, followed by Eastern Province, 15.2%. the

lowest percentage of respondents come, not surprisingly, from non-Sierra Leoneans, 8.2%. About 2% of the entire sample did not mention their area of birth.

Among the Secondary School students, 63.7%, the highest proportion, were born in the Western Area, followed by those born in the Province, 13.7%. the lowest percentage in this respect, come from the northern and Southern provinces, each showing 6.9% respectively. About 7% of the respondents here are Non- Sierra Leoneans, while 1.5% did not state their area of birth.

On the other hand, the highest percentage of the University respondents come from the Southern province, 23.1%, followed closely by those born in the Eastern and Southern Provinces, each showing 21.2% respondents respectively. The Percentage of non-Sierra Leoneans here is 11-5% while about 4% did not indicate their area of birth.

TABLE 1.3: DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY SEX AND INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION

Institution	Secondary School Students	University Students	Total
Sex	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Male	140 (68.6)	41 (78.8)	181 (70.7)
Female	64 (31.4)	11 (21.2)	75 (29.3)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

TABLE 1.4: ABILITY TO STATE AGE AMONG UNIVERSITY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

Level of Education	Secondary School Students	University Students	Total
Ability to state age	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Knows age	201 (98.5)	51 (98.1)	252 (98.4)
Don't know age	3 (1.5)	1 (1.9)	4 (1.6)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

TABLE 1.5: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY QUINQUENNIAL AGE GROUP

Level of Education	Secondary School Students	University Students	Total
Age Group	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
10 - 14	47 (23.0)	-	47 (18.4)
15 - 19	150 (73.5)	8 (15.4)	158 (61.7)
20 - 24	5 (2.5)	22 (42.3)	27 (10.5)
25 +	2 (1.0)	22 (42.3)	
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

TABLE 1.6: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY AREA OF BIRTH

Institution	Secondary Students	University Students	Total
Area of Birth	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Eastern Province	28 (13.7)	11 (21.2)	39 (15.2)
Western Area	130 (63.7)	10 (19.2)	140 (54.7)
Northern Province	14 (6.9)	11 (21.2)	25 (9.8)
Southern Province	14 (6.9)	12 (23.1)	26 (10.2)
Non-Sierra Leonean	15 (7.4)	6 (11.5)	21 (8.2)
Not Stated	3 (1.5)	2 (3.8)	5 (1.9)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

The major ethnic groups in Sierra Leone include: Mende, Temne, Creole, Limba, Kono, Koranko, Sherbro, and Loko. The other less dominant tribes are, Madingo, Fula, Susu. Our attitudinal survey show that the greatest proportion are Mendes, 28.1%, followed by Temnes, 16.8% (see table 1.7). The lowest proportion of the respondents identify with Koranko, 0.8% followed by Sherbro and Loko, each registering 2.3% respectively. Other tribes in the minority show about 20%•0.4% of the respondents did not indicate their ethnic identities.

Higher proportions of respondents who are Mende, Temne and Kono come from the university sample, while higher proportion of respondents who are Creoles and Limbas come from the Secondary School Sample. None of the respondents who are Sherbros and Lokos belong to the university sample. (see table 1.7).

54.7% of our total respondents are Christians while 44.5 are Muslims, 1.2% come from other religious backgrounds. they either are from the Bahai faith or are devotee of the Krishna consciousness movement, two other religions that are flourishing in the country.

There is a preponderance of Christian respondents over Muslim respondents in both the Secondary Schools and the University samples (see table 1.8).

TABLE 1.7: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY ETHNIC IDENTITY AND INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION

Institution Ethnicity	Secondary Students	University Students	Total
	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Mende	47 (23.0)	25 (48.1)	72 (28.1)
Temne	34 (16.7)	9 (17.3)	43 (16.8)
Creole	31 (15.2)	6 (11.5)	37 (14.4)
Limba	25 (12.2)	3 (5.8)	28 (10.9)
Kono	7 (3.4)	3 (5.8)	10 (3.9)
Koranko	1 (0.5)	1 (1.9)	2 (0.8)
Sherbro	6 (2.9)	0 (0)	6 (2.3)
Loko	6 (2.9)	0 (0)	6 (2.3)
Other [†]	46 (22.5)	5 (9.6)	51 (19.9)
No Answer	1 (0.5)	0 (0)	1 (0.4)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

Other: includes, the less dominated tribes in the country - Madingo, Susu, Fula, - and alien tribes.

TABLE 1.8: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY INSTITUTION AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Institution Religion	Secondary Students	University Students	Total
	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Christianity	106 (52)	34 (65.4)	140 (54.7)
Islam	97 (45.5)	16 (30.8)	113 (44.1)
Other [†]	1 (0.5)	2 (3.8)	3 (1.2)
No Answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

Other: implies other less dominated religions in the country including Krishna Consciousness Movement, Bahai Faith.

1.6.3 Analytical Techniques

In the analysis of the data that was generated we were interested in discovering whether any major differences exist between the cognitive and affective or political knowledge and feelings of University and Secondary school Students in Freetown, particularly, and Sierra Leone in general. We, therefore, found some descriptive and analytical statistical techniques useful in our analyses.

Whilst we are aware that the social sciences not least Political science, more often generate nominal and categoric data, and at best, ordinal data, we steered clear of the "interval equality assumption" in modern measurement theory which advocates the use of nominal, categoric and ordinal data as if they were interval or ratio data - "the measurement ideal of the Social Scientists". Because, this assumption does not discern between Parametric and non-Parametric (distribution-free) Statistical methods and thus would permit the use of parametric statistical techniques where non-Parameter statistical techniques are appropriate.

We adhered strictly to the caveat that measurement scales should match their appropriate statistical techniques. Hence, the chi-squared (x^2) was used.

A chi-square (x^2) test is a statistical technique usually associated with frequencies. It is used to determine whether the variables are independent of or dependent on one another and to accept or reject the null hypotheses. This helps us to establish the presence or absence of significant relationships between variables. With a chi-square (x^2) test, it is possible to find out whether the independent variables of sex, ethnic identity, religious affiliation, age, and area of birth are positively correlated with students' political knowledge and feelings. The use of the Chi-square (x^2) test also enable us to make inferences from the study sample that would be expected to be true of the entire population.

The following formula was used to compute the chi-square (x^2) values:-

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(f_o^i - f_e^i)^2}{f_e^i}$$

where

f_o^i = the observed or obtained frequencies in each cell.

f_e^i = the expected frequencies in each cell calculated by dividing the frequency in a respective column marginal and row marginal by the total number of valid cases using the following formula:

$$f_e^i = \frac{(c_i * r_i)}{N}$$

where

c_i = frequency in a respective column marginal

r_i = frequency in a respective row marginal

N = total number of valid cases

Further explanations of the use of Chi-square (χ^2) test may be found in Gurr¹⁵, Hardyck and Petrinovitch¹⁶, Gulezian¹⁷ and Kerhinger¹⁸.

Low chi-square values indicate lack of a Significant relationship between the variables being tested while high chi-square values are interpreted to mean a presence of a significant relationship between the variables. For the purpose of this study, the 0.05, 0.02, 0.01 and the 0.001 levels of significance have been adopted as a measure of reliability of our results from chi-square (χ^2) tests.

¹⁵ Ted Robert Gurr, Politimetrics: An Introduction to Quantitative Macro Politics, (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Eaglewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972).

¹⁶ Curtis D. Dardyck and Lewis F. Petrinovitch, Introduction to Statistics for the Behavioural Sciences (2nd ed.) (W.B. Saunders and Company, 1976), chapter 9.

¹⁷ R.C. Gulezian, Statistics for Decision Making, (W.B. Saunders and Company, 1979), ch 23.

¹⁸ Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioural Research: Educational and Psychological Enquiry, (2nd ed.) (New York: Holt, 1973), pp 166-172.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON POLITICAL CULTURE AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

2.1 Introduction

While this study focuses on Political Culture - the values, beliefs, feelings and motivations of individuals - yet it is necessary to examine political socialisation - the process through which political culture is transmitted from one generation to another. Political culture and Political Socialisation are inseparably connected and therefore must be treated together since the study of one enhances our understanding of the other.

Hence in this chapter, a review of some books and articles, of both theoretical and empirical orientation, bearing on political culture and political socialisation, will be attempted. These works will be reviewed because of the insight they might provide for the current study.

2.2 Review of some Literature on Political Culture and Political Socialisation

Although the terms "Political Culture" and "Political Socialisation" were incorporated into the grammar of Political Science in the 1950s¹, yet some earlier political philosophers had addressed the question of citizenship training and its consequences for the political system, albeit those endeavours were unsystematic and somewhat of a theoretical

¹ See David D. Latin, "Religion, Political Culture and the Weberian Tradition", World Politics, Vol, 30, No. 4, July 1978, pp 563-592. Some scholars, among whom, Verba [S. Verba, "Comparative Political Culture", L. Pye S.S. Verba (ed.), Political Culture and Political Development, (Princeton Univ. Press, 1965). P 513 footnote] associates the early use of the term to Gabriel Almonds usage in 1956 when he defined the concept as follows: "every political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to political action". See Gabriel Almond, "Comparative Political Systems" in Eylau, et al, (ed). Political Behaviour: A Reader in Theory and Research (The Free Press, 1959) pp 34-42. Another early use can be found in Adam Ulam, ed. Patterns of Government, (New York, Random House, 1958). The use of the concept since that time, see Y.C. Kim, "The concept of Political Culture in Comparative Politics", Journal of Politics, 26, No.2, (May 1964) and for application of the concept in cross-cultural research, see Lucien Pye and Sidney Verba, op cit, 1965.

and speculative nature.

For instance, Plato (427-347 B.C.), the immortal Greek thinker, considered education and childhood experiences as very crucial for inculcating citizenship values. In his dialogue, The Republic, one of the earliest utopias ever constructed, Plato devoted portions to outlining a complex educational programme designed to imbue the various classes of citizens in his ideal state (Philosopher-Kings, Guardians, producers) with values and predispositions fit for their respective roles in the POLIS. He maintained that the stability of political systems, their institutions, are affected by the values and beliefs of citizens and he attributed the cyclical degeneration of political systems to bad methods of political education and failures in political socialisation.

Plato's pupil, Aristotle (384-322 B.C), equally stressed the need for political socialisation and significance of political culture. He argued that there should be congruence between people's character in a polity and constitutional forms or types of political system. This is well expressed in the opening paragraph of Book VIII of his great treatise, Politics, as follows:

"... the legislator should direct his attention above all to the education of the youth; for the neglect of education does harm to the constitution. The citizen should be moulded to suit the form of government under which he lives. For each government has a peculiar character which originally formed and which continues to preserve it. The character of democracy creates democracy and the character of oligarchy creates oligarchy; and always the better the character, the better the government."²

However, the first major, path-breaking study of a systematic and empirical character in political socialisation and political culture

² Aristotle, Politics, Book VIII, 1337 a (1) Jowett (ed.).

research was conducted by Hyman in 1959³. Hyman's study was geared toward igniting the interest of scholars in political science to what he considered as an interesting and important sub-discipline - political socialisation -, whose importance has been slighted. He set out to provide a resumé of the existing fragmentary information about the political motivations of children and adolescents. By a thorough review of the literature, he provided several propositions on political participation, partisan orientations, democratic and authoritarian tendencies and pointed out areas where further research was needed. Hyman's aim was, as he put it, to provide,

"... the distinctive and systematic contribution that psychological analysis can make to the understanding of political behaviour and the presentation of empirical studies as evidence or support for such a mode of analysis."⁴

He therefore proceeded to give some psychological perspectives to the analysis of political behaviour. Hyman's study is important because it paved the way for greater and more consistent works on political behaviour.

Almond and Coleman's study⁵ is relevant for the theoretical insight it offers to this study. The authors aimed at offering an analytical and theoretical framework which would fertilitate the comparative analysis of polities of any variety and to specifically compare the Political Systems of developing societies with the help of the framework of analysis.

The book has two theoretical chapters, one of which is the introduction that addresses the theoretical perspective of the study, and the other is the conclusion by Coleman. Five other chapters deal with case

³ Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialisation: A study in the Psychology of Political behaviour, (The Free Press, 1959).

⁴ Ibid, P. 15.

⁵ Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (ed.) The Politics of the Developing Areas, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960).

studies of South East Asia, South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Near East and Latin America. These Area studies were done within the frame work of the conceptual tools explained by Almond in the introductory chapter. It is this introductory chapter dealing with the theoretical framework that is of great interest to this study.

The theoretical perspective espoused by Almond is based on functionalism, gleaned mainly from anthropological and sociological literature. Almond characterised a political system as a "... system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the function of integration and adaptation (both internally and vis-a-vis other societies) by the means of the employment, or threat of employment of more or less legitimate physical compulsion".⁶

Almond's definition debunks the dichotomy maintained by certain scholars between states and stateless societies. It is a widely applicable definition that covers not only modern forms of government such as Liberal democracies and Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes but also "primitive" or traditional political systems such as existed in pre-colonial Africa, for instance. This perspective, according to Almond, views the political system in structural terms. The political system has structures that perform specific functions. All political systems, Almond believes, have four main characteristics: Universality of political structures, universality of political functions, multifunctionality of political structures and culturally mixed character of political systems.

More significant is the fact that this perspective uses two broad functions of the political system that transcends the conventional separation-of powers model of political functions - Legislative, executive and Judiciary. The two functions are input and output functions which Almond referred to as "functional categories" of the political system. The input functions include, political socialisation and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication.

⁶ Ibid, P.7.

The output functions are, Rule-making, Rule application, and Rule adjudication.⁷ To facilitate the comparative analysis of various political systems, Almond replaced certain conventionally used words in political science for what he considered as more analytically superior concepts. Thus "Political System" replaced "state" or "nation" or "government"; "functions" replaced "powers", "roles" replaced "offices"; "structures" replaced "institutions"; "political culture" took the place of "public opinion" or "national character"; and "political socialisation" replaced "citizenship training". Some of these concepts frequently occur in this study. The five macro region studies contained in the book were facilitated by the use of the above analytical framework.

In the "Civic Culture",⁸ subtitled, "Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations", Almond and Verba conducted a cross-national comparative study including, United States of America, United Kingdom, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Mexico. They explored a number of classic themes of political science - what the Greeks referred to as civic virtue and its consequences for the effectiveness and stability of the democratic politics, together with the type of community life, social organisation and upbringing of children that fosters civic virtue.

Almond and Verba based their data on the responses of 5,000 individuals who were interviewed in the five nations studied. The data which were generated from five independent samples from the five nations, were alike in design - stratified, multi-stage probability samples. These probability samples therefore ensures more representativity relative to samples drawn on non-random basis.

The book is divided into five parts. But the findings and the first part should be more relevant to this study. The first part is entitled, "The theory and method of the study". Here the authors

7 Ibid, P.17.

8 Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963).

articulated the civic/participant culture approach. They defined political culture in terms of:

"... the specifically political orientations, attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system."⁹

According to Almond and Verba, there are three main dimensions of Political Culture: Cognitive, affective and evaluative dimensions or the knowledge and beliefs, feelings and judgments about the objects of the political system. The nature of the distribution of these orientations give rise to three main types of political culture: Parochial, subject and participant political culture.

In the Parochial political culture, there is little or no cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations toward the objects of the political system. African tribal societies would fall into this category. There was no structural differentiation and functional specificity in these societies.¹⁰

In subject political culture, citizens are oriented to the political system as a whole and the output objects but have little or no orientation toward the input objects of the political system and the self as an object.

Finally in the participant political culture,

"... members of the society tend to be explicitly oriented to the system as a whole and to both the political and administrative structures and processes; in other words, to both the input and

⁹ Ibid, P.13.

¹⁰ By structural differentiation is meant the existence of specific structures that perform specific functions. E.g. legislature (law-making structure), Executive and Judiciary, Mass media etc. Functional specificities also means that there is a one-to-one correspondence between political structure and political function. In these societies, sometimes, the same body perform religious, economic, political and Judicial functions.

output aspects of the political system".¹¹

Using the civic culture approach, Almond and Verba's study revealed that there exists in Britain and the United States a pattern of political attitudes and an underlying set of special attitudes that is supportive of a stable democratic process. This is less the case in Germany, Italy and Mexico. Another important finding of the study is that, of the demographic variables -social class, ethnicity, religion, sex, education, income, residence and occupation - which the authors believed might be positively correlated with differences in political orientation, educational level is the variable that has the strongest relationship with political attitudes in all the five countries.

Pye and Verba's Political Culture and Political Development¹² is the fifth volume of a series of "studies in Political Development" sponsored by the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council. The book has 12 chapters, two of which was contributed by Sidney Verba - one of the co-editors of the book - and the rest was contributed by the other distinguished Political Scientists.

The book addresses the problems of Political development of ten countries in terms of the Political culture approach. The ten nations included in the analysis are: Japan, England, Germany, Turkey, India, Ethiopia, Italy, Mexico, Egypt and Soviet Russia.

Some of the case studies dealt with mass political culture, others with elite political culture while some focused on both. The study on U.S.S.R. focused on both elite and mass political cultures. The Rustow, Binges and Levine studies that dealt with Turkey, Egypt and Ethiopia respectively, focused more on elite political culture. The studies that dealt with the more advanced societies - Germany and Italy for instance - focus more on mass political cultures.

¹¹ Almond and Verba, Op Cit, P.19.

¹² Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, (ed). Political Culture and Political Development, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965).

In the concluding chapter Verba came up with four dimensions of political culture by which countries can be compared: concept of national identity, patterns of identification with one's fellow citizens, acceptable types of government output and the process of decision making, in addition to the previous four suggested by Pye in the introductory chapter: trust-distrust, hierarchy-equality, liberty-coercion and universal versus particular loyalties.

But Paden's study¹³ in 1973 utilised a different set of dimensions of Political Culture. According to him, much of the work by western social scientists has focused on the dimension of participation, which is closely related to political mobilisation. e.g. Almond and Verba (1963), Pye and Verba, (1965) and Levine (1963). Padens approach to Political Culture stands that of the civic/participant culture approach on its head. While the latter approach views norms and values as independent variables to explain political phenomena, Paden's approach takes political culture as a dependent variable to be explained by the process of modernisation and social change. Instead of using the dimensions of Political Culture developed by Almond and Verba, Pye or Levine, he utilised two broad dimensions of political culture: Authority dimension (including succession to and protest of authority) and Community dimension (including formation and consolidation of community identities). According to him these dimensions were selected partly because they represent at an analytical level the essential requirements for a political community to sustain itself, and partly because these have been the issues of primary concern to the people within the case-study contest. The study dealt with the evaluation of the influence of religious ideas and behaviour on the development of these dimensions.

Lipset's Political Man¹⁴ is a significant contribution to the study of Political behaviour. The Political man he studied is not in anyway

¹³ John N. Paden, Religion and Political Culture in Kano, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

¹⁴ Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man: Where, How and Why Democracy works in the Modern World, (New York: Double day & Company, Inc., 1960).

restricted to Anglo Saxon political man. There are three virtues for which the book ought to be admired, namely, its data, its method and its subject.

Lipset's empirical data on political behaviour is phenomenal. The materials range from polls and voting data in the United States, to voting data from India, to a 1957 poll data in Poland, to mention but only a few countries.

In the analysis of data, Lipset used a variety of methods. He utilised the multivariate technique that has been developed by Lazarsfeld and others to analyse his data. But he, however, employed it to deal with the complex problems of the relationship between economic development and democracy.

The substantive problem with which he grappled is explained by the subtitle of the book: "How, where and why democracy works in the modern world". The essays in the book range over a wide number of topics - the relationship between economic development and democracy, the reason why people do and do not vote, the political attitudes of intellectuals, the role of classes in American politics and the political process in trade unions.

Of particular interest to this study is the general question the author attempted to answer: What sort of social system and what set of attitudes among citizens support a democratic political system? He defined a democratic system as "one that supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials, and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing among contenders for political office."¹⁵

He considers two characteristics that affect the viability of a democratic political system - the instrumental effectiveness of a social system (its state of economic development and its legitimacy

¹⁵ Ibid, p 150

(the degree to which the institutions of government are considered right and proper in themselves).

Concerning the former, Lipset found a close association between economic development and such indices of economic development as urbanism, literacy, and per capita income.

Democracy, he believes, equally rests on the ability of a political system to maintain its legitimacy - that is, to "engender and maintain the belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for the society. In stressing the non instrumental factors in politics - sentiments, beliefs and symbols - Lipset emphasises a significant aspect of the politics of democracy.

Key, Jr.'s book Public Opinion and American Democracy¹⁶, is divided into 6 main parts. Parts one and two deal with problems which arise because of varying degrees of agreement on particular issues, and because of the political implications of public opinion distributions, when broken down by section, occupation, class and political affiliation.

Part III considers the political significance of different degrees of opinion intensity, stability and latency revealed by the opinion data.

Part IV discusses the role of the family, the educational system and the mass media in the formation of public opinion.

Part V seeks to evaluate the role played by political parties, elections, representative bodies and pressure groups as "links" in the process of the interaction between public opinion and government.

In part VI, the author gave his conclusions regarding public opinion and democratic politics.

Key, Jr., utilised mainly existing poll data accumulated over the years

¹⁶ V.O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961).

and made available to him at the survey research centre of the University of Michigan.

He found from his study that Public Opinion, in the sense of mass opinion of the electorate, is important in American democracy although it seldom influences public policy directly; that the state of public opinion is largely due to "political activists", the influential, the leaders, political elites.

Finally, Key Jr., believes that if democracy should work successfully, there must be a clear understanding of the respective roles and responsibility of the mass public on the one hand, and the political leaders and activists, on the other. So far political leaders are concerned, he maintained, they must respect public opinions, because the beliefs and habits of the masses is important. That the masses, too, must have a value system suitable to democratic way of life.

In Comparative Politics: A developmental approach, Almond and Powell¹⁷ espouse a theoretical perspective by which political systems can be compared. This approach is known as the developmental approach to the analysis of political systems. The developmental approach, as conceptualised by Almond and Powell, views the Political system as a dynamic entity which is capable of responding to the challenges it faces in both its international and Domestic environment. The challenges or "developmental loads" which political systems face are broadly state-building and nation-building problems which confronts the political system domestically or internationally. To cope with these system or developmental loads, political systems develop certain capabilities which are: symbolic, distributive, integrative, extractive etc. According to the developmental approach, political systems can be compared on three levels of functioning: Capabilities, conversion functions and system maintenance and adaptation functions. And political systems are said to have developed where structural differentiation and cultural secularization have taken place. Structural differentiation takes place when new structures or

¹⁷ Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, Inc., 1966).

institutions are created or existing ones are modified to cope with developmental problems. Cultural secularization, results when people become increasingly rational in their political activities as a result of increased political knowledge. The developmental approach has something common with the Civic Culture approach, namely, the accent on participation by everyone, increased political knowledge and rationality within the political system. Almond and Powell used this perspective in their book to compare, Traditional, intermittent and modern political systems. Another useful study of empirical nature was conducted by Hess and Torney in 1967.¹⁸

Hess and Torney, as the title of their work indicate were primarily concerned with "the development of political attitudes in children". Their research findings were drawn from a sample of approximately 12,000 white children in grades two through eight. These respondents came from four different regions of the United States, but all of them were pupils in urban public schools. The purpose of the research was to analyse the "rate of attitude development" in five areas:-

- i) attachment to the nation
- ii) Attachment to the government and to governmental figures
- iii) compliance with and respect for the law
- iv) influencing politics, and
- v) participation in elections.

Hess and Torney sought to determine what political attitudes children develop at what rate. They developed a quadripartite typology of models regarding the manner in which a child acquires his attitudes to politics, and how these political attitudes are changed and stabilised.

Hess and Torney called the first model, "Accumulation model". This involve the explicit or manifest transfer of political attitudes by parents, teachers, or other agents of political socialisation. The substance of what is taught and the child's capabilities are taken to be unimportant. The child's attitudes, involvement and behaviour are

¹⁸ Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967).

the direct consequences of the political learning which he had undergone.

In the second model, "Interpersonal transfer model", the child had already acquired some knowledge, as a child in the family and as a pupil in the school; so in his later relationship with figures of authority, he will "establish modes of interaction which are similar to those he has experienced with persons in his early life".

In the "Identification model", the child imitates the behaviour of a parent, teacher or other adult, in the absence of direct or explicit political socialisation. The transmission, therefore, occur inadvertently.

For the fourth model, "Cognitive - developmental model", Hess and Torney maintain that,

"This model assumes that the capacity to deal with certain kinds of concepts and information sets limits on the understanding that can be acquired of political phenomena. The child's conceptions of the political world are modified by his existing cognitive structures... This model assumes that it may not be possible to teach a given concept to a child who has not reached an appropriate developmental level..."¹⁹

Panett's study in 1971,²⁰ was also concerned with school children. A research which was modelled after Greenstein's,²¹ the Panett study was conducted in the public and separate schools of Kingston, Ontario, Canada, to measure the development of political knowledge and attitudes of group of young Canadian children. Many questions similar to Greenstein's were used. The study involved a sample survey of 1,985 children in ten schools. Of these children, 594 attended four separate

¹⁹ Ibid, P. 21.

²⁰ Jon H. Pammett, "The Development of Political Orientations in Canadian school children," Canadian Journal of Political Science, 4 (1), March 1971, pp. 132-140.

²¹ Fred Greestein, Children and Politics, (*New Haren, Connecticut, 1965).

(catholic) schools and 1,391 attended six public schools. The respondents of the written questionnaires were students of grades 4 through 8 in the schools selected (with the exception of two of the separate schools, one of which went only from grades 1 to 6 and another from which only grades 7 and 8 were used). Data were gathered on many subjects including, the development of political knowledge with respect to several political roles and institutions - namely, the mayor, city council, provincial premier, prime minister, parliament and the president of the United States. Two basic democratic norms were explored: the duty to vote and the importance of competitive elections. Also, the development of partisan orientation was considered. The topics were studied in terms of the differences between the various grade levels in the sample.

One of the striking conclusions reached by Pamett is the greater degree of political information and partisan commitment found in separate school children.

Dawson and Prewitt made a valuable theoretical contribution to political socialisation research with the publication of their fairly large volume in 1969, entitled, Political Socialisation.²²

This book is divided broadly into three parts consisting of ten chapters. In part I the authors traced the historical and intellectual roots of political socialisation and examined the functions of the process through which political values and beliefs are passed on to subsequent generations. Dawson and Prewitt believe that the three major historical and intellectual sources for the development of hypotheses for political socialisation are: classical literature of political theory, other behavioural sciences - social anthropology, psychiatry, social psychology and sociology - and recent developments in the study of politics. The three major functions which political socialisation serve are, in their view, maintaining, creating and transforming a political culture.

²² Richard E. Dawson and Kenett Prewitt, Political Socialisation, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. (inc), 1969).

In part II, the authors looked at the relationship of age to the development of the political self, methods of inculcating political values and beliefs and discontinuities in political socialisation.

Finally, in Part III of the book, both the primary and secondary agencies that transmit political culture were discussed.

In chapter 6 of their book, Dawson and Prewitt looked at a theme which is sometimes neglected by some scholars, namely, why the political orientations acquired by individuals in childhood conflict with the realities of political life (discontinuities) and why does this phenomenon vary from one political system to another. They distinguished two types of discontinuities in political socialisation: congruence and consistency discontinuities. Congruence discontinuity result when there is conflict between individual orientations and reality. Consistency discontinuity is caused by the different messages passed on by various agents of political socialisation. Discontinuities, the authors argued, is an inevitable phenomenon and is engendered by the characteristics of political learning among which feature the element of time, dynamism of the political system and the conflicting messages passed on by various agents of political socialisation. They maintained that the magnitude of discontinuity may vary from one political system to another either because of the complexity and heterogeneity or level of development of the political system, number and variety of socialising agents, social and geographic mobility or political change.

Richardson's study in 1974²³ grew out of his doctoral dissertation; it deals with popular political culture in Post-War Japan. The study is based on the findings of nearly 300 Japanese surveys over a period of several years in most cases in the decade between 1958 and 1967. The author explored a number of dimensions of attitudes to politics including, involvement, participation and voting attitudes.

The author distinguishes two approaches to the study of political

²³ Bradley M. Richardson, The Political Culture of Japan, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

attitudes and beliefs. One approach, the political culture (Participant or Civic culture) approach of Gabriel Almond and others, deals with the attitude structures and behavioural patterns that maintain a democratic political system.

The second approach, the inductive perspective which was adopted by Richardson,

"... seeks out the political culture pattern or attitudinal correlatives of actual behaviour in a particular place, and endeavours in turn to link identifiable orientations with socialisation processes or historical experience".²⁴

Of particular importance to this study is chapter 6 of the book which deals with the differences in political attitudes and orientations between city and countryside dwellers. According to the author, there are significant differences between the involvement and participation attitudes of urban and rural residents; city or urban dwellers have higher levels of popular political involvement and participation than their rural or countryside counterparts. This difference, Richardson believes, can be explained, in part, by two models: Milbrath's centre-periphery model and modernisation theory particularly the Learner and Deutschian variants.

Richardson points to Milbrath, et al's centre-periphery model to explain the significance of residence in political behaviour research. Milbrath and others, in his view, argue that people in the periphery participate less in politics than people near the centre of public life; since city or urban dwellers are nearer to the centre of society than their rural counterparts, they are expected to be more involved in politics.

According to the Learner variant of modernisation theory, urbanisation is "the sequential increases in education and media exposure". These factors predispose urban or city dwellers to more political awareness

²⁴ Ibid, Ch.1.

and participation than their rural counterparts.

According to the Deutschian view of modernisation theory, urbanisation, industrialisation and integration into the modern economy creates increased dependence on government, and the awareness of self-interest leads men to place greater demands on government, and to higher levels of popular political involvement and participation. Each of these theories, according to Richardson, offers important and useful perspective for the study of urban-Rural, city-country side patterns of political culture.

Seaving, Wright and Rabinowitz's article ²⁵ examines, in a way, the validity of the "PRIMACY THESIS" in political socialisation research. This principle resolves into three basic assumptions about political orientations:

- (1) Political Orientations are learned during childhood
- (2) This childhood learning further shapes any subsequent modifications of them.
- (3) The scale of any such subsequent modifications is small: fundamental political orientations tend to endure through life.

The purpose of Seaving and associates is to use cohort analysis to examine the extent to which three political orientations - party identification, political efficacy and political trust do endure through adulthood. Their findings show that although the primacy principle has often suffered from over statement, yet it is basically a sound thesis. The result from their cohort analysis shows that our orientations do change more than basic attachments and loyalties but less than issue beliefs.

Orren and Peterson²⁶ admit that most works on political socialisation have focused on the importance of primary agents of political

²⁵ Donald Seaving, Gerald Wright and George Rabinowitz, "The Primacy Principle: Attitude change and Political socialisation", British Journal of Political Science, 6 (1976), pp 83-113.

²⁶ Karen Orren and Paul Peterson, "Presidential Assassination: A Case study in the dynamics of Political Socialisation"., Journal of Politics, Vol. 29, 2)(1967), 388-404.

socialisation but that there is paucity of literature on "dynamics" of political socialisation. Their paper therefore is an attempt to fill this gap by examining how and why parents verbally interpret political events to their children.

The data for the study are based on a national modified probability sample of parents with children aged four to twelve. The interview was conducted shortly and subsequent upon the assassination of President Kennedy. The parents of the children constituting the sample were told by the interviewers of the National Opinion research centre whether and how they explained the assassination to their children. All the interviews were completed within a week. The assassination of the President which had a shocking impact on the child's political world was not what, directly, the authors were concerned with; rather they dealt with the much more relevant issue of how the event was related to the child by the parent.

The findings of the study reveal the following:-

- (1) The more emotionally involved the parent, the more likely that he would explain the assassination.
- (2) The more politically informed the parent, the more likely that he would explain the assassination to his child.
- (3) Explanations varied with the age of the child, with younger children given either religious explanations or told about the insane or wicked character of the assassin, and older children more frequently provided with explanations placing the event in a wider historical or political context.
- (4) Parents tended to preserve this positive political picture by avoiding the more sordid aspects of politics. They did not pass on to their children their own suspicions of a conspiracy at work in the assassination.

These conclusions provide, to the best of the knowledge of the authors, the first direct empirical evidence that parents are selective in their

transmissions of political perceptions and values to their young.

The RAISON D'ETRE of Greenstein, et al's study²⁷, was to present summarily with illustrative data from three studies childhood perceptions of the Queen and Prime Minister. The authors endeavoured to investigate a five - point thesis which are as follows:

- (1) The child typically first thinks of the Queen as the effective ruler and the Prime Minister as a mere helper, only later assigning the monarch figure head status;
- (2) The Queen receives an automatically positive evaluation whereas the Prime Minister does not;
- (3) The view that the Queen is the nation's actual ruler is more widely held and persists longer among middle-class children;
- (4) A consequence for adult political behaviour of class differences in the acquisition of realistic views of British Politics may be the various manifestations of political passivity by some working class Britons that have been so often summed up by the possibly misleading Baghotian term 'deference'.
- (5) A further consequence for adult political behaviour of the general phenomenon of childhood belief that Britain is effectively ruled by a Monarch may be a cooler, more detached view of the Prime Minister than is likely to be found in countries combining the functions of political leader and head of state or having more attenuated monarchies.²⁸

Although the illustrative data utilised in the study are short of a national probability sample, the study revealed that the first two propositions are not far from the truth; but concerning the last two

²⁷ Fred Greenstein, Valentine Herman, Robert N. Strading and Eliza Zureik, "The Child's conception of the Queen and Prime Minister", British Journal of Political Science, 4 (1974), pp 257-287.

²⁸ Ibid, P285 and pp 260-261

of the five propositions, the authors had this to say:-

"It is not possible to make firmly documented inferences from data on childhood psychological orientations (political or otherwise) to explanations of adult characteristics. Nevertheless, speculative connections can be made. Early learning in childhood appears to be consequential for later orientations and for behaviour in the later years, in part because of its temporal priority. What enters the mind first remains there to provide tenses and categories for perceiving and sorting later perceptions.²⁹

The Koff - Von der Muhll data³⁰ was drawn from a larger study of education and citizenship in the three East African Countries, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. Ten thousand questionnaires were administered to primary and secondary school children chosen on random, nation wide samples. Because of the largeness of the sample only 200 primary and 200 secondary questionnaires were selected in both Kenya and Tanzania for analysis.

The study revealed marked differences between primary and secondary students responses on a wide range of items. It was found that primary students attach great importance to educational attainment, were less egalitarian in their convictions, were less imbued with the ethic of hard work, profess greater interest in politics and attribute greater salience to religious and tribal affiliations. Primary students also show greater trust in other members of society and a less critical attitude toward figures of authority. They found that schools have a decisive impact on the formation of attitudes to citizenship.

Mshvenieradze's book entitled, Political reality and Political consciousness,³¹ takes a radical approach to political culture. This

²⁹ Ibid, P. 285

³⁰ David Koff and George Von Fer Muhll, "Political Socialisation in Kenya and Tanzania: A Comparative Analysis," The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1967, PP. 13-51.

³¹ V. Mshvenieradze, Political Reality and Political Consciousness, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1985).

book is a critique, from a dialectical and historical materialist perspective, of Bourgeois or capitalist political ideas. Of particular relevance to this study is a portion of the fifth chapter, entitled, "politics and culture in a philosophic light" in which the author concisely discussed the Marxist view of political culture.

Acknowledging Almond and Verba as eminent scholars in the field of political culture and political socialisation, Mshvenieradze starts off with an argument that is consistent with those of western scholars. He accepts the view that political culture is not a genetic category, innate with the individual; people are not born either politically oriented or disoriented. The individual is what the society and the political system make him or her. The individual's political culture is crystallised through a learning process known as political socialisation which starts in the family and at school and continues throughout one's work life and entire life span. Political culture, Mshevenieradze admits, is a subdiscipline of political science and is a comparatively young field of knowledge; western scholars must be credited for producing abundant theories to explain political culture.

Mshevenieradze, however, takes issue with western theories of political culture. He maintained that although western theories seem diverse, yet a close look at them will reveal similarities in the theories. They all, in his view, ignore the "social significance and the social essence" of political culture. Political culture, in the hands of Western scholars, is "excessively individualised and fragmented, as a result of which an integral approach is abandoned".³²

He refutes the Western view that political culture is the sum-total of the political attitudes, beliefs, and opinions of individuals in a society. Rather, he holds that political culture has its roots in society, for it is society that socialises the individual. In Mshvenievadze's words,

"Political culture has a social nature. It does not exist

³² Ibid, P. 334

outside society, which has a certain political structure. Ofcourse, political culture may be manifested both in individual and group behaviour, but it is not merely their sum-total. Rather, each of them constitute respectively the individual or collective manifestation of social political culture. In this way, individual political culture is also a social phenomenon and can be understood correctly only when the social characteristics of the individual are revealed.³³

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

³³ Ibid, P. 335.

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE AMONG STUDENTS

Introduction

The political culture of a nation comprises of the political attitudes, feelings, information and skills possessed by the members of the political Community. In Almond and Verba defined political culture as follows:

"The Political culture of a nation is the particular distribution of patterns of orientations toward political objects among the members of the nations."¹

The "patterns of orientations" referred to in the above definition of political culture are, cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations. The cognitive orientation is the knowledge individuals hold about the objects of the political system. But cognition include not only the quantity of information but also its specificity and accuracy as well as the ability to organize and process information.²

Affective orientation refers to the feelings which individuals develop toward political objects, while the evaluative orientation denote the judgements and opinions of individuals concerning the objects of the political system.

Almond and Verba distinguishes between four main categories of political objects to which orientations are directed. These include the political system as a whole which can be simply resolved to the nation and the political system. The output objects which are concerned with the conversion of demands of society into authoritative policies. The output agencies and structure include, the military, police, tax authorities, welfare authorities, educational authorities,

¹ Gabriel Almond & Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1963), P. 14.

² Ibid P.36.

etc. The input objects, which deal with the formulation of demands and whose agencies or structures include media of communication, interest groups, political parties, legislatures and the executive in its political aspects, etc. And finally, the self or the individual constitute a significant object of the political system to which also orientations are directed.

This chapter, however, will deal with one of the dimensions or orientations of political culture, namely, the cognitive orientations - the political knowledge of university and secondary school students in Freetown. However, an exhaustive description of the political "cognitive maps" of students is beyond the scope of this work, rather, a very limited number of measures of cognitive content and processes, which is, notwithstanding, sufficient to give us some idea about the political knowledge of students and which will bring out some of the significant differences between university and secondary school students will be offered. In this respect two measures will be utilized to explore the patterns of students political cognition. One of the measures will focus on the ability of students to identify and name political leaders at the national level of government. This measure however, taps only a limited aspect of the cognitive orientation of students. The second measure deals with following accounts of public affairs in the various media - Newspapers and radio. Differences among students with respect to these measures, while they are inadequate, will provide us with some insight into the "political cognitive maps" of students in Freetown.

3.1 Students Knowledge of Political Leaders

In our attempt to explore students ability to identify political role incumbents, we did not limit ourselves to current political figures in Sierra Leone, we focused also on past eminent political leaders, specifically the first prime minister upon the attainment of independence. Thus question 13 on the questionnaire asks: "Who was Prime Minister when Sierra Leone attained independence?" The frequency distribution of the responses of students is presented in the two by three (2x3) matrix table below (see table 3.1). The table is divided

into four main columns. Column 1 shows the ability to name the late prime minister, Dr. Sir Milton Margai. This column has three categories into which respondents were divided: those who knew the name of the prime minister, those who did not know the name of the Prime Minister and the category of those who failed to answer to the question. It should be noted, however, that those who knew the name of the Prime Minister include both those who could correctly or incorrectly spell the name of the Prime Minister: SIR MILTON MARGAI.

Columns two and three show the distribution of the responses of secondary and university students respectively while the fourth column gives the column totals and percentages. Raw figures are throughout in this study presented outside the brackets while their percentages are given in the bracket in the tables discussed.

TABLE 3.1

KNOWLEDGE OF THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER OF SIERRA LEONE

ABILITY TO NAME	SECONDARY STUDENTS NO. % AGE	UNIVERSITY NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Knows name	166 (81.4)	47 (90.4)	213(83.2)
Don't know name	17 (98.3)	0 (0)	17 (6.6)
No answer	21 (10.3)	5 (9.6)	26(10.2)
Total	204(79.7)	52(20.3)	256(100)

TABLE 3.2

STUDENTS KNOWLEDGE OF THE CURRENT HEAD OF STATE

ABILITY TO NAME	SECONDARY STUDENTS NO. % AGE	UNIVERSITY NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Knows name	199 (97.5)	52 (100)	251(98.0)
Don't know name	0 (0)	0 (0)	0(0)
No answer	5 (2.5)	0 (0)	5(2.0)
Total	204(79.7)	52(20.3)	256(100)

It is striking to note that generally, a large proportion of the entire sample, 83.2%, could identify the late Prime Minister. However, about 7% say that they don't know the name of the late Prime Minister, while about 10% did not answer the question.

University students show higher degree of acquaintance with the name of the late Prime Minister, 90.4%, than their secondary school counterparts, 81.4%. Moreover, while none of the University students sample indicate ignorance of the late Prime Minister's name, 8.3% of the secondary school respondents confessed their inability to name the late SIR MILTON MARGAI, the first Prime Minister when Sierra Leone attained her independence. Finally, the largest proportion of no response came from the secondary students.

Although the University sample is small, 20.3% relative to that of the secondary schools, 79.7%, yet meaningful results which are comparable and which permits inferences to be drawn about the general political knowledge of students in Freetown can be obtained.

To gain further insight into the ability of students to identify political leaders at the national government level, students were asked to name the current head of state of the Republic of Sierra Leone. The actual text of the question is as presented in question 14 on the questionnaire which reads: "Who is Head of State now?" The distribution of the responses to this question is presented in the (2x3) contingency table below (see table 3.2). It is clear from the table that no student, both among University or secondary level, say that they do not know the name of the current Head of State; 98% of the entire sample know his name while a mere 2%, coming from the secondary schools sample, did not answer to the question. Very few students from the secondary schools could not correctly spell the name of the current President: Major General Dr. Joseph Saidu Momoh. It was also necessary to find out whether students have knowledge of the ruling organization of the President. Thus question 15 asks: "What is the name of the ruling organization (Party) which he heads?" The results of this question is presented in table 3.3 below. It is clear from the table that 89% of both the University and Secondary students know the name of

the current President's party, 4.3% say that they do not know the name of the party. These come from the secondary school sample, not surprisingly, because some of these students do not keep track of current political events. Also, the about 7% students who did not answer the question are secondary school students.

TABLE 3.3

KNOWLEDGE OF THE CURRENT HEAD OF STATE'S PARTY

	Secondary Students No. % age	University Students No. % age	Total No. % age
Knows name	176 (86.3)	52 (100)	228 (89)
Don't know name	11 (5.4)	0 (0)	11 (4.3)
No Answer	17 (8.3)	0 (0)	17 (6.6)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

TABLE 3.4

STUDENTS KNOWLEDGE OF THE MAYOR

	Secondary Students No. % age	University Students No. % age	Total No. % age
Knows name	165 (80.9)	34 (65.4)	199(177.7)
Don't know name	7(3.4)	0 (0)	7 (2.7)
No Answer	32(15.7)	18 (34.6)	50 (19.5)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

While all the university students 100%, were capable of naming President Joseph Saidu Momoh's political party - All People's Congress Party (A.P.C) -, 5.4% of the secondary students, and 8.3% of the same did not know and did not answer to the name of the current President's political party respectively.

Students were also tested with respect to their knowledge of the Mayor of the City, Freetown. Question 16 therefore asks: "Who is the mayor of Freetown?" The distribution of responses to this question stood as in table 3.4 below.

Although majority of the students know the name of the Mayor 77.7%, a significant proportion, about 20%, of the students did not answer the question, while about 3% confessed their ignorance of the name of the Mayor of Freetown Municipality: ALFRED AKIBO BETTS; and these students are from the secondary school sample.

Higher proportion of the university students, about 35%, more than the secondary school students, 16%, did not reply to this question. This may account for the higher proportion of secondary students, 81% showing knowledge of the mayor than their University student counterparts, 65.4%.

Table 3.5 presents data on the ability of University and Secondary school students to name the Lord Chief Justice of Sierra Leone: Justice S.M. KUTUBU. As we can see from the table, 76.2% knew the name of the Chief Justice, about 12% of the entire student respondent did not know his name; and these belong to the secondary school sample. 12 percent did not answer the question.

The large proportion of students who knew the name of the Chief Justice, 94.2%, come from the University. A larger non response rate about 14%, is shown for the secondary school sample.

TABLE 3.5

STUDENTS KNOWLEDGE OF THE CHIEF JUSTICE

ABILITY TO NAME	SECONDARY STUDENTS NO.% AGE	UNIVERSITY STUDENTS NO.% AGE	TOTAL NO.% AGE
Knows name	146 (71.6)	49 (4.2)	195 (76.2)
Don't know name	30 (14.7)	0 (0)	30 (11.7)
No answer	28 (13.7)	3 (5.8)	31 (12.1)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256(100)

Students ability to name the four political leaders. The first Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, the current Head of State, the Mayor of Freetown Municipality and the Lord Chief Justice - is presented in table 3.6 below. This table is divided into four columns, all of which show the frequency distributions of students ability to name the four political figures.

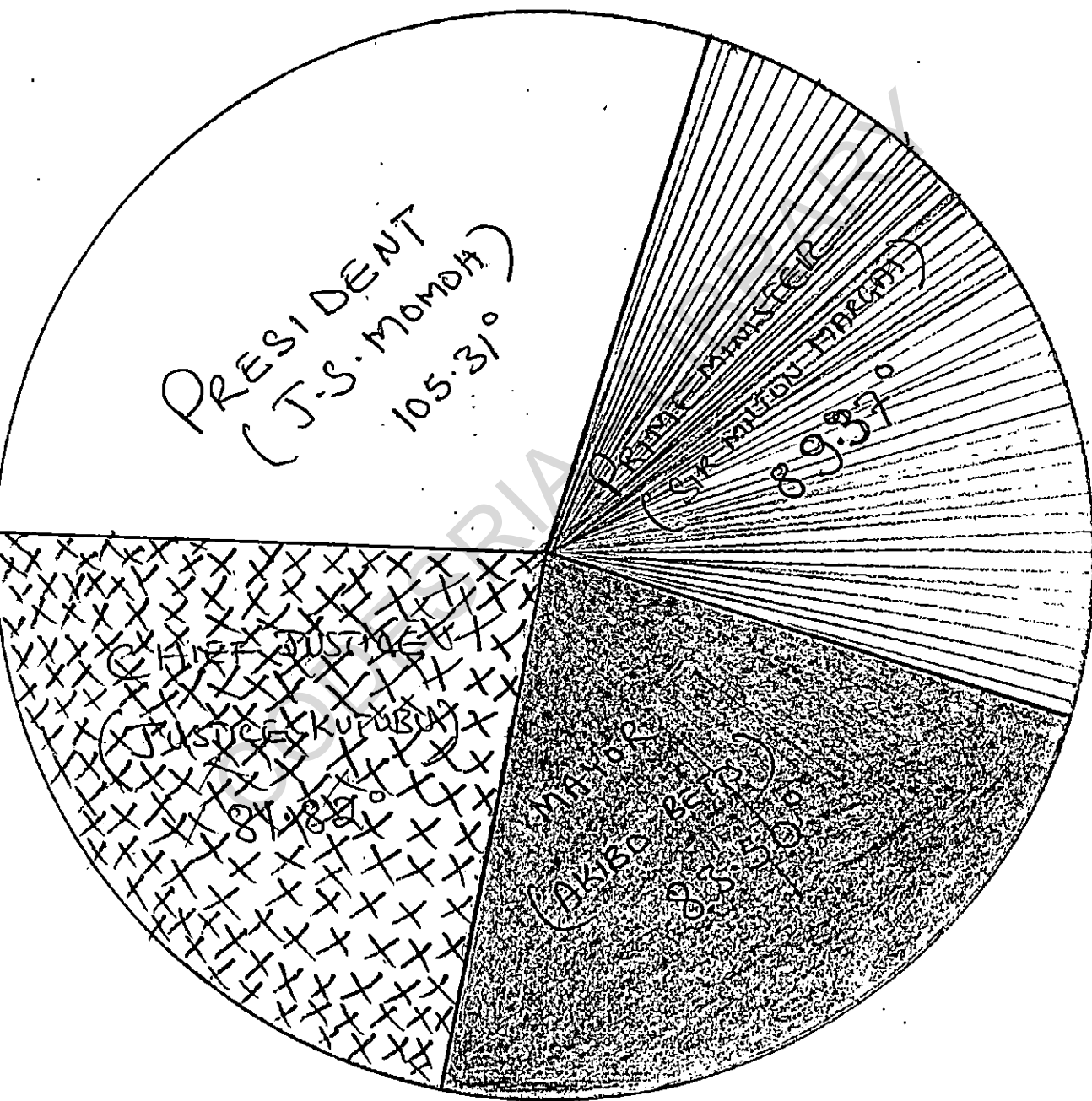
Among respondents from the University, it is the current Head of State, not surprisingly, that the students were able to name more than the other 3 distinguished political figures. All of the students without exception, 100%, could name the current head of State, while the lease proportion of this group could name the mayor, 65.4%.

Among the secondary school students, on the other hand, the least proportion of students who say that they can name some political leaders was reported for the Chief Justice, 71.6%.

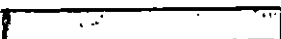



Thus the four political leaders can be ranked in the reader of ability of students to name them. The current head of state come sup at the top with 98% students able to state his name. Next comes the Prime Minister, 83.2% and then the mayor 77.7% followed closely by the Chief Justice, 76.2%. This is presented in the pie chart below. (see figure 1).

To gain further insight into the political knowledge of the students of Freetown, students were asked to name as many cabinet Ministers in the

FIGURE 1 : STUDENTS' ABILITY TO NAME POLITICAL LEADERS



KEY

	PRESIDENT
	PRIME MINISTER
	MAYOR
	CHIEF JUSTICE

current government as possible. Question 18 on the questionnaire reads: "Can you name any minister (s) in the Present cabinet? "(Name as many as you can)" Students response to this question stood as in the (2x4) contingency table below (see table 3.7). As can be seen from the table, about 22% out of a total sample of 256 students, could name less than 5 cabinet ministers, 25% could name 5 up to and including 10 cabinet ministers, 41% could name 10 or more cabinet ministers, while 12% did not answer the question.

Generally, the ability to name cabinet ministers is higher among University students, since 92.3% could name at least some Cabinet Ministers; and the corresponding figure for secondary students is 86.8%.

TABLE 3.6

STUDENTS ABILITY TO NAME POLITICAL LEADERS POLITICAL LEADERS

ABILITY TO NAME	PRIME MINISTER SECONDARY UNIVERSITY	PRESIDENT SEC. UNIV.	CHIEF JUSTICE SEC. UNIV	MAYOR SEC. UNIV.
Knows Name	166(81.4) 47(90.4)	199(97.5)52(100)	146(71.6)49(94.2)	165(80.9)34(65.4)
Don't Know	17(8.3) 0 (0)	0(0) 0(0)	30(14.7) 0(0)	7(3.4) 0(0)
A no Answer	21 9(10.3) 5(9.6)	5(2.5)0(0)	28(13.7) 3(5.8)	32(15.7) 18(34.6)
Total	204(79.7)52(20.3)	204(79.7)52(20.3)	204(79.7)52(20.3)	204(79.7)52(20.3)

TABLE 3.7

STUDENTS ABILITY TO NAME CABINET MINISTERS

	SECONDARY STUDENTS NO.% AGE	UNIVERSITY STUDENTS NO.% AGE	TOTAL NO.% AGE
Less than 5	47(23.0)	9 (17.3)	56 (21.9)
5-10	45 (22.1)	19 (36.5)	64 (25)
10+	85 (41.7)	20 (38.5)	105(41.0)
No Answer	27 (13.2)	4 (7.7)	31 (12.1)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256(100)

In order to find out whether there is any gender bias in relation to the ability to name cabinet ministers among students, a non-parametric statistical test was utilised. Specifically, the Chi-squared (χ^2) test of independence was used. This technique is appropriate because the data with which we are dealing are categorical, not based on a continuous scale of measurement, that is to say, the data are based on frequencies of occurrences of discrete phenomena. More importantly, the choice of chi-square technique frees us from making any assumption about the nature of the distribution of the population from which the samples were drawn.

Thus two APRIORI hypotheses were postulated as follows:-

- (1) H_0 : There is no difference between male and female students ability to name cabinet ministers.
- (2) H_1 : There is a significant difference between male and female students ability to name cabinet ministers.

The first hypothesis, H_0 , is known as the "NULL HYPOTHESIS" that postulates no difference between the variables of sex and ability to name cabinet ministers. The second hypothesis, H_1 , is called the ALTERNATIVE HYPOTHESIS which assumes significant differences between the two variables. A critical value, (α), which is equal to 0.05 or 5% level of significance, was selected.³ The chi-squared for this at 3 degrees of freedom⁴ is 7.815 (see Appendix AB). We computed the chi-square for tables 3.8 and 3.9 below which give the frequency distribution of secondary school and university students sex and their ability to name cabinet ministers respectively. (see Appendix C for the calculation of chi-square (χ^2)).

The computed value for table 3,8 which shows the relation between sex of secondary school students and their ability to name cabinet ministers is 8.8223. This value exceeds that of the tabled result,

³ By critical value we mean the point below which the chi-squared value would be rejected as not statistically significant.

⁴ Degrees of freedom is the product of the number of columns less one and the number of rows less one in a contingency table.

7.815 at .05 level of significance with 3 degrees of freedom. Hence we reject the null hypothesis which assumes no difference between sex of secondary school students and their ability to name cabinet ministers and accept the alternative hypothesis which stipulates differences between the two variables.

TABLE 3.8

RELATION BETWEEN SEX OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS AND THEIR ABILITY TO NAME CABINET MINISTERS

SEX ABILITY TO NAME	MALE NO. % AGE	FEMALE NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Less than 5	33 (23.9)	17(25.8)	50(24.5)
5-10	32 (23.2)	18(27.3)	50(24.5)
10+	60 (43.5)	17(25.8)	77(37.7)
No Answer	13 (9.4)	14(21.2)	27(13.2)
Total	138(67.6)	66(32.4)	204(100)

$x^2 = 8.8223$

d.f. = 3

$P = (x^2 > 7.815) < .05$ Significant.

Relation between sex of secondary school students and their ability to name cabinet ministers

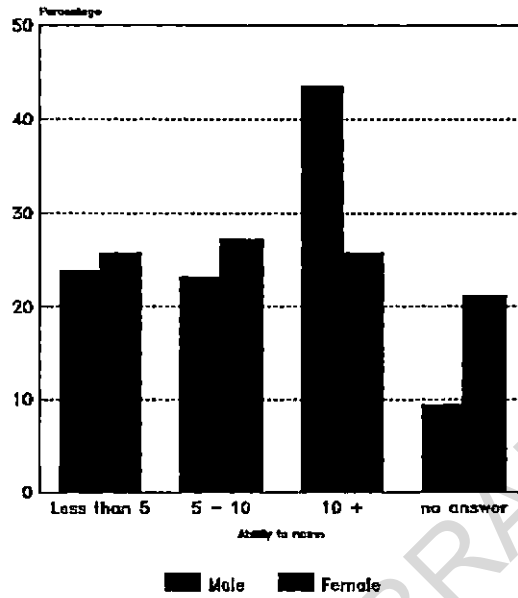


TABLE 3.9

RELATION BETWEEN SEX OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND THEIR ABILITY TO NAME CABINET MINISTERS.

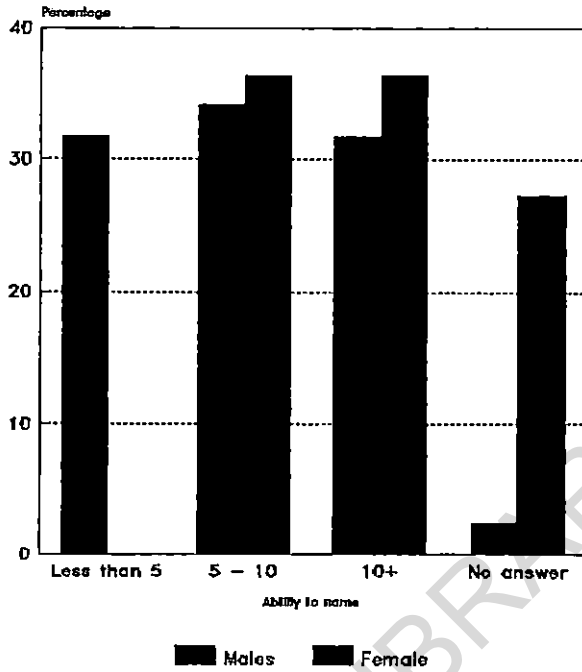
SEX ABILITY TO NAME	MALE NO. % AGE	FEMALE NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Less than 5	13 (31.7)	0 (0)	13 (25)
5-10	14 (34.1)	4 (36.4)	18 (34.6)
10+	14 (31.7)	4 (36.4)	17 (32.7)
No Answer	1 (2.4)	3 (27.3)	4 (7.8)
Total	41 (78.8)	11 (21.1)	52 (100)

$\chi^2 = 11.2007$

d.f. = 3

$P = (\chi^2 > 9.837) < .02$ Significant.

Relation between sex of university students and their ability to name cabinet ministers



Similarly, the computed chi-square for table 3.9, which show the frequency distribution of sex of university students and their ability to name cabinet ministers, is 11.2007, which is more than the tabled values 7.815 and 9.837, at .05 and .02 levels of significance respectively with 3 degrees of freedom. Here, too a significant difference exist between sex and ability to name cabinet ministers.

The high chi-squared value obtained for both the secondary school and university samples is an indication that the discrepancies observed between students' sex and their ability to name cabinet ministers is statistically significant, that is can not be attributed to chance.

Among the secondary school students, 66.7% males could name 5 or more cabinet ministers while only 53% female could name 5 more cabinet ministers. Among the university students, on the other hand, 66% males and 73% females could name 5 or more cabinet ministers.

In the secondary schools, the relative edge of males over females in

there ability to name cabinet ministers may be due to interest in politics and government. Female students are less interested in politics relative to their male counterparts, as a result they are likely to be acquainted with the names of cabinet ministers less than their male counterparts.

In the university, on the contrary, the relative female edge over males in relation to their ability to name cabinet ministers may be explained by the fact that most of the female students are more close to cabinet ministers than their male counterparts. Female students are aware that in Sierra Leone political power is identical with economic power. Moreover, they know that to maintain one-self in Fourah Bay College in this trying economic times without sufficient money, is near to practical impossibility. So some female students particularly those who come from low income status resort to other means to help their parents. They attract political leaders either through their friends, or through frequency to important occasions graced by political leaders or they ask these politicians to patronize their sororities which abounds on the University Campus, mainly for economic reasons.

Also the variable of area of birth was found to be positively correlated with students ability to name cabinet ministers. The relationship between students area of birth and their ability to name cabinet ministers was tested using only the university sample. The result is presented in the four-by-three (4x3) contingency table below (see table 3.10). As can be seen from the table, the differential in ability to name cabinet ministers between students born in the city (Western Area) and those born in the country side/provinces (East, South and Northern Provinces) is in favour of the former. Those born in the Western Area or City are able to name more cabinet ministers than their Rural or country-side counterparts. 65.4% of those born in the Western Area could name 5 or more Cabinet Ministers while only about 17% of those born in the Rural areas or country side could name 5 or more cabinet ministers. The Chi-squared result for table 3.10 is 18.9818 which is greater than the tabled value of 16.812 at .01 level of significance with 6 degrees of freedom. This shows that the differences between university students area of birth and their ability to name cabinet

ministers is statistically significant.

This finding homogenizes with Richardson's study of the political culture of Japan (1974:ch6). He discovered significant differences between the political attitudes, involvement and participation patterns between urban and Rural ~~or~~ City and country ~~side~~ dwellers. These differences, he rightly believed can be partly explained by two models, namely, Milbrath's centre-periphery model and the Learner and Deutschian variants of the modernization theory.

According to Milbrath and others, people in the periphery participate less in politics than those who live in the centre of public life because city or urban dwellers are nearer to the centre of society than their counterparts in the rural areas.⁵

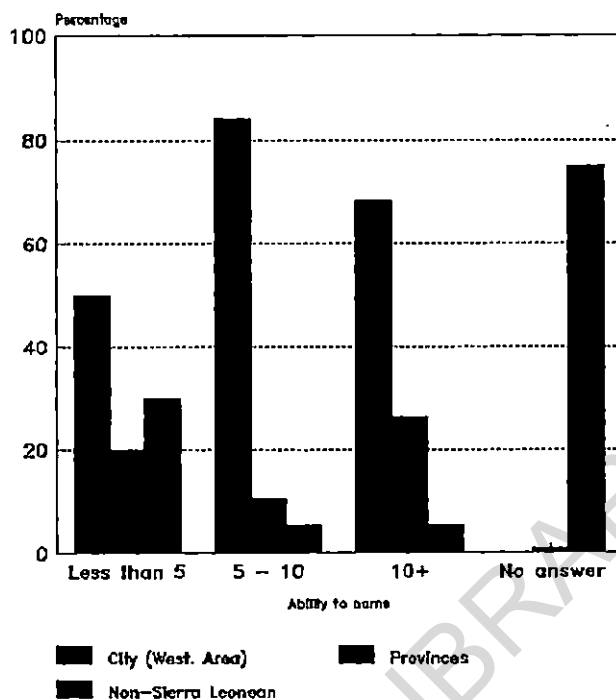
TABLE 3.10

RELATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AREA OF BIRTH AND THEIR ABILITY TO NAME POLITICAL LEADERS

ABILITY TO NAME AREA OF BIRTH	LESS 5 NO.% AGE	5-10 NO.% AGE	10+ NO.% AGE	NO ANSWER NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
City (Western Area)	5(50)	16(84.2)	13(68.4)	0(0)	34(65.4)
Country-Side (East, South, and Northern Provinces)	2(20)	2(10.5)	5(26.3)	1(25)	10(19.)
Non-Sierra Leoneans/No answer	3(30)	1 (5.3)	1(5.3)	3(75)	8(15.4)
Total	10(19.2)	19(36.5)	19(36.5)	4(7.7)	52(100)

⁵ Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation, (Chicago: Land Mcwally, 1965). pp 110-114 & pp 128-130 and Robert E. Lane, Political Life: Why People Get involved in Politics (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1959), P 196.

Relation between university students
area of birth and their ability to
name political leaders



In Learner's modernization theory, on the other hand, urbanisation enhances peoples level of education and exposure to the media of communication, hence these factors predispose those in the city to be more politically aware and to participate more than ~~the~~ their rural counterparts.⁶

The Deutschian variant of modernization theory stresses that urbanization, industrialisation and integration into the modern economy results in increased reliance on government and since those in the city are more closer to the government than rural dwellers they are expected to be more politically aware and involved.⁷

⁶ See Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East, (Glencoe, Free Press, 1958) esp. ch2.

⁷ Karl W. Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development", American Political Science Review 55 (September, 1961), pp. 493-515.

Each of these theories provides useful perspective in understanding city-country side differential in political knowledge, participation and involvement.

In this study, the higher knowledge of political leaders among those born in the City or Western Area is easy to explain. The Central government is based in the City or Western Area and all the Cabinet Ministers live in the capital city, Freetown. Those who were born in the Western Area are therefore predisposed to be more acquainted with political leaders than those born in the country-side.

The variables of age was not found to be positively associated with University students ability to name political leaders (see table 3.11). The calculated chi-squared, 2.6924, is far less than the table value, 12.592, at .05 Level of significance with 6 degrees of freedom. Irrespective of the age, University students generally can name cabinet ministers, although those in the (20-24) age group, followed by those falling in the 25+ age group can name more cabinet ministers.

A further analysis of the secondary and University samples reveal that no positive association exists between students religious affiliation and their ability to name cabinet ministers. The low chi-squares obtained from tables 3.12 and 3.13 supports this fact. Therefore, irrespective of religious affiliation, students in Freetown can generally name political leaders.

TABLE 3.11

RELATION BETWEEN AGE OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND THEIR ABILITY TO NAME POLITICAL LEADERS

ABILITY TO NAME AGE	LESS 5 NO. % AGE	5-10 NO. % AGE	10+ NO. % AGE	NO ANSWER NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
15-19	1(10)	4(21.0)	2(10.5)	1(25)	8(15.4)
20-24	6(60)	7(36.8)	8(42.1)	2(5)	23(44.2)
25+	3(30)	8(42.1)	9(47.4)	1(25)	21(40.4)
Total	10(19.2)	19(36.5)	19(36.5)	4(7.7)	52(100)

$x^2 = 2.6924$

d.f. = 6

$P = (x^2 > 12.592) < .05$ Not significant

TABLE 3.12

RELATION BETWEEN RELIGION OF SECONDARY STUDENTS AND THEIR ABILITY TO NAME CABINET MINISTERS

RELIGION ABILITY TO NAME	CHRISTIANITY NO. % AGE	ISLAM NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Less than 5	25(23.6)	21(21.6)	46(22.7)
5-10	32(30.2)	24(24.7)	56(27.6)
10+	34(32.1)	41(42.3)	75(36.9)
No answer	15(7.3)	11(11.3)	26(12.8)
Total	106(52.2)	97(47.8)	203(100)*

$x^2 = 2.3955$

d.f. = 3

$P = (x^2 > 7.815) < .05$ Not significant.

* The responses of 203 students out of 204 students were used.

TABLE 3.13

RELATION BETWEEN RELIGION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND THEIR ABILITY TO NAME CABINET MINISTERS

RELIGION ABILITY TO NAME	CHRISTIANITY NO. % AGE	ISLAM NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Less than 5	9(26.5)	3(18.8)	12(24)
5-10	10(29.4)	6(37.6)	16(32)
10+	11(32.4)	7(43.8)	18(36)
No answer	4(11.8)	0(0)	4(8)
Total	34(68)	16(32)	50(100)*

$x^2 = 2.7717$

d.f. = 3

$P = (x^2 > 7.815) < .05$ Not significant.

* The responses of 50 students out of 52 students were used.

TABLE 3.14

RELATION BETWEEN SECONDARY STUDENTS ETHNICITY AND THEIR ABILITY TO NAME CABINET MINISTERS

ETHNICITY ABILITY TO NAME	MENDE NO. % AGE	TEMNE NO.%AGE	CREOLE, NO.%AGE	LIMBA, NO. %AGE	TOTAL* NO. % AGE
Less than 5	10(21.3)	8(23.5)	9(32)	8(32)	35(25.5)
5-10	12(25.5)	9(26.5)	10(32.3)	4(16)	35(25.5)
10+	15(31.9)	14(41.2)	6(19.4)	12(48)	47(34.3)
No Answer	10(21.3)	3(8.8)	6(19.4)	1(4)	20(14.6)
Total	47(34.3)	34(24.8)	31(22.6)	35(25.5)	137(100)

$x^2 = 10.786.3$

d.f = 9

P = ($x^2 > 16.919$) <.05 not significant.

TABLE 3.15

RELATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ETHNICITY AND THEIR ABILITY TO NAME CABINET MINISTERS

ETHNICITY ABILITY TO NAME	MENDE NO. % AGE	TEMNE NO.%AGE	TOTAL * NO.%AGE
Less than 5	7(28)	2(22.2)	9(26.5)
5-10	11(44)	5(55.6)	16(64)
10+	7(28)	2(22.2)	9(26.5)
Total	25(73.5)	9(26.5)	34(100)

$x^2 = 0.3883$

d.f = 2

P = ($x^2 > 5.991$) <.05 not significant.

* The responses of 34 out of 52 student were used.

Finally, the variable of ethnicity was not found to be positively correlated with student's ability to name cabinet ministers. This is

true for both the secondary and University samples. (see tables 3.14 and 3.15).

In table 3.14 which deals with the secondary school sample, the calculated chi-square is 10.7863, which falls short of the tabled value of 16.919 at .05 level of significance with 9 degree of freedom.

Table 3.15, which deals with the University students sample, yielded a chi-squared of 0.3883 which is far below that of the tabled result, 5.991 at .05 level of significance with 2 degrees of freedom.

Students in Freetown have high degree of knowledge of political leaders, irrespective of their ethnic identities.

3.2 Awareness of Politics

The degree to which people are exposed to or have access to the various media of communication affect the degree of their political knowledge and their awareness of politics in a country. In the first section of this chapter (3.1), we sought to throw light on the differences in the degree of political knowledge of university and secondary school students in Freetown and discovered some major differences, in certain respects, between the two category of students.

In this section, we want to find out, by examining empirical data, whether any major differences exist between university and secondary school students in Freetown, with respect to their newspaper reading habits and their frequency of listening to radio, both of which constitute major modes of acquiring political information. Differences in this respect may impinge upon differences in their degree of political knowledge.

3.2.1 Frequency of Reading Newspapers and Magazines

Political orientations (cognitive, affective and evaluative) are acquired through a multiplicity of agents and or factors including parents, schools, peer group, political party, workplace, dramatic

political occurrences etc. However, students are much more likely to be influenced by the family, peer group, school and the mass media. In this study, only the impact of the mass media on students will be explored.

As a first step in this direction, question 19 on the questionnaire reads: "How often do you read newspapers or magazines?" Students were given four options: "nearly everyday", "about once a week", "from time to time" and "never." The frequency distributions of students responses to this question is presented in table 3.16 below.

It is evident from the table that about 33% of the total sample say that they read newspapers and magazines nearly everyday, 39.1% say that they consult newspapers and magazines about once a week, and about 27% read newspapers and magazines from time to time. However, about 2% confessed that they never read newspapers and magazines, and these come from the secondary school sample.

To explore the differences between the newspaper/magazine reading habits of university and secondary school students, the chi-square for table 3.16 was computed which establishes whether any relation exist between student's educational level and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines. The calculated chi-square is 17.0331. This value is greater than the tabled value, 16.268, at the .001 level of significance with 3 degrees of freedom. Thus there is a positive association between students frequency of reading newspapers and magazines and their educational level. Frequency of reading newspapers increases with educational level. The data show that all the university student (100%) read newspapers and magazines, although majority (46.2%) say that they do so from time to time.

Although most students in Freetown read newspapers and magazines, yet university students do so more than secondary school students. One of the reasons for this is that students in the university increasingly rely on newspapers and magazines as sources of materials to supplement their lecture notes, and to prepare project papers and dissertations.

To explore the newspaper reading habits of students further, the university sample was used to test the relationship between students area of birth, age and their frequency of reading newspapers. (See tables 3.17 and 3.18)

TABLE 3.16

STUDENTS FREQUENCY OF READING NEWSPAPERS/MAGAZINES

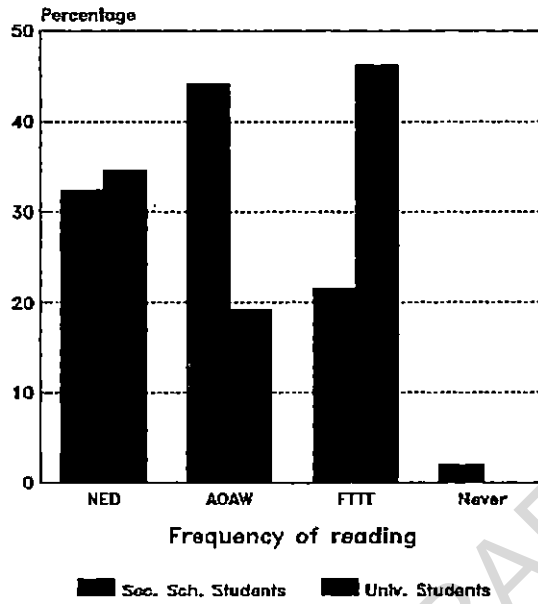
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL FREQUENCY OF READING	SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS N. % AGE	UNIVERSITY STUDENTS N. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Nearly Everyday	66 (32.4)	18(34.6)	84(32.8)
About once a Week	90(44.1)	10 (19.2)	100(39.1)
From time to time	44(21.6)	24 (46.2)	68(26.6)
Never	4(1.9)	0 (0)	4(1.6)
Total	204(79.7)	52(20.3)	256(100)

$x^2 = 17.0331$

d.f. = 3

$P = (x^2 > 16.268) < .001$ significant.

Students frequency of reading newspapers/magazines



NED= Nearly everyday
 AOA = About once a week
 FTIT = From time to time

It is clear from table 3.17 that University students born in the Western Area frequently read newspapers and magazines, 58.8% more than those born in the countryside, 41.2%. The resulting chi-square from this table, 12.098, is greater than the tabled value, 11.668, at .02 level of significance with 4 degrees of freedom. The observed differences between university students born in the Western Area and those born in the provinces (country side) with respect to their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines is statistically significant.

If it is true, as the data shows, that university students born in the Western Area frequently read newspapers and Magazines more than those born in the country side, it follows that they are likely to acquire more political information more than those born in rural areas. This is not surprising as we saw in table 3.10 above that students born in the western area could name more cabinet ministers than those born in the country side. So in addition to the fact of proximity of students born in the Western area to the centre of power, we may add interest in

political and governmental affairs and frequency of reading newspapers and magazines which also may affect ability to name political leaders and general political knowledge.

In table 3.18, we see that no positive association exist between age of university students and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines. The computed chi-square, 3.4532, is less than the one obtained at the critical value of 5%, 9.488, with 4 degrees of freedom. Hence, irrespective of age,

TABLE 3.17

RELATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AREA OF BIRTH AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF READING NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

FREQUENCY OF READING AREA OF BIRTH	NEARLY EVERYDAY, NO.% AGE	ABOUT ONCE A WEEK, NO. % AGE	FROM TIME TO TIME, NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
City (western Area)	10(58.8)	10(83.3)	14(60.9)	34(65.4)
Country side (East, South and Norther Provinces)	7 (41.2)	-0(0)	3(13.0)	10(19.2)
Non-Sierra Leonean/No Answer	-0(0)	2.(16.7)	6(26.1)	8(15.4)
Total	17(32.7)	12(23.1)	23(44.2)	52(100)

$x^2 = 12.098$

d.f = 4

P = ($x^2 > 11.668$) <.02 Significant

Relation between university students, area of birth and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines

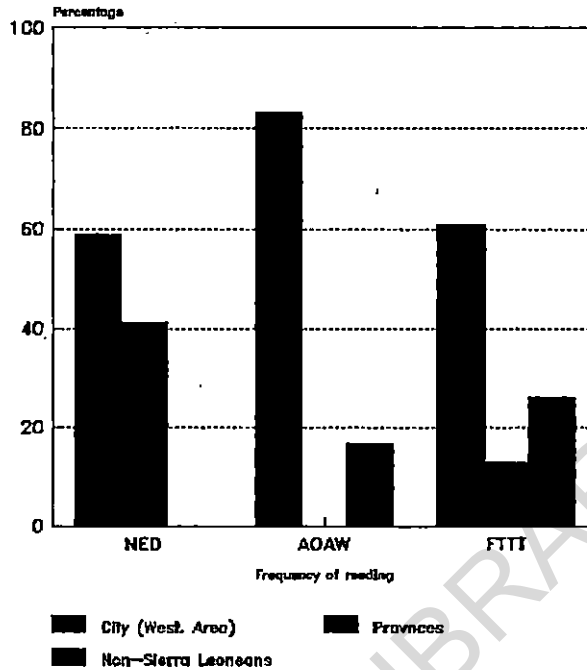


TABLE 3.18

RELATION BETWEEN AGE OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF READING NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

FREQUENCY OF READING AGE	NEARLY EVERYDAY, NO. % AGE	ABOUT ONCE A WEEK, NO. % AGE	FROM TIME TO TIME, NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
15 - 19	2(11.8)	3(25)	3(13.0)	8(15.4)
20-24	9(52.9)	6(50)	8(34.8)	23(44.2)
25+	6(35.3)	3(25)	12(52.2)	21(40.4)
Total	17(32.7)	12(23.1)	23(44.2)	52(100)

$$x^2 = 3.4532$$

$$d.f = 4$$

$$P = (x^2 > 9.488) < .05 \text{ Not Significant}$$

University students generally frequently read newspapers and magazines; except that those falling within the age group 20-24 read newspapers more frequently, 52.9%, than those falling in either the 25+ age group, 35.3%, or the 15-19 age group, 11.8%.

Neither sex, nor ethnicity and religious affiliation has any positive correlation with frequency of reading newspapers and magazines among students.

Tables 3.19 and 3.20 deal with the relationship between frequency of reading newspapers and magazines and sex of secondary school and university students respectively. Both tables yield low chi-squares compared to their respective tabled values indicating that irrespective of sex, students whether he/she is in the university or secondary school generally, frequently read newspapers and magazines.

Table 3.21 and 3.22 deal with the relationship between ethnic identities of students and their newspaper reading habits. Here, too, we observe chi-squares which fall far short of tabled values. For table 3.21, the calculated chi-square is 11.8109 which is almost half of the hypothetical value of 21.06 at 5% probability level with 12 degrees of freedom.

On the other hand the computed chi-square for table 3.22, is 6.922 which also halved the theoretical chi-square of 12.592 at 5% probability level with 6 degrees of freedom.

These results indicate that any observed difference between ethnic identities and students frequency of reading newspapers and magazines is not statically significant, that is to say, can he attributed to chance.

Finally, tables 3.23 and 3.24 explore the relation between students religion and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines. Like in the case of the relation between ethnic identities and students frequency of reading newspapers and magazines the theoretical chi-squares are twice or, almost twice the calculated values from the

tables. Here too students religious affiliation is not positively correlated with their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines.

TABLE 3.19

RELATION BETWEEN SEX OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF READING NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

SEX FREQUENCY OF READING	MALE NO. % AGE	FEMALE NO.% AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Nearly everyday	46(33.3)	21(31.8)	67(32.8)
About once a week	55(39.9)	30(45.5)	85(41.7)
From time to time	35(25.4)	11(16.7)	46(22.5)
Never	1 (0.7)	4(6.1)	5(2.4)
No Answer	1(0.7)	0(0)	1(0.5)
Total	138(67.6)	66(32.4)	204(100)

$$x^2 = 7.1835$$

$$d.f = 3$$

$$P = (x^2 > 7.815) < .05 \text{ Not significant}$$

TABLE 3.20

RELATION BETWEEN SEX OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF READING NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

SEX FREQUENCY OF READING	MALE NO. % AGE	FEMALE NO.% AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Nearly everyday	16(39)	1(9.1)	17(32.7)
About once a week	9(22)	3(27.3)	12(23.1)
From time to time	16(39)	7(63.6)	23(44.2)
Never	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
Total	41(78.8)	11(21.2)	52(100)

$$x^2 = 3.6522$$

$$d.f = 3$$

$$P = (x^2 > 5.991) < .05 \text{ Not significant}$$

TABLE 3.21

RELATION BETWEEN SECONDARY STUDENTS ETHNICITY AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF READING NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

ETHNI-CITY FREQUENCY OF READING	MENDE, NO.% AGE	TEMNE, NO.% AGE	CREOLE, NO.% AGE	LIMBA, NO.% AGE	OTHER* NO.% AGE	TOTAL NO.% AGE
Nearly Everyday	16(34)	11(32.4)	10(32.3)	5(20)	26(40.3)	68(33.3)
About Once a Week	22(46.8)	10(29.4)	15(48.4)	13(52)	28(41.8)	88(43.1)
From time to time	9(19.1)	11(32.4)	5(16.1)	7(28)	12(17.9)	44(21.6)
Never	0(0)	2(5.9)	1(3.2)	0(0)	1(9.1)	4(2)
Total	47(23)	34(16.7)	31(15.2)	25(12.2)	67(32.8)	204(100)

$\chi^2 = 11.8109$

d.f. = 12

$P = \chi^2 > 21.06) < .05$ not significant

* Other include: Kono, Koranko, Fula, Madingo, Loko and Foreigners.

TABLE 3.22

RELATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ETHNICITY AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF READING NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

ETHNICITY FREQUENCY OF READING	MENDE, NO.% AGE	TEMNE NO.% AGE	CREOLE, NO.% AGE	OTHER, NO.% AGE*	TOTAL NO.% AGE
Nearly Everyday	5(2)	6(66.7)	2(33.3)	4(33.3)	17(32.7)
About once a week	7(28)	1(11.1)	1(11.1)	3(25)	12(23.1)
From time to time	13(52)	2(22.2)	2(22.2)	5(41.7)	23(44.2)
Never	-	-	-	-	-
Total	25(48.1)	9(17.3)	6(11.5)	12(23.1)	52(100)

$\chi^2 = 6.922$

d.f. = 6

$P = \chi^2 > 12.592) < .05$ not significant.

* Other include: Kono, Koranko, Fula, Madingo, Loko and foreigners.

TABLE 3.23

RELATION BETWEEN SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS RELIGION AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF READING NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

RELIGION FREQUENCY OF READING	CHRISTIANITY NO. % AGE	ISLAM NO. % AGE	OTHER, NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Nearly Everybody	38(35.8)	30(30.9)	1(100)	6(33.8)
About once a week	18(17)	39(40.2)	0(0)	87(42.6)
From time to time	48(45.3)	25(25.8)	0(0)	43(21.1)
Never	1(0.9)	3(3.1)	0(0)	4(1.9)
No Answer	1(0.9)	0(0)	0(0)	1(0.5)
Total	106(52)	97(45.5)	1(0.5)	204(100)

$x^2 = 7.0245$

d.f. = 8

$P = (x^2 > 15.507) < .05$ not significant.

TABLE 3.24

RELATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS RELIGION AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF READING NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

RELIGION FREQUENCY OF READING	CHRISTIANITY NO. % AGE	ISLAM NO. % AGE	OTHER NO. % AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Nearly Everyday	10(29.4)	6(37.5)	0(0)	16(30.8)
About once a week	8(23.5)	4(25)	0(0)	12(23.1)
From time to time	16(47.1)	6(37.5)	0(0)	24(46.1)
Total	34(65.4)	16(30.8)	2(3.8)	52(100)

$x^2 = 3.015$

d.f = 4

$P = (x^2 > 9.488) < .05$ not significant.

3.2.2 Frequency of Listening to Radio

In order to ascertain the frequency with which university and secondary school students listen to radio, we asked the following question (Qu.20) "How often do you listen to radio" The replies to this question are shown in table 3.25 below. A large proportion of our respondents say that they listen to radio "Nearly Everyday", 74.6%. 9.8% say they listen about once a week, 14.8% say they listen from time to time. The same percentage, 0.4%, who say that they never listen to radio (and they come from secondary schools, not surprisingly) was reported for those who did not answer the question.

More university students, 78.8%, listen to radio nearly every day than their secondary school counterparts, 73.5%.

The variables of area of birth and age was not found to be positively correlated with university students frequency of listening to radio.

However, university students born in the city, western area, listen nearly everyday to radio than those born in the country side. 71.8% of university students born in the Western Area say that they listen to radio nearly everyday while the corresponding percentage for their counterparts born in the country side is 15.4%. (see table 3.26). The calculated chi-square for table 3.26 is 6.2402 which is less than the tabled value of 9.488 at .05 level of significance with 4 degrees of freedom. This low chi-square shows that the observed differences between university students area of birth and their frequency of listening to radio is not statistically significant. Hence, irrespective of their area of birth, university students generally listen to radio.

Table 3.27 show the relation between age of university students and their frequency of listening to radio. A very low chi-square was obtained for this table, 3.3826. This value falls short of (3 times) the hypothetical chi-square value, 9.488 at 5% probability level with 4 degrees of freedom.

TABLE 3.25

STUDENTS FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO RADIO

INSTITUTION FREQUENCY OF LISTENING	SECONDARY STUDENTS NO. % AGE	UNIVERSITY STUDENTS NO.% AGE	TOTAL NO. % AGE
Nearly Everyday	150(73.5)	41(78.8)	191(74.6)
About once a week	24(11.8)	1(1.9)	25(9.8)
From time to time	29(14.2)	9(17.3)	38(14.8)
Never	1(0.5)	0.(0)	1(0.4)
No Answer	0(0)	1(1.9)	1(0.4)
Total	204(79.7)	52(20.3)	256(106)

TABLE 3.26

RELATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AREA OF BIRTH AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO RADIO

FREQUENCY OF LISTENING AREA OF BIRTH	NEARLY EVERY DAY	FROM TIME TO TIME	NO ANSWER	TOTAL
City (Western Area)	28(71.8)	6(50)	(0)	34(65.4)
Country side (East, South and Norther Provinces)	6(15.4)	3(25)	1(100)	10(19.2)
Non-Sierra Leonean/No Answer	5(12.8)	3(25)	(0)	8(15.4)
Total	39(75)	12(23.1)	1(1.9)	52(100)

$X^2 = 6.2402$

d.f. = 4

$p = (X^2 \geq 9.488) < 0.05$ not significant

TABLE 3.27

RELATION BETWEEN AGE OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO RADIO

FREQUENCY OF LISTENING AGE	NEARLY EVERYDAY NO. % AGE	FROM TIME TO TIME NO.% AGE	NO ANSWER NO.% AGE	TOTAL NO.% AGE
15-19	7(17.9)	1(8.3)	0(0)	8(15.4)
20-24	18(46.2)	4(33.3)	0(0)	22(42.3)
25+	14(35.9)	7(58.3)	1(100)	22(42.3)
Total	39(75)	12(23.1)	1(1.9)	52(00)

$x^2 = 3.3826$

d.f = 4

P = $x^2 > 9.488$ <.05 not significant

This indicates that irrespective of age, university students generally listen to radio.

CHAPTER 4

FEELINGS TOWARD GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter dealt with the dimension of political knowledge or Cognition. Specifically, we focused our attention on the ability of students to name political leaders, students frequency of reading newspapers and magazines and students frequency of listening to radio. But we noted earlier on that Political Culture is not limited to cognitive contents, it also has affective and evaluative Components.

In this Chapter, therefore, we will concentrate on the affective dimension of political culture - how people feel toward the objects of the political system. We shall, however, limit the analysis to an examination of feelings toward the governmental bureaucracy and the police - two of the most commonly encountered output agencies of the political system - and feelings toward political Communication, specifically the frequency of discussing politics and the feeling of restriction in discussing politics and government.

The dimension of political feeling is a very important element of political culture of a country. It constitutes the barometer through which we can measure the degree of the regimes legitimacy and the alienation of the masses from the political system. The importance of this dimension of political culture has been underscored by Almond and Verba in the following words:

"How people FEEL about their political system is an important Component of political culture. The state of feeling or political emotion in a country is perhaps the most important test of the legitimacy of its political system. it is also the most important measure of political alienation and aspiration."¹

¹ Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 100

4.2 Feelings toward the Output Agencies of Government

In this section, we shall explore the dimension of feelings toward the governmental bureaucracy and the Police - among other structures responsible for the application of policies. How people expects to be treated by governmental authorities is related to their feelings toward governmental authorities; if they expected fair and considerate treatment, then one would assume that they are favourably disposed toward governmental authorities and vice versa.

In order, therefore, to tap information about the feelings of students toward the governmental bureaucracy, we asked the following question, Question 21, :

"If you had a problem - for example, tax question, or housing regulation - and you took it to a government office for assistance, do you think you would be treated like anyone else?"

The distribution of the response^sof students to the above question is presented in table 4.1 below. It is clear from the table that a large proportion of the students, 48%, say that they are undecided as to the reaction of the bureaucracy to their problems. This indecision is due to the fact that most Sierra Leone students have lost confidence in government officials because of their inefficiency and lack of morale but are afraid or hesitant of rightly stating their feelings. This is true not only of junior Civil Servants, Senior echelon officials but also true of the political executive of the country as depicted by the inmates of the Criminal Investigations Department (CID) prisons in Freetown:

".....most of us are here for minor crimes compared with the millions of leones or dollars government officials,have stolen. Look at the disgraceful state of our country today; Look at our hospitals, roads, streets; look at the outrageous high cost of living, look at our international image. These

government officials must be brought to justice."²

TABLE 4.1

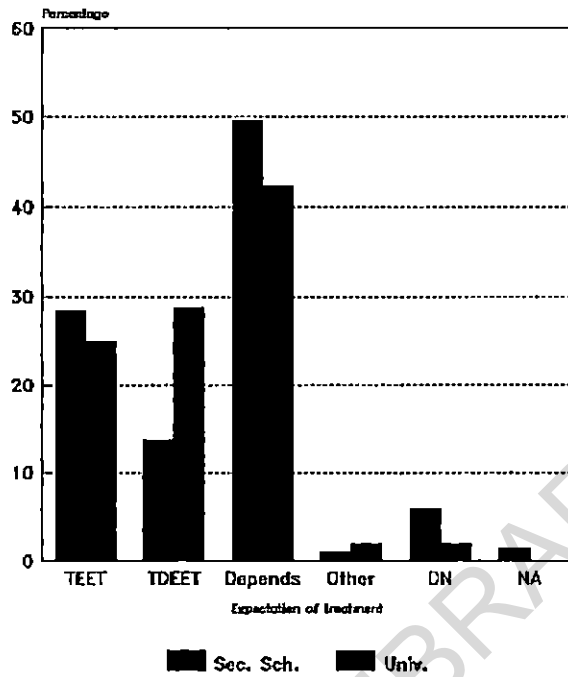
STUDENTS EXPECTATION OF TREATMENT BY GOVERNMENTAL BUREAUCRACY

Expectation of treatment	Secondary School No. %age	University No. %age	Total No. %age
They expect equal treatment	58 (28.4)	13 (25)	71 (27.7)
They don't expect equal treatment	8 (13.7)	15 (28.8)	43 (16.8)
Depends	101 (49.5)	22 (42.3)	123 (48)
Other	2 (1.0)	1 (1.9)	3 (1.2)
Don't know	12 (5.9)	1 (1.9)	13 (5.1)
No answer	3 (1.5)	0 (0)	3 (1.2)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

²

George Khoryama, "32 hours in CID Cell", The New Breed, Wednesday February 26-March 3, 1992, p.6.

Students expectation of treatment by the government bureaucracy



The above passage from George Khoryama's article in THE NEW BREED, one of the leading newspapers in the country, provides a resume of the Sierra Leonean attitude to government officials; but very few people, an insignificant number, express this attitude for fear of reprisal. According to table 4.1, only about 28% say that they expect to be treated equally by government officials when faced with problems. 5.1% say that they don't know while 1.2% did not answer the question.

The highest proportion of students who say that they do not expect equal treatment from government officials, about 29%, come from the University Sample, twice that of the Secondary School Sample, not surprisingly, as they are relatively bold with the government in expressing their feelings. In order to explore further students feeling toward government officials, we tried to find out whether any relationship exist between the expectation of treatment by governmental bureaucracy and the Sex, ethnic identity and religious affiliation of students; the aggregate data for both the University and Secondary School Samples was used. Although this may conceal some similarities

or dissimilarities between the two samples yet it permits us to say something or generalise about the entire sample. No positive association was found between the variables of sex, ethnic identity and religious affiliation and students expectation of treatment by governmental bureaucracy. This can be seen from the very low chisquares for tables 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 which represent the relationship between students sex, ethnicity and religious affiliation on the one hand and their expectation of treatment by the governmental bureaucracy on the other hand, respectively.

TABLE 4.2

RELATION BETWEEN SEX OF STUDENTS AND THEIR EXPECTATION OF TREATMENT BY THE BUREAUCRACY

Expectation of treatment	Sex	Male	Female	Total
		No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Expect equal treatment		50 (27.9)	22 (28.6)	72 (28.1)
Don't expect equal treatment		34 (19.0)	11 (14.3)	45 (17.6)
Depends		84 (46.9)	37 (48.0)	121 (47.3)
Other		1 (0.5)	1 (1.3)	2 (0.8)
Don't know		8 (4.5)	5 (6.5)	13 (5.1)
No answer		2 (1.1)	1 (1.3)	3 (1.2)
Total		179 (69.9)	77 (30.1)	256 (100)

$$x^2 = 1.5216$$

$$d.f. = 5$$

$$p = (x^2 \geq 11.070) < 0.05 \text{ not significant}$$

TABLE 4.3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STUDENTS ETHNIC IDENTITY AND THEIR EXPECTATION OF TREATMENT BY THE BUREAUCRACY

Ethnicity	Mende	Temne	Creole	Limba	Kono	Other	None	Total
Expectation of treatment	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.% age	No.%age
Expect equal treatment	21(29)	6(14)	9(24)	14(50)	3(30)	17(26)	-	70(27)
Don't expect equal treatment	13(18)	4(9)	10(27)	6(21)	2(20)	12(19)	-	47(18)
Depends	33(46)	29(67)	14(38)	8(29)	4(40)	31(48)	1(100)	120(47)
Other	1(1)	1(2)	1(3)	-	-	-	-	3(1)
Don't answer	3(4)	3(7)	2(5)	-	1(10)	4(6)	-	13(5)
No answer	1(1)	0(0)	1(3)	-	-	1(2)	-	3(1)
Total	72(28)	43(17)	37(15)	28(11)	10(4)	65(25)	1(1)	256(100)

$\chi^2 = 26.2534$

d.f. = 30

$p = (\chi^2 > 43.773) < .05$ not significant

TABLE 4.4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STUDENTS RELIGION AND THEIR EXPECTATION OF TREATMENT BY BUREAUCRACY

Expectation of treatment	Religion	Christianity	Islam	Total
		No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Expect equal treatment		37 (26.4)	33 (28.4)	70 (27.3)
Don't expect equal treatment		25 (17.9)	19 (16.4)	44 (17.2)
Depends		68 (48.6)	55 (47.4)	123 (48.0)
Other		2 (1.4)	2 (1.7)	4 (1.6)
Don't know		8 (5.7)	6 (5.2)	14 (5.5)
No answer		-	1 (0.4)	1 (0.4)
Total		140 (54.7)	116 (45.3)	256 (100)

$\chi^2 = 1.3078$

d.f. = 5

$p = (\chi^2 \geq 11.070) < 0.05$ not significant

However, more female students and students from Islamic background expect equal treatment from the governmental bureaucracy. Among the five major tribes, the students who are Limbas followed closely by the Konos and Mendes say they expect equal treatment from the bureaucracy more than students who identify with the other tribes.

We did not stop at trying to find out whether students expect to be treated equally as anyone else by the governmental bureaucracy, we also tried to ascertain the amount of consideration that students would expect if they explained their problems to government officials. The actual text of question reads as in question 22 on the questionnaire:

"If you explained your point of view to the governmental officials, do you think they would give your opinion some consideration?" The question was then accompanied by five options among which students must choose:

"Serious consideration", "A little attention", "They will ignore you," "Depends" and "Don't know." Students response to the question stood as in the two by six (2x6) contingency table below (see table 4.5)."

TABLE 4.5

AMOUNT OF CONSIDERATION EXPECTED BY STUDENTS FOR POINT OF VIEW FROM BUREAUCRACY

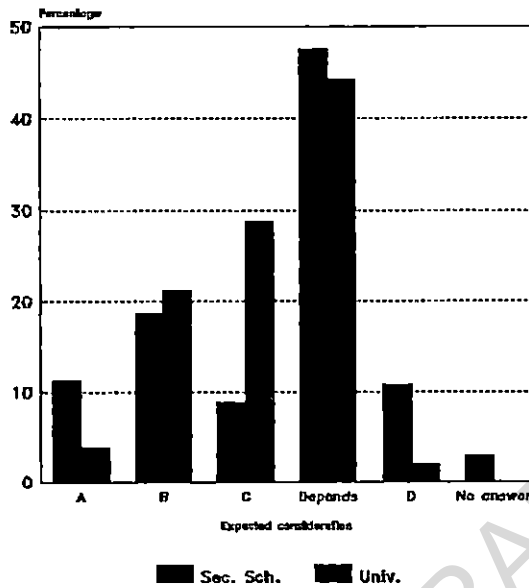
Educational level Expected consideration	Secondary School	University	Total
	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Serious consideration for point of view	23 (11.3)	2 (3.8)	25 (9.8)
A little attention	38 (18.6)	11 (21.2)	49 (19.1)
To be ignored	18 (8.8)	15 (28.8)	33 (12.9)
Depends	97 (47.5)	23 (44.2)	120 (46.9)
Don't know	22 (10.8)	1 (1.9)	23 (9.0)
No answer	6 (2.9)	0 (0)	6 (2.3)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

$x^2 = 20.7515$

d.f. = 5

$p = (x^2 \geq 20.517) < 0.001$ significant

Amount of consideration expected by students for point of view from bureaucracy



A=Serious consideration for point of view
 B=A little attention
 C=To be ignored; D=Don't know

As the result of the chi-square from table 4.5 show, significant differences exist between University and Secondary Students with respect to the amount of consideration that they expect from the bureaucracy. The resulting chi-square (χ^2), 20.7515, is greater than the tabled value of 20.517 at .001 level of significance with 3 degrees of freedom. This difference may be due to educational level. The more educated University students are relatively less hesitant and more willing to disclose their true feelings about government officials compared to Secondary School students. Table 4.5 show that while a large proportion of students from both the University and Secondary schools say it "Depends", more students from the university say that they will be ignored (28.8%) and also that they will get a little attention, 21.2%. But more students from the secondary schools, 11.3%, say that they expect serious consideration.

TABLE 4.6

RELATION BETWEEN SEX OF STUDENTS AND THEIR AMOUNT OF CONSIDERATION THEY EXPECT FOR POINT OF VIEW FROM GOVERNMENTAL BUREAUCRACY

Expected consideration	Sex	Male	Female	Total
		No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Serious consideration		17 (9.5)	8 (10.4)	25 (9.8)
A little attention		31 (17.3)	16 (20.8)	47 (18.4)
To be ignored		27 (10.5)	6 (7.8)	33 (12.9)
Depends		83 (46.4)	36 (46.8)	119 (46.5)
Don't know		16 (6.3)	9 (11.7)	25 (9.8)
No answer		5 (2.8)	2 (2.6)	7 (2.7)
Total		179 (69.9)	77 (30.1)	256 (100)

$x^2 = 3.0451$

d.f. = 5

$p = (x^2 \geq 11.070) < 0.05$ not significant

From table 4.6, it is clear that no positive association exists between students sex and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from government officials. The low chisquare of 3.0451 is about four times less than the tabled value, 11.070, at the 5% level of significance with 5 degrees of freedom.

However, more female students expects serious consideration than their male counterparts. Tables 4.7 and 4.8 also show that no positive correlation exist between students expected consideration and their, ethnic identity and religious affiliation respectively. The low chi-squares derived from the two tables support this fact.

But among the tribes, Limba students (17.9%), followed by creole students expect serious consideration more than the rest of the other tribes. Moreover, more christian students expect serious consideration than their muslim counterparts.

TABLE 4.7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STUDENT ETHNICITY AND THE AMOUNT OF CONSIDERATION THEY EXPECT FOR POINT OF VIEW FROM GOVERNMENTAL BUREAUCRACY

Ethnicity Expected consider- ation	Mende	Temne	Greole	Limba	Kono	Other	None	Total
	No.% age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age
Serious consideration	6(8)	4(9)	5(14)	5(18)	-	5(8)	-	25(10)
A little attention	12(17)	12(28)	6(16)	6(21)	5(50)	8(12)	-	49(19)
To be ignored	13(18)	5(12)	3(8)	5(18)	-	7(11)	-	33(13)
Depends	36(50)	19(44)	15(41)	10(36)	4(40)	36(55)	1(100)	121(47)
Don't know	5(7)	3(7)	6(16)	2(7)	1(10)	6(9)	-	23(9)
No answer	-	-	2(5)	-	-	3(5)	-	5(2)
Total	72(28)	43(17)	37(15)	28(11)	10(4)	65(25)	1(1)	256(100)

$\chi^2 = 31.8182$

d.f. = 30

$p = (\chi^2 \geq 43.773) < 0.05$ not significant

TABLE 4.8

RELATION BETWEEN STUDENT RELIGION AND THE AMOUNT OF CONSIDERATION THEY EXPECT FOR POINT OF VIEW FROM GOVERNMENTAL BUREAUCRACY

Religion	Christianity	Islam	Total
Expected consideration	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Serious consideration	15 (10.7)	10 (8.6)	25 (9.8)
A little attention	28 (20)	21 (18.1)	49 (19.1)
To be ignored	14 (10)	18 (15.5)	32 (12.5)
Depends	66 (47.1)	54 (46.6)	120 (46.9)
Don't know	13 (9.3)	9 (7.8)	22 (8.6)
No answer	4 (2.9)	4 (3.4)	8 (3.2)
Total	140 (54.7)	116 (45.3)	256 (100)

$$x^2 = 2.2054$$

$$d.f. = 5$$

$$p = (x^2 \geq 11.070) < 0.05 \text{ not significant}$$

As with the governmental bureaucracy, we were also concerned with trying to ascertain students feeling toward the police, another output agency of the government. The police constitute one of the most frequently contacted agency of government in Sierra Leone. Most people come into contact with the police on the streets while they are regulating traffic but some at the Criminal Investigations Department (CID) office. But the common man and the news media view about this important category of government officials is not favourable. Some of the reasons for this, touch on the output of police officials and their attitude to work. According to the opening paragraph of an article in a widely read local newspaper,

"There has been a significant change in the attitude of our police towards work. Their output is far lower inspite of their

increase in number and facilities made available to them."³

Most people believe that the police have failed the nation. They accept bribes but never deliver the goods to the people. Some believe that police appointments are done otherwise than by merit and that this may have caused the problem:

"We do not want to point fingers at individual officers but it seems the crux of the problem is in the fact that the standard of enlistment is through 'CONTACTS' rather than by academic excellence.

"This bad practice that has permeated every Sector of our society, especially the Civil service, is the root cause of the present economic plight."⁴

And finally, the following passage sums up the general attitude toward the Sierra Leone police:

"Our policemen have a lot to do and we look forward to complete change of their attitude to work. They are more of a menace now than help to the society which makes so much Sacrifice to keep them comfortable."⁵

In order to find out whether any congruence exist between what the newspapers report about peoples' feelings toward the police and empirical evidence about peoples' feelings toward the police, the same set of question that were asked in the case of the governmental bureaucracy were used, MUTATIS MUTANDIS, also in the case of the police. Thus question 23 on the questionnaire reads:

"If you had some problem with the police, do you think you would be treated like anyone else?"

3 "What Police can do", The OBSERVER

4 Ibid, p.2

5 Ibid, p.2

Students response to this question is presented in table 4.9 below. Large proportion of the entire students, 37.5%, say "Depends", the next highest percentage of students, 30.5%, say that they don't expect equal treatment from the police. "5.4% say that they expect equal treatment, while 2% say that they don't know.

TABLE 4.9
STUDENT EXPECTATION OF TREATMENT BY POLICE

Education level Expectation of treatment	Secondary School No. % age	University No. % age	Total No. % age
They expect equal treatment	49 (24)	16 (30.8)	65 (25.4)
They don't expect equal treatment	58 (28.4)	20 (38.5)	78 (30.5)
Depends	81 (39.7)	15 (28.8)	96 (37.5)
Other	12 (5.9)	0 (0)	12 (4.7)
Don't know	4 (2)	1 (1.9)	5 (2.0)
No answer	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

More students in the University both say they expect equal treatment, 30.8%; and that they don,t expect equal treatment, 38.5%; but more students from the Secondary Schools were indecisive, 39.7%.

When the variables of sex, ethnic identity and religious affiliation were tested against students expectation of treatment by the Police, no positive association was found between any of the former background variables and the latter variable. This is supported by the very low chi-squares obtained for tables 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12.

The other question that tapped the dimension of students feelingstoward the police was question 24 on the questionnaire which reads:

"If you explained your point of view to the police do you think

they would give your opinion some consideration?"

TABLE 4.10

RELATION BETWEEN SEX OF STUDENTS AND THEIR EXPECTATION OF TREATMENT BY POLICE

Expectation of treatment	Sex	Male	Female	Total
		No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Expect equal treatment		42 (23.5)	23 (29.9)	65 (25.4)
Don't expect equal treatment		60 (33.5)	18 (23.4)	78 (30.5)
Depends		67 (37.4)	29 (37.7)	96 (37.5)
Other		9 (5.0)	5 (6.5)	14 (5.5)
Don't know		1 (0.6)	2 (2.6)	3 (1.2)
No answer		-	-	-
Total		179 (69.9)	77 (30.1)	256 (100)

$\chi^2 = 4.8252$

d.f. = 5

$p = (\chi^2 \geq 11.070) < 0.05$ not significant

TABLE 4.11

RELATION BETWEEN STUDENT ETHNIC IDENTITY AND THEIR EXPECTATION OF TREATMENT BY THE POLICE

Expectation of treatment	Ethnicity	Mende	Temne	Creole	Limba	Kono	Other	None	Total
		No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age

Expect equal treatment	16(22)	12(28)	10(27)	8(29)	3(30)	15(23)	-	64(25)
Don't expect equal treatment	21(29)	13(30)	11(30)	8(29)	3(30)	23(35)	-	79(31)
Depends	30(42)	16(37)	13(35)	11(39)	4(40)	21(32)	1(100)	96(38)
Other	5(7)	2(5)	3(8)	1(4)	-	3(5)	-	14(6)
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	3(5)	-	3(1)
No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	72(23)	43(17)	37(15)	28(11)	10(4)	65(25)	1(1)	256(100)

$$x^2 = 13.598$$

$$d.f. = 24$$

$$p = (x^2 \geq 36.415) < 0.05 \text{ not significant}$$

TABLE 4.12

RELATION BETWEEN STUDENTS RELIGION AND THEIR EXPECTATION OF TREATMENT BY THE POLICE

Religion	Christianity	Islam	Total
Expectation of treatment	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Expect equal treatment	36 (25.7)	29 (25)	65 (25.4)
Don't expect equal treatment	43 (30.7)	34 (29.3)	77 (30.1)
Depends	48 (34.3)	45 (38.8)	93 (36.3)
Other	11 (7.9)	4 (3.4)	15 (5.9)
Don't know	2 (1.4)	4 (3.4)	6 (2.3)
Total	140 (54.7)	116 (45.3)	256 (100)

$$x^2 = 3.6699$$

$$d.f. = 4$$

$$p = (x^2 \geq 9.488) < 0.05 \text{ not significant}$$

The distribution of students response to this question stood as in table 4.13 below. Just as in the case of the bureaucracy above, a

large proportion of the entire sample, 42.2%, say "Depends". About 22% say they expect serious consideration for their points of view from the police, 13.3% expects a little attention, 12.5% expects to be ignored, 6.3% do not know, while about 4% (all from the secondary School sample) did not answer the question.

It is clear from the table that the observed differences in feeling between University level students and Secondary School level students is statistically significant. The calculated chi-square from table 4.13 is 19.1296. This is greater than the hypothetical value 15.086, with 5 degrees of freedom at the critical value of .01.

TABLE 4.13

AMOUNT OF CONSIDERATION EXPECTED BY STUDENTS FOR POINT OF VIEW FROM THE POLICE

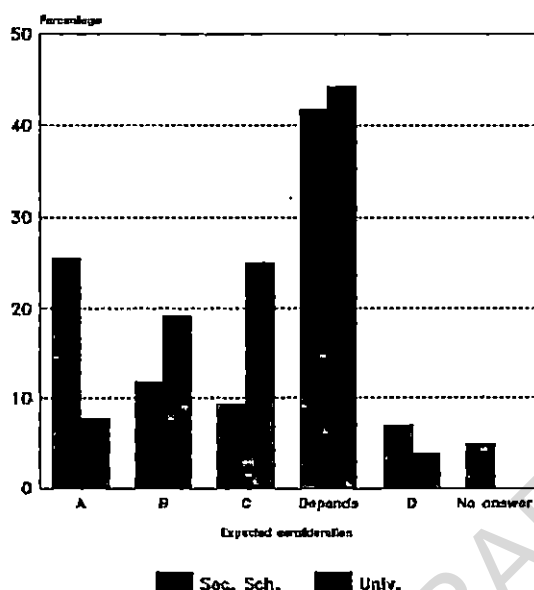
Educational level Expected consideration	Secondary	University	Total
	School No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Serious consider- ration of view	52 (25.5)	4 (7.7)	56 (21.9)
A little attention	24 (11.8)	10 (19.2)	34 (13.3)
To be ignored	19 (9.3)	13 (25)	32 (12.5)
Depends	85 (41.7)	23 (44.2)	108 (42.2)
Don't know	14 (6.9)	2 (3.8)	16 (6.3)
No answer	10 (4.9)	-	10 (3.9)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

$$x^2 = 19.1296$$

$$d.f. = 5$$

$$p = (x^2 \geq 15.086) < 0.01 \text{ significant}$$

Amount of consideration expected by students for point of view from the police



A=Serious consideration for point of view; B=Some attention; C=To be ignored; D=Don't know

It follows from the table that more secondary students expects serious consideration, 25.5%, than their University Counterparts, 7.7%.

On the contrary, more University students, 25%, expects to be ignored by the police than Secondary School students, 9.3%.

Judging from the low chi-squared results for tables 4.14, 4.15, and 4.16 below, no positive correlation exists between sex, ethnic identity and religious affiliation and the amount of consideration that students from both the University and Secondary Schools expect from the police if they had problems with the latter.

Thus if any differences exist between students Sex, ethnic identity and religious affiliation and their expected consideration from the police, this may be due to chance.

TABLE 4.14

RELATION BETWEEN SEX OF STUDENTS AND TE AMOUNT OF CONSIDERATION THEY EXPECT FOR POINT OF VIEW FROM THE POLICE

Sex	Male	Female	Total
Expected consideration	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Serious consideration	40 (22.3)	15 (19.5)	55 (21.5)
A little attention	26 (14.5)	8 (10.4)	34 (13.3)
To be ignored	22 (12.3)	10 (13.0)	32 (12.5)
Depends	75 (41.9)	34 (44.2)	109 (42.6)
Don't know	11 (6.1)	5 (6.5)	16 (6.3)
No answer	5 (2.8)	5 (6.5)	10 (3.9)
Total	179 (69.9)	77 (30.1)	256 (100)

$x^2 = 2.8759$

d.f. = 5

$p = (x^2 \geq 11.070) < 0.05$ not significant

TABLE 4.15

RELATION BETWEEN STUDENTS ETHNIC IDENTITY AND THE AMOUNT OF CONSIDERATION THAT THEY EXPECT FOR POINT OF VIEW FROM THE POLICE

Ethnicity	Mende	Temne	Greole	Limba	Kono	Other	None	Total
Expected consideration	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age
Serious consideration	11(15)	13(30)	9(24)	10(36)	4(40)	8(12)	-	55(22)
A little attention	10(14)	5(12)	6(16)	3(11)	-	10(15)	-	34(13)
To be ignored	14(19)	6(14)	2(5)	2(7)	1(10)	7(11)	-	32(13)
Depends	31(43)	17(40)	16(43)	10(36)	5(50)	29(45)	1(100)	109(43)
Don't know	5(7)	2(5)	2(5)	1(4)	-	6(9)	-	16(6)
No answer	1(1)	-	2(5)	2(7)	-	5(8)	-	10(4)
Total	72(28)	43(17)	37(15)	28(11)	10(4)	65(25)	1(1)	256(100)

$X^2 = 28.0108$

d.f. = 30

$p = (X^2 \geq 43.773) > 0.05$ not significant

TABLE 4.16

RELATION BETWEEN STUDENTS RELIGION AND THE AMOUNT OF CONSIDERATION THEY EXPECT FOR POINT OF VIEW FROM THE POLICE

Religion	Christianity	Islam	Total
Expected consideration	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Serious consideration	27 (19.3)	28 (24.1)	54 (21.1)
A little attention	22 (15.7)	11 (9.5)	33 (12.9)
To be ignored	21 (15.0)	12 (10.3)	33 (12.9)
Depends	53 (37.9)	56 (48.3)	109 (42.6)
Don't know	10 (7.1)	6 (5.2)	16 (6.3)
No answer	7 (5.0)	3 (2.6)	11 (4.3)
Total	140 (54.7)	116 (45.3)	256 (100)

$X^2 = 6.6605$

d.f. = 5

$p = (X^2 \geq 11.070) < 0.05$ not significant

4.3 Feelings toward Political Communication

This section will focus on two things: students frequency of discussing politics and their feelings of restriction in discussing political and governmental affairs. We have focused on this subject on the assumption that one of the prerequisites of a democratic political system and a Civic political culture is that a free atmosphere should exist where in people discuss political and governmental affairs and they should do so freely without any feeling of restriction without any fear that the government will punish such acts on the part of individuals. According to Almond and Verba,

"If ordinary men and women are to participate in a democratic political process, they must have the feeling that it is safe to do so, that they do not assume great risks when they express political opinions, and that they can be relatively free about whom they talk to. To the extent that these expectations are not present, impulses to communicate politically are

suppressed,....."⁶

In order, therefore, to tap information about the frequency of discussing politics, we asked students the following questions (question 25 on the Questionnaire):

"How often do you talk about public affairs to other people, e.g. friends, neighbours,?"

Students answer to this question is shown in the two by five (2x5) contingency table (table 4.17) below.

TABLE 4.17

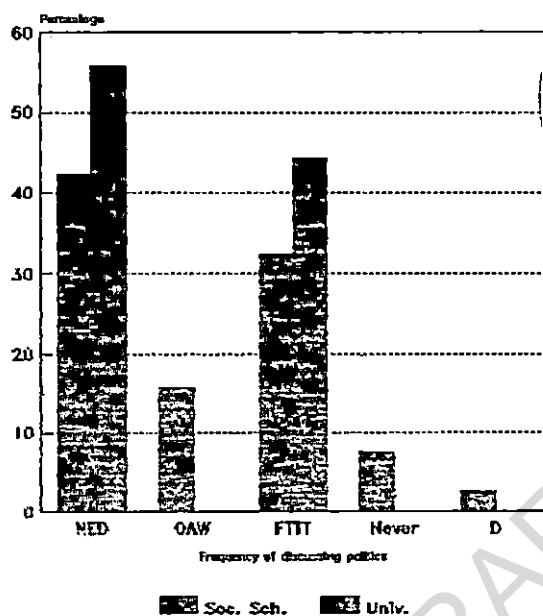
STUDENTS FREQUENCY OF DISCUSSING WITH OTHER PEOPLE

Level of education	Secondary	University	Total
Frequency of discussing politics	School		
	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Nearly everyday	86 (42.2)	29 (55.8)	115 (44.9)
Once a week	32 (15.7)	-	32 (12.5)
From time to time	66 (32.4)	23 (44.2)	89 (34.8)
Never	15 (7.4)	-	15 (5.9)
Don't know	5 (2.5)	-	5 (2.0)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

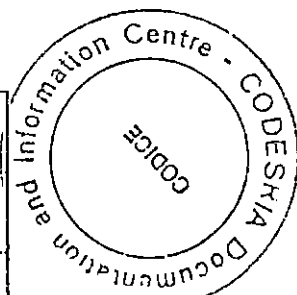
⁶

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), p.115

Students frequency of discussing politics with other people



NEED=Nearly everyday D=Don't know
OAW=Once a week
FTTT=from time to time



A large proportion, of the entire sample of 256 students, 44.9%, say that they discuss public affairs nearly everyday. 12.5% say that they discuss politics once a week, 34.8% admit discussing politics from time to time. However, about 6% (all from secondary school sample), admit that they never discuss politics while another 2% (all from secondary school sample) say that they don't know.

Among the University students, no one admits he/she never discusses politics, or even discusses politics once a week. But the greater proportion who admit discussing politics, nearly everyday, 55.8% come from the University Sample.

Among the Secondary School students, on the other hand, 42.2% say that they discuss public affairs nearly daily; 15.7% discuss public affairs once a week, 32.4% say they do so from time to time while 7.4% confess that they never discuss public affairs. 2.5% say they don't know.

In order to explore further students frequency of discussing politics, we tried to find out whether any relationship exist between sex and

students frequency of discussing politics. The result is shown in table 4.18 below. The table reveals that frequency of discussing politics among students is sex selective. The computed chisquare is 12.4491. This is greater than the tabled value of 11.668 at 0.02 level of significance with 4 degrees of freedom.

TABLE 4.18

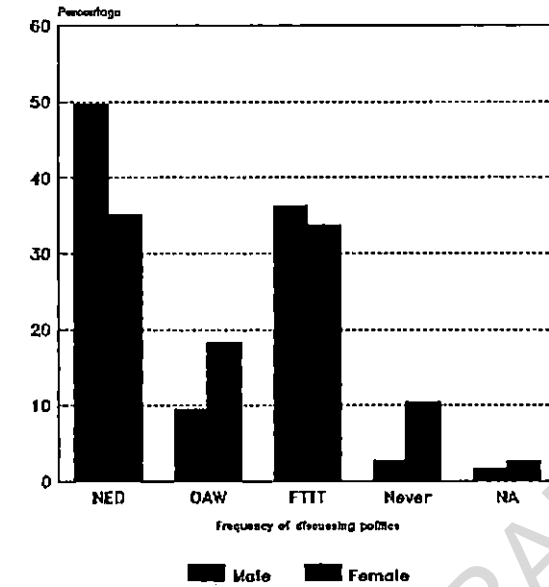
Sex Frequency of discussing politics	Male	Female	Total
	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Nearly everyday	89 (49.7)	27 (35.1)	116 (45.3)
Once a week	17 (9.5)	14 (18.2)	31 (12.1)
From time to time	65 (36.3)	26 (33.8)	91 (35.5)
Never	5 (2.8)	8 (10.4)	13 (5.1)
No answer	3 (1.7)	2 (2.6)	5 (2.0)
Total	179 (69.9)	77 (30.1)	256 (100)

$X^2 = 12.4491$

d.f. = 4

$p = (X^2 \geq 11.668) < 0.02$ significant

Relation between sex of students and their frequency of discussing politics with other people



NED=Nearly everyday; NA=No answer
 OAW=Once a week
 FTIT=From time to time

More males, 49.7%, than females, 35.1%, discuss public affairs nearly everyday; this is so probably because male students are more interested in politics than their female counterparts.

In Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, very few female students actively participate in the students union government because of lack of interest. Even when students involve in demonstrations, very few female students participate. Some female University students have confessed in class that involving in political discussions in Sierra Leone is a fruitless endeavour since nothing substantial will be achieved by so doing.

Among Secondary school students, if males discuss politics more frequently than their female counterparts, this may be due purely out of interest. Some of these male adolescents take delight in political discussions because they do hero-worship with some of the political leaders who have enriched themselves through corruption. Some of the male adolescents discuss with relish the impunity with which political leaders have plundered state funds; but female adolescent secondary

students hardly find time for this.

No positive correlation was found to exist between ethnic identity, religion, and students frequency of discussing public affairs; hence irrespective of ethnic identity or religious affiliation, students generally frequently discuss politics. This is shown by the low chi-squared values obtained for tables 4.19 and 4.20.

TABLE 4.19

RELATION BETWEEN STUDENTS ETHNICITY AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF DISCUSSING POLITICS WITH OTHER PEOPLE

Ethnicity Frequency of discussing politics	Mende	Temne	Creole	Limba	Kono	Other	None	Total
	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age
Nearly everyday	41(57)	21(49)	11(30)	12(43)	5(50)	28(43)	-	118(46)
Once a week	6(8)	3(7)	9(24)	2(7)	1(10)	8(12)	1(100)	30(12)
From time to time	21(29)	17(40)	14(38)	13(46)	3(30)	22(34)	-	90(35)
Never	4(6)	2(5)	3(8)	1(4)	-	4(6)	-	14(6)
No answer	-	-	-	-	1(10)	3(5)	-	4(2)
Total	72(28)	43(17)	37(15)	28(11)	10(4)	65(25)	1(1)	256(100)

$$X^2 = 34.0804$$

$$d.f. = 24$$

$$p = (X^2 > 36.415) < 0.05 \text{ not significant}$$

TABLE 4.20

RELATION BETWEEN STUDENTS RELIGION AND THEIR FREQUENCY OF DISCUSSING POLITICS WITH OTHER PEOPLE

Religion	Christianity	Islam	Total
Frequency of discussing politics	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Nearly everyday	55 (39.3)	60 (51.7)	115 (44.9)
Once a week	19 (13.6)	12 (10.3)	31 (12.1)
From time to time	52 (37.1)	39 (33.6)	91 (35.5)
Never	11 (7.9)	4 (3.4)	15 (5.9)
No answer	3 (2.1)	1 (0.9)	4 (1.6)
Total	140 (54.7)	116 (45.3)	256 (100)

$X^2 = 8.3147$

d.f. = 4

$p = (X^2 > 9.488) < 0.05$ not significant

Students were further asked to indicate their feeling of restriction in discussing politics in Sierra Leone. Question 26 on the questionnaire reads:

"If you wanted to discuss politics, how free would you feel?"

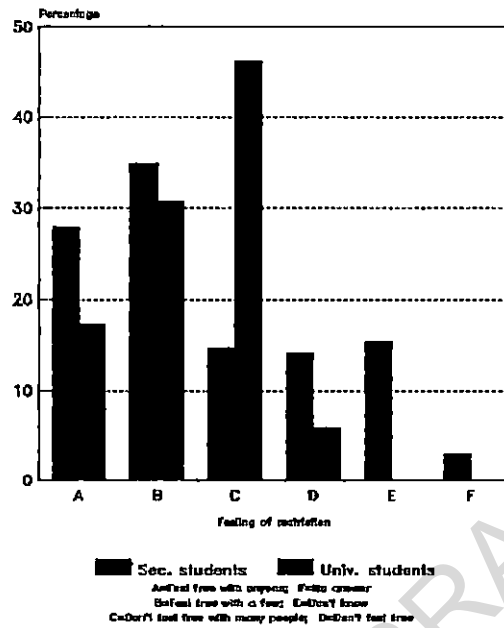
The question was accompanied by five options. Students response to this question stood as in table 4.21 below.

TABLE 4.21

FEELING OF RESTRICTION IN DISCUSSING POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
AMONG UNIVERSITY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

Level of education	Secondary Students	University Students	Total
Feeling of restriction	No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Feel free to discuss with anyone	57 (27.9)	9 (17.3)	66 (25.8)
Feel free to discuss with a few	71 (34.8)	16 (30.8)	87 (34.0)
Don't feel free to discuss with many people	30 (14.7)	24 (46.2)	54 (21.1)
Don't feel free to discuss politics with anyone	29 (14.2)	3 (5.8)	32 (12.5)
Don't know	11 (5.4)	-	11 (4.3)
No answer	6 (2.9)	-	6 (2.3)
Total	204 (79.7)	52 (20.3)	256 (100)

Feeling of restriction in discussing political and gov. affairs among univ. and sec. sch. students



According to table 4.21, a large proportion of the 256 students, say that they feel free to discuss politics with a few people, 34%. 25.8% say that they feel free to discuss politics with anyone while 12.5% confess that they do not know the answer to the question while 2.3% did not answer the question.

More Secondary school students (27.9%) than University students (17.3%) say that they ~~don't~~ feel free to discuss politics with anyone. The higher the educational level, the less free students become to discuss politics with anyone. This may be so in that, University students, because of their high educational level than their secondary school counterparts, have higher awareness of the consequences of or risk involved in free political discussion in an authoritarian political context. Sierra Leone under President Momoh's All People's Congress Party (APC) is marked by political authoritarianism. Few elites, mainly from the Limba and Temne ethnic groups, have arrogated to themselves the right to decide the fate of the rest of the masses. All other political parties, besides the ruling party (APC), have been suppressed; the rights of the people, including freedom of discussion, press, etc. have been seriously mitigated, if not completely

suppressed. University students can not even conduct peaceful demonstrations to articulate their grievances to the powers that be.

Against this background, most University students cannot, justifiably, feel free to discuss politics with anyone. On the contrary, their counterparts in the secondary schools may not have been sufficiently aware of their vulnerability to political victimisation by the A.P.C. government in the context of political authoritarianism. Even if they (secondary school students) are aware, they might not be sure of any direct impact of political victimisation from the government as a result of free political discussion.

But the University students may have drawn some lessons from the experiences of the 1977 and 1986 student revolts that threatened to bring the All Peoples Congress (A.P.C.) government down. Several University students fled the country as the University was closed down in both cases.

The variable of sex was not found to be positively related to students feeling of restriction in discussing public affairs. (see table 4.22). The calculated chi-square, 5.7061, is lower than (about half) the tabled value, 11.070, at 5% with 5 degrees of freedom. However, more males (28.5%) than females (22.1%) say that they feel free to discuss politics with anyone.

Students feeling of restriction in discussing political and governmental affairs was found to be positively associated with their ethnic identities. In the seven-by-six (7x6) contingency table shown in table 4.23 below, the calculated chi-squared is 47.7103 which is greater than the table result of 43.773 at 5% probability level with 30 degrees of freedom. The calculated result is even closer to that given at the critical value of 2%, 47.962, with the same degrees of freedom. This shows that the correlation is very high and positive.

TABLE 4.22

RELATION BETWEEN SEX OF STUDENTS AND THEIR FEELING OF RESTRICTION IN DISCUSSING POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Feeling of restriction	Sex	Male	Female	Total
		No. % age	No. % age	No. % age
Feel free to discuss it with anyone		51 (28.5)	17 (22.1)	68 (26.6)
Feel free to discuss it with a few		58 (32.4)	30 (39.0)	88 (34.4)
Don't feel free to discuss it with many people		40 (22.3)	12 (15.6)	52 (20.3)
Don't feel free to discuss it with anyone		19 (10.6)	14 (18.2)	33 (12.9)
Don't know		6 (3.4)	3 (3.9)	9 (3.5)
No answer		5 (2.8)	1 (1.3)	6 (2.3)
Total		179 (69.9)	77 (30.1)	256 (100)

$X^2 = 5.7061$

d.f. = 5

$p = (X^2 \geq 11.070) < 0.05$ not significant

What accounts for this statistically significant differences between the feeling of restriction among students in discussing political and governmental affairs and their ethnic identities?

From table 4.23, it is clear that the highest proportion of students who say that they feel free to discuss politics with anyone are Limbas, 57.1%, while the lowest proportion who say that they can freely discuss politics with any one are Mendes, 20.85.

Some students from certain ethnic groups are clearly more free than others in discussing political and governmental affairs. In particular, the Limba students, evidently, exercise more freedom than their colleagues from other tribes. This ethnic selectivity in freedom of political discussion among Sierra leonean students can best be

explained by reference to Kandeh's "ethno-politicization thesis."⁷

TABLE 4.23

RELATION BETWEEN STUDENTS ETHNICITY AND THEIR FEELING OF RESTRICTION IN DISCUSSING POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Ethnicity	Mende	Temne	Greole	Limba	Kono	Other	None	Total
Feeling of restriction	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age	No.%age
Feel free to discuss it with anyone	15(21)	11(26)	10(27)	16(57)	3(30)	11(17)	-	66(26)
Feel free to discuss it with a few	21(29)	18(42)	9(24)	8(29)	1(10)	27(42)	-	84(33)
Don't feel free to discuss with many people	21(29)	7(16)	9(24)	3(11)	4(40)	10(15)	-	54(21)
Don't feel free to discuss it with anyone	9(13)	5(12)	8(22)	1(4)	1(10)	9(14)	1(100)	34(13)
Don't know	3(4)	1(2)	1(3)	-	1(10)	6(9)	-	12(8)
No answer	3(4)	1(2)	-	-	-	2(3)	-	6(2)
Total	72(28)	43(17)	37(15)	28(11)	10(4)	65(25)	1(1)	256(100)

$X^2 = 47.7103$

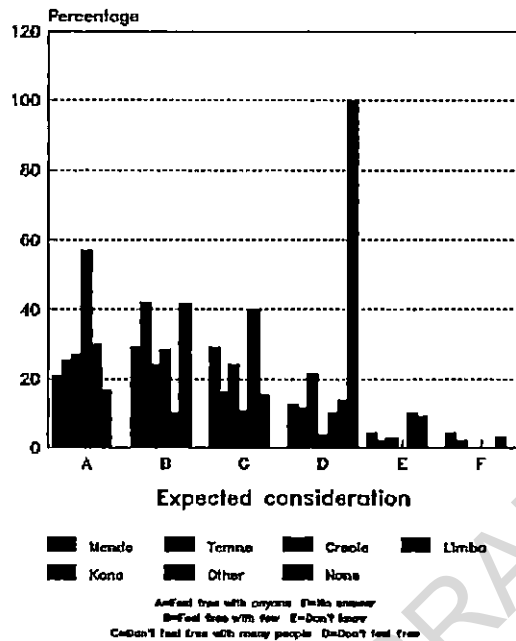
d.f. = 30

$p = (X^2 > 43.773) < 0.05$ significant

⁷

Jimmy D. Kandeh, "Politicization of Ethnic Identities in Sierra Leone", African Studies Review, vol.35, No.1 (April 1992), pp.81-99.

Relation between students ethnicity and their feeling of restriction in discussing political & govt. affairs



Kandeh's thesis maintain simply that ethno-politicization (Political ethnicity) or ethnicization of political process in Sierra Leone can be best understood in terms of state and class formation. According to him:

"State formation under the SLPP (Sierra Leone People's Party) was closely tied to the politicization of Mende identity. The same holds true for the politicization of northern identity under the APC (All Peoples Congress) and the Salience of Limba political identity under the Momoh regime."⁸

The fact that more Limba students can freely articulate politics today compared to the Mendes, Temnes or students from other ethnic groups, show how clearly the Limba identity is politicized under the Momoh regime. What the ethnicization of political process do is to render the state "Soft" so that it is vulnerable to the whims and caprices of "self-seeking cultural elites." In the words of Kandeh:

⁸ Ibid, p.97.

"The ethnicization of political processes and mobility opportunities, however, renders the State permeable to the demands and interests of parochial, self-seeking culture elites. This porosity softens the state and, to the degree that a state enhances the possibilities for parasitic consumption at the top, political ethnicity is in large measure inseparable from processes of class formation and domination."⁹

In short, the Limbas practically steer the ship of state in Sierra Leone today. Students from Limba background naturally feel safer to discuss politics freely than students belonging to other ethnic identities in Sierra Leone.

The variable of religious affiliation was not found to be positively related to students freedom of political discussion as is evident from the very low chi-square, 3.7812, from table 4.24.

TABLE 4.24

RELATION BETWEEN STUDENTS RELIGION AND THEIR FEELING OF RESTRICTION IN DISCUSSING POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Feeling of restriction	Christianity		Islam		Total	
	No.	% age	No.	% age	No.	% age
Feel free to discuss it with anyone	36	(25.7)	28	(24.1)	64	(25)
Feel free to discuss it with a few	47	(33.6)	38	(32.8)	85	(33.2)
Don't feel free to discuss it with many people	31	(22.1)	24	(20.7)	55	(21.5)
Don't feel free to discuss it with anyone	20	(14.3)	14	(12.1)	34	(13.3)
Don't know	4	(2.9)	8	(6.9)	12	(4.7)
No answer	2	(1.4)	4	(3.4)	6	(2.3)
Total	140	(54.7)	116	(45.3)	256	(100)

⁹ Ibid, p.98.

$X^2 = 3.7812$

d.f. = 5

$p = (X^2 \geq 11.070) < 0.05$ not significant

However, more christian students, 256.7%, than muslim students, 24.1%, say that they feel free to discuss politics with anyone.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we Summarise the major findings of our research results as presented in chapters three and four above. We shall also attempt to suggest appropriate reconsideration of the hypotheses and sub-hypotheses as stated in chapter one in the light of these findings. The implications for policy options of the major findings of the study are discussed in section 5.3 below and suggestions are made regarding further research on political culture and political socialisation in Sierra Leone in section 5.4.

5.2 Major Findings of the Study

In this study our main aim was to collect empirical data to test the validity of the proposition that, although University and Secondary School Students are exposed to the same objects of the political system, major differences exist in the political orientations of students toward the objects.

Three hundred and sixty questionnaires were administered among University and Secondary School Students to tap information regarding the political knowledge and beliefs, on the one hand, and feelings toward government and Politics, on the other hand.

Three hundred questionnaires were administered among ten (10) secondary schools in Freetown while 60 questionnaires were administered among the students of Fourah Bah University College, Freetown. Out of 360 questionnaires, 256 were returned duly completed and usable. And out of this 256 usable questionnaires, 204 were collected from the ten secondary schools while the rest, 52 from the University sample for comparative analysis.

To explore students political cognition, very limited measures were

used as this was an exploratory - descriptive study that sought not only to examine for the first time the phenomenon of political cognition in Sierra Leone, but also to test using appropriate non parametric (distribution-free) statistical techniques some tentative propositions about the relationship between students political knowledge and such demographic variables as sex, religious affiliation, area of birth, age, and ethnic identity. In the area of political cognition, we focused on the ability of students to name political leaders in Sierra Leone, frequency of reading newspapers and magazines, and frequency of listening to radio.

Similarly, to explore the affective orientation of students, we limited our focus on students feelings toward such output agencies of government as the governmental bureaucracy and the police on the one hand, and students feeling toward political Communication, specifically, their frequency of discussing politics and their feeling of restriction in discussing political and governmental affairs.

Based on the empirical data provided in this study, Political knowledge is higher among University students than their secondary school Counterparts in Freetown. This conclusion was arrived at because University students were able to name more political leaders than secondary school students. Except for the mayor of Freetown municipality, more students in the University could name the first Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, the Current Head of State and his ruling organisation, and the Lord Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, than Secondary School Students. And it may be conjectured that, the low percentage recorded for university students, with respect to their ability to name the mayor of Freetown, was due to the relatively high non response rate for this question, 35%. If the four political figures in Sierra Leone were ranked in the order in which students were able to name them, the current head of State emerges first, the Late Prime Minister comes second, the Mayor comes third while the Chief Justice secures the last position.

The ability to name Cabinet Ministers was also found to be higher among university than Secondary school students. About 92% of the university

Students could name some ministers while 86.8% of secondary school students could name some ministers. Generally, the ability to name political leaders is high among both University and Secondary school students.

The ability to name Cabinet Ministers was found to be sex selective among both University and Secondary School students in Freetown. In the university, the sex selectivity in the ability to name cabinet ministers is female-oriented. This female sex-selective nature of university students' ability to name political leaders, we believe, was made possible by the proximal distance and social relations which female students manage to maintain or forge with political figures primarily for economic reasons.

On the other hand, the sex-selectivity of Secondary School Students ability to name Cabinet Ministers is male-oriented. And we rationalise this male-oriented sex selectivity in the ability to name Cabinet Ministers by the greater degree of interest which male secondary school students show for politics which sometimes find expression in the heated debates they hold in classes (while the Teacher is yet to come) about public affairs.

Moreover, using the University Sample, it was discovered that a positive correlation exist between area of birth and students ability to name cabinet ministers. 65.4% of university students born in the Western Area could name 5 or more cabinet ministers while only 17% of university level students who were born in one of the three provinces in the country-side could name five or more cabinet ministers.

Using the University Sample only, no positive correlation was found between age and students ability to name Cabinet Ministers.

Similarly, utilising both the University and Secondary school Samples separately, no positive association was found between students ability to name Cabinet Ministers and their religious affiliation and ethnic identities respectively.

The differences between University and Secondary School students with respect to their newspaper and magazines reading habits was seen to be statistically significant, and can not be left to chance variation. More University students (34.6%) than secondary school students (32.4%) confessed that they read newspapers and magazines nearly everyday. The relative edge of University students over their secondary school counterparts was justified by the increasing dependence of the former on newspapers and magazines as sources of materials to supplement Lecture notes.

Using only the university sample, age was not found to be positively associated with students frequency of reading newspapers and magazines. However, University students area of birth was found to be positively correlated with their newspaper and magazine reading habit. Those who were born in the city read newspaper and magazines more frequently (58.8%) than those born in anyone of the three provinces off the country side (41.2%).

A careful analysis of both the University and secondary samples yielded a negative association between sex, ethnicity and religion on the one hand, and students frequency of reading newspapers and magazines, on the other hand.

Notwithstanding the fact that generally most students frequently listen to radio, more University students (78.8%) listen to radio nearly everyday than secondary school students (73.5%).

Using only the university sample, no positive correlation was found between students age and area of birth and their frequency of listening to radio.

The feeling of alienation toward the governmental bureaucracy and the police, its general pervasiveness among students notwithstanding, was expressed more among University than secondary school students in Freetown.

More university students do not expect to be treated fairly by both the

bureaucracy and the police, than secondary school students.

Moreover, very small proportion of the University students expects very serious consideration from the bureaucracy and the police when they are faced with problems compared to secondary school students.

Students, in general, university students particularly have developed negative feelings toward the bureaucracy and the police • ~~two very~~ Bureaucratic officials and the police used to be held in high esteem in Sierra Leone during the close of the 1960s and the early 1970s. But from the 1980s onwards the attitude of the average Sierra Leonean to these important category of officials in society has been reversed to negative. On the one hand because of the mode of recruitment into these institutions - "contact", favouritism, nepotism bribery etc. and on the other hand owing to their performance which is unsatisfactory - corruption, red-tapism, etc.

The variables of sex, ethnic identity and religious affiliation are negatively associated with students feelings towards the bureaucracy and the police.

This study revealed that more university students (55.8%) discuss politics nearly everyday than secondary school students, (42.2%).

Using the aggregate data for the University and Secondary School students for close analysis, the sex selectivity of the frequency of political discussion among students was revealed, although it was male-oriented. More males (49.7%) than females, (35.1), frequently indulge in political discussion, perhaps, because the male students are relatively interested in politics and envisage a political career.

The variables of religion and ethnic identity were not found to be positively associated with the frequency of discussing public affairs.

It was found that freedom of political discussion contracts with increase in level of education in this specific case and expands with decrease in educational level. More secondary students said the felt

free to discuss politics with anyone (27.9%) than their University Counterparts, (17.3%).

While analysis of the aggregate data for both the University and secondary students yielded negative association between feeling of restriction in discussing political and governmental affairs on the one hand, and sex and religious affiliation on the other hand, the ethnic-selectivity of the freedom of political discussion was clearly revealed. The ethnicization of political discussion was in favour of the Limba identity where a large proportion of students who belong there 57.1% confessed that they felt free in discussing politics with anyone. On the other hand, this ethnicization of political discussion was articulated more unfavourably against the creole identity where the ~~smallest~~ ^{largest} proportion of students who confessed that they don't feel free to discuss politics with anyone, belong (21.6%).

The above significant findings would serve as relevant guides for the reformulation of the hypotheses and sub hypotheses as stated in chapter one.

In the light of the above findings, we accept the central hypothesis which states that the vulnerability of students to the same objects of the political system notwithstanding major difference exist in the political orientations to these political objects between University and Secondary School Students in Freetown.

The sub-hypotheses as stated in chapter one can be reformulated, in the hight of the empirical evidence that has been discussed in the proceeding chapters, as follows:

- (1) There is a higher degree of political knowledge among university students than their secondary school counterparts.
- (2) The cognizability of political leaders among students is sex selective. The distinctness of this sex selectivity of the cognizability of political leaders, notwithstanding, its nature is not symmetrical for University and Secondary School Students

in Freetown. The sex selectivity of the ability to name political leaders among University students is female-oriented, while the cognizability of political leaders among secondary school students is male-oriented.

- (3) There is a positive correlation between university students area of birth and their ability to cognize political leaders. The cognizability of political leaders is higher among university students born in the Western Area than among their counterparts born in the country side (Eastern, Southern and Northern provinces).
- (4) There is no positive correlation between age of University students and their ability to cognize political leaders.
- (5) There is no relationship between students (both university and secondary) religious affiliation and their ability to cognize political leaders.
- (6) There is no relationship between students (both University and Secondary) ethnic identity and their ability to cognize political leaders.
- (7) University students are more aware of political and governmental affairs than secondary school students.
- (8) There is a positive correlation between students (both University and secondary) level of education and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines. University students frequently read newspapers and magazines than secondary school students.
- (9) There is positive correlation between University students area of birth and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines. University students born in the Western Area frequently read newspapers than those born in the country side (Eastern, Northern or Southern provinces).

- (10) There is no positive correlation between age of University students and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines.
- (11) There is no positive correlation between sex of students (University and Secondary) and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines.
- (12) There is no positive correlation between students (secondary and university) religion and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines.
- (13) There is no positive correlation between students (University and secondary) religion and their frequency of reading newspapers and magazines.
- (14) University students listen more frequently to radio than their secondary school counterparts.
- (15) There is no positive correlation between University students area of birth and their frequency of listening to radio.
- (16) There is no positive correlation between age of University students and their frequency of listening to radio.
- (17) There is no positive correlation between sex of students and their expectation of treatment by the bureaucracy.
- (18) There is no positive correlation between students ethnic identity and their expectation of treatment by the bureaucracy.
- (19) There is no positive correlation between students religion and their expectation of treatment by the governmental bureaucracy.
- (20) There is no positive correlation between sex of students and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the bureaucracy.

- (21) There is no positive correlation between students ethnic identity and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the bureaucracy.
- (22) There is no positive correlation between students religion and their expectation of treatment from governmental bureaucracy.
- (23) There is no positive correlation between sex of students and their expectation of treatment from the Police.
- (24) There is no positive correlation between students ethnic identity and their expectation of treatment from the police.
- (25) There is no positive correlation between students religion and their expectation of treatment from the police.
- (26) There is no positive correlation between sex of students and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the police.
- (27) There is no positive correlation between students ethnic identity and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the police.
- (28) There is no positive correlation between students religion and the amount of consideration that they expect for point of view from the police.
- (29) There is a positive correlation between sex of students and their frequency of discussing politics. Males discuss polics more frequently then do their female counterparts.
- (30) There is no positive correlation between students ethnic identity and their frequency of discussing politics.
- (31) There is no positive correlation between students religion and their frequency of discussing politics.

- (32) There is no positive correlation between sex of students and their feeling of restriction in discussing political and government affairs.
- (33) There is a positive correlation between students ethnic identity and their feeling of restriction in discussing political and governmental affairs. This ethnic selectivity in the freedom of political discussion was in favour of the Limba students. On the other hand this ethnicization of freedom of political discussion was articulated for the creoles more unfavourably.
- (34) There is no positive correlation between students religion and their feeling of restriction in discussing political and governmental affairs.

5.3 Possible applications of the results of the study

A secondary objective of this study was to examine the policy implications of the findings of the study. The following is therefore suggested:

- (1) It was observed, when the university sample was critically analysed, that there is a city-country side differential in the distribution of political knowledge among university students of Fourah Bay College. In particular, the cognizability of political leaders was higher among students born in the western area than those who were born in any of the three provinces in the country side - Eastern, Southern and Northern provinces. It is suggested that government leaders should periodically keep in touch with the people of the countryside. Information about the government and its policies should be sufficiently disseminated to all parts of the country. In this respect, the educational system of the country should be strengthened and the news media widened to cover every part of the country. This will enable the people in the countryside to be sufficiently informed about the government and its policies. The government must encourage institutions that spread political knowledge in the country such

as the Civic Development Education Centre (CDEC).

- (2) City-country side differential in news-paper and magazine reading habits was observed among university students. More University students born in the city frequently read newspapers and magazines than those students born in the country side. Government should therefore ensure that newspapers, magazines and radio are accessible by all members of the Sierra Leone society.
- (3) The bureaucracy and the police are two of the most important output structures of the political system. It was observed that students have developed a feeling of alienation from these agencies of government. These institutions help to convert the demands of society into policies. They are certainly of immense importance to developing political systems like that of Sierra Leone. Alienation from these institutions signals the rejection of the political system in its entirety because they implement the already formulated policies.

To ensure the effective performance of these key institutions of government, it is incumbent on the government to effect a very sound reform affecting these institutions. The mode of recruitment into these institutions should be examined. Policies that are formulated must touch on the quality of recruits and the actual performance of those recruited into these institutions. The reforms must also affect the morale or the lack of it. Sufficient motivations have to be evoked to attract high calibre people to ensure the smooth running of and positive results from these institutions.

- (4) The male-orientated frequency of discussing politics also deserves some consideration. Ours is a society in which most people feel that politics is the exclusive preserve of the males. As we modernize, this attitude should change. Women folk should have the feeling that they have an equal say in formulating policies that affect every member of society - young, old, male, female, muslim or christian. The government should create an

atmosphere for everybody to discuss politics as frequently as possible. As this is the only means through which sound policies will emerge.

- (5) The ethnic selectivity in the freedom of political discussion must also be addressed by the government. Although individuals cannot help belonging to an ethnic group, there is some danger in ethnicizing political processes in a developing social formation like Sierra Leone. Given an atmosphere in which a particular ethnic group feels more free to discuss politics than others, a feeling of alienation will develop among some members of other ethnic groups which would have adverse consequences for the legitimacy of the government. The government must endeavour to be a government of the people, by the people and for the people. An atmosphere must be created to ensure that, irrespective of sex, ethnic identity, religious affiliation, area of birth, educational level, civilian or military status, socio-economic status, ideological persuasion, etc. every member of the political system's attitude is orientated such as to believe that government is based on the consent of the governed, wherefore, everybody must freely participate to discuss its affairs.

- (6) Finally, the government must endeavour to forge a civic (participant) political culture in the country which would empower its citizenry to participate actively in the input and output processes of government.

In this culture, government must encourage wide flow of information on the basis of which people are able to decide rationally. To forge this culture political education must be promoted, through the right institutions, among the people. This political education must be biased in favour of the ideals of civic (participant) political culture.

5.4 Suggestions for Future Research

Ideally, a study of this nature which aims at providing empirical data on the virtually unexplored area of comparing the political knowledge and feelings of University and secondary school students should have a wider scope to include more schools in the country and should cover other institutions of learning like training colleges in the country. It is suggested therefore that:

- (1) Further research should be undertaken to validate the results of this study by including more schools and other institutions of higher learning in order to establish or not whether new dimensions would be introduced to the study of political culture as presented in this study.
- (2) Future studies must also deal with the third dimension of political culture, the evaluative dimension.

The variable of socio-economic status must also be tested against the political knowledge, feelings and judgements of students about political objects.

- (3) Future studies may also focus on other relevant population groups in the country, such as civil servants, market woman, the political elites, the unemployed, the peasants in the rural areas etc. The political attitudes of these groups may enhance our knowledge of the political culture of Sierra Leone.

LIST OF REFERENCES

BOOKS

Almond, Gabriel A and Coleman, James. (ed.) The Politics of the Developing Areas, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960).

Almond, Gabriel A; and Powell Jr., B. Comparative Politics A Developmental Approach, Boston, Little Brown and Company, Inc., 1966).

Almond, Gabriel and Verba, S. The Civic culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963).

Barry, Brian. Sociologists, Economists and Democracy, (London: Macmillan, 1970).

Dawson, Richard; and Prewitt, Kenneth. Political Socialisation, (Boston, 1969).

Eular, H. et al, (ed.) Political Behaviour: A Leader in Theory and Research, (the Free press, 1959).

Greenstein, Fred. Children and Politics, (New Haven, Connecticut, 1965).

Gurr, Ted Robert. Politometrics: An Introduction to Quantitative Macropolitics, (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972).

Hess, Robert D. and Torney, Judith V. The Development of Political Attitudes in children, (Aldwin Publishing Company, 1967).

Hyman, Herbert. Political Socialisation: A study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour, (The Free Press, 1959).

Key, Jr., V.O. Public Opinion and American Democracy, (New York, Alfred A. Knoff, Inc., 1961).

Lane, Robert E. Political Life: Why People get involved in Politics? (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959).

Lipset, Seymour Martin. Political Man: Where, How and why Democracy works in the Modern World, (New York, Double day & Co., Inc; 1960).

Milbrath, Lester W. Political Participation, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965).

Mshvenieradze, V. Political Reality and Political Consciousness, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1985).

Paden, John N. Religion and Political Culture in Kano, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

Pye, Lucien. and Verba, Sidney (ed.). Political Culture and Political Development, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965).

Renshon, Stanley Allan (ed.), Handbook of Political Socialisation Theory and Research, (The True Press, 1977).

Richardson, Bradley M. the Political Culture of Japan, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

Rogowski, Ronald, Rational Legitimacy, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

Ulam, Adam. Patterns of Government, (New York, Random House, 1958).

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Frankel, Philip. "Political Culture and Revolution in Soweto", WORLD POLITICS, 43(3), August 1981, pp 831-849.

Greenstein, Fred, et al., "The Child's Conception of the Queen and Prime Minister", British Journal of Political Science, 4(1974), pp 257-287.

Kandeh, Jimmy D "Politization of Ethnic Identities in Sierra Leone", African Studies Review, Vol. 35, No.1, (April 1992), 81-99.

Kim, Y.C. "The concept of Political Culture in Comparative Politics", Journal of Politics, 26, no. 2, (May 1964).

Koff, David and Von Der Muhll, George. Political Socialisation in Kenya and Tanzania, The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1967, pp 13-51.

Latin, David D., "Religion, Political Culture and the Weberian Tradition", WORLD POLITICS, Vol. 30, No.4, (July 1978).

Orren, Karren., and Peterson, Paul. "Presidential Assassination: A case study in the Dynamics of Political Socialization", Journal of Politics, Vol. 29, 2, (1967), 388-404.

Pamett, Jon H. "The 'Development of Political Orientations in Canadian School Children", Canadian Journal of Political Science, 4(1), March, 1971, pp 132-140.

Pateman, Carole. "Political Culture, Political Structure, and Political Change," British Journal of Political Science, 1, (July 1971).

Seering, Donald., Wright, Gerald., and Rabinonstz, George, "The Primacy Principle: Attitude Change and Political Socialization", British Journal of Political Science, 6 (1976), PP 83-113.

Newspapers

The New Breed, Wednesday February 26-March 3, 1992.

The Observer, September 3, 1991.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

APPENDIX A

LETTER INTRODUCING RESEARCHER TO SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Abu Sidikie Mansaray
Political Science Department
Fourah Bay College
University of Sierra Leone
Freetown

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a member of staff of the above-named institution who is currently engaged on a thesis leading to the award of Master of Science degree in Economics of the of the University of Sierra Leone. My research topic is:-

POLITICAL CULTURE IN SIERRA LEONE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE
POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF UNIVERSITY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS
IN FREETOWN.

The purpose of the research is primarily to collect empirical data that would provide some insight into the political attitudes and motivations of students in Sierra Leone. That is why the same research will be conducted among University Students in Freetown, so as to facilitate the Comparative analysis of the political attitudes of University and Secondary school students.

It is hoped that the results of this research will serve as a basis on which policy planners will base future decisions aimed at improving the task of political education in the country and thereby help maintain a stable democratic political system.

The study covers Fourah Bay College and ten (10) secondary schools in Freetown. The purpose of writing to you is to officially inform you that your school forms part of my research population. I am only

I am scheduled to be on your campus on....May 1991 for approximately a day. I hope that i will have co-operation from the school authorities and staff.

Thanking you in anticipation of your kind assistance.

Yours faithfully,

Abu Sidikie Mansaray .

c.c.

The Principal,	Albert Academy Secondary School, Freetown
"	Prince of Wales Secondary School
"	St. Joseph Convent secondary School
"	Freetown Girls Secondary School
"	Bishop Johnson Memorial Secondary School
"	Rokel Government Secondary School
"	Government Model Secondary School
"	Annie Walsh Memorial Secondary School
"	Grammer School Secondary

APPENDIX B - Table of chi-square (χ^2)

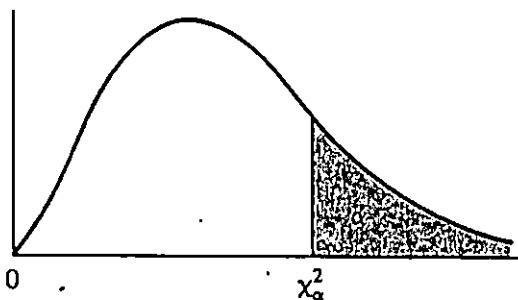


Table VI† Critical Values of the Chi-Square Distribution

ν	α							
	0.995	0.99	0.975	0.95	0.05	0.025	0.01	0.005
1	0.00393	0.00439	0.00482	0.00521	3.841	5.024	6.635	7.879
2	0.0100	0.0201	0.0506	0.103	5.991	7.378	9.210	10.597
3	0.0717	0.115	0.216	0.352	7.815	9.348	11.345	12.838
4	0.207	0.297	0.484	0.711	9.488	11.143	13.277	14.860
5	0.412	0.554	0.831	1.145	11.070	12.832	15.086	16.750
6	0.676	0.872	1.237	1.635	12.592	14.449	16.812	18.548
7	0.989	1.239	1.690	2.167	14.067	16.013	18.475	20.278
8	1.344	1.646	2.180	2.733	15.507	17.535	20.090	21.955
9	1.735	2.088	2.700	3.325	16.919	19.023	21.666	23.589
10	2.156	2.558	3.247	3.940	18.307	20.483	23.209	25.188
11	2.603	3.053	3.816	4.575	19.675	21.920	24.725	26.757
12	3.074	3.571	4.404	5.226	21.026	23.337	26.217	28.300
13	3.565	4.107	5.009	5.892	22.362	24.736	27.688	29.819
14	4.075	4.660	5.629	6.571	23.685	26.119	29.141	31.319
15	4.601	5.229	6.262	7.261	24.996	27.488	30.578	32.801
16	5.142	5.812	6.908	7.962	26.296	28.845	32.000	34.267
17	5.697	6.408	7.564	8.672	27.587	30.191	33.409	35.718
18	6.265	7.015	8.231	9.390	28.869	31.526	34.805	37.156
19	6.844	7.633	8.907	10.117	30.144	32.852	36.191	38.582
20	7.434	8.260	9.591	10.851	31.410	34.170	37.566	39.997
21	8.034	8.897	10.283	11.591	32.671	35.479	38.932	41.401
22	8.643	9.542	10.982	12.338	33.924	36.781	40.289	42.796
23	9.260	10.196	11.689	13.091	35.172	38.076	41.638	44.181
24	9.886	10.856	12.401	13.848	36.415	39.364	42.980	45.558
25	10.520	11.524	13.120	14.611	37.652	40.646	44.314	46.928
26	11.160	12.198	13.844	15.379	38.885	41.923	45.642	48.290
27	11.808	12.879	14.573	16.151	40.113	43.194	46.963	49.645
28	12.461	13.565	15.308	16.928	41.337	44.461	48.278	50.993
29	13.121	14.256	16.047	17.708	42.557	45.722	49.588	52.336
30	13.787	14.953	16.791	18.493	43.773	46.979	50.892	53.672

† Abridged from Table 8 of *Biometrika Tables for Statisticians*, Vol. I, by permission of E. S. Pearson and the Biometrika Trustees.

APPENDIX C

An ILLUSTRATIVE SAMPLE OF method Computing chi-square: using the data for table 3.8

The chi-square is a non-Parametric (distribution-free) statistical technique which is used to determine whether any relationship exist between two or more variables. it is often used for discrete, nominal and ordinal data which are often generated in Social Scientific and behavioural investigations. Below is an illustration of the computation of chi-square using the data showing the relationship between sex of secondary school students and their ability to name Cabinet Ministers (Table 3.8)

1	2	3
<u>O</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>(O-E)²/E</u>
33	33.8	0.0189
17	16.2	0.0395
32	33.8	0.0959
18	16.2	0.2000
60	52.1	1.1979
17	24.9	2.5064
13	18.3	1.5350
14	8.7	3.2287

		X ² = 8.8223

The chi-square is compared using the formula in chapter 1 above. the expected frequencies are obtained first using the appropriate formula explained in chapter 1. The above table show the figure that result from the computation as explained in chapter 1.

The result 8.8223 is greater than the table result,7.815, with 3 degrees of freedom and there is significant at .05 level. We conclude that the ability to name cabinet ministers is sex-selective. More secondary school males can name Cabinet ministers than females.

APPENDIX D

LIST OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN WHICH QUESTIONNAIRES WERE ADMINISTERED
IN FREETOWN

1. Albert Academy Secondary School
2. Rokel Government Secondary School
3. Ahmadiyya Muslim Secondary School
4. Grammer School
5. Prince of Wales Secondary School
6. St. Edward Secondary School
7. Bishop Johnson Memorial Secondary School
8. Freetown Girls Secondary School
9. St. Joseph Convent Girls Secondary School
10. Annie Walsh Memorial Secondary School

UNIVERSITY

Fourah Bay College

APPENDIX E

MEMBERS OF THE A.P.C. CABINET UNDER
J.S. MOMOH BEFORE THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

<u>CABINET MINISTERS</u>	<u>PORTFOLIO</u>
1. HON. DR. SALIA JUSU-SHERIFF	1ST VICE-PRESIDENT
2. HON. DR. ABDULAI O. CONTEH	2ND VICE - PRESIDENT, ATTORNEY GENERAL AND MINISTER OF JUSTICE
3. HON. TOMMY TAYLOR-MORGAN	MINISTER OF FINANCE
4. HON. ABDUL K. KOROMA	" " FOREIGN AFFAIRS
5. HON. DR. SHEKA KANU	MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AND ECON. PLANING
6. HON. MR. MOHAMED O. BASH-TAQI	MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY AND FISHERIES
7. HON. MR. BEN. KANU	MINISTER OF TRADE
8. HON. DR. WILTSHIRE JOHNSON	MINISTER OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE
9. HON. MOSES DUMBUYA	MINISTER OF EDUCATION, YOUTH AND SPORT
10. HON. MR BIRCH CONTEH	MINISTER OF MINES
11. HON. MR DOMINIC MUSA	MINISTER OF LANDS, HOUSING AND COUNTRY PLANNING
12. HON. MR ABDUL ISCANDRI	MINISTER OF TOURISM
13. HON. MR PHILIPSON KAMARA	MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION
14. HON. PROF. V.J.V. MAMBU	MINISTER OF LABOUR
15. HON. MR. J.E. LAVERSE	MINISTER OF WORKS
16. HON. ALHAJI, M.L. SIDIQUE	MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
17. HON. J.B. DAUDA	MINISTER OF INDUSTRY AND STATE ENTERPRISES
18. HON. AHMED E, SESAY	MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT
19. HON. DR. SHEKU SESAY	MINISTER OF ENERGY AND POWER

- 20 HON. MAJOR-GENERAL M.S. TARAWALIE MINISTER OF STATE AND FORCE
COMMANDER
21. HON JAMES BAMBAY KAMARA MINISTER OF STATE AND
INSPECTOR- GENERAL OF POLICE
22. HON. E.R. NDOMAHINA MINISTER OF STATE AND LEADER
OF THE HOUSE
23. HON. WILLIAM CONTEH MINISTER OF STATE AND
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF
PARLIAMENT
24. HON. SAM KPAKRA RESIDENT MINISTER SOUTHERN
REGION
25. HON. JAMES MUSA GENDEMA RESIDENT MINISTER EASTERN
REGION
26. HON S.B. SACCOH RESIDENT MINISTER NORTHERN
REGION

APPENDIX F

POLITICAL CULTURE IN SIERRA LEONE

UNIVERSITY/SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE -

This is a purely scientific study of the political attitudes, beliefs and opinion of university^{and} secondary school students in Freetown. The questions that follow therefore, should not be regarded as a test since we are interested in what you THINK and FEEL about the government and its work. So you would not be awarded high or low marks for any answer you give. All that is required of you is an honest and sincere expression of your feelings and opinions. You are reminded that your answers will be treated confidentially and would not be used for any evil purpose other than academic; they may probably be published into a book. you are requested to answer all questions. Thank you in advance for your co-operation in filling in this questionnaire.

(1) What is your name? (optional)

My name is.....

(2) What is your education level?

- | | |
|-------------|------------|
| i) Form 1 | Form 4 |
| ii) Form 2 | Form 5 |
| iii) Form 3 | Form 6 |
| | University |

(3) What is your sex?

- i) Male ii)Female

4) What is your Religion?

- i) Christianity ii) Islam iii) other (Specify)

5) How old are you?

i) I amyears old.

ii) I don't know

6) Which of the following age groups do belong to?

i) 5-9 years

ii) 10-14 years

iii) 15-19 years

iv) 20-24 years

v) 25+ years

7) What is your tribe?

i) Temne

ii) Mende

iii) Limba

iv) Creole

v) Madingo

vi) Fula

vii) Susu

viii) Koranko

ix) Kono

x) Sherbro

(name it if it is not mentioned)

8) Which of the tribes mentioned above does your father belongs to?.....

9) Which of the tribes mentioned above does your mother belongs to?.....

10) What is your father's religion?

i) Christianity ii) Islam iii) Other specify)

11) What is your mother's religion?

i) Christianity ii) Islam iii) Other specify)

12) (a) Where were you born?

I was born in.....

(b) If you are a Sierra Leonean, what area were you born?

- i) Eastern Province
- ii) Western Area
- iii) Northern Province
- iv) Southern Province

12) (c) If you are not a Sierra Leonean, what is your nationality?

- i) Guinean
- ii) Nigerian
- iii) Ghanaian
- iv) Gambian (Name it if it is not mentioned)

13) Who was Prime Minister when Sierra Leone attained independence?.....

14) Who is Head of State now?.....

15) What is the name of the ruling organization (Party) which heads?

.....

16) (a) Who is your district officer (D.O)? (Bo students)

.....

(b) Who is the Mayor of Freetown? (Freetown students)

.....

17) Who is the Chief Justice of Sierra Leone? ,

.....

18) Can you name any ministers in the present cabinet? (Name as many as you can)

- i) vii)
- ii) viii)

- iii)
- iv)
- v)
- vi)
- xiv)
- xv)
- xvi)
- xvii)
- xiii)
- xix)
- xx)
- ix)
- x)
- xi)
- xii)
- xiii)

19) How often do you read newspapers or magazines?

- i) nearly everyday
- ii) about once a week
- iii) from time to time
- iv) never

20) How often do you listen to the radio?

- i) nearly everyday
- ii) about once a week
- iii) from time to time
- iv) never

21) If you had a problem and you took it to a government office for assistance, do you think you would be treated like anyone else?

- i) Yes, I expect equal treatment
- ii) Depends
- iv) Other
- v) Don't know

22) If you explained your point of view (opinion) to the government officials, do you think they would give your opinion some

consideration?

They would give it:

- i) serious consideration
 - ii) A little attention
 - iii) They will ignore you (treat you as not serious)
 - iv) Depends
 - v) Don't know
- 23) If you had some problem with the police, do you think you would be treated like any one else?
- i) Yes, I expect equal treatment
 - ii) No, I don't expect equal treatment
 - iii) Depends
 - iv) Don't know
- 24) If you explained your point of view to the police, what effect do you think it would have? Would they give your view? Do you think they would give your opinion some consideration?
- i) serious consideration
 - ii) A little attention
 - iii) They will ignore you (treat you as not serious)
 - iv) Depends
 - v) Don't know
- 25) How often do you talk about public affairs to other people? e.g. friends, neighbours
- i) nearly everyday
 - ii) once a week
 - iii) from time to time
 - iv) never
- 26) If you wanted to discuss politics, how free would you feel?

- i) I feel free to discuss it with anyone
- ii) I feel free to discuss it with a few
- iii) I don't feel free to discuss it with many people
- iv) I don't feel free to discuss politics with anyone
- v) Don't know

CODESRIA - LIBRARY