CHAPTER ONE
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

(A) CITIZENSHIP THEORY.

Citizenship acquires meaning only in a political system where the citizen's role is active and participant. A democratic system with liberal traditions allows far greater freedom and scope to the citizen to play an active role as compared to a system where the state tends to be totalitarian and the government tends to be authoritarian. Even in a system without liberal background the restrictions imposed on the liberties of citizens make them passive and helpless spectators in the political sphere. The need to play 'safe conduct' by keeping themselves away from politics makes them lose all initiative and drive which is the characteristic feature of a democratic system.

Thus citizenship is the 'capacity for influencing politics'. To do this, freedom and equality are the two essential conditions or the prerequisites of citizenship. Absence of special privileges and equality of opportunity are the two attributes of equality and guarantee of fundamental rights regarding freedom of expression, free movement, freedom of assembly and associations, freedom to choose one's way of life and even acquiring property within a limited range, make citizenship effective. In the absence of these conditions the capacity of a citizen to influence politics is extremely limited and he can be coerced and terrorized to maintain silence and play the role of a passive spectator.
Autonomy and improvability are stated to be the two presuppositions of citizens in a democracy. Thompson, defining autonomy, lays stress on the individual's freedom to determine his own interest and absence of external restraints in such determination of interests. He admits that citizenship theory has not detached the individual from the social context. "An individual's view of his interests is shaped and influenced by others, especially groups to which he belongs or with which he identifies, though he must not be coerced or manipulated."

The other presupposition of improvability flows from autonomy which does not obviate the fact that citizens in choosing their interests may commit mistakes. "A belief in the capacity of citizens in general to improve their judgment about what is in their interest is the presupposition of improvability." According to Thompson, all citizenship theorists, excluding those believing in elitist models, have emphasized these aspects and he refers to the theories of Dewey, Kelsen, Simon, Friedrich, MacIver, Laski and Cole.

Such a theory of citizenship is necessarily a reaction to the totalitarian and authoritarian trends exhibited by modern States. In the name of welfare activities the state has assumed vast powers and vested them in its governmental organs. Of these, the executive and its administrative approaches have assumed great concentration of power which is likely to be abused in the absence of positive checks by the legislature, the judiciary, the public opinion and the opinion forming agencies. All these institutions receive their support from the general public and they look up to it for this support. This makes the role of the citizen
extremely significant. If he is informed, alert and active much mischief can be played by irresponsible and power-hungry politicians and officials can be averted.

(B) CITIZENSHIP UNDER INDIAN CONDITIONS.

If an active, informed, participant citizen be an ideal yet to be achieved even in advanced democracies he is a rare phenomenon under Indian conditions. The low level of participation in elections observed by political scientists in western democracies has also been observed in India. The Lok Sabha elections of 1977 testify to the fact that a higher level of participation coupled with dissatisfaction amounting to rebellion as a result of the nineteen months of Emergency and misuse of power by the executive have brought about a mini-revolution by overthrowing an otherwise formidable party which ruled India for the last thirty years. In all previous elections, except that of 1967, the participation was much lower.

Participation has other attributes also. It requires political knowledge which due to the lack of widespread education is mostly absent in India. It is the individual and not the group which counts in western democracies. In India it is the group which counts and the opinion of the individual is dictated by the opinion of the group or the headman governing the group. This group assumes the form of a caste both in the rural and urban setting and territorially assumes local loyalty, more so in the village than in the urban area. Religion is another form affecting participation where the group dominates the individual. Thus the community, the cast religion and caste one belongs to, play an effective
role in him inhibiting him from playing the role of a rational participant citizen. Even after the experience of a quarter of a century in free India, the Indian citizen votes in accordance with group loyalty, takes instructions from the village headman, is governed by pressure, fraud and bribery, unless he finds his very existence in danger as he felt in 1977 elections, especially in the Northern India.

Electoral participation is only occasional, after the duration of five years or so; but day to day participation which is of the essence of a living democratic system is even less in evidence. Political parties do not carry on the function of maintaining contacts with the citizens by having regular offices to receive complaints and grievances or to carry on regular political education of the masses. As a result of this, communication between the voter and the representative is lacking. The citizen feels himself neglected except at the time of elections. He has acquired the habit of getting things done either through pulls or illegal gratifications and this has resulted in the institutionalisation (though informal), of corruption.

The work of political education which has been so far neglected by the major political parties is carried on through the press. The press has a long reputation in influencing and shaping political views in India since the days of the early British period. But its influence is limited as evidenced by its circulation and also by the fact that a vast majority of Indian citizenry is illiterate. Other more easily accessible agencies like the radio and television have been under the control of the government and until now their role as agents of political
education has been extremely limited. During the period of the Emergency, even these media of information were ruthlessly controlled by the government and the citizens were left to grope in darkness or to be fed by rumours.

The work of political education mostly neglected by organized groups is conducted by small, unorganized and informal groups. They sustain the interest of youngsters in politics and yet they have the effect of organized splinter groups sharply divided among themselves. Much of Bengal politics is of this character. Yet their value and importance cannot be neglected.

The absence of equal opportunities to all and the traditional belief in the inequality of human beings come in the way of effective citizenship. Much of the evil of casteism, parochialism, regionalism, religious feuds would be removed if the ideal of equality is effectively preached and practised. But so far the ideal is seems to be remain an ideal, which the prudent course is to follow the traditional loyalties to one's caste, creed, religion and local group. There are, however, some political scientists in India who view these groups as pressure groups in politics, not necessarily detrimental to the democratic system.

The election and participation in the election seem to be the be all and end all of citizenship under the Indian conditions. The other prerequisites of citizenship, participation in decision making, political education, rational voting, discussion and through it the formation of intelligent public opinion, all of these are more or less lacking. An average Indian citizen is a passive recipient of the policies formulated
by the elite and whatever participation, discussion or rational voting takes place is limited to a small minority of the elite both in rural and urban areas and the middle classes who are mostly urban dwellers.

Citizenship theorists admit many short comings in respect of participation, voting, discussion and equality but insist that the cure is in more democracy, not less. Similarly, the abolition of privilege and the realization of equality are also prescribed as correctives to the deficiencies of democracy. They argue that citizens learn by mistakes and democracy permits them to commit mistakes and learn through them. The experience of near-dictatorship during the Emergency period of 1975-77 testify to the truth that authoritarianism is no cure of democracy. The evils of Indian democracy, summarized in Rajagopalachari's pithy phrase 'licence permit Raj' increased rather than decreased without any scope of redress. These grew into gigantic proportions and gave rise to sensational political scandals. The economic gains proved to be fictitious and the government degenerated into tyranny. A government without restraints either from the legislature or the judiciary and also free from the control of public opinion, which it did everything to stifle, went amok claiming itself, all the while, to be infallible. These developments reinforce the truth that in the absence of active and vigilant citizenship democracy remains an empty and uncertain political system.

It is to this end that the education of citizens should be directed. But then education has a purpose other than the mere preservation and continuation of the existing political system or socio-economic system. The purpose of education is to train citizens to develop critical
ability so that they may think for themselves, choose for themselves and reject any readymade solutions handed down to them. Only an informed, conscious and discerning citizen can be the last hope against evils generated by a traditional society, seeking to transform itself into a democratic system. The welfare state to which the Constitution is wedded tends to make the state both totalitarian and authoritarian, controlling the whole life of the citizen in the name of his own good. It entrusts vast powers to the executive organ of the government without ensuring effective checks on it. It is not at all surprising that those who supported the welfare state came to regard the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution as unnecessary obstacles and wanted to dispense with them in the name of the sovereignty of Parliament. Not only was the Right to Property denounced but even the more important freedoms of personal liberty and life were denounced as reactionary and were sought to be cut down. The ease with which constitutional amendments were rushed through a subservient Parliament and the way the citizens passively accepted them reveal the weakness of Indian democracy. The voice of citizens could be shifted in the name of the people, the masses or the welfare of the majority, the downtrodden and the exploited.

(C) FORMAL AND INFORMAL AGENCIES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION.

The social structure of India is built around the family, the caste and the village forming the orbit within which the whole life of the vast majority of citizens is spent. This traditional social structure presents a formidable challenge to the new values the nation-state wants to instil among its citizenry. The family has always been and even today is the most important socializing agency for the individual. The traditional culture of India accorded the family a status of precedence and
priority over the school as an agent for the transmission of values from one generation to another. Recent studies in political socialization emphasize the vital role of the family in transmitting political values and applications. In western democracies loyalty to political parties is handed down from one generation to the next. The child learns its values very early in life and since he spends most of the time with his parents and siblings, the family exercises a vital influence over him. Girls are much more influenced by family values as compared to boys for the obvious reason that they have to spend more time at home than outside. They also tend to be less politicized than the boys, probably for the same reason. The Indian family in most cases remains non-nuclear in character. The joint family or its variant, and the general authoritarian character of the family must carry some influence on shaping the values of the child.

The family structure is closely associated with caste. The values of endogamy and exogamy make caste loyalty a very real thing. The endogamous group perpetuates itself without coming into conflict with other groups and to this extent caste barriers seem to be unbroken. It is more and more politicized, affiliating itself to wider groups for the purpose of political gains where strength of numbers counts. Indians being very heterogeneous with respect to languages, religious practices, habits and culture, find a protective barrier in the caste system with its rules of endogamy. The democratic process in which the caste system plays a dominant role shows that the caste system is plastic enough to accommodate and adjust with changing conditions. Conversely, it may be said that the entrenched power of caste is such that the
democratic system inevitably leads itself to being exploited by this factor. It is a uniting factor where different sub-castes are brought together under one single head as the 'Maratha' in Maharashtra, which is not one caste but a conglomeration of castes. Together, these small groups play the role of a very powerful pressure group in the competition to gain political power and corresponding gains. As a member born in one's caste, the citizen acquires caste consciousness at a very early age and becomes politicized as a member of his caste or community.

For the vast majority of Indian population the village represents the community in which the whole life of the individual is lived. The community sentiment, a product of close and complete relationships, is built around the small community, village, which at one time also used to be self-sufficient and autonomous. With its 80% of population living in villages, the role of the village assumes a very significant place in Indian politics. It is not a coincidence that both the major parties in Indian politics should have symbols drawn from rural life. (The bullocks and plough in the case of the Old Congress, cow and calf for the New and Haldhar- the cultivator bearing a plough - for the Janata party). A few urban centres and metropolitan areas, with their more cosmopolitan character and sometimes with changing fashions and values have not been able to influence Indian politics. This is not to say that their importance is negligible. They are the centres from which ideas and changing values emanate and permeate the rural areas. They even supply leadership at the state and national level. But the permeation is extremely slow as it is
resisted because the village has its own traditional structure, loyalties and culture and the villagers are averse to change.

Even after the century old impact of the industrial zigzag civilization and money economy, the traditional structure of village relationships, the Jajmani system, still persists. The inroads made by the monetary economy, competitive and individualistic in character, has not been wholeheartedly accepted by the villagers who find greater security in their traditional loyalties. This very characteristic can explain why a great many progressive reforms have been found to make no headway in the villages.

The socio-political values received through various agencies find stiff resistance both at the social and political insides levels. The new values have a destabilizing effect, disturbing the relations between individuals which are determined by the system of interdependence exemplified by the Jajmani system. They also disturb the privileged position of certain communities as against others. The slow progress made by land reforms which is more in appearance than in reality, shows the tenacity of the rural structure in resisting outside influences.

The challenges are many and extensive. Localism and insular character of the village is confronted by nationalism and competitive economy. The interdependent system of Jajmani relationships is confronted by individualism and monetary economy. The traditional joint family confronts the nuclear family. Loyalty to one's caste confronts the call of casteless society. A life style permeated by religion confronts the secular life style. Traditional forms of authoritarian
relationships at all levels face the challenge from individualism and democratic values of liberty and equality. Sex differentiation and subordination of women to men is challenged by the demand for equality of sexes. The traditional system of private ownership of land and wealth is challenged by Socialism.

The school occupies a seminal place in the life of the child. It has a double character as an instrument for the inculcation of the accepted values of society and as creative influence in helping the child to look beyond the values of his society. The various challenges which the society of today faces may well be regarded as the culmination of the educational process. This is particularly true about the impact of Western education on modern India. But this impact was confined to limited circles in different provinces of the country. The task which free India has set for herself is the expansion and spread of education. Free and compulsory education for all children below the age of eleven which the state has accepted as its own responsibility has great and as yet unexplored possibilities. The school is a formal agency through which the state can influence the minds of future generations. In heterogeneous communities like America and the Soviet Union the school has been an agency to develop what is called Americanism or the Soviet way of life to instil among the heterogeneous peoples the feeling of oneness. Children are taught in America the American life style in schools irrespective of their family or religious back-ground. This consists of the ways of eating, dressing, ways of expression and acceptance of values. This is considered necessary from the political point of view that the heterogeneous people of America should forge themselves into a nation shedding their parochialism. India had similar
experience in the past and the Hindu culture tried to maintain unity by stressing not the uniform lifestyle but allowing for diversities and toleration of these diversities. The modern state in India wants to preserve these diversities and to promote certain values on which the greatest agreement may be ensured. It is trying to achieve this through the legal system and education.

It must be noted that education in India is a rather neglected field. In spite of a specific guideline in the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution prescribing a target for free and compulsory education up to the age of fourteen for all children within a period of ten years, the target remained unfulfilled. It is now extended up to 1985. Primary education remains a neglected field where proper equipment, buildings and teachers are all woefully lacking and only meagre resources are made available to education. The potentialities of the school as an agent of change is hardly realized.

It is not only the school but revolutionary organisations engaged in social work and related to one political party or the other that train boys and girls for citizenship. These organisations take myriad forms and may be useful in developing various faculties among the youngsters. Clubs, literary organisations, children's libraries, discussion groups, along with such organisations as Rashtra Seva Dal and Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh try to mould children according to their ideologies. Voluntary organisations, in general, help in making future citizens useful and responsible members of the community. Their influence seems to be restricted to urban areas as compared to the rural.
(D) THE SCHOOL AS THE CONTRIBUTOR OF VALUES.

The school remains the one formal agency to transmit values both for stability and dynamism. In a tradition bound society like India it has to serve the cause of dynamism than preservation of stability of the social order. The importance of the school lies in the fact that it can extend its influence on the widest possible scale in the country as it can reach countless minds in their formative stage and shape them according to its ideals. It has the support of the state and it can educate the whole population of youngsters and influence their minds. It faces the formidable challenge of a traditional social structure with its own set of values. The values the school is expected to cultivate are not the values growing naturally from the social environment. The school has to face a delicate situation here, imparting dynamic values for transforming society under conditions extremely tenacious and hostile to any acceptance of such values.

A political system must have certain values and must have an agency to conserve, propagate and perpetuate them. The Indian political system has adopted institutions that are borrowed from the Western democracies and some Socialist countries. The institutions are not the product of the soil and have not grown out of the felt needs of the population. Values like single citizenship and single nationality, adult franchise, equality of sexes, social and economic equality, fundamental freedoms, rule of law, responsible government, socialism, republicanism are all more or less alien concepts which do not find receptive soil. The responsibility, therefore, devolves on the school to conserve and transmit them.
The present study, therefore, focuses its attention on the study of the school as a transmitting agent of these values and the students as the recipients of these values. How far these values are accepted is an indicator not only of the success of the school as a transmitting agency but also of the state as a factor in transforming society. It is, therefore, proposed to study the attitudes and opinions of the students in high schools receiving these values through the teachers and text books of history and civics.
REFERENCES:

1. "Citizenship in twentieth-century democratic theory in two respects suggests more than the Greek idea of citizenship. First, according to the modern idea, all individuals are to engage in the active life of citizenship; there are no exceptions, such as slaves. Second, modern citizenship suggests that citizens are in their political activities not only public but also the personal interests of individuals and groups." Thompson D.F. : The Democratic Citizen p.2

2. Ibid., p.2

3. Ibid., pp. 13-22.

4. Ibid., p.14


6. "In effect, the modern welfare state, in the dimensions to which it has already grown and threatens to grow in the future, seems to be the primary mechanism through which the subjection of the individual to the state is being achieved throughout the non-Communist world. The problems it is designed to solve, it does not solve - or only apparently solve; on the contrary, it makes them even more serious, and even less susceptible of an effective solution." Kopke, Wilhelm: Welfare, freedom and inflation, p.48.

7. "Nothing is more evident from empirical studies than the fact that at present even ordinary electoral participation by citizens is not, whatever the causes, very impressive... only about 45 per cent of the American electorate are regular or 'core' voters, and about 40 per cent are completely outside 'the political universe'." Thompson D.F. : The Democratic Citizen, pp.53-54.


10. "According to detailed figures made available officially here today (April 2) of the 320 million eligible voters 193.74 million - 60.54 per cent - exercised their franchise. This however, fell short of the record turnout of 61.35 per cent in the fourth General Election in 1967. The percentage of polling in 1971 elections was 55.29". Indian Express, 3-4-1977.

11. "How else can one explain the elusive goal of universal primary education, a failing which over the years has swelled the ranks of the illiterate to 400 million, or half the estimated total number of illiterates in the world?" The editorial also states that the drop out rate at primary level is 60 per cent. Indian Express 'Inverted Priorities'. 23-5-1977.
K. Sheshadri: Political Linkages and Rural Development, pp. 174-211. The findings are that Panchayati Raj has not achieved greater participation by people and has no salience among the Scheduled Castes.


13. "Individuals identify with different kinds of groups as different situations require and may compete for higher rank in each context. A vigorous villager strives mightily to advance and defend his family's rank among the families of his jati but when he participates in a village Panchayat on an issue affecting his jati, he is apt to be a firm proponent of his jati more than of his family. Should the repute of his village be at stake on some occasion, he is likely to identify with the village and to challenge those of other villages". Mandelbaum, D.G.: Society in India, p. 632.

14. "In India, caste associations, which are otherwise typical symbols of tradition, have increasingly been found to serve the ends of political modernization". Yogendra Singh: Modernization of Indian Tradition, p. 121.

15. "In most elections greater participation by the poorer voters and by the women voters has been due to the part played by money in the purchase of votes. Though this fact is well known to everyone who keeps his eyes and ears wide open it has not been empirically established. But what is not yet empirically established is not to be dismissed as being invalid." K. Sheshadri: Political Linkages and Rural Development, p. 156.

16. Monteiro, J.B.: Corruption, Control of Maladministration, chapter II - Dimensions of Corruption. It deals with corruption cases in various departments of the government brought to the notice of the government. This is only the tip of the iceberg. Noorani, A.G.: Ministers' Misconduct. It deals with famous political scandals reported by the Press. Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1974.

17. For the progressive role of the nationalist press; Desai, A.R.: Social Background of Indian Nationalism, pp. 221-239.

18. "In December 1967 the total number of newspapers and periodicals was 10,561. Papers (8,189) in 8 principal languages had a circulation of 23,292,000; English papers had a circulation of 8,479,000, Hindi 5,291,000, Tamil 3,035,000". The Statesman's Year Book 1972-73, Macmillan, London.

"The number of newspapers stood at 12,663 at the end of 1973 compared to 11,926 in 1972, showing an increase of 727 newspapers during the year. Nearly a third of (31.5%) of the newspapers were published from the four metropolitan cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras". India Annual 1975 (Government of India), p. 113. The annual gives a circulation figure of 352.70 lakh copies of newspapers for the year 1973. p. 115.
19. "Number of illiterates in 1971 was 386 million as against 388 million in 1961. However, the percentage of literacy according to 1971 census rose to 29 per cent from 24 per cent in 1961."

'School Dropouts.' Of every 100 children enrolled only about 40 reach class V and only about 10 reach class VIII. The rest dropout at some stage beginning roughly from age nine.

'Primary Schools.' There were 400,000 primary schools in 1966-67. The number rose to 430,000 in 1975. The number of children in primary schools rose from 53.63 million to 63.19 million during the same period." Times of India Directory and Year Book 1977, Bombay p.79;


20. Owen R.M. and Nandy A.: Organisational growth and organisational participation: Voluntary associations in a West Bengal City in contributions to Indian Sociology, New Series, Vol.9 No.1 1975; Vikas Publishing House. p. 30-35. One of the conclusions by the authors is "Politicisation significantly influences the growth of voluntary associations, and political patronage is their most important source and prosperity". p.49.


22. "Family, Community, clan, tribe, caste and sub-caste are examples of micro-structures of the Indian society. Micro-structures are relatively autonomous institutions and provide a social space for primary relationships." Yogendra Singh: Modernisation of Indian Tradition, p.127. See also the Chapter VI, Changes in social structure and modernization.

23. "Relationships are fix governed by kinship, birth, territorial bonds which delimit the horizon of social interaction and reinforce values which may be in apparent contrast with those of a modernized role structure." Ibid., p.127.


25. "We have suggestive evidence that the socialisation of the individual into a party is a more direct process than the socialisation of the logically congruent area of ideology". Hymon H.H.: Political Socialisation, p.56.

For the controversy over the issue see Fredyuk Development of Partisan pre-dispositions by Sears D.O. in Micro-Political Theory (Eds. Greenstein and Polity) pp.123-127.
26. "If one compares the sexes in terms of the degree to which they held participatory norms, it becomes clear that in all countries except the United States these norms are more frequently held by men than women." Almond G.A. and Verba S. : The Civic Culture, p.176. For reasons of lesser participation see Lane R.E. : Political Life, pp.206-216.

27. For the interdependence of family, caste and village see Mandelbaum, D.G. : Society in India, chapter 2. The basic groups and groupings pp. 15-30.

28. "Caste association are para-communities that enable members of castes to pursue social mobility, political power, and economic advantage". Rudolph L.I. and Rudolph S.H. K: The Modernity of Tradition, p.29. The authors show how castes have played political role by what they describe as 'horizontal' and 'differential' mobilization.


30. "A Jati cannot stand alone. Its people necessarily co-operate with some people of other Jatis; commonly they compete with still others. The main loci of the cooperation and competition is the village... To a villager, then, his village is far more than just a collection of houses, lanes, and fields; it is a prime social entity." Mandelbaum, aD.G. : Society in India, p.327.


32. Yogendra Singh: Modernisation of Indian tradition pp.129-149.

33. "This institution has been the centre of economic and ritual mutuality and interdependence of castes binding them into relations ranging from dominance to reciprocity". Ibid., p.186.

34. "The major potential source of breakdown in the Indian process of modernization may, in our form or another, be attributed to structural inconsistencies, such as, democratisation without spread of civic culture (education), bureaucratization without commitment to universalistic norms, rise in media participation (communication) and aspiration without proportionate increase in resources and distributive justice, verbalisation of a welfare ideology without its diffusion in social milieu structure and its implementation as a social policy, over-urbanisation without industrialisation and finally modernisation without meaningful changes in the stratification system." Ibid., p.210
35. "The national symbol of the flag has been the object of highest legal adjudication in the U.S.A. Justice Frankfurter speaking for the Supreme Court of the States in 1940 upheld a State law requiring school children to salute the flag in spite of the constitutional guarantee of religious liberty. He said: "We live by symbols. The flag is the symbol of our national unity, transcending all internal differences, however large, within the framework of the constitution." Ghurye G.S.: Social Tensions in India, Popular, Bombay 1966, p.521. Prof. Ghurye also deals with numerous cases when divisive and fissiparous tendencies reflected themselves in showing disrespect to the national flag. The refusal of Muslim League members to sing Vande Mataram, because the League did not recognize it as the national anthem, is only in the line of Muslim League's separatist tendencies and ideology of two nations. Compare, Ghurye G.S. in Social Tensions in India and Whither India?

36. The textbooks published by the State for school children carry the pledge which every child is expected to take, on the opening page of every textbook:-

"India is my country. All Indians are my brothers and sisters.

I love my country and I am proud of its rich and varied heritage. I shall always strive to be worthy of it.

I shall give my parents, teachers and all elders respect and treat everyone with courtesy.

To my country and my people, I pledge my devotion. In their well-being and prosperity alone lies my happiness."


39. Following are the figures taken from Review of Education in India 1947-61 published by N.C.E.R.T. New Delhi, 1961. These figures show an immense rise in the number of schools since Independence. Whether they contribute in making good citizens in proportion to the increase in their number remains a point to be investigated.

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