CHAPTER II

LEGISLATIVE STUDIES AND
THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION AND
POLITICAL RECRUITMENT

The role of the legislature or "an elected assembly" in a political system has been the focus of studies by many scholars. In a traditional sense we may agree with Bryce that there has been a decline of legislature. The modern legislature performs the traditional functions with many modifications. Behavioral approach has demonstrated that legislatures perform many functions needed by a political system beside the conventional function of law-making. According to Packenham in any political system the legislature performs functions appropriate to that system.

A legislature can be regarded as a sub-system and performs many functions in the political system of which it is a part. Polsby, discussing the functions of legislature, differentiates between legislative action and legislature. He defines legislative activity as a "pattern of actions which regularly results in the promulgation of general rules having application to some specified population". But this activity may also be performed by structures other than legislature
in a political system. These other structures may be doing law-making activity occasionally or continuously depending upon the nature of the political system. Not only is law-making activity performed by structures other than legislature, but the legislature itself may perform activities than law making. Therefore Polsby observes, "frequently executives are legislatures, courts are legislatures, but legislatures are not legislatures, functionally speaking". Granting of legitimacy, maintenance of a pool of political recruits for future political leadership are examples of such non-legislative functions. Students of Latin may use the term legislature meaning law-making activity but that is a sort of redundancy. According to Polsby, "a rather sizable panumbral of connotations, associations, and functions has come in practice to surround the term".

Packenham’s study of the Brazilian Congress finds that its activities constitute a training ground for Brazilian politicians. The experience in the legislature enables its members to go on to other posts like governorship, ministries and the like. "They learn the norms of the elites,... political skills, ... acquire visibility and prestige, resources which are useful to them in acquiring, maintaining and utilising these other roles".
In this sense Polsby calls the legislature a "multi-purpose organization".

Jewell-Patterson also follows the same line. He assigns two-fold functions to the legislatures: i) conflict-management and ii) integrative function. He further breaks up these functions. Conflict management is done in four ways i.e. deliberation, decision, adjudication and catharsis. Integration is achieved through authorization, legitimization and representation. The rationale for such a classification, according to him, is that:

"We cannot adequately distinguish the legislative from others, nor can we fully comprehend the purposes of the legislative system, if we focus our attention solely on law-making. We must try to 'get behind' the manifest activity of legislative system in order to understand their functional consequences for the polity. What functions does the legislative system perform that contribute to the maintenance of the political system". 10

In studying the role of the legislatures the negative emphasis on the fact that mere legislation is not the function of the legislature is an important starting point which opens the way for further inquiry with the adoption of systemic, functionalist, structuralist and behavioural perspective. We may list some
of the functions as follows:

1. law-affecting though not law-making,
2. administrative oversight,
3. mobilisation of consent,
4. legitimisation,
5. tension-release,
6. recruitment,
7. socialisation,
8. patronage,
9. conflict-management,
10. integration,
11. interest articulation,
12. expressive, teaching, informing,
13. linkage between the government and the governed.

Legislatures can also be said to have an important role in political development and modernization in developing countries.

**STUDY OF LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOUR:**

There is a growing literature on legislative studies. Perusal of bibliography given by Polsby at the end of his paper in the *Handbook of Political Science* gives an idea about works in the field. R.B. Jain in his work devotes a full length chapter to various approaches adopted by students of legislature. They not only treat legislature as a part of the political system but also as an integral part of the social system "involving structured sets of behavioural pattern". It has been assigned the function,
in the words of Easton, of "authoritative allocation of 15 values".

A second approach is anthropological. This approach is exemplified by Bailey's study of the Congress. A third is the study of key positions in legislature, their evolution and functions. A fourth approach was adopted by Ralph Huitt while studying the congressional committees, i.e. taking a small group and studying it. Legislatures are also studied in the developmental aspect. It is presumed in this approach that the legislature has certain functions in the development of political system. Kornberg and Musolf's Legislatures in Developmental Perspective explores this approach and puts forth the scope and limitations of legislatures in the process of political development in various settings. Comparative studies, cross-national and intra-national are getting progressively top priorities. They focus attention on certain indicators by which the legislative systems can be measured, weighed, evaluated and compared. The items studied in these approaches are varied and touch almost all parts of this subsystem. Following list may give an idea of it:

1) Functions performed by the legislative body.
2) Committee and Committee system and group behaviour.
3) Legislatures and political development.
4) Professionalization of the elected assemblies.
5) Policy making procedure within the legislature.
6. Institutionalization.

7. The study of political personnel i.e. legislators —
   their socialization, recruitment, leadership, role
   analysis etc.

8. Decision-making in legislative bodies.

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   Roderick Bell brings the various approaches under three
   broad categories.
   
   1. Rational decision-making theories: Decision-making
      is seen as a specific cognitive process. It isolates
      this process from other items in the legislative system.
   
   2. Organization theories: In this approach "generic social
      process as they are modified by distinctive structural
      arrangements" are studied.
   
   3. Role theories: Under these, individual behaviour is
      studied in terms of "structurally determined roles".
      There is an effort to join individual to environment.

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   From a systemic perspective, Mitchell applies all
   the concepts associated with the system* theory and thus
   opens a new dimension for studying this institution in
   a larger social context. There are two basic models for

* A system is defined to "consist of two or more persons
who are engaged in a patterned or structural form of
relationship and who are guided by sets of values or
norms generally called roles".
studying legislatures: 1) inside and 2) outside. In both these models political personnel are foci of the studies. The "inside" model studies variables affecting the actors in this sub-system and which shape their patterned interrelations within the legislature.

Robinson's "Staffing the Legislature" is an example of this approach. He views the legislature as a set of roles performing certain functions in modern political systems. How these functions are performed within the legislature is the main object of his study. Passing of the initiative from the legislature to the executive he attributes to the "information revolution" and to the fact that executives have adjusted to this revolution much faster and more appropriately than have legislatures.

The 'outside' approach embraces environmental variables or 'environmental factors' affecting the behaviour of the legislators. Levels of urbanization, industrialization and education are such factors acting as an input into a system which have a strong bearing on the quantum and quality of legislative 'output' in the form of public policies, legislation etc. Using factor analysis as a method Kornberg and Musolf have devised certain indicators for judging, and to a certain extent, measuring, the achievement of political development.
LEGISLATIVE STUDIES IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT:

Though there are some works on legislatures in the Indian context, there seems to be "a very large gap in this field which remains to be filled". Surveying the works from Morris-Jones' to Malaya's, Jain finds occasional flashes of behavioural perspective. But by and large these studies are on traditional lines. Majority are confined to legalistic and institutional perspectives. In sum, he writes, "the emphasis in most of the studies on the whole has been on an analysis of the organisation, composition and role of the legislature in the constitutional system, with a heavy stance on legal norms, rules of parliamentary procedures". Same is the conclusion reached by Deshpande and Kini in their Trend Report on Legislatures and Legislative Behaviour published in 1971. Beside inadequate finances the difficulties faced by Indian scholars are a "traditional outlook and general non-appreciation of an academic exercise on the part of the individual legislator, which may result in a non-cooperative, apathetical, indifferent or at best a casual response at their hands thwarting the attempts of a scholar to get to the depths of his facts".

In India, attention of the political scientists is drawn more to the national than to the state level politics. Fear of being dubbed parochial, or anthropological concern with the micro, are some of the factors
responsible for this neglect. However, State level studies are important because not only is struggle for office more intense here but conflicts among castes, religious or language groups, factions are clearly visible at the State level. "It is here that economic development programmes often appear to falter and traditional sentiments, loyalties and behaviour intrude most into efforts to modernize". Logically, the legislatures at the State level are bound to reflect these social realities and the political culture with minimum distortions.

However, only a few studies of State legislatures adopting the behavioural and systemic approaches have come out. Stressing the importance of such studies Jain remarks:

"A systematic and concerted study of the legislative bodies in India at various levels—Centre, State and local in these frameworks (systemic, behavioralistic, comparative etc.) may lead to important research findings.... In the context of unprincipled and hypocritical politics that pervades the Indian scene today, such researches in the behaviour patterns of individual legislator may lead to a more serious attention that needs to be paid to his recruitment, socialization and conditioning processes than hitherto been the situation".
THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

The scope of the present study is limited to political socialization and political recruitment of legislators in Maharashtra. For this purpose it is necessary to have a clear idea of the two concepts as they have been theoretically formulated.

Though the idea of political learning, or the State giving political education appropriate to its desired goals, is reflected in the works of political philosophers from Plato, Rousseau to Mao, the work of Herbert Hyman on this theme can be regarded as seminal. Since then, literature in this area has increased considerably; so much so that Hyman in his preface to the 1972 edition noted that "by 1969 the study of political socialization has become a large scale enterprise. It has become the organizing principle for scientific meetings and lengthy conferences... and the bibliography (on the subject) already runs to dozens of pages". Greenstein, David Easton, Robert Hess and Torney have contributed in refining the concept, enlarging its scope and giving it wider perspectives. Both Sears and Barrie Stracey give long lists of books and papers dealing with this subject — a testimony to the fact that this field occupies an important place in Political Science.
A study of political socialization can be made at the individual or micro level or at socio-psychological/psycho-political or macro level. There is a definite link between the two levels.

Hyman in trying to conceptualise the term, political socialisation, forges a balance between earlier emphases on motivational and emotional factors and psycho analysis, and his own contribution of "cognitive elements". He views it as a "continuous learning process involving both emotional learning and manifest political indoctrination, and as being mediated by all of the participations and experiences of the individual and not simply by early family experiences." According to him it recognises both the latent and manifest components of the process of induction into citizenship roles and orientations. It also examines later as well as primary socialising institutions and influences. Almond and Coleman define political socialisation as a:

process of induction into the political culture. Its end product is a set of attitude-cognitions, value standards and feeling toward the political system, its various roles and role incumbents. It also includes knowledge of values affecting and feeling toward the inputs of demands and claims into the system, and its authoritative outputs."
The various definitions bring out two approaches to the process of political socialization. There is, firstly, the narrow, formal or official political learning approach which covers "deliberate inculcation of political information, values and practices by instructional agents who have been formally charged with this responsibility". What Greenstein calls the 'society modelling the child' approach. This refers to the way society transmits its political culture from generation to generation. This is status quoist and has a conservative bias. This is criticised for presuming the individual as a "tabula rasa" on which society imprints its attitudes, values and behaviour. This appears unreal for, children are found to react in their own way to external stimuli while receiving external impressions thereby forming their own ideas, beliefs, values and ultimately certain attitudes.

The second, broader approach takes into account: "all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life-cycle, including not only explicitly political learning, but also nominal non-political learning that affects political behaviour, such as the politically relevant social attitude and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics".
This considers that "the developing human being gradually attains his own personal identity, which allows him to express himself and to seek to meet his own idiosyncratic needs and values in his own way". This approach shows more interest in the process than in the outcome which is the domain of psychology. This seems to be an accepted approach not because it includes political and non-political learnings, but it aims at bringing forth "politically relevant personality characteristics" which have much to do with the maintenance and continuity of the political system, orderly change and adjustment of continuity, mapping the political culture of a nation and giving the community overall stability within which changes are adjusted and accommodated.

PERSPECTIVES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

When studies are made on a life cycle basis and on time variable two dimensions occur, childhood or early political socialisation and adult or later socialisation. In this it is assumed that learning is a continuous process and early learning has same relevance to later learning. Easton and Hess treat childhood socialisation as "child's personalized and idealized views of government" and thus his positive affective attachment to the political system. Easton and Dennis, Fred Greenstein, Hess and Torney, Jennings and Niemi have made such studies.
But the problem of assuming that early socialisation acts as a basis of later values or that it makes a foundation for adult orientations is a little tricky. While early socialisation may persist, with modifications, sometimes the adult may develop opposite attitude, and orientations to his early mapping of socialisation due to intervening variables - which may affect him perniciously and in a reverse direction. Moreover, the assumption that residues of pre-adult political socialisation persist into adulthood is an issue that can be settled better with data than with arguments. In Sear's view this assumption turns out to have been well founded but with some important qualifications.

Political socialization studies also differentiate between manifest or direct socialisation and indirect or latent socialisation. Almond and Powell explain the former as explicit communication of information values or feelings towards political objects. The civics course in high schools can be cited as an example of this. Vora, in his study of college students, also regards it as learning specifically political values, attitudes and acquiring political knowledge. Indirect or latent political socialization, on the contrary, is "transmission of non-political attitudes which affect attitudes toward analogous roles and objects in the political
system". It involves many of the fundamental characteristics of general culture, which may have great effect on the political sphere. Internalisation of those values which are not political but which subsequently influence the acquisition of political values.

Taking these two dimensions on longitudinal line Almond and Coleman show that with the development of the child latent political socialisation drops off as the rate of manifest political socialisation accelerates.

A third line of thinking about political socialisation has a psychological basis. A distinction is made between affective socialization and cognitive socialization. Though they are not mutually exclusive categories, a difference can be made on an analytical level. Jaros and Sigel advance such a distinction. Affective socialization approach has its origin in earlier (to Hyman's work) studies of the child's diosyncratic growth. Sears discusses this aspect under the heading "attachment to the political system". Attachment includes affect towards symbols of the regime (flags, slogans etc.), generalised political trust, support for institutions, support for public policies and behavioral compliance with it, and endorsement of the reigning, rules of the political game etc. Jennings and Niemi describe it as 'Reinforcement and Psychological Theory'. It has much to do with
the political orientation of the child. Affective and power relationship is also considered in terms of parent-child transmission of authority structure.

The study of political socialization is also undertaken on the basis of political class in the social stratification system. Elites and masses are taken as two strata in society. Elite studies refer to the holders of influential positions in politics as political elites. The acquisition of orientations and knowledge appropriate to legislators, judges, policemen, military officers or revolutionaries can be named as elite socialization.

The political elites show socialization pattern quite different from ordinary citizenry. Frequency of exposure to external stimuli, intensity of environmental effects and scores of socio-political factors distinguishes this class from rest of the citizens. Both are inducted into political roles but the elites at the higher key roles while the masses upto electoral roles. The elite go through socialization experiences which are loaded with recruitment potentialities.

"The socialising experiences they (elites) shared with a broader stratum (masses) have merely predisposed them to political action, and only those who are exposed to more direct stimuli at a later time and place or find themselves in a recruitment - relevant situation engage in activity leading to candidacy for public or party office."
MODELS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

Hess and Torney have put forward four models of political socialization. These are modified and added to by the studies of Jennings and Niemi, Dennis et al. The following five models can be considered:

1) accumulation model,
2) interpersonal transfer model,
3) observation-learning model,
4) psycho analytic model - reinforcement model,
5) cognitive development model.

1. **Accumulation model**: The individual's attitudes, involvement and behaviour is seen as an outcome of direct and specific teaching, usually, by adults. "The acquisition of political role expectations proceeds by the addition of units of knowledge, information, attitudes and activities... the capabilities of child and the nature of materials are assumed to be irrelevant". The information received directly need not necessarily be logically connected with the affective part of the emotional orientation of the child. The child is receptive to any information without distortion. His attitudes develop with the accumulation of units of information but it is not necessary to be congruent with the contents of the unit.

2. **The interpersonal transfer model**: This involves "affective and power" relationship. Hess and Torney
describe it as "multi-faceted relationship to figures of authority structures in non-political sphere, i.e. in family, school, and relationships regarding attitudes have a bearing when the individual comes in contact with political authority. This assumption is analogous to the "conditioning model" through the child modifies his affective content with development, yet his overall attitude towards authority structure remains some what similar to his early experiences.

3. The observation learning model: This model has been discussed under various concepts and terms such as modelling, matching, imitation, cue-taking etc. Bondura and his associates have devised this model in their work, "Social Learning Theory and Identificatory Process". Learning through observation is the essence of this model. The basis of learning is the perceptual response of the child to the model's behaviour. Once coded and stored "they function as mediators for response retrieval and reproduction". The child may learn under strong and persistent stimulus specific attributes of the model. The models may be parents, family members, peers, teachers or other socialising agencies. Researches so far made are confined to child-parent party identification. The question that arise out of parent-child partisanship transmission are "how early, how strong,
and how persistent these childhood predispositions are and what role the family plays in forming them".

4. The Reinforcement and Psychoanalytic model: Jennings and Niemi give the definition of this model as "that behaviour which is positively rewarded will be sustained and that which is negatively regarded will be discontinued". Observational learning and reinforced learning go hand in hand to establish a persistent behaviour. At time it comes close to interpersonal transfer model "the evolving conflicts and resolutions between parents and child are held to shape the general personality of the child and hence, at a further remove, the political personality".

5. The Cognitive Developmental model: The assumption behind this model is that unless the child attains a certain stage of maturity certain objects are neither received nor stored. Learning capacities are restricted at every stage of life. As the child grows it begins to comprehend from simple objects to progressively complex and abstract objects. At one end the variable of age and at another the variable of maturity and their correlation forms the essence of this model. Apprehending, classifying, differentiating and structuring are the stages of maturity. This is the cognitive process. It includes both cognitive as well as affective components.
It rejects the view that society models the child. It assumes the child as a creative actor. This model diverts at many points from earlier models of social learning like observational learning model and reinforcement model. The crucial question is if the child's development is stage-wise or without any specific reference to stage or maturity.

The five models discussed above are useful in different areas of research while studying socializing agents such as school, the accumulation model would be most suitable. The child's early attitudes towards political authority could be learnt by the interpersonal transfer model. The observational learning model may be of utility in studying the child's party and candidate preferences. For unfolding the progression of children's cognitive aspect the last model would be useful. As with other theories and approaches, the most useful research device depends upon the area to be researched. One has to seive different variables for existing theories and form a new approach suitable for the purpose in hand.

THE AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

William Mitchell poses some questions about political socialization, answers to which throw light on various dimensions of this process. The question "by whom"
concerns the agents of political socialization. He divides them into formal and non-organizational agents. Agents of political socialization can also be treated as sources of political learning. For this purpose the pre-adult environment is divided into four parts: family, school, peer group and other agencies. Other agencies include mass-media, secondary groups, political events, as well as idiosyncratic factors. Since the sources or agents are abstracted from the environment of the individual one would expect to find numerous variables depending upon the context in which the study is undertaken. In addition to this the learner's own personality traits make the matter more complex. Hess and Torney use 'socialization context' as synonymous with 'agents of socialization'. According to them there are three types of contexts: 1) institutions of well defined structure and organization: family, school, church, 2) social setting: social class, ethnic origin and region; 3) individual characteristics.

Major agents of Political Socialization:

1. family: In the literature on political socialization the family is given an important place in the hierarchy of socialising agents. David Sears while discussing parental transmission regarding partisan predisposition states, "It is now well established that partisan
predispositions have their origins in childhood. Just how early, how strong, and how persistent and what role the family plays in forming them are questions demanding more attention." However, the idea of correlationship between parents and children is strongly doubted by some researchers. Cornél, for example, thinks that "the process within the family have been largely irrelevant to the formation of specific opinion".

Almond and Verba look to family as an agent of non-political authority pattern exerting influence over the children in forming attitudes towards political authority. It is the first exposure to the authority pattern. It helps to form certain attitudes and orientations in children. But it raises a host of problems. While it is true that the child begins to observe and react toward authority here. Yet, it is very difficult to say that the family alone is responsible for it. Other non-political structures of authority like school, job, association with numerous other intervening factors may also be affecting the individual. Therefore the possibility of finding strong correlation between family's authority pattern and the child's attitude toward political authority in his adult socialization and post-socialization stage is a difficult proposition. The same is true of early socialising experiences and its relation to adult's behaviour in politics.
Participation in discussion and decision making process family does not necessarily lead to participation in politics. The question of time-lag, adult socialization, opportunity structure are intervening factors. There can be approximation between family experience and later political participation, but nothing could be said with exactitude about it.

The items so far studied – partisan predispositions, responses toward political authority originating from family's authority pattern, early socialising experience in the family and later behaviour and participatory orientation all are dependent on certain factors such as parental control, socio-economic status, political affiliation of the family, sex, affective consistency, highly visible events, stability of parental attitudes etc. The Peer group: According to the developmental approach it is certain that as the child begins to be autonomous the influence of family and parents begins to wane. Some of the reasons for this occurrence may be low parental control or low affectivity of the family and children are bound to turn to friends as a compensatory effort. The individual comes into contact with this agency either in school or outside the school. The peer group becomes the focal point of adolescent social life consisting of a network of friends. This group is a reference group for
most of the children. "To have friends, to be in group, to belong, to not be rejected are the hallmakers of the adolescent period". Erickson states that "the peer group serves as a mechanism for the resolution of identity crisis; reinforcement and feedback are provided; rules may be tried on an experimental basis, and independence of parental identification is fostered through the medium of peer relations".

Another function may be assigned to the peer group adopting the interpersonal transfer model. It develops the participative capability of a child which has definite correlation with his propensity to participate in politics in later part of the life. His political involvement also is influenced by the group identifications in the earlier part of the life.

In the relations of the child with parents, school and peer group, comparative strength of each factor in influencing the child has been a theme of research in political socialization. If in some domain parents are influential, in some others peers are the deciding factors. Jenning's finding is that excluding partisanship, peer's influence plays a major role in shaping child's attitudes.

The School: The school or an educational system is central, salient and a dominant force in creating among
children participatory capacities and 'civic competence'. It is a major institutional source of political socialization. Weissberg observes four aspects of the totality of school experience:

1. Explicit messages directly conveyed to students;
2. nature of authority relationship within the classroom and school,
3. social mixture of school environment;
4. extra-curricular clubs and activities.

These four effects of the school could be reduced to two: formal and informal learning. Formal learning approximates to the 'cognitive model' of political socialization. In some ways it overlaps interpersonal transfer and identification models. The formal agencies within the school are teacher, curriculum and type of organization. The school provides the best systematic exposure to formal information. The teacher and civic courses are the manifest transmitters of political knowledge. There are exposures with increasing frequencies to symbols of nation, government which reinforce the attachment to the system, and compliance orientations. According to Jennings and Niemmi, civics course is likely to increase political knowledge, political efficacy, a sense of civic tolerance and trust, and stimulate political interest leading to a participatory orientation. Eckstein observes that the
possibility of offering more opportunities of group activities leading to participative capacities are more in school than in family. "The school thus, seems critical for the development of "variegated" and "strenuous" modes of participating, hence also for overall participation levels and their probable effects". The latent socialization takes place in regard to authority pattern and what Almond and Powell call "awareness of one's social environment". The attitudes developed at this stage towards this non-political authority has relevance at a later stage to political authority. There may be modifying effects of other intervening variables when the child grows into adulthood but some of the basic attitudes are likely to persist.

Informal learning is done through extra-curricular activities. The nature of these activities is group activity. Segel states that school is more influential through extra-curricular activities and general atmosphere. If the two sub-variables of the school - formal and informal - are put to test, Jeros observes that formal aspect has lesser influence. At this point the peer group and school, agencies of socialization converge. Group activities give the child opportunity to learn participative skills which are essential for later active political life.
Other agents: All the other sources of political socialization are grouped into this category. This includes diverse factors such as mass-media, secondary groups, political events, idiosyncratic factors, siblings, grandparents etc. It is not easy to sort out the effects of each of these. Findings of the influence of one agency may include that of others. Situational data is the only answer to the question which of the agencies is more potent.

**POLITICAL RECRUITMENT:**

Political recruitment studies are important in understanding how some of the persons politically socialised enter into political roles. The roles or positions link society to polity. There is necessarily some overlapping between the two processes of political socialization and recruitment. On the one hand the process of socialization continues even after the initial recruitment of the individual and on the other the very experience of recruitment has socialising influence on the individual concerned. Czudnowski makes three points in the context of maintenance and change of the political system and which have relevance to the study of political recruitment:

1. A political order requires institutional continuity, but continuity implies a turnover of personnel.

2. Policy-making aims at relevance, consistency and effectiveness, but society displays continuous social, economic and cultural change.
3. Government is predicated on authority, but the maintenance of authority is subject to legitimation through responsiveness or responsibility to society.

The dilemmas of maintenance and change are resolved by "structuring the relationship between polity and society" through recruitment process. These system relevant functions are performed by active persons or by individuals who come to occupy certain positions due to contextual or idiosyncratic reasons. Recruitment performs the function of system maintenance and also serves as a channel for change.

Czudnowski defines political recruitment as "the process through which individuals or groups of individuals are inducted into active political roles". This makes recruitment studies different from the elite studies, because greater emphasis is laid in the contextual aspects and both the governing and non-governing elites are covered by these studies. To put it simply, 'development of political career' of the elites is the essence of political recruitment. This presupposes developmental perspective and a 'role taking' process. Developmental perspective takes into consideration the differences in skill and ability, organisational and value commitments, introduced by selective workings of political recruitment ladders. The purpose of these studies is to explain the processes which result in differentiation between political elites.
and masses, and between political and social elites. A second perspective studies "behaviour motivations determined by their social origins". In sum, political recruitment studies enable us to know why some individuals take active political roles and what are the factors that differentiate this stratum from others.

Dwaine Marvick stresses the function of political recruitment as a critical link between society and polity. Recruited members come from particular sub-culture. They are further inducted into specialized roles. Skill, political cognitive maps, values, expectations are all the developmental adjuncts. All these attributes explain the content of political culture of the society.

Morris-Jones considers the concept of political recruitment from two angles: first, as an instrument of political process and secondly, as an indicator of systemic development. He concludes that the studies are concentrated on two aspects: outcome and procedure. The first aspect answers the question who are elites; their social origin and characteristics are the foci of this approach. The second refers to the question from where have these leaders come. He finds the second approach most appropriate to the developing countries. There are many finer points in each of these aspects.
Political scientists have so much concentrated on stability and change in political system that the persons acting as agents of these have drawn more and more attention. Several writers have studied these political roles from different stand points. Each has abstracted operational concepts and themes depending upon his frame of research.

Sometimes a demarcation is made between initial recruitment and promotional recruitment. What is studied in this aspect is the impact of early recruitment on later career. The contents of initial recruitment is dependent upon 1) behaviour, 2) orientations, 3) commitments to active political involvement. Many writers use various terms to denote these contents. For example, they distinguish between amateurs and professional politicians, or between spectators and gladiators, or 'game politicians' and 'gain politicians'. Other important variables relevant to the study of political recruitment are, social background of the politicians, occupation as an entry point, motivational syndrome, time dimension in recruitment, style of recruitment, opportunity structure etc. These would be defined while analysing the data in this study. It should be noted though that political recruitment is treated here as a dependent variable and therefore, ever increasing variables abstracted from personality built-ups and environment can be termed independent variables. Morris-Jones
tries to reduce these multiple considerations to three elements: 1) career routes, 2) aspirant patterns, 3) catchment areas. The career routes answer the question "who travels where, farthest, fastest?" The pertinent question raised by Robert Lane's "why and how people get involved in politics?" is answered by aspirant patterns. Catchment areas may answer questions as "from what field, by what criteria and by whom?"

**MODELS OF POLITICAL RECRUITMENT:**

Research in the area of political recruitment is dependent upon two factors: 1) unit of analysis 2) framework or environment. Further the research being of roles, the level of office or position becomes a determining variable in the study. With the addition of time dimension the work becomes highly contextual. Combination of various variables with explanatory power, suiting particular have produced models of political recruitment. Czudnowski gives eight such models:

1. Seligman's model (1961): Eligibility, candidacy and selection are the outcomes which are dependent upon screening, personality traits and the process involving actual choice of the candidate. This was a simple model and other variables like initial recruitment, recruitment relevant positions, screening process were added by Jacob.
2. The Barber model (1965): In this it is assumed that the candidates must have motivational foundation upon which certain attitudes and orientations are built. The motivations may be self-oriented or public-oriented. The resources may be financial or socio-political in nature. An opportunity is the third factor which decides recruitment relevant criteria for the persons. The effect is cumulative.

3. The Browning model (1968): How recruitment is the result of interaction between system and potential candidate is the central theme of this model. Turnover in office, rate of access to office, the control of selectors and probability of getting the post are systemic opportunities. Opportunities and motivation together form the recruitment process.

4. Seligman's recent model (1971): To the earlier model Seligman added structure of opportunity and risk variables. Eligibility is presumed to be dependent upon opportunities offered by the system. Formal rules, effective opportunity and motivation are components of opportunity structure. Effective opportunity in its turn constitutes status, resources, organizational sponsorship, financial support, access to the media and a political programme. Risk is the cost of losing the desired office.
5. The Prewitt and Bulau contextual model (1971): The model was used to study local bodies' election using voting turnout and rate of eviction of candidates as variables. The context is made up of elites and the masses. Incumbent sponsored career is an interesting variable which is akin to a closed system. Here voting turnout is treated as an independent variable and rate of eviction as dependent variable. They together indicate competitiveness of the system.

6. The Snowiss model (1966): Recruiting organization is the central topic of the model. The aspects of an organization which are relevant to recruitment have been studied in this model. The social basis, resources, the structure and the organizational ethos are four variables. Snowiss has the U.S. Congressional recruitment in view. Partisan situation, style or ethos of the recruited candidate, material and non-material incentives as the mobilising resources, structure of polity are all important factors in recruiting a candidate to the Congress.

7. Czudnowski model (1970): The political party exerts control on the eligible group. Eligibility is decided on a) group's location in the party, b) inter-party competition, c) party's value orientation to multiparty system and proportional representation.

8. Multivariate inter-election probability model (1968): It is a predictive model. By studying one election and by taking certain variables of the next election one is
able to predict the outcome of the election. Status of the candidate, status difference between the candidate and district and the member of competing candidates are the variables on which the prediction is based.

**VARIABLES IN THE STUDY OF POLITICAL RECRUITMENT:**

From the above eight models major variables in the recruitment process can be deduced.

1. Social background of the recruits is studied to test Mosca's theory of the ruling class. Certain groups monopolise resources such as military skill, wealth, religious functions. Its social origin is attributed as the cause of its dominance. The elite differs considerably from rest of the population but share common characteristics among themselves.

2. Political socialisation and recruitment: Political socialisation is a continuous process. Even after being recruited one may undergo socialising experience in a new context which may be termed resocialisation. Recruitment relevant socialization is different from other kinds of socialization. Recruited persons show socialization pattern distinct from mass citizenry and other elites. This may be called pre-apprenticeship position. Over a period of time they show recruitment relevant socialization position - apprenticeship stage. Therefore
to say that "political recruitment function takes up where the general political socialization function leaves off" is an over-simplification. It suggests that political socialization is preparatory to recruitment. But then, "socialization... does not 'leave off' when recruitment to political roles takes place; rather it takes fresh forms derived from these new roles". It is a two-way relationship. Socialization may shape the material for recruitment, and recruitment procedures and routes can in turn help to reshape socialization. Thus, recruitment, a more or less institutionalized process, itself constitutes an agent of socialization which is a matter of attitudes.

3. Initial activity and apprenticeship: Initial activity is different from apprenticeship proper. The first may be called the incipient stage of the latter through the two may not be strictly mutually exclusive terms. A political party, civic organization, even non-political activities giving politically relevant prospective roles are the situations where initial activity is done. The party is the initiator, sponsor, screening mechanism for apprenticeship positions. Motivation in initial involvement is another point of study. The motives may be personal or impersonal.

Apprenticeship is an institutionalised on the job learning experience. Of course, non-institutionalized
positions may also be a source of apprenticeship such as civil servants, journalists etc. Apprenticeship is a critical linkage position between initial activity and actual taking of elective role or office.

4. Occupation: Occupation involves certain status, income, skill which affects the recruitment process. Caudnowski has shown that certain occupations such as lawyers have characteristics which gives them an easy entry into politics. "It provides strategic non-political role and status positions or "brokerage positions". Occupation imparts skill, contacts financial backing, group support enabling the potential candidate to search for an entry point in politics. It also decides distance or proximity from seat of power.

5. Motivations: The forces, drives, urges which may be of psychological origin or socio-demographic origin or a result of interactions from both are called motives and the phenomena is called motivations - 'orientations towards socio-political goals, as well as self-centered orientations toward social, material and psychological rewards'. Maslow enumerates five motives or basic needs for political involvement: physical needs, safety, affection or belongingness, self-esteem and self-realization. Laswell describes motivation in terms of value of outcomes which is the result of interactions between potential power
elite and resource environment. Incentive system is another term for encompassing motivations and political behaviour.

6. Selection: There are many eligibles, potential candidates, but all are not selected. Selection process answers questions like who selects whom, on what criteria, what office? Political recruitment take place in an informal but more or less organized and institutional context by recruiting agencies. Structure, mechanism and environmental factors are three stages of the selection process. Sponsoring agencies are parties, interest groups, and other organizations. However some may be self-starters, and may contest elections independently. The political parties differ in their nature of openness or closeness. Various criteria are used by the sponsoring agencies. Environment and winning capacity are important considerations. Electoral constraints, candidate’s capacity to cope with them seem to be the main considerations. Constituency, demographic configuration, competitiveness, earlier voting behaviour, candidate’s association with the constituency, party’s hold on it, dominant groups, financial and man power resources and lastly, ideological considerations may be some of the criteria for selection. The last on the selection agenda is selection mechanism.
The present study of the legislative elite in Maharashtra is designed in the light of the above discussion of the concepts of political socialization and recruitment. The first theoretical concern takes into account the broader approach to the study of socialization. It is assumed that early socialization lays the foundation for later orientations, of course allowing for some modifications due to a variety of intervening factors. No specific model has been applied in the study though some variables from the five models are used. The exposure to authority structure in non-political setting and its impact in the interpersonal transfer model is taken as relevant for analysing the impact of family and school. His reactions to contemporary events and interaction with peer group is also assumed to be an important factor as in the observational model.

The agents or sources of socialization have been given an important place in the study. Family and school are taken as institutionalized sources in the pre-adult stage. Participation opportunities in family and school are studied to know the early civic competence attribute of the respondents. Extra-familial sources i.e. peer group, social and political events are also taken into consideration.
The second concern of the study is political recruitment. The context of the recruitment is Maharashtra's socio-economic and political environment. Though no specific model is adopted, different variables extracted from them are used thus, selection variable, recruitment-relevant positions, motivations, resources and opportunities are used as variables. In addition to these some other variables, relevant to the study i.e. early overt activities, level at which political career stated, status in various organization, party membership - apprenticeship positions are also considered. Finally, an attempt is made to relate early socialization to the process of political recruitment.
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