PART I

CHAPTER I

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The game of politics is essentially the age-old struggle for power. Some competing political systems survive, some are overthrown by revolution and some remain in a state of constant flux. These ups and downs are generally determined by the political behaviour of the people, who may or may not support a particular political system. Therefore, to avoid the bitter consequences of the struggle, every system tries to win the support and consent of the people, as the existence and stability of any political system depends very much on this consent and support, and to ignore it or to take it for granted would be a dangerous proposition indeed. Hence, the role of political socialisation, which helps us to understand and explain the factors which contribute to the stability of different types of political systems, their change over time and the direction of their change, irrespective of whether these systems are democratic or dictatorial, modern or traditional, industrial or agricultural.

Political socialisation is a process by which the political culture is shaped at the individual or at the community level. It also maintains, transforms and sometimes even creates the political culture of the people. It is also a process by which an individual acquires his basic political orientation from others.
Dennis call political socialisation a transmission belt, through which the political orientations and political behaviours are passed from one generation to another. The political beliefs, values and attitudes are learnt by the present generation at an early age, in their childhood. Therefore, what people do in politics depends upon what they learnt about it while they were children.

THE NEED FOR POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

In history various instances prove the need of political socialisation. It is a challenge before every state to prepare the younger generation for political responsibilities which they have in future. The first such instance would be seen in the writings of ancient Greeks. Plato in his Republic stressed that if the state wanted to achieve political stability, the appropriate socialisation of the young was a must. Aristotle also advocated political socialisation through civic education as preparation for active participation in politics. Apart from others, centuries later, Rousseau and Bodin also emphasised that education imparts social values to the impressionable child.

The importance of early political socialisation was also emphasised in the 19th century arguments for
mass education in the U.S.A. The well-known educator, Horace Mann stressed that unless young children were instructed in the values of self-rule and the ability to comply voluntarily with the laws of duty and reason, political freedom was impossible.

The emphasis on political socialisation was clearly evident in the 20th century. Nazism, Fascism and Communism were systematic efforts at socialisation of the people, especially the younger generation of Germany, Italy, Russia and China respectively. To give concrete examples,

1. The writings between 1920's and early 1930's concentrated on discussions on political education and observation of civic training by social scientists.

2. During World War II and the post-war decade, the stress was mostly on personality politics and national character. As described above, in the totalitarian systems the youth groups became the focus of this education. Even in liberal democratic systems like England, the U.S.A. and Switzerland, civic education had been accepted for training towards proper citizenship.

3. The concept of 'Political Socialisation' formulated in the late 1950's and early 1960's, has since then led to the direct research on the development of political behaviour. The term 'Political Socialisation' is applied
especially to the studies of political development of children and the adolescents.\textsuperscript{4}

In the present circumstances, the need for political socialisation is of the essence. The newly independent nations have the problem of reconciling their traditional values and attitudes with modern democratic concepts. Not only that, even the stable nations have a difficulty to ensure the loyalty and the engagement of their members in the face of rapid political, technological and social changes.\textsuperscript{5} If the process of political socialisation is smooth, there are minimum conflicts at the time of any political change. In essence, one can say that it is the sense of identity with the nation which is to be achieved through political socialisation.

Therefore, every political system, directly or indirectly, tries to undertake such programmes by which the political values, norms and attitudes are transmitted to the new members of the society.

\textbf{DEFINITION}

The term 'political socialisation' has been defined by various writers in various ways. Here are some definitions which have relevance to the present study. As the concept of political socialisation is rather new in India, most of the quotations here and elsewhere are from foreign authors.
Easton and Dennis — ... those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour.  

Sigel — ... the gradual learning of norms, attitudes and behaviour accepted and practised by the ongoing political system.

Greenstein — ... all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally non-political learning of politically relevant personality characteristics.

These three representative definitions indicate two broad approaches:

(1) Easton, Dennis and Greenstein focus attention on the process which includes non-political learning also, since it acquires political relevance at a later stage in life.

(2) Sigel emphasises only the learning of such attitudes as contribute to the basic stability of the existing political system. This definition does not consider a non-political learning though both these approaches have their own plus points. Only the first approach will be generally considered in the present study. As
already stated, the impact of non-political learning becomes politically relevant in the later life of an individual; therefore, all learning which is directly or indirectly relevant for discharging citizenship duties has been considered. This approach is particularly necessary to understand the process of political socialisation of women in India. It is observed that in India, a purposeful attempt has never been made to socialise the individual politically except through formal education. The case of Indian women is unique; because in spite of the efforts of modernization in economic, educational, political and legal fields, they are lagging behind in political learning. A simple example of voting turn-outs of females at various elections will prove this charge. The impact of tradition and the situational factors together keep them away from politics, as they are not politically socialised.

Early non-political experiences of socialisation definitely influence an individual's basic personality traits. Hess and Easton have pointed out that the child's first image of the President represents a transfer from family experience, but he begins to differentiate between family and political roles as he grows older. The male-dominated joint family pattern in India is non-political
in context, but women who are exposed to this pattern, develop a sense of dependency which has a far-reaching impact on their political orientation when they become adults.

Weissberg has given four non-political dispositions which are potentially more politically relevant.

(1) Personality traits like ego strength, self-esteem, authoritarianism, ambition, need for power, feelings of control over one's environment, and socialibility are all related to political attitudes and behaviour.

(2) Social roles – Throughout life one acquires a variety of roles to be played on certain occasions. Young girls learn to play a female role which is not ambitious and active. Though there is nothing political, it has political potentialities later, as women become apathetic towards politics.

(3) The acquisition of skills – Many political activities require specific skills, but few of these are unique to political activity. For example, the art of public speaking, literacy, may be non-political but become politically relevant if these skills are used in an election campaign.

(4) The individual's social and group identification – As children grow, they enter a wider social circle. They try to be more faithful, loyal to their groups, which is relevant politically though only later on.
If an individual gets an opportunity to participate in wide social discussions outside the political sphere, he is likely to participate in political discussions also, and acquires the ability to influence decision-making in both fields. Women generally do not have the decisive power in the family or outside; they are not likely to expect to have a voice in the decisions of the government; and this explains their reluctance to participate in politics. Almond and Verba in their Five nation study point out that those individuals who actively participate in political activities, remember to have had their influence on family decisions. Many non-political precepts like sacrifice, truth, obedience to elders etc. have thus crept into political philosophies.

**Types of political learning**

Political learning, through which the process of political socialisation takes place is of four types, viz., (1) Latent, indirect or informal, (2) Manifest, direct or formal, (3) Cumulative or congruent, and (4) Non-cumulative or incongruent.

(1) Latent political learning is the first and most basic stage of the political socialisation process. It has a lasting impact though it is acquired incidentally, by observation, overhearing of adult conversation or by
various experiences. By this learning one also acquires social values which are not political but have the potential for a later political orientation. It also makes the individuals pick up the politically relevant things without being aware of them. Latent learning takes place almost anywhere, i.e. in school, at home, with friends or from the mass-media. It influences an individual's political development because at each instance something is learnt.

(2) In manifest, formal or direct political learning, there is a deliberate and explicit transmission of political information, values or beliefs. Early political socialisation begins with the formal teaching in schools of disciplines like Civics. This is universally true irrespective of the nature of the prevailing political system. Even some of the other formal social instructions outside the school, like Girl Guides, Boy Scouts or Youth Organisations, indirectly contribute to the process of political socialisation. In such organisations the accent is on leadership training, character building, respect for the flag and the nation and teachings of the duties of ideal citizens, which are a basic introduction to a meaningful social life.

In the family, in early childhood latent socialisation is more marked than the manifest socialisation, while
in school both take place simultaneously with the manifest becoming more important at the higher educational level.\(^\text{15}\)

(3) Political learning is something cumulative or congruent. (If various agencies try to influence an individual at the same time, the political socialisation process becomes complicated.) If these agencies work towards the same direction, one of them will be more effective. When the parents, teacher, scout leader, peer group are all instructing the child to 'obey the law', the child is likely to shape his political attitude accordingly. This is called cumulative or congruent political socialisation.

(4) If various agencies are trying to pull the child in different directions, the result would be more complicated and fragmentary, because none of the agencies become successful in influencing the individual. This kind of learning is called non-cumulative or incongruent.\(^\text{16}\)

In India, for example, this happens to be the case because of the conflict between tradition and modernity. Women, especially, are influenced more by tradition due to which they are not expected to participate in politics.

**PROCESS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION**

The process of political socialisation is gradual. The values, beliefs and attitudes are acquired in such a
manner that sometimes we are not even aware of their assimilation. As Easton and Dennis say, "... the child learns to like the government before he really knows what it is". 17 It is a continuous process and does not stop anywhere. Political socialisation begins in the family during the pre-school years. A child thus builds up his identity with political life at a tender age and in an indirect, latent manner. Like family, church, school and peer group are agents through which a child gets 'pre-political citizenship experience' which need not be consistent with each other. 18

It is likely that the agents, sometimes may not transmit the same but very contradictory values and norms to each generation. In India all the agents, except the family transmit the value of equality. Since, the influence of the family on the individual is more emphatic, Indian women in reality do not experience equality. One can hardly draw a line of demarcation to determine where the influence of one agent ends and of another begins. The agents go on influencing the individual either simultaneously or one after another. Hyman observes that the influence of the parents decreases as the child grows up and peers, mass-media and other agencies start to exert competing influences on the individual especially on his voting and ideological preferences. 19
Political socialisation is affected by certain limitations like individual characteristics, especially intelligence, which influence the socialising agents. Among other limiting factors, Sigel mentions biological characteristics and early training, and Dean Jaros generational change and maturational change. In India illiteracy, traditional ideas, poverty and societal norms operate as the limiting factors, particularly in the case of women. The effects of these limiting factors can be diverse - an individual may become either highly socialised or unsocialised, parochial or alienated.

Political socialisation varies in terms of the social and psychological characteristics of the individual's education, which modify the socialising influences. Sex and social class are two of the many such socio-psychological characteristics. For example, among adults, men are more likely than women to participate in politics.

Political learning is of three kinds - (a) that connected with the citizen role (party attachment, ideology, motivation to participate), (b) that connected with the subject role (national loyalty, orientation towards authority, conceptions of legitimacy of institutions), and (c) that connected with recruitment and performance of specialised roles.
One factor that affects the process of political socialisation is the divergent influence of the agents which inevitably causes conflict in him. This conflict arises because of incongruent socialisation. When there is a difference between the political reality and the political norms that are taught, the conflict becomes unavoidable. Tension follows conflict and the result is that it either leads to the individual’s withdrawal from public life or makes him attempt to change the political reality. During the British period, the Indian intellectuals suffered this tension and tried to change the British hold on the nation. But conflicts and tensions are also part of the process of political socialisation. Therefore, it is suggested that the socialisation process should not be averse to change for the sake of continuity.

**SOCIALISING AGENTS**

The political socialisation process transmits values, beliefs, norms and attitudes from the previous generation to the present generation. This process works through the influences of various agents, the important ones being family, school, college, peer group and the mass media. At present more attention is given to events. There are also some non-formal
groups which have their impact on the process.

The role of these agents is important. To socialise is to teach something to someone. The agent influences the learner while socialising him. The question of the agent's influence is very much complicated in the socialisation process, because this influence varies from individual to individual and from society to society.

There are three pre-conditions essential to study the impact of agents in the process of political socialisation. They are: exposure, communication, and receptivity. All these three pre-conditions are closely related. The process of socialisation begins when the learner is exposed to the agent. Mere exposure would not affect the process, unless communication between the agent and the learner is established. This communication, of course, must have some political content. If political content is present in the communication, there are various chances that a political orientation may develop. But exposure and communication both are not enough to judge the influence of the agent. So the third and most important pre-condition, receptivity, has to be there. "Failure to satisfy any one of them will result in the absence of influence from that particular agent."
Beliefs, values and attitudes are the major elements transmitted by the agents with the help of three kinds of mechanisms which vary from place to place and from person to person:

(1) Imitation - A child learns by imitating others in the surrounding social environment. The authority structure in the family and school work as role models for a child.

(2) Instruction - Politically moral values are sometimes taught to children; or they become exposed to adult knowledge concerning political leaders, parties or ethnic groups.

(3) Motivation - Motives concerning achievement, aggression or dependence which may be relevant to political systems are responded to by the individual in terms of his emotional needs. Aggressive motives are related to women's reluctance to participate in decision making at the time of elections.

The elements of political socialisation which are transmitted by different agents do not operate in the same manner. Some of the agents are more favourable to some of the elements of socialisation than others. They may also vary in importance from one political system to another, sometimes within a political system itself and also during the life time of an individual.
Family - The family life has been described as "a cultural workshop where children are taught alphabets of civilization." It is regarded as the most influencing agency in the process of political socialisation, especially of children. The family is the social agency from which the child gets emotional security, economic and social skills and social and political standards by which to live. The family through its position in society gives one an appropriate status in the group. It helps a child to acquire the ways of the group in which he has to live.

In the family the process of political socialisation continues in an informal manner. The family is a vehicle for steady transmission of political traditions, practices and beliefs. Parents are responsible for their children's political orientation towards the community. The child-rearing practices which the parents apply - their behaviour in the house and outside, their views on religious, social, economic and political matters, their relations with outsiders and with the family members - these have their influence on children at their tender age. Their political behaviour starts to shape accordingly. The family contributes to political socialisation not only by what it tells the child about politics but also by the manner in which it
transmits the sense of values. Robert Lane suggests three ways by which family lays its foundations of basic beliefs and loyalties, viz., (1) by overt and covert indoctrination, (2) by placing the child in a particular social context, and (3) by moulding the child's personality.  

The family represents a system of social, moral and personal values which the child observes, and which have a permanent effect on its later political behaviour. In the family a child identifies the father, more than mother, as an authority figure because of cultural and organic reasons. The father is the person at the centre, who controls, and is the decision maker of the family. Children's emotional reactions to the father figure in the family is gradually transferred to other father figures which, of course, include political authority figures. In their study of father-absent families, Lynn and Sawrey find that the father-absent boys, compared with those raised with both the parents, strove more to identify with their fathers and at the same time were uncertain of their masculine identification and tried to act more masculine. Both the boys and girls in father-absent families remained more dependent on their mothers.
The family also transmits other cultural norms about religious instruction which have some effect on community supportive values. Teaching the child to pray to God or revere God, may not be political but in his later life it may become a political norm, to revere the polity.

Various studies have revealed that there is much agreement between parents and children on questions like civil liberties, economic and foreign affairs. Lowerence Wrightsman and R. Sigel have shown similar agreements between parents' and children's reactions to nuclear war and the Kennedy assassination respectively. Frank Pinner points out that parental over-protection led to political distrust in the Belgian Youth. By over-protection is meant the way parents restrict or control their children's contacts outside the home and guide their intellectual and emotional growth. The Indian children, especially the girls, are often over-protected. They are always taught such lessons which makes them feel that politics is complicated and not meant for women, being a male preserve. If the atmosphere in the family is free, parents listen to their children with patience; these children are very likely to develop a habit of self-expression, which is an important aspect of democracy and are likely to lead to active political participation in adult life.
Political socialisation is also influenced by the relationships among the family members. Children's views of authority, to some extent, are based on their initial interaction within the family.

A child learns to adjust, compromise and cooperate with his brothers and sisters in the family. This has far-reaching effects, because the ability to cooperate and compromise is of the essence in nation building. Psychologists believe that one's personality is influenced by early family experiences. For example, authoritarianism is found to result from rigid child-rearing practices. Lane observes that impaired father relationships lead to authoritarian outlook.

There is also a close link between individual family experiences and political orientations. In a typical Indian family set-up a girl always has such experiences in the family that make her constantly feel that she does not have any control over her life and environment. The result is that she does not feel an urge to have any share in the political system. She may lack civic competence in her adult life.

The social class of the family affects the political orientation of the children. Greenstein, in a study of New Yale students, concludes that "lower-status children
acquire from their parents less political information and few incentives to participate in politics than do upper status children. They are also likely to develop the sort of skill that facilitates political action and communication.\(^{36}\)

It has been observed that in any family two contradictory influences operate simultaneously on the growing child. The family exercises a conservative influence because it wants to keep traditional values, attitudes and behavioural patterns and the external force conflicts with this. The autobiographies of political leaders always speak of the tremendous conflict between their own ambitions and expectations of the family. The young girls in India always have to face this conflict, because the traditional views in the family are different from the demands of modernisation through education.

Thus, the family exerts a complex of many-faceted influences on the child and many of them are not political. This influence acts so subtly that the revolutionaries have always feared that the family works as a brake on social change. Revolutionary regimes, therefore, tried to limit the impact of the family on the children.\(^{37}\)

Until a child reaches maturity he remains in a condition of dependency. As he grows, he comes into
contact with wider social circles which influence him.
His political maturity depends on other social influences as well. At this time the parental influence wanes. One of the reasons for this is that the child is now more in the company of peer group of students and the authority figure of the teacher, whose influence definitely superimposes itself on the strong family forces. Newcomb's Bennington study demonstrates that the distribution of student preferences, which were identical with parent preferences during the first year of college, diverges after the first year and becomes different by the senior year. Another reason given is that a young man's change in political orientation may reflect a change in socio-economic or ethnic status from that of his parents. The former untouchables in India, who are becoming integrated into the great society are likely to abandon the views of their parents as these derive from political ties which were established on the social class basis.

Parent-youth similarity in participation and voting is considerably greater than that in political orientation generally. And recent studies by Niemi, Ross and Alexander show that even though young people are regarded as reflections of their parents, these are pale reflections, especially beyond the realm of partisanship and voting.
School - The educational system is another agent of political socialisation. By this is meant here the comprehensive system in which all the institutions which impart education come under the purview of educational process of the country. Schools and colleges are two different agents in the educational system but both are similar in many ways. The factors that influence the students are common at both the places, for example, the teacher, the curricula, the type of organisation, the class-room atmosphere and extra-curricular activities.

The school provides the growing child with the first systematic exposure to the outside world. Being a formal agent it provides more chances of direct political exposure, through the Civics course which has more political content, particularly where the norms of citizenship are included. Schools generally enjoy a considerable advantage in the receptivity of the children to their messages. Hess and Torney are of the opinion that the school stands out as the centrally salient and dominant force in the political socialisation of the young child. The foundations laid by the family are reinforced or modified here. The process of political socialisation begins in a less latent and more manifest manner. Right from the earliest grades, the symbols of nationalism
are introduced through various means like teaching about national heroes and martyrs, observance of holidays in memory of national leaders, traditions of the nation and its contribution to the world. These lessons also help to create among children a sense of national pride and identity. With the help of textbooks and formal instructions based on them, most of the learning takes place in the class room. Schools thus make a deliberate and conscious attempt to socialise children. Jaros has examined six major processes by which basic political orientations may be communicated by the educational system. (1) Curricular content, (2) Curricular content mediated by educational quality, (3) Teachers' overt expression of their own values in the class-room situations, (4) Teachers' more casual expression of their own values in less structured, out-of-class situations, (5) Pupil identification with particular teachers and adoption of values, and (6) Consequences of the non-political features of the educational environment. 42

The basic responsibility of the entire school system, including elementary, secondary and college institutions, is to ensure the development of culturally mature persons who possess the skills necessary to be productive in the larger society. In India the early
grade students are trained to become less dependent on parents and siblings, while high school education inculcates autonomy among students by providing opportunities both for preparation for life as citizens and also for the efficient running of the school activities. Participation in extra-curricular activities apart from helping in cultural growth, is likely to prepare the pupil for his future role as a democratic citizen with civic responsibilities. The observation made by Prewit-Okello-Oculi in some new nations is that the schools are ineffective in political indoctrination because the message they convey is in direct conflict with the teachings of other agents such as family and tribe.

In the world of school, the main centre of attention is the teacher. Teachers play a crucial role in both implicit and explicit political socialisation of young people. They rank far above as the models and sources of citizenship values, and they contribute mostly to the students' awareness. Most of the political leaders and intellectuals in pre-Independence India were influenced by their dedicated teachers at school.

A student is also influenced by the experiences he gains at school, e.g. teaching methods, treatment of
pupils by the school authorities, the extra-curricular activities and so on. Such experiences created a national awareness among the pre-Independence Indian children. The lessons they were taught on democracy, liberty and equality presented a picture which was very opposite of their real experience. Some of them who were shocked at the absence of political freedom in their country became the national leaders of the revolt against British imperialism.

In spite of the various positive advantages of schools in the process of political socialisation, it has been observed by various researchers, especially in the U.S.A., that they have failed to play a prominent role in this field. Coleman has commented: "It is apparent that curriculum, teachers, school climate and peer group all may contribute to the political socialisation process, but the relative contribution of each is unclear ..." These studies observe that there is no direct relationship between participation in high-school extra-curricular activities and attitude towards politics. There is also hardly any evidence of the teachers' impact on political socialisation. Even the Civics course does not create understanding and internalisation of democratic beliefs. Has concluded that there is little evidence to prove that schools are important agents of political socialisation.
In most of the developing countries, the schools may not influence the process of political socialisation of children very much because the family domination continues for a long time. This is helped by limited social mobility, a less advanced communication system for reaching the masses and lack of mass education.

**College** - While discussing the college as an agent, it may be observed that some aspects of it are similar to the school level political socialisation. At both these levels the experiences of a student are widely shared. College life thus is more or less a continuation of high school experiences, but in a different manner. However, the college does provide some such influence in the political socialisation process that one has to consider it as an independent and crucial agent.

The essence of higher education for which a student enters a college or a university is not only to prepare him for a job but basically his elevation and humanisation and the development of his general ability for independent thinking and judgement. It is in this atmosphere that a student is likely to accept adult views and patterns of behaviour. Four years in a college give him a chance to learn the responsibilities which would have a wide application in the field of adult citizenship and prepare him for
his future role in public life. The varied experiences he gets while at college change his attitude. The knowledge he gets through courses in fields like history, political science or law are more concerned with individual freedom. Students are affected by experiences which occur outside the class-room, discussions with other students and participation in the college activities. College life can change their attitudes, behaviour, outlook and also their habits. There are various reasons for this change. The first is the new environment itself. Secondly, for some students college is the long sought opportunity to rebel not only against parental control but against the societal control and society in general. Thus, college experience is entirely different from that of the school.

College life has many facets. The various aspects of college life like curriculum, teacher, peer groups, extra-curricular activities, hostel, the organisation of college etc. contribute to the political socialisation process.

College students have to opt for arts, science, commerce or technical courses. The curriculum influences socialisation if it involves more political content. There are courses with overt political content in the
social sciences and even humanities. Subjects like political science, law, history, economics, sociology are more concerned about individual freedom, governmental machinery, social institutions and economy. Political values like liberty, equality and justice are transmitted to the students who offer such subjects. This exposure makes them more informed about political knowledge and values. In the developing countries the curriculum should include courses in the social sciences because the future citizens would become aware of the importance of the values like liberty and equality. Coleman argues that democracy and the social sciences are closely related to each other, while Selvin and Hagstroem think that the study of these courses might result in greater libertarianism among the students. It is not an accident that many political leaders in the nationalist movements in Asia and Africa were graduates well versed in the social science courses.

The courses on the technical side like medicine or engineering do not have such political content. These courses have better employment prospects and they are rigorous leaving very little time for the students for other pursuits. They, therefore, rarely get involved in political activities and are less rebellious. Students offering the social sciences or other non-technical courses
are likely to practise and apply the political teachings which they have learnt through the courses because they get enough time. However, Somit and others opine that political science courses apparently do not increase political interest among students.\textsuperscript{55}

The college teacher is likely to be the efficient agent in the process of political socialisation. A teacher while instructing the students may transmit such ideas or values as have a political base. The curriculum is likely to be more effective if the political content is properly communicated to the students. A teacher works as a communicator in the process. It is of no use to provide the best exposure, if that is not properly and adequately communicated. A teacher performs this duty by his quality of teaching. A politically socialised teacher would definitely try to influence his students according to his own ideas and values. Jaros has tried to analyse the socialising potential of the teacher.\textsuperscript{56}

But most of the time one finds that the teacher does not speak about politics. Most political values especially issue values do not seem to enter in the class-room through the teacher, for various reasons. The teacher himself may not be politically motivated or he may find it difficult in the formal class-room atmosphere to express himself. Moreover, in Indian colleges and
Universities, teachers are forbidden to take active part in politics. However, some teachers try to discuss and express themselves informally outside the class-room. In that way it is possible that political values are transferred from teacher to student. Such kind of communication in many cases may prove effective, because here is an opportunity to develop a personal relationship between the teacher and the student; in such a situation teachers may be regarded as models of identification and imitation. But the experience is opposite at least today. The personal relationship between the teacher and student is not that cordial in many colleges. The strength of students in college is quite large. So the difference in the student-teacher ratio renders personal contact with the students impossible. There is hardly any evidence to prove that teachers have direct influence in the political socialisation process of the students, though it might operate in a few isolated cases.

The peers in college may change the political attitude of the students. The total college experience encompasses more than classes and books. The informal contacts between students are of great importance. This is entirely a new contact with which students feel more comfortable. During their entire college period the peers have proved to be the most effective socialising
agency. The Bennington study has proved that the college girls who were adjusted well to the college life, became ideologically more liberal over the entire course of their college years because of peers and thereby they deserted the conservative dispositions of their families and social positions.

The college environment facilitates a longer exposure to peers. This is useful particularly for those who live in the college campuses. In India we find that a few students get a chance to stay in the college hostels while the majority of the students stay at home. Living at home prolongs the authority of the family over the student and tends to insulate him from contact with friends and even from college influences. This affects the political socialisation of a student. Here it is not the college but other agents who influence him.

Extra-curricular activities are the most popular aspect of college life, a field where student enters with willingness and interest. These activities give an opportunity to every student to establish social contacts with the adult life of the community, and provide wider chances to experience at first hand the practical application of ideas and concepts that may be handled rather abstractly in the class-room. College elections, for example, orient students to political experience and so
prepare them for participation in future. They learn the purpose and techniques of elections. They also get training in voting and propaganda. Student participation in college elections may create interest in politics, and shape the political behaviour of the students. Even other activities like games, debates, seminars, essay competitions would give them a chance to express themselves in a knowledgeable manner, for which they may prepare themselves by studying various problems. These activities create informal relations not only among students themselves but also amongst teachers and students and also create a feeling of integrity useful for social trust. The educationists maintain that extra-curricular activities produce more competent citizens. Participation in these activities help to give students an insight and awareness into social processes. A student will have a more positive orientation towards political phenomena. By accepting various responsibilities, a quality of leadership would be developed. Most of the college students are attracted more towards the extra-curricular activities than towards the curricular ones. But this attraction is neither for the sake of participation nor for the sake of observation. Unfortunately, student participation in extra-curricular activities is rather meagre. One must make a distinction between interests and participation. What lacks here is the motivation
to participate in these activities. Moreover the participation depends upon the socio-economic background of the students. If the socio-economic status is low, the participation is meagre. Although the advantages of extra-curricular activities appear to be contributory in the process of political socialisation in reality it need not to be so. The Ziblatt study found no direct relationship between participation in extra-curricular activities and attitude towards politics.

Some college students particularly those from the villages, stay in the hostel, and get various opportunities to observe and learn things. For them the college atmosphere is entirely different from their village school atmosphere. The hostel brings together a large number of students in similar life situations. Being in close contact with each other, they can acquire a sense of solidarity. The hostel experience definitely affects the political socialisation of a student. Living at home prolongs the authority of the family over the student, while a hosteller is away from parental control, and is likely to be involved more in various college activities. The residential groups provide a major channel for American college students to become differentiated in their ideas and in their behaviour. It has been observed that in most of the cases the hostels
became centres of agitation.

Apart from the above aspects of college, there are other factors which also influence the political socialisation of college students. Much, however, depends on the type of college organisation. The authoritarian organisation places its control over the students under the name of discipline. There the students do not get an adequate opportunity to express themselves. Even in the classrooms students are discouraged from asking questions or discussing anything. On the other hand, if the organisation is democratic and liberal, students are encouraged everywhere. Students are also involved in college affairs. In most of the American colleges, students are given opportunities to manage campus affairs where students actively participate in the formation of policy. The size and complexity of the student community also affects political socialisation. The larger the size of the college, the more distant are the relations between the students and the teachers, while the smaller size of the college organisation makes it possible for the interaction of the students, the faculty and the administration to be intense and informal. The faculty can shape student culture through personal influence and example. In the Indian situation, caste and class composition of the students make a political impact on the political socialisation
process of the student. The different caste and class groups may change their attitudes towards each other while studying in college.

The college students need not be regarded as the 'silent generation' because this generation is going to shape the future of the nation. The student political activities have become a worldwide phenomenon. Students have made their impact in various countries. In Turkey, S. Korea, S. Vietnam and other nations where student demonstrations have actually brought down governments. This indicates the importance of student politics. French students with their demonstrations initiated University reforms. Even in India, the student force has become very active. In the 1967 General Elections students in Bihar were credited for toppling the Congress Government. In Andhra Pradesh they agitated for a steel plant and a separate State of Telangana. Even in Gujarat, the student force was very powerful in the opposition politics. Before Independence, Indian students shared the nationalist tradition, as is shown by their historic involvement in the nationalist movement.

The importance of the college as a crucial agent of political socialisation is thus generally accepted. It is believed that the students would shape and change
the politics of their nations in future. As suggested by C. Wright Mills, students and intellectuals, rather than the working class, are the "immediate radical" agency of change. He urges a study of these new generations of intellectuals around the world as real live agencies of historic change.

Peer Groups - In recent years peer groups have emerged as an influential agent in the process of political socialisation. These groups make a direct personal contact possible. Like parents and schools peer groups in American society occupy a favourable position in influencing the political views of the individuals. They work as competitors to the traditional socialising agents like family and school. This kind of competition has emerged because an individual is more exposed to the peers. This contact increases the likelihood of exposure to alternative and comparative views. As the individual matures the exposure widens; and the peer group may stand in sharp contrast to parents and schools. Peer groups are formed among individuals with common social background, outlook and values. The importance of the peer group as an agent in the political socialisation process depends upon the political content of these peer communications and the extent to which these communications focus on political
matters. The peer group stands assured in terms of receptivity to its communications.

Realising the importance of peer groups in the political socialisation process, the Chinese created the Red Guards when the young people were involved in the Great Cultural Revolution in 1960, making it possible to communicate political ideology. Even in democratic systems, for example, in India, youth groups sometimes work through the various political organisations like the Sevadal, the R.S.S., and the Youth Congress. Peer relationships become very influential among college youth.

In his study of the influence of peer groups in the political socialisation process, Langton says that peer group attitudes are likely to conflict with those of parents i.e., of the social class. Sebert and others, talking of the influence of peer groups in their study, opine that girls were substantially more likely to agree with their friends about political views than boys. This suggests that girls are more sensitive to the views of those around them.

As observed above, we have come to realise the importance of the peer group in recent times. But in more traditional societies where particular kinship pattern predominates, peer groups are generally not formed. Even
if they are, their influence in political socialisation is very meagre. In a homogeneous culture the peer group fails to challenge the family or the school, but acts only as a transmitter of prevailing values.

The influence of the peer group in the process of political socialisation, however, is remarkable. It has been observed by various researchers that individuals who are not members of the group remain hostile to politics. Political participation drops off among such people. In their five-nation study Almond and Verba have found that those citizens who were not much involved in peer-group activities and not socially integrated, developed low efficacy in politics.

**Mass-Media** - These are also a recent influential agent in the process of political socialisation. They are an important source of political information for young people, even to the point of replacing the parents as a major source of political learning. A few studies have covered mass-media effects in political socialisation. The T.V., the radio and the newspapers are some of the mass media. These various means of communication, which are easily available, have exerted considerable influence on the youth. The communication of events reaches them through these media directly. However, mass communication
may provide knowledge and information about political events and activities, but it has little impact on the political attitudes. Tolley in his study of the children's attitude towards war in Vietnam, says that though the T.V. was the most important source of information about war it did not influence children's attitudes towards the war. The view is shared by Connel who says that children of the T.V. era develop an extensive acquaintance only with the phenomenal surface of politics.

The influence of the media in political socialisation depends on the political content of their communication. There is more political content in the newspapers and in the presentation of news and public affairs by the T.V. and the radio. As regards the perception and receptivity of listeners or readers to these messages, it has been found that it is highly selective just as the exposure is selective. Therefore, the media have a limited effect on the political views of the individuals.

During election period especially individuals are more prepared to receive almost all political news through the various media which bridge the distance between them and the capital of the country. Because of this exposure it becomes possible for them to express themselves. In the modern period this exposure to media definitely influences
the process of political socialisation. In one study it was observed that among the children of fourth to sixth grade, the T.V. news worked as an indicator of political knowledge. In underdeveloped countries the mass-media are used to train the citizens and shape their citizenship role and to indoctrinate them politically.

Thus, we have observed how various agents try to effect political socialisation. Since the principal problem of this study is to examine the impact of various agents on college girls, it would be possible to compare the results of the survey with earlier findings. In the Indian set-up the girls who come from traditional families have to cope with the modern trends and therefore, it is likely that these agents instead of becoming congenial to the process may create a conflict in their minds, which may lead to political apathy in general. It is again very important to remember that political socialisation of women is greatly different from political socialisation in general.

CONTRIBUTION IN THE FIELD OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Although the idea of political socialisation is old, it was not studied earlier as a separate specific concept. Systematic study and research in this field by various writers and scholars is a recent development.
This development could be divided into four periods, as follows:

(1) At first this concept was studied as an educational research. The formal aspects of civil training were examined by the American Historical Association during the decade 1920-30. Merriam edited a series of sciences on political development. The main focus of these studies was the school system and the youth.

During world war II and the post-war decade the studies of national character were undertaken by Inkeles and Levinson. They make an attempt to describe politically significant variations in personality and to understand their developmental origins.

(2) Direct research on the development of political behaviour began in early 1950. It was in three phases:

(i) The propositional inventories or summaries were brought together by Hyman for the first time in 1959 under the name 'Political Socialisation'. He was followed by Greenstein, Dawson and Patrick. Greenstein in his article on 'Political Socialisation' produced propositional inventories in this field. Dawson reviewed the 'contemporary writings that have more or less direct bearing on political socialisation'. Patrick studied the implications of social studies on secondary school children in U.S.A.
(ii) Critical interpretations of finished work and modes of research have initiated by Roberta Sigel, Dawson and Prewitt.

Roberta Sigel presented a paper on some reactions on current approaches and conceptualisations.

(iii) The theoretical foundations for this field or part of this field were laid by Easton, Hess, Almond, Verba, Greenstein, Lucian Pye and others.

Easton discusses that the relevance of political socialisation is essential for the persistence and stability of the political system. Easton and Hess in their article 'Youth and the Political System' observe that if a system wants to remain in a condition of integration, through political socialisation, it should develop among its members a body of shared knowledge about political matters as well as a set of shared political values and attitudes. Almond Gabriel in his article on 'A functional approach to comparative politics' explains the need for this functional approach. He thoroughly discusses the concept of 'political system' and a 'seven variable' list of functional categories which a political system has to perform. Almond and Verba examined the political cultures of the U.S.A., Britain, Italy, Germany and Mexico. Greenstein, tried to focus on non-political personal development that affects political behaviour. The author names them as
theories of authoritarian and democratic character. Lucian Pye gave a brief report of the discussions on the political basis of democratic modernization with an accent on the process of political socialisation and the agencies of political change.

(3) The studies after 1970 tried to fill the gap in various aspects of the process of political socialisation and conducted extensive research and studies to expand its scope.

Investigators examined sub-groups of the American population, especially the groups likely to hold attitudes different from those of the middle-class whites. Abramson refers 34 separate studies, reporting on black-white differences in feelings on political efficacy or trust. The rural Appalachian youth study by Hirsch is based on American Mexican children. (It is a book in which the social learning model has been systematically applied).

International studies on political socialisation were conducted. Torney and others gave a report of the survey of civic education in ten countries in 1971.

A few studies were undertaken to consider some methodological problems of political socialisation research. Greenstein and Tarrow made such an effort in
Greenstein and Tarrow studied the political orientation of children and applied a semi-projective technique for this study. Niemi produced a study of High school seniors and their parents. Both the samples were given a questionnaire. The effort was to assess the overall accuracy of students' reports and to examine in detail the types of reporting errors that are made. The author feels that such reports are reasonably reliable as indicators of parental party identification, choice of candidate and direction of vote. Kent Tedin in his study assessed the reliability of adolescent reports of parental attitudes towards current issues and public figures and found considerable unreliability (contradictory to Niemi's findings) due to low-to-moderate levels of consistency between reports and actual parent attitudes, and also to large biases contained in the reports.

(4) Recently the work on the study of political socialisation has moved towards a new direction in which:

(i) Increased attention is given to the adult life span, as adult attitudes do change in the course of time.

(ii) Changes in political orientation are related to movement through the adult life cycle.
Because of 'events' and 'environment' as socialisation factors it has been found that young people react to political events and do not passively absorb attitudes from parents and others.

To name a few, Jennings and Niemi, Isaac and Campbell have emphasised these aspects of political socialisation in their studies. Jennings and Niemi in their study observed that in the adolescent period there is a steady increase in the volume of political information which enriches the individual involvement content and strengthens earlier dispositions. Isaac found that in India the official change in the treatment of untouchables made their younger generation change their attitudes, and accordingly they modified their behaviour, while the old generation still clings to the previous idea of outcasteism. Campbell and others in their studies observe that the young group which is in one sense most open to political influence because it has developed new political capacities, is also the group least concerned with politics. The youth’s relative indifference to politics is due to other pressing priorities like completing one’s education, finding a job, establishing oneself as an independent, separate from one’s parents and home etc. All these take precedence over civic duties and concern with politics.
Apart from the above major contributions, there have been various other studies in the field of political socialisation. Election studies have enabled people to analyse the sources of young people's political ideas. Jennings and Niemi undertook the pre-adult political learning study by interviewing the high school seniors, their parents, teachers and principals, and it was found that the family is an important source of political ideas and behaviour, especially as reflected in adult partisanship and voting behaviour. The authors based their study on the election studies made by Campbell and others in 1960.

**STUDY OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION IN INDIA**

Most of the studies on important aspects of political socialisation have been made by Western - most notably, American - writers and scholars. The contribution in this field in India by writers, both western and Indian, are given below:

1. Eakin Terry Clay's 'Students and Politics' - a comparative study of the selected political attitudes and participation of Bombay students.

2. Phullara Sinha's article on 'Political Socialisation and Democratic Stability'.

(3) Surendra Gupta's book 'Citizen in the Making' - a political profile of the school children and an attempt to determine the role played by family and school in the process of their political socialisation.

(4) Rajendra Vora's mimeographed project-report 'Political Socialisation of College Students' - a study of the impact of college upon political knowledge, values and participation of students.

(5) Shanto Ayyangar's survey of Andhra school children to understand their image of a prime minister.

(6) Joseph W. Elder's 'Socialisation to National Identification and Civic Participation' - a paper on the attitudes of the school boys (from Lucknow and Madurai districts) towards civic participation, their fellow citizens of different families, religions, castes, electoral processes and authority figures.

(7) Satish Arora's 'Political Karma' - a paper stressing that in a national state with a rich and varied history, political socialisation provides not only the appropriate models of behaviour but also creates a linkage with the past.

(3) Rajani Kothari's analysis of various characteristics of Indian personality, child-rearing
practices and the typical norms of Indian culture, which have influenced the process of political socialisation of Indian people.  

(9) S.C. Chaturvedi's article on 'Education for Citizenship' suggesting that for successful and proper training for citizenship, school teachers should apply methods other than mechanical.

(10) M.R. Dua's 'The Role of T.V. in National Integration' – urging greater coverage of regional, religious and cultural festivals, intercommunity, inter-caste and cross-cultural activities and organisations in the fields of education, business and politics.

(11) A.B. Shinde's study of the political attitudes of the college students of Kolhapur.

The studies which are indirectly related to the political socialisation process are covered under various topics, like socialisation, student attitude and youth.
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CHAPTER II

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF WOMEN

Introduction

Factors Which Influence the Process

The Role of Socialising Agents

Impact on Political Orientation

References and Notes
INTRODUCTION

The process of political socialisation is not uniform. It is observed that its pattern and impact differ from person to person, from country to country and also from culture to culture. And in the case of women, it is greatly different from the general process of political socialisation. As a result of this difference, the political behaviour of women significantly differs from that of men throughout the world. They participate less, vote less, join fewer organisations, do less party work, read less, care less about politics and their political efficacy is lower than that of men.

Political apathy among women does not reflect on their intelligence or capacity to take decisions but stems from their typical process of socialisation from childhood. It would be essential to discover the factors responsible for this apathy.

FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE THE PROCESS

The process of political socialisation of women is mainly determined by biological, psychological and cultural factors. These traits socialise women in a manner that their political behaviour becomes different from that of men. After childhood, as a result of the socialisation
process, a particular kind of situation or life structure is created in which women get involved to such an extent that they find it difficult to participate in politics. They become apathetic and dissimilar in political behaviour to men. Let us now examine the impact of the factors which influence the process.

**Biological Factors:** There are a few studies which have established the biological and social parameters of politically relevant orientations and behaviour. Dearden opines that sex differences in politics are due to biological factors which are innate; while Spiro gives the example of Israel’s Kibbutz where efforts are made to provide homogeneous educational and social environment for male and female children. The author finds boys to be more politically aware and knowledgeable than girls and observes that these differences might be due to biological factors.

Though both these studies confirm that biological determinants are important to political behaviour, there are other influences also which may be considered.

**Psychological Factors:** It is assumed that biological distinctions give rise to women’s psychological dispositions. Various studies in the developmental psychology have observed that the child’s immediate social and political environment affects the process of his political socialisation.
differences in political activity are encouraged by the entire process of sex-typing. From the stage of childhood, male children naturally adapt themselves to such traits as aggressiveness and authority which are ordinarily beyond their small world, whereas female children develop habits and traits confining to the home only. Socialising agents tend to discourage the girls by saying: "It does not become a girl", whereas boys may be given a latitude.

Terman and Tylor observe that the identification with the sex traits is the result of the imitation of "significant others" in the child's environment. The girls imitate their mothers and try to behave accordingly.

Attitudes and imitative behaviour result from the need to be liked and accepted. The child who wants to be accepted by others, passes through a sequence of adaptations based on his or her assessment of reality presented in the socialisation process. By utilising the reward and punishment methods, any attitude or pattern of behaviour which contradicts this socialisation process is discouraged by 'the significant others', while those which are thought to be desirable are encouraged. The methods of punishment and reward are different for male and female children. A female child acquires a learning method which primarily involves (1) a personal relationship, (2) more imitation.
than restructuring of the field, and (3) abstracting the principles. The mother is available in the house more than the father, a girl therefore learns by imitation a very specific and constrained sex identity. A male child, on the other hand, acquires a learning method which involves (1) defining a goal, (2) restructuring the field, and (3) abstracting the principles. Since the father is not available for a longer period in the house, boys are rewarded for looking beyond the family boundaries; they are encouraged to receive attitudes and ideas from diverse sources.

This leads to the female child taking more interest in home-centred activities and giving more attention to persons and personal relationships. It also inevitably inculcates in them an attitude of submission and dependence vis-a-vis the males at an early stage. Thus, women generally become used to submit to the demands of others and do not assert themselves or exercise authority because they have not received the kind of general socialisation which would prepare them to take an aggressive attitude towards authority. The traits which are required for active political life cannot be expected to develop in women in such cases.
The feminine trait of showing absorbing interest in persons and personal relations is reflected in their choice of toys. The female child would play with dolls or a house or a purse while male children would prefer to play with guns, soldiers, engines and such toys as show their different interests. While studying the political sex differences it was found that among adults, women are more likely than men to be candidate oriented, as a result of their interest in persons and personal relations.

Psychologically women differ from men in 'aggressive and dominant behaviour'. When children start to engage themselves in various social activities, the differences in aggressiveness become clear. It was found that boys are more quarrelsome than girls at every stage whereas girls are only talkative. This kind of difference between children seems to have an obvious bearing on the adult tendencies because women are more pacifist in their issue positions. Women generally do not approve radical steps for any change. They generally would not take any initiative when they reach the position of authority.

Another feminine trait is women's submissiveness and dependence on males, which is developed at an early
stage and has its repercussions later on. The voting choice of women is generally made with the help of male members in the family i.e. father, brother, husband, etc. In his study, Prof. Sirsikar observed that women voters voted according to the directive of the male members, in most cases, their husbands.

The psychological traits are considered here to understand the political sex differences because the political socialisation research extends most deeply into the area of psychology, especially the learning theory and developmental psychology.

Cultural Factors:—Like biological and psychological traits, the cultural traits also have their significant influence in the process of political socialisation of women. In most cultures politics is traditionally the primary concern of men — a male preserve — and women accept and follow the male political lead and manage the house. Thus, there is a cultural tradition of feminine non-participation transmitted from childhood. As a result of the age old impact of culture and tradition, women are only breeding the babies and feeding the family members. A woman lacks in the field of asserting power, because she is bound by cultural traits more than men. Robert Lane has argued, "The culture emphasises moral, dependent and politically less competent images of women, which
reduce their partisanship and sense of political effectiveness and defines a less active political role for them."

In the social situations it is the culture which determines the role of socialisation for males and females. The female role makes women think of themselves as feminine. They generally do not wish to depart from this culturally assigned role. Greenstein observed, "... women who find it especially threatening not to be 'feminine' and who see politics as a male function, will be drawn into the political arena only at the cost of great psychic discomfort." In India along with culture and tradition, the impact of religion is one of the causes of less participation of women in politics. The traditional religious attitudes about women (as subordinate and secondary) have supported social practices, which have influenced the process of political socialisation of women in India.

Thus, the biological, psychological and cultural traits have been used to support the claim that women have a 'natural' place within the society and what socialisation does is to ensure that women fulfil this natural role. The most surprising thing is that both males and females are socialised into accepting this state of affairs as legitimate, and as the most proper state of affairs.
THE ROLE OF SOCIALISING AGENTS

The influence of socialising agents depends upon the communication pattern and the learner's reception. As discussed in the first chapter, there are enough political and non-political contents in the messages exposed by the agents but the problem is how these exposed messages are communicated and how they are received by the learner. In the case of women, it can be observed that though the socialising agents expose the political or non-political contents, the communication pattern and their reception by the learner is limited because of the biological, cultural or psychological traits.

Of all the agents, the family is the most crucial agent of political socialisation of women. As Robert Lane points out, "The sources of political socialisation (may) lie less in the class-room and more in the home, less in what is taught than in how a child is treated, less in civics and more in the subtle communication of interpersonal relations." 15 The parents transmit the political orientations or values and knowledge in a latent manner (though women are not psychologically capable of receiving the political contents exposed by the family). The pattern of communication differs from family to family. If the family atmosphere is free, in the sense that parents pay
attention to what the children say and they are stimulated to express their ideas and participate in family discussions, the communication would become easy. It is likely that children from such a family atmosphere would receive the messages in a proper manner and thereby would have a higher level of political socialisation. It would also encourage the female children to acquire the political or non-political contents, in the process. It has been observed that the family influences girls more than boys in political socialisation, i.e., the attitude of daughters resembles their parents more than that of the sons, and women discuss politics with family members more often than with friends and others.16

It is from the family that a girl receives the values. The family encourages girls and boys to engage in appropriate roles. Women are generally confined to dependent, passive social roles. Even in children's games, girls tend to involve themselves in such activities as do not involve assertive leadership, or independence and aggressive behaviour. The family emphasises compliance to authority, acceptance of obedience or conformity to norms. This results in socialising women to be subordinate, and keeps them away from taking more interest in politics, because even the cultural traits which are transmitted by the family teach the girl, as has been said earlier, that politics is a male preserve.
The values of democracy like liberty and equality are not consistent with the family lessons taught to girls in a normal Indian family. Right from the childhood the family is responsible for women's subordination. Since, deep feelings have deep roots in personal experience, women live with the experience of subordination and lack not only in political orientation but also in political participation.

For most of the women life centres round the family, therefore, the character of the family life in a particular political culture helps to explain the character of female participation. In their later life the family duties keep a woman constantly busy in the house. She is not exposed to outside social and political contacts. Her husband is her main link with wider society. This limited environment with its concomitant situational constraints limits her chances of meeting people and acts as a barrier to both political knowledge and political activity.  

This does not mean that women cannot be active in politics. They can be, provided they have a typical socialisation experience in their families. If the family is highly educated or has an influential tradition of political participation or belongs to a higher social class, it is likely that children, especially female children in such families, would get a proper political orientation, which
would inspire them to participate in politics in later life. In India the vast majority of senior civil servants, politicians and opinion-makers come from westernised upper-middle class families. It is from this class that everyone of India's women leaders have always been drawn. There is no such thing as a working class woman leader in India.

The next agent of political socialisation is the school, where more manifest and less latent political socialisation takes place. The school tries to inculcate some of the significant values of democracy, tries to give more knowledge and information about various events and national leadership, through its extra-curricular activities, through the teachers and the curriculum. According to the investigator's knowledge, no attempt has been made to study the impact of school as a socialising agent for women exclusively. Whatever studies have been made, have concluded that except for imparting political information, the school has failed to influence the process of political socialisation. The family continues to influence children even though they are in school. Even the school endorses this influence by giving support to the sex-identity of girls. They are informed in subtle ways to inhibit verbal bossing, to be submissive, passive and dependent. One study reported that by the fifth grade,
boya and girls believe that men ought to be doctors, bosses, taxi-drivers, mayors, factory workers, lawyers and clerks and that women ought to be cooks, teachers, nurses and house cleaners. The difference between boys and girls in political knowledge and information and general attitude is evident in school. There is a lot of discussion on the relevance of education for women, whether it can help them to fulfil their expected roles successfully. The school tries to expose the girls and the boys to various political aspects, but these messages are not received adequately by the girls and boys as they should have been.

The college is the next formal agency of political socialisation. In most of the cases college education is looked upon as a means of issuing certificates rather than imparting education. Girls go to a college because they seek the label of education more than to receive education. Therefore, even if a college has many facets through which it can influence the process of political socialisation, it is looked upon from a different angle, at least by the girls. In one of the studies, it was reported that in India most of the girls are reluctant to admit that their motives for joining college are not academic. They think that education at college serves as a means of acquiring a social symbol of prestige, a suitable pastime until they are married or is a chance for raising their marital prospects.
Thus, it can be said that psychologically women or girls are not prepared to acquire the politically relevant objectives. Their mental preparation keeps them from receiving the politically relevant messages exposed either by the school or by the college.

The mass media are an influential socialising agent, provided, of course, there is proper receptivity. In the political socialisation process of women, their impact has not been very influential. In one study it was observed that women are poorly exposed to the mass media.\(^23\)

As far as the influence of the peer groups is concerned, women are more likely to agree with their friends and other family members. By nature, they are more sensitive to the views of those around them and they remain under the influence of the family for a longer period than boys. Hyman has given an example where it was reported that as age advances, boys show a declining identification with parents, but the girls continue to show a considerable idealisation of parents.\(^24\)

As observed before, the classic example of peer influence comes from the study of Bennington College students conducted by Newcomb in 1930.\(^25\) The adult women are not socially integrated since child rearing and home-making
keep them away from such contact, and rarely join any group. Evidence indicates that persons who exhibit a strong group identification, participate more actively in politics. Moreover the peer group in which a few women are members is not likely to have a political content in its exposure, because these women members are themselves also socialised in the same way which keeps them away from politics.

To sum up, biological, psychological and cultural factors act as limiting agents in the process of political socialisation of women, making them politically dissimilar to men.

**IMPACT OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR**

Since childhood, women exhibit a typical attitude towards politics which is accentuated by the circumstances in their adult life. This affects their political participation. It would be essential to examine the two aspects of political behaviour which are influenced by the process of political socialisation, viz., political orientation and political participation.

**Political Orientation**

Political orientation generally consists of knowledge, attitudes and values regarding politics. The sex-related
political orientation differences were first indicated by Hyman in his inventory. He has placed these differences under three headings, viz., (1) Studies of manifestly political variables (e.g. level of political information), (2) Studies of politically relevant variables (news media interest), and (3) Studies of analogous variables (general reading interests). 27

Political knowledge encompasses the legal duties and responsibilities of the Government, various patterns of voting behaviour, the socio-economic status and political participation, etc. It is assumed that political knowledge is necessary to exercise influence and discharge a national duty. Women or girls have less knowledge about politics, not because of lack of intelligence but because they do not master the political world with the same eagerness as they approach other fields like learning new words or getting good grades in the examinations. Various studies have found that boys exceed girls in political knowledge. Boys are more politically informed than girls. 28

Girls and boys are dissimilar in their political attitudes also. It has been explained that attitudes pertain to an internal state which affects an individual's choice of action toward some objective, person or event. 29 It is assumed that generally women do not appreciate radical
change anywhere because by nature they are conservative. They even reject radical reorganisation of the social structure in which they suffer inequality. This trait makes them more security-oriented and orthodox in their outlook. Their attitude to war, for example, is specially notable. In one study, it was observed that girls condemned war and made less reference to its concrete aspects, while boys found the war justifiable and necessary. Women also never accept aggressive and war-like policies; they have been proved to be less in favour of universal military training.

With their moralistic orientation, women, while making voting choices, give more importance to the candidate rather than issues or policies. This is because persons are more clearly perceived as good or bad than the issues. Hess and Torney report that girls are more likely to possess a personalised and idealised conception of government.

With their domestic orientation, their political attitudes are bound to be different, as they are socialised through a personal relationship within the boundaries of the family structure and learn early the male dominance and female submission. The female submission or female acceptance of obedience and conformity to norms is reflected
in their view of the legal system. Hess and Torney observe that beginning in about sixth grade, girls are more likely to believe that all laws are fair and the legal system is responsive to their needs and therefore they view the policeman as more competent and would be less likely to complain to him if they received unfair treatment.34

Political behaviour is deeply concerned with the values held by the individuals. Attitudes and values are closely related to each other, affect the individual's acquisition of knowledge by influencing his selection of information.35 The value differences seen between men and women may be due to the ways they are socialised into their cultural roles. The value like national security may not appeal to women more than family security and responsibility. They have been socialised to values like submission, dependence, passivity and conformity. These culturally defined role values may be the important determinants of low politicisation and weak interest on the part of women.35 Their participation in politics is meagre because their orientation towards politics is different.

Political Participation

Politics is the prerogative of adults. The individual acquires his pattern of political behaviour through
the process of political socialisation and his experience of social and political phenomena at various levels. These determine to what extent the individual should participate in politics. It has been observed that men are more likely to be psychologically involved in politics than women. This kind of difference is more at the lower than at the upper educational levels. Even if the educated women feel involved in politics, they definitely exhibit their typical pattern of political behaviour, as a result of the process of political socialisation.

At the participation level there is a wide gap between men and women. Some argue that it is not due to the process of political socialisation since childhood, but because of the adult-life situation and the societal forces that keep women away from political participation. Others adopt a Marxist view according to which the lesser participation of women in politics is due to the nature of modern capitalist economy. The content of traditional ideology discourages women from participation in politics, from influencing the prevailing power structure. The structural and situational restraints are the result of the socialisation process at the childhood level. In fact, the socialisation process and the structural handicaps are so closely linked that it is hard to see where one leaves off
and the other begins. Besides, the situational, structural factors and the socialisation process, all exercise their influence throughout the life of human beings. It has been said, "... the likelihood is that men's political socialisation is a continuing process, whilst most women for a crucial period of their lives, roughly between eighteen and thirty-five years of age operate in a more apolitical environment." Those women who participate show the typical trend which has been shaped over the years. The feminine trait is exhibited in every kind of participation, i.e., as a voter, as a candidate, as a representative, as a legislator or as a party member.

The data and the examples from all over the world show that while women's suffrage is nearly universal, their actual exercise of political power is universally low. In recent times there have been examples of women like Mrs. Gandhi, Mrs. Bhandarnayake, Mrs. Golda Mayar and Mrs. Thatcher, who have led their countries as prime-ministers. But this does not disprove the earlier observation.

As a result of universal suffrage, women are exercising their voting rights, but woman's voting behaviour is heavily influenced by the males, as has been pointed out earlier, by her father, brother or husband. This is not because she agrees with their views, but as a voter she
cannot take an independent decision, since she is socialised so as to be dependent. Duverger comments, "But while women have legally ceased to be minors, they still have the mentality of minors in many fields particularly so in politics, they usually accept paternalism on the part of men. The man, husband, lover, fiance is the mediator between them and the political world."42

In a poll in 1971 in the U.S.A., women expressed greater concern than men about ending the Vietnam War, poverty, drug and gun control.43 This behaviour is due to women's security oriented attitudes. They prefer to vote for candidates who would not threaten the stability of the society and family but would rather contribute to the welfare of the society. Various election studies have observed that female voters are more conservative than men and they are more likely to be influenced by religious considerations.44 Their moralistic orientation gives them a strong sense of citizenship duty.

**Women as candidates**

The decision to contest an election is the most intense form of political activity, calls for certain capabilities, which it is felt, women in general do not possess. It is observed that only a few women contest
elections and fewer still reach the representation level or positions of power, influence and decision making. It is further seen that there has been an acute shortage of suitable and strong women who could contest elections successfully. As a candidate, a woman has to prove that her capabilities and credentials are better than of her male contender's. They face various difficulties in proving such capabilities, i.e. they have limited social and political contacts, insufficient personal finances, and do not have the opportunities to acquire the skills appropriate for a political marketplace. Women cannot make politics as their career, as it needs full devotion, and the society expects a particular role from females. Political parties always count these risks about women candidates and therefore are reluctant to allot a seat to them in the election.

Women as representatives

When women work as representatives they carry into politics the feminine traits. In one of the studies in India, it was observed that women representatives entered the political field not on their own merit but because of the influence of their family members who were active in the past. Most of these women did not participate in debates in the Assembly, one of them feeling shy because
it was a male audience. Women are socialised to be less aggressive and to avoid conflict-situations, with the result that they are either left out by male members or they prefer a back seat. Therefore, at the higher level there are no women or they are present merely in very few numbers. Women legislators tend to be more liberal than their male colleagues, being security oriented, and avoid drastic steps for any change. When women reach positions of authority in politics and government, it is as specialists and not for assuming general political leadership. They tend to specialise in such areas as health, housing, education or family and child welfare. They have to perform a housemaker's traditional role in politics. The party leaders or the other members assume that these functions are natural for women.

Party participation is another activity in the political field where women are less in number. Those who are there, play a subordinate and dependent role. At the time of elections most of the political parties promise to reserve ten to fifteen per cent of their seats for women candidates, but the actual seats allotted, contested and won are even less than those promised by the parties. The reason might be that they hesitate to put forward women candidates since people may not accept them. In the political parties nearly twenty per cent membership goes to women, therefore,
it is obvious that the number of women performing policy-making functions is negligible. Women in general do not accept or approve of the methods used by the party leaders to secure power. Their values are different and they consider such methods as unethical or contrary to the declared aims. The parties use the loyalty of women members in collecting party funds and securing votes, but unfortunately the recognition of their importance comes to an end there, because they are conveniently forgotten at the time of sharing power.

In other activities of political participation, one gets the same picture; women are involved in lesser numbers, and in discussing politics or attending a public meeting or canvassing for a party or a particular candidate, accepting the membership of a voluntary organization or participating in demonstrations, women exhibit the feminine traits of non-aggressiveness, dependence and submission to what other members say. Recently, the impact of education has changed the picture to some extent, as we shall see below.

The impact of education on the process of Political Socialisation.

As has already been said, people with higher levels of education tend to participate at a higher level than those with less education. Education is associated with
social characteristics. There is a considerable change in women's political participation (and also in political orientation) because education is influencing the degree of participation. It has become the important socialising agent, and has reduced the rate of apathy among women in all the countries. It socialises women to recognise their capacity as individuals and citizens and is bound to make them realise the true nature of public service and develop their political feelings.

Education is a strong force in developing in particular a feeling of moral responsibility and a sense of duty. As it is women are socialised towards moral orientation, they are likely to be influenced more by education, which develops the sense of duty.

It is observed that due to cultural pressure women do not play an active role in politics. This is however offset by higher education and thus women with higher education tend to take more active part in politics. If women are educated they would in turn socialise their children, especially the girls, with a proper political orientation.

Of all the activities of political participation, voting is the most affected activity, as a result of the education of women. Voting turnouts are higher for
the educated women. In India, voting rates of women were high in more modern states. Kerala and Madras rank at the top in literacy and both indicate a very high turnout among women. Even the other political activities are also influenced by the education of women. Almond and Verba observed that as compared to other nations in U.S.A, educated women were engaged in political discussion at a high rate, and these women have reported high rates of political communication because most of them were the members of voluntary organisations.

Education is associated with economic independence of women. Educated women have more chances to work outside and are thereby economically independent. Not only that, they also have a wider social circle where they work. These social contacts would help women to receive different political or non-political messages, which are important in the process of their political socialisation.
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17. The situational reasons of sex-related political differences are discussed by (a) Lipset: *Political Man The Social bases of Politics*, Garden City, Doubleday New York, 1960, p. 203.


Also Karuna Ahmed: 'Women's Higher Education',


36. Elizabeth Simpson: 'Values in Political Psychology and Political Learning'. In Handbook of Political Socialisation, p. 334. Also see, Jane Jacquette (Ed.) Women in Politics, New York, Wiley, 1974, who has discussed the effects of cultural values on female political socialisation, i.e. female 'moralism' and awareness of the discrepancy between the norms and reality of democratic practice.


38. It is believed by the following writers that sex related political differences are due to the


Anthony Orum, pp. 197-200.


