CHAPTER III
THE PRESENT STUDY: RESEARCH DESIGN AND STRATEGY

1. Statement Of The Problem:

The concept of alienation occupies a central place in the writings of such classical thinkers as Hegel, Feuerbach, Marx, Mill, Weber, Durkheim and Simmel. Among them, the conceptualization of alienation in the writings of late eighteenth century thinkers, differs materially from those of the late nineteenth century. While the former understood it in the theological, metaphysical, philosophical or material sense, the latter treated it more or less sociologically. Their overall conceptualization may, however, be understood in terms of alienation as a historical process; an objectification of self; a development of the opposite condition; both in the materialistic or psychological sense and separation of something from something. They considered it as a characteristic feature of modern society, generated through a single source.

More systematic formulation of the concept of alienation emerged in the 20th century when too-such philosophical and metaphysical overtones were given up in favour of the scientific and empirical. The unidimensionality of the concept assumed a multi-faced character which was subsequently subjected to empirical testing. The concept of alienation was seen as pervading all walks of life—social, economic, educational and political. Attempts were focused on specific
categories or responsive behaviour of alienated individuals.

This multi-dimensionality of the concept of alienation led political scientists to view different types of political systems as important referents to understand alienation in political life situations. Modern scholars of political science, however, saw the problem of political alienation as nothing new in modern political systems. The basic theme, however, of the entire political history hinged around the problem of political involvement, power, authority and influence, i.e. on the relationship between individual and state.

Democracy was at first viewed as a necessary condition whereby the phenomenon of political alienation would either diminish or disappear. But, later political alienation was seen in democracy just as in other shades of political systems. It, however, required empirical validations whether democracy generated or eliminated the phenomenon of political alienation.

A good many studies, starting from Campbell, et al., to Franz Erbe, Hill and Johnson, Olsen, Abbott, Finifter, Bradley etc., have been conducted into the phenomenon of political alienation, mostly, in Western democracies to show that political alienation and its several variants, either treated singly or as a syndrome, do present the phenomenon of political alienation in a democracy and different variations of the same are found to be correlated with different levels of political
participation, political consciousness, political assimilation, political ideology, and voting or non-voting.

In all such studies, however, a systematic conceptualization of the phenomenon is thoroughly lacking. It is apparent from the fact that no two scholars agree on the definition of political alienation. Not only that a good many variants of this phenomenon, such as political apathy, political distrust, political inefficacy, political disengagements etc., have been used, but a good many conditions are also specified as possible sources of political alienation. Some of the important sources referred to are: lack of interest in politics, dissatisfaction with low position, feeling that the political system is remote, the failure of politics to serve or satisfy social needs, disjunctions between values and structure, discrepancy between the images of the good state and image a citizen has of the functioning state; a feeling of powerlessness and fatalism; the feeling that the rules of the (political powers) game are unfair, outputs have been found to be as possible outcome of the phenomenon of political alienation, such as apathy, withdrawal, estrangement, frustration, projection, rational activism etc. The phenomenon has been analysed in terms of several independent or the intervening variables.

"The various social institutions which developed in the course of his attempts to organise co-operation to time and
overcome natural impediments", observed M.R. Roy, turned out
to be great impediments in the way of human freedom. The
history of man so far is a history of freedom and progress.
Roy further observed, it is the parental endeavour to overcome
these limitations so that every man can become a happy
glorious creator inspite of the natural law-governed
indifferences of the universe of which he is also a part.
The establishment of democracies, whether labelled as Western
(Liberal), Communist (Peoples) etc., was a response to these
perennial human endeavours. But these democracies, while
granting individuals a share in the political power through
voting rights served to undermine their individuality,
personality, creativity and rationality. In such a state of
affairs, it was natural (a) that people should feel that they
had no stake in that kind of democracy even though they cast
their votes and (b) that at the slightest touch the pyramid
of democracy standing on its head would topple down and the
millions of particles of sand, viz., the disorganised voters,
would be helpless spectators.

Commenting upon a similar apparatus of democratic machine
Vinoba Bhave also raised his voice to say that the individual
man had lost his personality and had been reduced to the
status of a cog in the wheel. They become passive, nothing
but a flock of sheep.

Thus, instances can be multiplied where Indian
intellectuals have expressed their great discontentment at the way Indian democracy has been operating. Democracy was thought of as an answer to the growing political non-involvement and disengagement of the vast majority of people. In practice, it turned out to be a master which responded riotously to appeals to passion, hatred, greed, lust for power. Again, the working of democracies all over the world brought to the forefront the phenomenon of the alienation of man from the political process itself, from political institutions, from political power, and all that it stood for.

The present research work is, then, a modest endeavour to focus the attention of all concerned that behind all the ills stated to be rampant in Indian democracy, behind all threats and dangers posed to it and behind all riotous and revolutionary uprisings among Indian masses, there is a strong trail of the phenomenon of political alienation. People appear just apathetic and indifferent they feel disinclined to involve themselves, in the political decision-making processes, hate listening or reading news concerning political affairs or issues; and dislike all political parties and leaders. They firmly believe that those participating in the political processes preach one thing and practice another, serve their own interests at the cost of the masses; even agitational political activities are a positive waste of human energy; and the like. It is these political and apathetic non-involving and non-participating
individuals who are multiplying in the Indian democratic
set up.

However, all these survivals may not be true and valid
unless affirmed by empirical evidence. The present research
work, then, based upon these basic assumptions, modestly
seeks to collect empirical evidence.

India, in fact, provides a unique example of democracy
where voting rights were given to the citizens right from
its very inception; citizens had not to engage in constant
struggle for it. It is different from Socialist Democracies of
the world, based upon one-party rule, or from Western
democracies where the forms of government do not allow enough
democratic participation. Here, democracy pervades through
all levels of social strata and individuals are called upon
to effectively participate in political decision-making
and political governance. Why they are not participating
effectively should be the concern of all those who want
to see Indian democracy functioning well and smoothly. The
phenomenon of political alienation may perhaps provide the
answer.

The political situation in India drastically changed
with the advent of the Janata Government. A good many
political parties merged into the Janata Party and the Congress
became the main opposition party. Congress itself got divided
into Congress (I) and served other Congress factional groups. The weakness of the Janata Government to fulfill its promises leading to the gradual re-emergence of Congress (I) led by Srimati Indira Gandhi has vastly changed the political complexion of the country. In recent years, the political situation that emerged from a review of various bye-elections also highlighted the problem of growing political alienation.

Various studies conducted about voting behaviour (conducted of voters in India on the basis of General Elections), clearly indicated that political participation in the democratic process of the country was fast changing from greater to smaller, from one party to another in form and content, and from voting to non-voting in terms of political apathy.

For any study of political alienation, such questions may be tentatively proposed: Is there a common factor among voters or non-voters that is observable even when the above factors are controlled? If not, what part is played by some of our chosen factors (for purposes of our study) in generating different forms of political alienation? Can a theoretical concept be formulated which may serve to cut across these independent variables? How do voters and non-voters respond to situations of political alienation? etc.

II. Objectives:

Therefore, the present study has been conducted with the following objectives:
1. To ascertain and compare the magnitude of political alienation among the three professional groups: viz., Teachers, Lawyers and Doctors.

2. To find out the influence of social opportunity factors on the variations in the magnitude of political alienation of the three professional groups, in order to ascertain the validity of the socially disadvantaged theory of alienation.

3. To find out the influence of the degree of political assimilation on the variations of political alienation of the three professional groups, in order to ascertain the validity of the political isolation theory of political alienation.

4. To investigate the influence of personal achievement factors on the variations of political alienation, in order to further test the validity of the personal failure theory of political alienation.

5. To examine the influence of the degree of community assimilation on the variations of political alienation, in order to test the validity of the mass society theory of political alienation.

6. To develop a unified theory of political alienation valid for the three professional groups in particular and for population in general.

III. Hypotheses:

In order to achieve the above objectives the following hypotheses have been tested:

1. Doctors are likely to manifest a greater magnitude of political alienation as compared to the other two professional groups. Viz: teachers and lawyers.

2. Among teachers and lawyers, teachers are likely to manifest a greater magnitude of political alienation.

3. The three professional groups are likely to manifest a significant variation in political alienation when the influence of political assimilation factors are
taken into account, and other predictive factors are held constant.

4. The three professional groups are likely to manifest a significant variation in their level of political alienation when mass society factors are taken into consideration and the influence of other predictive factors are controlled.

5. The three professional groups are likely to manifest a significant variation in their level of political alienation when personal achievement factors are taken into consideration and all other factors are controlled.

6. The three professional groups are likely to manifest a significant variation in their level of political alienation when social opportunity factors are taken into account and all other factors are controlled.

7. The three professional groups are likely to manifest significant variation in their level of political alienation when personal achievement and social opportunity factors are taken into consideration and all other factors are controlled.

IV. Political Alienation and its Measurement:

In the present study, the term "political alienation" has been conceived of as "an overt behaviour of demonstrating a lack of political participation, a lack of political interest, a lack of political effectiveness, and a lack of a sense of political responsibility in political decision-making, political activities and political affairs at all levels of citizenship duty". Broadly speaking, such a conceptualization of political alienation comprised of four elements, namely, (1) Lack of political participation; (2) Lack of political effectiveness; (3) Lack of political interest; (4) Lack of political responsibility. The following procedure has been adopted for a
measurement of these elements of focii of political alienation and of political alienation as such.

(A) Lack of political participation:

To estimate the extent of lack of political participation an index of eight referents was composed. It comprised of (i) failure to attend public speeches of political leaders; (ii) apathy towards canvassing for a candidate; (iii) (iv) (v) indifference towards giving and collecting donations and subscriptions for a political party; (vi) supporting a candidate in an election and also not casting one's vote in an election; (vii) apathy towards all sorts of political discussions during elections; (viii) and (viii) disenchantment with the functioning of the ruling party and with political leaders.

(B) Lack of political effectiveness:

To estimate the extent of lack of political effectiveness, an index of eight referents was composed. It comprised of (i) (ii) and (iii) a feeling that the government has failed to fulfill the promises it made to the people; to realise the Constitutional objectives; and that it takes no notice of letters and articles written in respect of its functioning; (iv) and (v) a feeling that fraudulent practices are adopted in elections; and that it is not possible to get honest, sincere, active, and patriotic persons elected to govern the country; (vi) a feeling that the individual has no say
in the governance of the country; (vii) and (viii) a feeling of helplessness in translating the democratic philosophy into a reality and in influencing the effective functioning of the government at the centre and in the States.

(C) Lack of political interest:
To estimate the extent of lack of political interest, an index of eight referents was composed. It comprised of a sense of disinterestedness towards various political issues, discussions in the parliament, news broadcast at the radio and TV, towards political agitations in the country, towards what goes on around the national political scene; towards rise in prices, and whether the present government survives or not.

(D) Lack of political responsibility:
To estimate the extent of lack of political responsibility, an index of eight referents was composed. It comprised of such indicators as the lack of civic responsibility in respect of political decision-making, functioning of elected legislators and their unparliamentary behaviour; and the functioning of political parties contrary to the expectations; their disjunctive role-preaching one thing and practicing another; in not critically examining manifestoes of political parties, in not actively associating with political delegations and in not fulfilling one's civic responsibility to meet the threat to the smooth functioning of the
local and state administration.

Four sub-scales, one for each of the above ingredients of political alienation was constructed of 32 items. Each item was divided into five intensity-based response categories, taking into account the extremes of the feelings of political alienation and political involvement on both sides of the scales. The entire scale of political alienation with these four components was administered to a sample of 50 educated persons dispersed in Meerut City constituency. The scores on each of the items of the sub-scales yielded inter-item correlations (Pearson) as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>$r = \text{(among 8 items)}$</th>
<th>$r = \text{(among 6 items excluding 1 &amp; 7)}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-0.11 (insignificant)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.13 (insignificant)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alpha-test in respect of all the above coefficients of correlation yielded a value of 0.1973, being insignificant even at 0.10 level of confidence, indicating that items Nos
1 & 7 did not correlate significantly with the items in the entire subscale. Therefore, these items which showed insignificant coefficients of correlation with the sub-scale were dropped. These items concerned with such matters as:

**Item-1:** The functioning of the ruling party contrary to expectations \( (r = 0.11) \)

**Item-7:** The indifference of the citizens to casting their vote in elections \( (r = 0.13) \)

In respect of this sub-scale, now comprising of the remaining six items, the coefficients of correlation were found to be 0.26, 0.42, 0.55, 0.62, 0.58, and 0.59 respectively. The alpha-coefficient was found to be 0.44 significant at 0.01 level of confidence, indicating that the sub-scale was now inter-correlated in respect of each of the remaining six items.

In respect of the sub-scale of lack of political efficacy item-correlations of all the eight items included in the sub-scale were found to be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>( r = ) (among 8 items)</th>
<th>( r = ) (among 7 items, excluding item 6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.15 (insignificant)</td>
<td>****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since coefficients of correlation between item No 6 and the sub-scale was found to be insignificant, it was dropped. The inter-item correlations of the remaining seven items were found to be as follows: 0.27, 0.59, 0.43, 0.61, 0.44, 0.46, and 0.62 respectively. The alpha-coefficient of the sub-scale with the remaining seven items was found to be 0.30, significant at 0.01 level of confidence, indicating that the remaining items ideally correlated with each other in the sub-scale. The item that was dropped concerned with the following matter:

Item 6: the government taking no notice of articles and letters written to newspapers about its functioning.

In respect of the sub-scale of lack of political interest the item correlations for each of the 8 items in the sub-scale yielded coefficients of correlation with the sub-scale as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>( r ) (among 8 items)</th>
<th>( r ) (among 7 items, excluding items 4 &amp; 5 and adding item 9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.09 (Insignificant)</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-0.07 (Insignificant)</td>
<td>*****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(Added)</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since the coefficients of correlation among items 4 and 5 with the rest of the items of the sub-scale were found to be insignificant, they were dropped. These items related to such matters as:

Item No 4: Aversion to listening radio/TV concerning news about political matters.

Item No 5: Indifference to happenings on the political scene of the country.

In place of these two items a new item No 9 was added which concerned with such matter as:

Item No 9: Never try to know what the government does to resolve a political crisis facing the country.

Now, the inter-item correlations among the 7 items yielded coefficients of correlation as follows: 0.55, 0.59, 0.60, 0.77, 0.78, and 0.62 and 0.52 respectively. The alpha-coefficient of these items is 0.40, significant at 0.01 level of confidence, indicating that each of the items in the sub-scale perfectly correlated with each other in the scale.

In respect of the sub-scale of lack of political responsibility the item correlations of each of the 8 items in the sub-scale yielded coefficients of correlation with the sub-scale as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>$r$ = (among 8 items)</th>
<th>$r$ = (among six items including 3 newly added items)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-0.40 (Negative)</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(dropped)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.20 (Insignificant)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-0.99 (Negative)</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(dropped)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-0.36 (Negative)</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(dropped)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.12 (Insignificant)</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Added</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Added</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Added</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the coefficients of correlation between items 1, 4, 5, 6, and 8 and the sub-scale were found to be either negative or insignificant, these items of the scale were dropped. These items concerned with matters as follows:

**Item No 1:** Condemning political leaders preaching one thing and practising another.

**Item No 2:** Least bothered about a major threat to the smooth functioning of the administration.
Item No 5: Considering participation in locally organised delegation a wasteful activity.

Item No 6: No concern whether elected legislators attended to emergent needs or not.

Item No 8: Make no efforts to pursue the political party of one's choice to fulfill its election promises.

In place of these five dropped items in the sub-scale, three new items were added, as follows:

Item No 9: Little concern about local elections

Item No 10: Not listening political news on radio and TV.

Item No 11: My vote does not matter.

The inter-item correlations of the three remaining and the three newly added items yielded coefficients of correlation as follows: 0.37, 0.43, 0.37, 0.27, 0.31, and 0.32. The alpha-coefficient of this sub-scale of political irresponsibility is 0.39, being significant beyond 0.01 level of confidence, indicating that the new sub-scale had items which perfectly correlated with each other and the sub-scale.

Thus, the total political alienation scale consisted of 27 items. All these items were divided into five categories of responses in order of increasing or decreasing intensity of feeling. Scores of -2 and -1 were assigned to responses indicating maximum and moderate level of alienation. Scores of +2 and +1 were assigned to such responses as indicated maximum and moderate levels of involvement in political
affairs. The score 0 (zero) was assigned to responses in the middle category. Thus after the whole scale was administered, an individual's scores ranged either from 0 to 26 or from 0 to -26. The political alienation scale was finalised by arranging the items of all the four sub-scales taken together randomly and serialised from 1 to 26. Items at serial nos. 3, 7, 10, 16, 20 and 24 were concerned with the lack of political participation; items at serial nos. 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, 21 and 25 were concerned with the lack of political efficacy; items at serial nos. 2, 6, 12, 15, 18, 22 and 26 were concerned with lack of political interest; and lastly, the items at serial nos. 4, 8, 11, 14, 17 and 23 were concerned with lack of political responsibility. The political alienation scale is given in part III of the Questionnaire administered to the respondents (See Appendix-A).

The validity of the scale having been ensured with the help of inter-item-correlations and alpha-coefficients of correlations; for testing the reliability of the scale, respondents were simultaneously administered with two scales of political alienation. One of these scales with two dimensions of political inefficacy and political irresponsibility, comprising five items was developed by Campbell, et.al., (1954). These items were as follows:

Item No 1: People like me do not have any say about what the government does.
Item No 2: Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can not really understand what's going on.

Item No 3: Public officials really care about what people like me really think.

Item No 4: So many other people vote that it does not matter much whether I vote or not.

Item No 5: Many local elections are not important enough to bother me.

Responses to each of these items were weighed in the same fashion as in our political alienation scale. This scale had response categories as: 'strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, and strongly disagree.' Weights were assigned as -2, -1, 0, +1, +2 respectively.

The coefficient of correlation between the two scales was found to be 0.45, being significant beyond 0.001 level of confidence, indicating that the political alienation scale used in the present study was thoroughly reliable. It may be added that Campbell's political alienation scale has been replicated in several studies of political alienation and has been found to be a thoroughly reliable one.

The scale thus validated was put to further test and re-test technique. The modified version of the scale was administered again to these very 50 respondents who had earlier responded to the first version of the scale. There was a gap period of three months in between the administration of these two scales. The coefficient of reproducability was
found to be 0.51, being highly significant, indicating that the political alienation scale used in the present study was thoroughly reliable and valid.

Each of four dimensions of this scale of political alienation were inter-correlated as also correlated with the entire scale. It was found that the inter-correlations were as follows:

Between

Lack of political responsibility and lack of political participation. $R = 0.46$

Lack of political responsibility and lack of political efficacy. $R = 0.56$

Lack of political responsibility and lack of political interest. $R = 0.57$

Lack of political participation and lack of political interest. $R = 0.49$

Lack of political participation and lack of political efficacy. $R = 0.71$

Lack of political interest and lack of political efficacy. $R = 0.57$

Lack of political participation and total political alienation. $R = 0.83$

Lack of political interest and total political alienation. $R = 0.31$

Lack of political responsibility and total political alienation. $R = 0.75$

Lack of political efficacy and total political alienation. $R = 0.86$

The above coefficients of correlation go to indicate that all the four sub-scales of political alienation are highly
correlated both among themselves and with the total scale as such. It is further revealed that the scale of political alienation developed for purposes of the present study is a unidimensional one like that of Campbell's.

Since the scale of political alienation is a unidimensional one, for purposes of analysis of data of the present study only scores of total political alienation have been considered. However, the scores being either 0 (for neither alienated nor non-alienated), or negative (for alienated) or positive (for non-alienated), the raw political alienation scores have been converted into standard T-Scores.

V. Terms and Concepts Used in the Study

The following terms and concepts have been used in the present study:

(I) Demographic Variables

Sex: only males and females have been included in the study.

Age: It has been taken on the basis of completed years of life since birth. The age of respondents has been characterized into three broad categories: (i) Below 30 years of age; (ii) Between 31 and 40 years of age; and (iii) 41 and above years of age.

Caste: The caste of the respondents has been identified as: Brahmin, Rajput/Gujar, Jat/Jadava, Vaish/Jain, Kayastha,
and scheduled caste. These castes have been further classified as Higher, Middle and Lower. Brahmans and Rajputs have been included into the Higher category; Jat/Jadava and Vaish/Jain into Middle category, and rest into the lower category.

**Political Orientation:** The respondents were asked to indicate the name of a political party which was closer to their own thinking and ideology, irrespective whether they belonged to them or not. The political parties identified in the questionnaire were: Congress, Janata, Lok Dal, B.J.P., CPI/CPM, and any other. These political parties, on the basis of the political orientation of respondents were further classified as either centralist or rightist or leftist.

(II) **Social Opportunity Variables**

**Profession/Occupation:** Only three professional groups were included in the present study: Teachers, Lawyers and Doctors, on the basis of their professional practice.

**Education:** The level of education of respondents has been estimated on the basis of the years spent in education after matriculate. These years have been further classified as (i) from 4 to 6 years; (ii) from 7 to 9 years; and (iii) from 10 years and above.
Economic Status: It has been estimated only on the basis of the monthly income. Under lower economic status category those having a monthly income Rs. 1000/- to Rs. 2000/- have been included. Under the category of middle economic status those earning between Rs. 2001/- and Rs. 4000/- have been included. Under the higher economic status category those earning Rs. 4001/- and more have been included.

Class Identification: It has been estimated on the basis of the social classes to which each of the respondents identified that he belonged to. These classes have been identified as Higher, Middle, and Lower.

(III) Community Assimilation Variables

Meerut City Residency: It has been estimated on the basis of the number of years for which a person lived in Meerut City, say (i) until 5 years; (ii) from 5 to 10 years; (iii) from 10 to 15 years; and (iv) from 15 years and more.

Spatial Mobility (Present Residence): It has been estimated on the basis of the number of years that a person lived at the present address of his residence, say (i) from 0 to 5 years; (ii) from 5 to 10 years; (iii) from 10 to 15 years; and (iv) from 15 years and more.

Spatial Mobility (Previous Residence): It has been estimated on the basis of the number of years that a person lived at his previous residence prior to his coming to the
present residence, say (i) from 0 to 5 years; (ii) from 5 to 10 years; (iii) from 10 to 15 years; and (iv) from 15 to years and more.

**Urban Socialization (Rearing up):** It has been estimated on the basis of place where an individual was reared up, say a village / small town / medium size city / and large city.

**Urban Socialization (Place resided):** It has been estimated on the basis of the number of years a person lived at the place of his birth, say, a village / a small town / a medium size city / a large city.

**Meerut City Residency (Apartments or houses lived in):** It has been estimated on the basis of number of other houses or apartments where a person has lived earlier, say, several, some or very few.

(IV) **Personal Achievement Variables:**

**Career Mobility:** It has been estimated on the basis of first job after completing schooling and the present / last occupation of his father. It has thus been categorized as upward / stationary / downward.

**Generational Mobility:** It has been estimated on the basis of the present job and the usual occupation of his family household. It has also been categorized as upward / stationary / downward.
For purposes of characterizing a mobility either as upward or stationary or downward, various occupations were arranged in an descending order on the basis of the prestige level of the occupations.

(V) Life Chances: An index of "life chances" was constructed on the basis of eight questions asked from the respondents:
(1) How do your personal finances compare with a year ago?
(2) What do you think of your professional prospects, financially, in the present? (3) Do you expect that these prospects will be good or bad professionally / financially in the future? (4) How does the prospects of earning money in this area compared with other areas? (5) "Do you and people like yourself have things to worry about? (6) What effects do you think the cold war between India and Pakistan has on your professional prospects? (7) What effect do you think the general conditions in the country have on your professional prospects? except question no.5, in all other questions, the response categories were: good, so-so and bad. Question No. 5 had response categories as yes, same and none.
(8) Looking to the general conditions of the country, do you think that coming five years will have (a) continuously a prosperous time (2) a period of widespread depression; (c) it depends upon............? (4) Any other............The Life Chances scores varied from 0 to 8, since for each of the questions "good" response category was assigned a score
of 1 and for the rest two categories of the responses 0 score was assigned. These scores have been further classified into four broad categories: Low Life Chances (Scores 0-1); Medium Low Life Chances (Scores 2 and 3); Medium High Life Chances (Scores 4 and 5); and High Life Chances (Scores 6-8).

(V2) Mass Society Variables:

To analyse the impact of mass society factors on the political alienation of individuals an index of informal relationships and four alternative indexes of activities in voluntary associations have been utilized. These indexes have been constructed as follows:

Informal Relationships: For purposes of constructing an index of informal relationships the respondents were supplied with four questions: (1) Apart from organizations and clubs some people get together once a while to visit or play cards, or something else. How often do you usually get together with any of your relatives other than those living at home with you? (2) How about your neighbours; how often do you usually get together with any of your neighbours? (3) How often do you usually get together outside of work with any people (or your husband) you work with? (4) How often do you get together with your friends (who are neither neighbours nor co-workers)? The response categories for each of these four questions have been: (a) Once a week or more; (b) Occasionally; and (c) Never. Weight 0 was
assigned to the "never" category. Weight 1 was assigned to the first two categories of response because the respondents did not make a very clear-cut difference between these first two categories of response. Therefore, the total scores for this Index ranged from 0 to 4. These were further categorized into four categories as: Low (0-1); Medium Low (2); Medium High (3); and High (4). The summed scores comprising the index. Thus, it represented the number of different types of informal social relationships, which a person maintained— not his total number of such experiences.

**Voluntary Associations:** The respondents were supplied with a list of seven organizations or associations and asked to indicate those to which they belonged as members, as also to indicate if they belonged to any other organization not listed in the questionnaire. The first measure "Voluntary Association Membership" taken from this data was a simple count of the number of voluntary association to which a person belonged. Those who belonged to 3 or more associations were assigned a weight point of 3; those who belonged to 2 associations were assigned a weight point of 2; those who belonged to 1 association were assigned a weight point of 1; and those who did not belong to any one organization were assigned no points. Thus, the scores for this index ranged from 0 to 3. These were further classified as Low (0); Medium Low (1); Medium High (2); and High (3 or more).
Perhaps, though membership by itself is not a very meaningful operational measure, since if an individual never attends the meetings of a group to which he belongs, its influence on him is quite limited. Therefore, a second measure of Voluntary Association exposure was employed; it was "Voluntary Associations Attended". The respondents were asked to indicate if they attended (a) Most of the meetings of the organization to which they belonged; (b) About half of the meetings; (c) Just a few meetings; and (d) None of the meetings. There were very few cases in the (e) category of this scale to permit separate tabulations, so these people were combined with those who attended the meetings of two different groups or about half of the meetings in category (B). These scores, then, ranged from 0 to 2. They were classified as low (0); medium (1); and high (2).

The third measure employed for this exposure was "Voluntary Association Participation". It was constructed on the basis of the participation of respondents in the organizations to which he belonged, taking into account both number of group membership and number of groups attended. Two points were awarded if he attended half or more of its meetings, while only one point was given if he attended fewer than half the meetings. The resulting total scores were then collapsed into four categories: 6 or more points, "High" 3 to 5 points "Medium High"; 1 to 2 points "Medium Low"; and 0
points, "low."

The fourth measure employed for this exposure was
constructed as "Index of Voluntary Association Involvement".
It was constructed on the same basis as the participation
index, except that three points were awarded for an associat-
ion if the person held an office or a committee membership
in that group. These total scores again ranged from 0 to 8,
which were collapsed into four categories in the same way
as before.

(VII) Political Assimilation Variables

The five indexes of assimilation into the political
system which have been investigated in this study are voting
behaviour, informal political discussions, political exposure,
political contacts, and political involvement.

Index of Voting Behaviour: the respondents were supplied
with a list of four questions and their responses elicited.
These questions were: (1) Not all people were able to vote
in the last General Election (1980), of course; how about
you, did you vote in that election? (2) There was General
Election in March 1977 also, when, under the inspiration of
Shri Jai Prakash Narayan, the Janata Party contested in a big
way. Do you remember for sure whether or not you voted?
(3) There was a General election in 1971 also. Not many
people voted that year, but do you remember for sure whether
or not you voted in that election? and (4) Since you have
been eligible to vote, in how many of the State and
Parliamentary elections, that were held between 1966 and 1981, have you voted? While the responses for the first three questions were dichotomized into affirmative or negative categories, for the fourth question the response categories were arranged in a descending order as follows: Almost all, in most of them, some of them, and, in none of them. There were very few respondents in the third category as also in the fourth category. Therefore, these two categories were collapsed together. A respondent was first given one point for each of the General Election in which he had voted. To this score were added 2 points if he had voted in all or almost all State and Parliamentary elections, one point if he had voted in most of them or no points if he had voted in some or none of them. The combined index scores thus ranged from 5 (high) to 0 (low). These scores were in turn collapsed into four categories of voting behaviour: High (4-5); Medium High (2-3); Medium Low (1); and Low (0).

**Index of Political Discussion:** To construct this index, the respondents were supplied with five questions: (1) Do you sometimes discuss politics with your own family members? (2) Do you sometimes discuss politics with your relatives? (3) Do you sometimes discuss politics with your neighbours? (4) Do you sometimes discuss politics with your friends (not your neighbours or co-workers)? and (5) Do you sometimes discuss politics with the people (or your husband) your work
with? The response category in all these five questions ranged from "Most of the time" to "Occasionally" to "Sometimes" to "Never". For all these five questions "0" was assigned if a respondent never discussed politics with any one, or discussed only "Sometimes", or "Occasionally". If he discussed politics "most of the time with his relatives, family members, neighbours, friends, co-workers, he was assigned one point each for discussing politics with each of them. Thus, the total scores ranged from 0 to 5. These were collapsed into four broad categories: Low (0); Medium Low (1); Medium High (2); and High (3-5).

**Index of Political Exposure:** To construct this index, the respondents were asked to furnish four basic informations: 
(1) What papers they read regularly? (2) For information regarding election politics, they mostly relied on (i) newspapers, (ii) Radio broadcast/Transistor (iii) Television, (iv) Magazines, (v) any other source. (3) How frequently they watched political performances on TV? Most of the time/occasionally/sometimes/never? (4) How frequently they listened political news on Radio/Transistor; most of the time/occasionally/sometimes/never? First of all, the response categories "occasionally" and "sometimes" were collapsed into one category. For information supplied in questions 3 and 4, 2 points were assigned for watching or listening political news "most of the time" and one point for
listening or watching either occasionally or sometimes, and 0 point for neither watching nor listening in each case. Again, for information supplied in question one, 2 points were assigned for reading two or more newspapers, 1 point for reading at least one newspaper regularly and 0 point for not reading any newspaper at all. For information supplied in question two, 3 points were assigned if a respondent relied on magazines plus two main sources regarding news on election politics, 2 points for relying on Newspapers/TV plus two main sources, and 1 point for Radio/Transister and two main sources, and 0 point for the remaining cases. These scores that ranged from 0 to 9 were collapsed into four categories as follows: Low (0-2), Medium low (3-4), Medium High (5-6), and High (7-9).

**Index of Political Contacts:** To construct this index, the respondents were supplied with six questions: (1) So you remember, did any worker of a political party ever approached you or members of your family to discuss the elections? (2) During the last General Assembly Elections do you remember to have personally met the candidates? (3) As far as you know, did any political party organized any programme in your locality or neighbourhood during the elections? (4) Aside from workers of a political party, did any one else contact you about voting on the eve of elections? (5) Did any of the political parties send you by post or through personal
messenger any material (pamphlets or manifestoes, posters, etc.) concerning the elections? (6) Were you or any one in your family asked to contribute money for the political campaign? The responses to these questions were dichotomized as affirmative or negative. One point each was assigned for a positive/affirmative answer and no points for a negative answer. The summed scores, ranging from 0 to 6, were collapsed into four broad categories as: Low(0); Medium Low (1-2); Medium High (3-5), and High (6).

**Index of Political Involvement**: To construct this index, the respondents were supplied with four questions: (1) Have they ever done any sort of political activity? (2) If they ever received some election campaign literature, did they throw it away without a look at it/just looked over it/read it carefully? (3) Are there persons in their locality who represent one or the other political party? (4) Do they know any one else who was very active in their neighbourhood/locality during the campaign of the last General/Assembly elections? The responses to the 1, 3 and 4 questions were dichotomized as either positive/affirmative or negative. The response categories of the second question were as indicated above. The score weights for questions 1, 3 and 4 were given for reading the literature carefully, 2 points for just looking it over, 1 point if they never received such literature and would have gone through it carefully if they had received any; and no points for throwing the same away without a look. The summed scores were collapsed into
four categories as follows: Low (0); Medium Low (1); Medium High (2); and High (3-6).

**Combined Index of Political Assimilation:** In order to present a less precise but graphic means of demonstrating the considerable relationship occurring between political alienation and political isolation an attempt has been made to combine the five indexes of different types of political assimilation into a "single" index of indexes" of political assimilation into the political system. This composite index was constructed by simply adding together the six separate indexes. Each respondent's score on the combined index was determined by summing the number of separate indexes on which he scored either "high" or "medium high". Total scores on the combined index thus ranged from 5 (high) to 0 (low).

**Combined Index of Social Opportunity:** In the same fashion as above, a composite index of indexes of social opportunity variables was constructed. These scores ranged from 3 (high) to 0 (low), taking into account such variables as education, economic status and class identification. Social opportunities existing in respect of entering into professions or taking up some occupations have not been considered for constructing this index, since the present study deals with the political alienation of the three professional groups whose responses have been collected.
VI. MODE OF ANALYSIS

The data of the present study have been subjected to multivariate analysis carried out by the IBM 360 computer at Delhi University Computer Centre, using the MCA (Multiple Classification Analysis) Programme developed by Vernon Linnitt (1959) at the General Electric Company. This programme was revised in 1963 by Frank M. Andrews as also by John Sonquist, K. Goode, H. Hinomoto, and R. Hsieh, Institute for Social Research Data Processing Section.

This programme has been used with the further revised MCA Programme of July 1968 available at the Delhi University Computer Centre. It has been used for the simple reason that it is useful for examining the relationship of each of the several predictors to a dependent variable while the other predictors are held constant. The programme assumes the effects of the predictors are additive. Thus the programme has affinities with both multiple regression and analysis of variance techniques.

It may be mentioned here that the advantage of the programme over the conventional multiple regression procedure is that it accepts predictor in as weak a form as nominal scales and it does not assume or require linearity of regression. The advantage over the conventional analysis of variance procedure is that the programme accepts unequal numbers of cases in the "cells" formed by the cross-classification of the predictors, such as occur when the predictors
are non-orthogonal or some of the data are missing.

The programme accepts a single dependent variable and up to thirty four predictors (i.e. independent variables). The dependent variable must be on an interval scale (as is the case with the present study) or a dichotomy (which is not the case in the present study), and it should not be badly skewed (as it is not the case with the data of this study). Each predictor may be as weak as a nominal scale and may have a number of categories. (In the present study there are 2 to 9 categories) while the programme is designed to handle correlated predictors, no two predictors are so strongly correlated that there is perfect overlap between any of their categories.

For the dependent variable (Y), the programme prints out the total number of cases in each category of a predictor, the proportion of these cases in the total sample, the class mean, the deviations from grand mean for each category of the predictor (both unadjusted and adjusted), the coefficients, adjusted means, the sum of Y and sum of Y^2 for cases falling in that category. By examining the unadjusted category means, one can tell whether the predictor has any relationship with the dependent variable, and if so, whether this relationship is positive, negative, curvilinear, or of other form. The adjusted means show this relationship after the effects of the other predictors are held constant (i.e. partialled out)
The programme determines, for each predictor, an eta
coefficient which indicates (when squared) the proportion of
variance in the dependent variable explained by the unadjusted
deviations. Also available for each predictor is a "partial
beta coefficient" which indicates (when squared) the proportion
of variance in the dependent variable explained by the given
predictor holding constant all other predictors. From data
provided by the programme, the user may calculate several
F-tests for each predictor. By option, the programme provides
a bivariate frequency table for every possible pair of
predictors, useful for examining relationships among
predictors.

The programme also provides certain statistics for all
predictors combined. These include "adjusted multiple
correlation coefficient", indicating (when squared) the
proportion of variance in the dependent variable explained by
all the predictors simultaneously, the total sum of squares
(of deviations about the grand mean), the total explained
sum of square, and the residual sum of squares.

The programme uses an iterative procedure to solve the
set of normal equations embodied in the "method of fitting
constants" proposed by Yates(1934) as a method for performing
an analysis of variance on non-orthogonal data. The # iterations
continue until each adjusted deviation (i.e. fitted
constant) has "converged" or until a predetermined number of
iterations has been reached.

Another option allows one to investigate the stability of the findings by doing the analysis separately for random halves of the sample, or any combination of random halves and total sample.

For computing partial beta coefficients when a number of control variables have been held constant, the 1972 Partial coefficient of correlation programme developed by the University of Chicago has been used on the aforesaid computer.

For purposes of interpreting the results of this programme, it may be mentioned that no tests of statistical significance for eta, eta^2, beta, beta^2, R and R^2 have been used, except for interpreting the partial coefficient yielded by the University of Chicago programme when several predictors have been held constant. The significance of the coefficients are printed by the programme itself and presents no difficulty. The reason why largely no tests of significance have been used are: (a) With weighted data, as of the present study, considerable controversy exists concerning the interpretation of tests of significance; (b) with samples as in the case of the present study (300 cases) almost all relationships may be considered as significant, even when their degrees of association is so slight as to make them substantively meaningless. (c) Most common
non-parametric tests of significance do not take into account the direction of the relationship or its degree of linearity, but these are the crucial factors for most of the variables being analyzed here. (d) the purpose of this research is not to generalize from a sample to a population for descriptive purposes, but rather to investigate associations between empirical indicators (often very crude) of more theoretical variables. (e) The study being limited in scope as concerned with the proportion of variance in the level of political alienation of three selected professional groups only.

VII. Research Design

(a) Sample and Sampling:

The present study is based on a sample of three professional groups, viz., teachers, lawyers and doctors, drawn on a random sample basis, from the Meerut City Constituency. The universe of teachers consisted of post-graduate teachers in four colleges of Meerut University situated in the above constituency namely, Meerut College Meerut; N.A.S. college, Meerut; R.G. Girls college; and D.N. college, Meerut. There were in all 315 teachers of PG. classes in these colleges. The names of all these teachers was put on cards and then reshuffled, so that on a random basis every teacher had an equal chance of being selected. Every third card was sorted out. Thus a sample of 105 was sorted out. Five of them could not be contacted
and, therefore, an effective sample of teachers consisted of hundred cases. So far as lawyers were concerned a list of practicing lawyers in Meerut Civil and Criminal courts was obtained from the Bar Association. It consisted of 330 lawyers, of these the names of 110 appeared in the telephone directory of Meerut telephones. All of them were included in the sample. Ten lawyers could not be contacted, may be their telephones are disconnected for some reason. The effective sample of lawyers, therefore, consisted of 100 lawyers. So far doctors were concerned, a list of Medical practitioners in Meerut was obtained from the Medical Association. From this list, only those have been sorted out who are practicing in Meerut City Constituency. This number came to be 210. These names and addresses were placed on the card, then reshuffled, and every second case was sorted out. The sample of doctors, thus consisted of 105. Five of them did not co-operate with the study, and hence the effective sample consisted of hundred doctors.

Sample Characteristics:

The following table gives the details about the characteristics of the sample.
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<tr>
<th>Sample Characteristics</th>
<th>Number in the Sample</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teachers</td>
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<td>1. Sex</td>
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<td>3. Caste</td>
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<td>4. Education</td>
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<td>7. Political Orientation</td>
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</table>
An examination of sample characteristics goes to reveal that the sample of teachers, lawyers and doctors is quite evenly distributed in respect of sex, age, education, caste, economic status, class identification and political orientation.

(b) **Area of Study:**

There are two constituencies in Meerut District: Meerut City and Meerut Cantt. Only Meerut City Constituency has been considered for purposes of the present study. There are about (15369) voters in Meerut City Constituency. In this constituency there is one M.P. seat and six Assembly seats. The six Assembly seats are During Parliamentary elections of 1980, there were 693627 electorates, of which 432060 (62.83%) voted. In Assembly elections, the same year, there were 153691 voters of which 71339 persons (46.45%) casted their votes.

Voters in these seats are as follows:

In Meerut City Constituency, there are predominantly Hindus, then Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians. The scheduled castes and backward classes constitute about 30% of the voters. Among Hindus there are predominantly Sikhs (including Jains), Punjabis, Brahmans, Gujars, Thakurs, etc.

Meerut City Constituency is considered to be a highly politicised constituency in western U.P. At the time of Parliamentary and Assembly elections, all the important central and state level political leader come to deliver speeches to woo voters. Even the Prime Minister comes to
deliver speeches. There is hectic political activity and
convassing by party workers. Most of the teachers and
lawyers take active part in convassing, in support of one
or the other party candidate. It has been observed that
doctors usually do not take active interest in political
campaigning as other sections of the population. The history
of elections in Meerut City Constituency since the first
election of 1958 reveals that both teachers and lawyers have
been contesting for both Parliament and Assembly seats. Meerut
City Constituency has remained a strong hold of the Congress
since Independence. Except in the elections of 1977 when
anti-Indira Gandhi wave swept the polls, most of the seats
were bagged by the Congress. Besides the Congress, the BLD
or L.D. of Ch. Charan Singh, Jan Sangh or B.J.P., S.S.P.,
P.S.P., C.P.I., Janata Party, have been quite active in this
constituency in almost all elections. Political activity
in the constituency is also witnessed during municipal and
district board elections. Students also take active part in
all political elections much on account of the direction and
influence of teachers.

(c) Methods of Study:

For purposes of this study the causal comparative
method and the survey method have been used.

(d) Tools of Data Collection:

A Schedule-cum-Questionnaire was used for purposes of
data collection of the present study. This tool was divided into three parts, apart from the identification data. For purposes of identifying the respondents, information was solicited in respect of their sex, marital status, age, caste, level of education, profession/occupation, length of stay in the profession, income, class identification and political orientation. Part I was a schedule consisting of information solicited in respect of respondent's membership of involuntary associations (composed of four items), membership of voluntary associations (composed of three items), community living (composed of seven items) and occupational mobility (composed of nine items). Part II comprised of political preference, (one item), voting behaviour (four items), political discussion (five items), political exposure (four items), political contacts (six items), and political involvement (four items).

The various items in the schedule were both open-ended and structured. Part III of the tool of data collection was in the form of a questionnaire. It comprised of 26 items of a scale of political alienation. This scale was composed of four sub-scales of lack of political participation (6 items), political efficacy (7 items), political interest (7 items), and political responsibility (6 items). No indication was given as to which item of the scale referred to which of the sub-scales. The twenty-six items of the scale were randomly
distributed. Each item of the scale consisted of five response categories arranged in order of intensity of the feeling from maximum political integration to maximum political alienation.

The entire tool of data collection was administered personally to respondents during January to June 1981, almost six months after the Parliamentary and Assembly elections held in March and June 1980 respectively. Each respondent was requested to fill up the tool in the presence of the investigator. But in a large number of cases the respondents requested the same to be left with them, to be collected by him after a gap of three or four days. For the guidance of the respondent an appeal was printed on the face of the tool as follows:

"Dear friends and colleagues,

Ours is a nascent democracy. Every citizen has a stake in it. It is reasonable that after more than thirty years of the functioning of democracy in India we seek to study and analyse how effective it has been for all sections of the society. This is sought to be made through a small research project. Accordingly, you, as one of the citizens, are presented here with a battery of questions designed especially to elicit your reactions to various questions. Apart from some items in concerning your identification, those in Part I and Part II relate to your general life situations. Items in Part III relate to your reactions to certain political situations. In this part, each question is followed by a set of five possible responses graded according to the intensity of your feelings. You are requested to read each question carefully and check mark ( ) the intensity of your most genuine reaction in the bracket provided
against each category of responses. Your possible reactions have been structured and coded. The nearer your response is to your most genuine feeling or reaction the greater it will go to make this study a success. It is expected that the results of the study will go a long way in the policy formulation at the highest level. It is hoped that you will lend your most valuable cooperation by recording your most genuine responses. If you choose to remain anonymous you may conveniently do so."

The investigator had to visit and contact the respondents by phone at regular intervals of three or four days. It was with great difficulty that all the tools could be collected. Doctors presented with the greatest difficulty but the investigator with his present of effort and perseverance could ultimately succeed in getting the desired tools filled up from his sampled subjects.