

## INTRODUCTION

Political socialization is the process by which the value systems, beliefs and emotions of a political culture are passed on to succeeding generations. The processes start at an early age and endure for life. Institutions such as family, school, religion, work – groups, political parties, ethnicity, and the state being its agencies, they go together to cement the cultural bequest of a society. Political socialization takes place in all societies leading to modernization and development. The culture of a society is largely dependent on political socialization. It also helps understand the significant role the agencies of political socialization play. As has already been said, it is a process that commences at infancy and lasts unto one's last moment. It is supposed to develop a positive attitude towards politics. Its benefits pass on from generation to generation as a continual activity. Political socialization has been defined by various schools in different ways.

S. Bhatnagar (1970) gives a blanket definition of political socialization. He says that it means:

*All political learning, formal or informal, deliberate or unplanned, latent or manifest, diffuse or specific, affects political behavior at every stage of the life cycle.*

Rush and Althoff (1971) define political socialization as:

*“It is the process by which an individual becomes acquainted with the political system and which determines his perceptions of politics and his*

*reactions to political phenomena. It involves the examination of the social, economic, and cultural environment of society upon the individual and upon his political attitudes and values. Political socialization is the most important link between political and social systems, but may vary considerably from one system to another.”*

In political socialization, agents or agencies have a pivotal role to play. The institutions performing informal socialization as well as those institutions engaging in the inculcation of political values and orientations in the citizens come under the term agents. A person's political socialization involves his understanding of political patterns through different political, economic, cultural and social agents.

Frederic I Greenstein has defined political socialization both from narrow and broad perspectives:

*“In a narrow sense, political socialization is the deliberate inculcation of political information, values, and practices by institutional agents who have been formally given the responsibility. In a broader sense, political socialization includes all sorts of political learning - formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned at every stage of the life. This includes not explicitly political learning but also nominally the non – political learning that affects the political behavior. It includes the learning of politically relevant attitudes and the politically relevant personality characteristics”.*

In order to get a deeper insight into political socialization, a theoretical study of themes such as political culture, cohesion, participation, communication, development, and political modernization have been dwelt upon in the research

work. The phenomenon of tribe and tribalism with special reference to North – East India has also been examined thoroughly, constituting as it does an inevitable part of socialization.

Nagaland's population is wholly tribal. The state is inhabited by sixteen major Naga tribes and sub - tribes. The Angami tribe is one of the major tribes among them who mainly inhabit in the Kohima district and some parts of Dimapur district. People of each of these tribes speak their own language or dialect. Altogether their languages including dialects number about 60. They belong to the Sino – Tibetan family of languages. English is the state language which is widely spoken in official circles.

The political system of each tribe is as old as the tribe itself. The polity of the Naga village - state had evolved from time immemorial. The Naga tribes experienced a period of socialization and modernization for the first time when the Treaty of Yandaboo was signed between the British and Burmese Government in February 1826. The treaty resulted in the vivisection of the Naga country while drawing the frontier between India and Burma, recently rechristened Myanmar. Various historical factors thereafter played a substantial role in influencing Naga politics.

The thesis on POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF TRIBES: A STUDY ON ANGAMI TRIBE OF NAGALAND is an attempt to explore the level of political socialization that has taken place among the Angami Naga tribe and how this process has been operating in their lives. It is aimed at filling the gap of knowledge about the Angami society in and outside North - East India.

The term Angami in the context of the study refers to the Angamis who are at present living in Kohima district of Nagaland. The British rule in North – East India exposed the tribal people of the region to Christianity and western education which awakened the Naga tribes especially the Angami Nagas to new beliefs, ideas, possibilities, and thoughts and showed them the means and spirit to strive for congregated solidarity and to assert their identity. Until recently, they had only a vague idea of themselves and practiced headhunting. Before the advent of Christianity internecine rivalries were a common feature among them. The inchoate faith and modern education made the Nagas realize the central significance of unity and solidarity. The English language was instrumental in civilizing the Angamis.

The process of socialization led to great cohesion among the Nagas. The Angamis of Nagaland have been a closely knit and self-contained tribal group. As a comparatively isolated community, until recently they had an insular outlook and they stuck to their age old customs and traditions. But in the time – space continuum, change is inevitable in any human system, and consequently great changes have overwhelmed the Angami society also. However, they have been scrupulous not to abandon most of their customary practices. The Angamis have come a long way today like other Naga tribes. They are now known as the people who possess great sense of respect and spirit of sacrifice for the village and tribe. They also have deep love and respect for their customs and traditions. Their evolution to a civilized state of existence is mind boggling indeed. What strikes one in the midst of it all is that the Angami Nagas have been jealously clinging to

their cultural heritage keeping it intact and the Government of India has been helping them in the matter through constitutional provisions.

The role of socio - economic and political factors in effecting changes and bringing about modernization in the Angami tribal community is recognized in the research. The researcher also analyses the changes brought about by various socio economic and political factors in the process of political socialization. They are mainly the family, traditional and modern educational institutions, British colonial rule and modernization of the Nagas, role of Christianity, gender, ethnicity, the Angami village administration, political parties, mass media, and the State. Socio – economic and political institutions have been the principal socialization agents in the Angami community.

Family is an important agent of political socialization. It is from one's family that one first comes across an awareness of politics. The family system in Angami society remains comparatively stable and acts as an effectual agency of political socialization. A typical Angami family, which is the smallest social unit, is comprised of the father, the mother, and the children. As an agent of political socialization, its role is informal and natural. It has a formative and transformative influence on the young. Family provides a conducive ambience to expose them to the wider aspects of social life. It is here a child or an adolescent imbibes the values of healthy social intercourse, socialization and more significantly, political socialization.

Education is an effective agency of political socialization. Traditional and modern educational institutions have played a vital role in bolstering socialization

and modernization in the Angami society. The process of political socialization gained momentum with the founding of schools and colleges in and around the region. “It is educated people who mostly participate in political affairs because their schooling provides them with the skills people need to understand the abstract subject of politics, to follow the political campaign, and to research and evaluate the issues and candidates” (Wolfinger 1980). Before the advent of the colonial regime, they adopted a unique substitute method for schooling known as ‘morung’ (bachelor’s dormitory) where children learned their social customs and traditions. Morung was the axis around which the social, political, religious, cultural and educational activities of the young people turned. The institution of the Morung lost its relevance in some areas with the spread of Christianity and modern education.

Religion, especially the Christian religion, has played a substantial role in the political socialization of the Angami tribe. With the coming of Christianity and spread of modern education, the Naga tribes began to get socialized in a great manner. Radical changes took place in the social, cultural, and religious outlook of the Angamis and their actions too. The savage practice of head hunting now ceased. Although many traditional Angami social systems disappeared with the passage of time, the philosophy of acculturation advocated by the Christian leaders promoted their resurgence. Christianity was instrumental in promoting the social position of women in Nagaland at a time when they were considered far inferior to the human male. With more women and girl children began getting education, women empowerment naturally followed in Nagaland. This was undoubtedly a

major contribution of Christianity to Naga society accelerating the phenomenon of political awareness and socialization.

Despite the process of political socialization influencing every aspect of Angamis' life, it has been found that majority of them are not much interested in political activities probably because they have their own traditional method of administering their villages very efficiently. Only few of them actively involve themselves in party politics although they are not loath to exercise their franchise at the time of the elections. There are no women in the political arena in Nagaland today, although as per the Indian constitution every citizen is entitled to engaging in politics. However, the Angami women are totally absent in the state legislative assembly. Women play a secondary role in politics in Nagaland. The provision of 33% reservation of seats in the state assembly, parliament, and local governmental bodies for women is yet to be implemented, although women have a crucial role in Angami society. As the respondents themselves who are all Angamis vouch, the Village Councils all across Kohima and in the whole state of Nagaland function very effectively. Most of the respondents have a positive opinion about the dispensation of justice by the village councils.

Political socialization is a process wherein the role of political parties is pivotal. They shape the preferences of the people and seek to make indifferent people interested in politics. The study also emphasizes the fact that one of the reasons for the Nagas, especially the Angami Nagas being passive and indifferent to political activities and political leaders is that unlike the traditional system of governance the modern political system brings corruption to Nagaland. The

instability of governments which itself is often caused by corrupt politicians is another factor.

The study also looks into the major impediments that affect political socialization today such as corruption, lack of infrastructure, insurgency, separatist feeling, and lack of professional and technical institutions. Corruption is unfortunately rampant in every arena of the society, especially bureaucracy and political parties. Most of the Angamis are not aware of the several Rural Development Programmes of the Government. There is also a demand from the part of some Naga groups including the Angamis for a separate Naga state comprising all the Naga tribes in Assam, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, and also Myanmar.

In inculcating political awareness, newspapers, peer groups, radio, television as well as social media are the important agents. The village councils and mass media are the major agents in providing information about the rural development programmes launched by various governments. Several rural development programmes of the government and the special constitutional provision have improved the living conditions of the Angami tribe to an extent. In this context, mention may be made about the 'communitization' programme of the Government of Nagaland. In order to improve the direct and indirect involvement of people in local government, Nagaland introduced this programme in 2002. It was a novel concept to promote the partnership between the government and the community. It aimed at improving the work of public utility systems and making the government employees answerable to the public. The communitization programme has been a great success, with its innovative use of rich social capital.

Impressed by the success of the scheme, Nagaland was given the United Nations Public Service Award in 2008.

**Statement of the Problem:**

The study has as its central theme the Political Socialization of the Angami Tribe of Nagaland. It surveys various important aspects of political socialization such as its agencies, the activities of political parties, the impediments being faced in the process despite the persistent efforts made for its success, the changing attitude of the tribes in Nagaland towards the mainstream political parties and the role of Government policies and legislations to quicken the process in Nagaland, especially among the Angamis. Hence the study is titled “POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF TRIBES: A STUDY ON ANGAMI TRIBE OF NAGALAND”.

**Significance of the Study:**

The study of the political socialization of the Angami tribe is highly relevant as it is a lifelong process and different agencies of political socialization contribute to it. The Angami Naga Tribe is unique in many respects geographically, culturally, sociologically, politically, economically, linguistically, and religiously. The current study is designed to investigate various dimensions of political socialization of the Angami tribe. Political socialization has emerged as a desired concomitant of development, and modernization. Though political socialization has taken place to a great extent in Nagaland, there are also impediments in the process of political socialization and political development.

That so far there has been no study carried out on the political socialization of any tribe in Nagaland including the Angamis, and that the people of other Indian

states do not know much about them have prompted the researcher to choose it as the topic of the present study. The study widely looks into the vital aspects related to the agencies of political socialization, political activities, economic and developmental aspects, and village organization and administration of the Angami region in Kohima district. Studies suggest that the process of political socialization gained momentum with the founding of schools and colleges in and around the region. The input agencies like the family, traditional and modern institutions, peer groups, mass media, friends and relatives and religion are the most effective agents of political socialization. The role of political parties is only moderate in the political socialization of the Angamis. With the coming of Christianity and spread of modern education, the Naga tribes began to get socialized in a big manner.

**The Conceptual Structure:**

**Socialization**

Socialization is a continual process by which a person gets a personal identity and learns the rules, behavior, social skills, and values that are in sync with his or her social position. Cooley (1983) views socialization as “a social process through which an individual develops his own self by learning the norms and by knowing about his own self from others.”

**Political Socialization**

“Political socialization is the institutionalization and development of attitudes to and beliefs about, a political system. The process may encourage loyalty to the nation and the fostering of particular values, and it may increase either support for, or alienation from, the system. It is particularly important in

influencing the degree of participation in political life that is expected of groups and individuals. Political socialization is not processes confined to childhood, but one that often continues throughout adult life” (Alan D. Ball; Guy Peters 2005).

“Political socialization as a process by which political culture is maintained, changed, and shaped at the individual level and also at the community level. It is passed across generations. Through political socialization, individuals are inducted into political culture and their orientations are formed. It is a continuous process involving the psychological aspects of political development” (Palekar 2010).

### **Political Development**

According to Huntington “If the existing authority is challenged by an increase in the rate of political participation, new organizations and procedures must be institutionalized. Then, political development will be the outcome. Where and when the organizations and the procedures will prove too weak, not adaptable, not complex, not autonomous, not coherent, then political decay will most certainly follow” (Huntington 1968).

### **Political Modernization**

Samuel P. Huntington in his article *Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics* considers modernization as a revolutionary process. This follows directly from the contact between a modern and traditional society. “The one differs fundamentally from the other, and the change from tradition to modernity consequently involves a radical and total change in patterns of human life” (Huntington 1968).

## **Tribe**

“A tribe is a human social system existing before the emergence of nation – states, and in some cases continuing to exist independent of the state structure. Historically, tribal societies consisted only of a relatively small, local population. The internal social structure of a tribe can vary greatly from case to case, but is often a relatively simple structure, with few significant social distinctions among individuals” (Ranjan 2013).

In the Constitution of India Article 366 (25), the expression “Scheduled Tribes” is defined as “such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution”.

Morgan defines tribe as “a completely organized society where all forms of social relations are dominated by kinship”. For him, “tribal society is completely organized in such a way that their form of social organization is capable of reproducing itself. A tribe is a collection of number of clans who have a distinct nomenclature, a separate language, a distinct political organization and a territory under their own possession (Morgan 1877).

## **The Angami Nagas**

Angami Nagas constitute one of the major tribes of Nagaland, and it is the fourth largest Naga tribe. Their villages are concentrated in the central and southern parts of Kohima district and some pockets of Dimapur district. There are 77 villages in the Angami territory, which are divided into four regions. The groups living in Kohima and the villages surrounding it are known as the Northern

Angamis. Those living in the west are known as the Western Angamis. Those in the south are the Southern Angamis and those who have established themselves in the plains and slopes along the National highway from Kohima to Medziphema and around Dimapur are known as the Chakroma group.

**Methodology:**

The methodologies used in the study are the following:

**A) The Universe of the Study**

Kohima district of Nagaland where the Angamis inhabit is the universe of the study.

**B) Sources of Data Collection**

A survey was conducted using pre - texted questionnaire developed by the researcher to collect the primary data. Field visits and interviews with experts and local people were conducted in order to ensure the authenticity of the data. Field visits to the villages and places related to the topic were carried out to gather the data. For the collection of secondary data, the researcher has had recourse to several works dealing with or related to the theme of the thesis *Political Socialization of Tribes: A Study on Angami Tribe of Nagaland*. They include books, newspapers, and reports of both governmental and non-governmental agencies, Church records, articles, doctoral dissertations, journals, websites and encyclopedias.

**C) Period of Primary Data Collection**

The study includes both primary and secondary data. The primary data were collected from August 2017 to January 2018. The secondary data which are related to various aspects of the topic got collected as the study proceeded.

**D) Tools used**

For the present study, the researcher developed a questionnaire consisting of 57 questions spread across six sections. It was validated by few experts in the field. The questions were closed end type. The data were collected through interviews and from the answers furnished by the respondents to the questionnaire distributed among them.

**E) Pilot study**

The researcher finalized the topic after carrying out a pilot study conducted among 50 Angami respondents to ensure the effectiveness and reliability of the questionnaire. After the pilot study and pre- texting, certain modifications were made in the questionnaire.

**F) Sample Frame Work**

From among the 12 districts in Nagaland, Kohima district has been chosen for the sample survey, the reason being that it is the home territory of the Angami Nagas. The Angami population in Kohima district constituted, 94,382 members, as per the decadal census of 2011. The sample population selected for the study stands at 824. The Angami respondents numbered 412 males and 412 females residing in 36 Angami villages. From a total of 77 Angami villages in Kohima district, 36 Angami villages were selected adopting Disproportionate Stratified Random Sampling Method from the age group of 18 and above to collect the data regarding Political Socialization of the Angami Tribe.

**G) Method of Data Analysis**

The researcher has used the Descriptive - Survey Method for the present study. The collected primary data have been analyzed and tabulated by using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) to rationalize its credibility and objectivity. Non parametric statistical tests were employed to analyze the data.

**Objectives:**

1. To find out the role of political socialization in speeding up the development of the Angami tribe.
2. To arrive at the role of input agencies in the political socialization of the Angami tribe.
3. To know about the major factors which hinder the political socialization of the tribes in Nagaland, especially the Angamis.
4. To analyze the changing attitude of the tribes in Nagaland towards the mainstream political parties.

**Hypotheses:**

1. Tribes in Nagaland have achieved a high level of political socialization.
2. Government policies and legislations have improved the political socialization process.
3. There are impediments in the process of political socialization and development.
4. In accelerating the process of political socialization and political participation of the Angami tribe, political parties have only a modest role.

**Chapter Scheme:**

The structure of the research project is presented in five chapters along with the introductory chapter.

**Introduction**

**The first chapter** gives the literature review wherein the researcher critiques similar studies done by various scholars in the North – East, in other parts of India and abroad.

**The second chapter** deals with the theoretical analysis of political socialization and related theories such as political culture, cohesion, participation, communication, development, political modernization, and tribe.

**The third chapter** presents the profile of the Angami tribe of Nagaland which includes the Naga Tribes, The Angami Nagas, and the socio – economic and political aspects of the Angami tribe which act as agencies of political socialization.

**The fourth chapter** gives the survey, data analysis and interpretation of the primary data collected from the respondents.

**The fifth chapter** brings out the major findings of the study and offers suggestions for the betterment of the targeted group and finally ends with a conclusion to the whole study.

## **Limitations of the Study**

The researcher faced many limitations and obstacles in the course of her work. The major ones are listed below:

- The absence of a consistent data base made it difficult for the researcher to carry out a totally flawless analysis.
- A good number of respondents were not knowledgeable enough about the questionnaire and therefore their answers were vague.
- Owing to lack of transportation facilities, inclement weather, heavy rains and landslips, the researcher found it very difficult to reach the villages coming under the ambit of the study. Often a taxi had to be engaged at great expense. One also had to walk kilometers to reach certain villages where vehicles could not ply.
- Because of the large population, the whole work especially the data collection was tiresome, and demanding much time and patience.
- Since the researcher is not proficient in the Angami language, she had to enlist the help of others to collect data which demanded much time.
- As the respondents were not well – versed in both customary laws and statutory laws governing the region, the respondents were not confident enough to part with much of the information.
- Though the people were affected by the activities of the insurgent groups, they were apprehensive of being frank about it.

- Most of the respondents, both men and women, shied away from a discussion of issues concerning women, especially the controversial question of the 33% reservation for women in parliament and assemblies.
- Some expressions and words of the Angami Naga tribe cannot be properly rendered into English. On translation, both denotation and connotation change.

In spite of the limitations, the researcher has tried her best to make the study as objective and effective as possible.

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