SUMMARY

Politics has become part and parcel of our life today, therefore, it becomes imperative to undertake investigations concerned with such an important issue. It has been found that only a few studies have dealt with political attitudes within social psychological framework. The present investigation is concerned with political attitudes of teachers who form an important section of the society.

A number of studies have been reported in this direction: Rosenberg (1956), Osgood (1957), Comrey and Newmeyer (1965), Fishbein (1965), Robinson, Rusk and Head (1968), Campbell (1969), Eysenck and Coulter (1972), Cole (1972), Suziedelis and Lorr (1973), Stanley and Vagg (1975), Gold, Christie and Friedman (1976), Reddy (1980), Prasad (1982). These studies reveal that attitudinal structure can be analysed in terms of certain primary factors like Religiosity, Humanitarianism, Nationalism, Equalitarianism, Traditional-Moralism, Machiavellian-ism, Revolutionary Tactics etc. central to the ideology of subjects under investigation. This structural aspect of attitudes was kept in view while framing the problem. Some of above mentioned studies report the relationships between Cognitive, Affective and Conative components of attitudes. But none of the studies have dealt with a problem exclusively on political attitudes in a comprehensive manner.

Statement of the Problem

"A Study of the Structure of Political Attitudes of
School Teachers using Semantic Differential Analysis and Attitude Scaling Methods”.

**Objectives of the study.**

1. To develop a multidimensional attitude scale based on factors Political Goals, Political World View, Political Tactics and Political Life Style.
2. To classify the identified politically active and politically non-active secondary school teachers and finding the probability of misclassification.
3. To determine the internal consistency along the attitude scale.
4. To investigate the factorial structure on the basis of the data from secondary school teachers.
5. To determine reliabilities and relationships of the factor scales.
6. To investigate the various correlates of the factor scales.
7. To study the cognitive - affective - conative structure using semantic differential analysis.

**Scope of Study**

1. The present study deals with the attitudinal dimensions based on the ideology of school teachers.
2. It is confined to the school teachers from Government and Recognized Private schools of Ferozepur District.
as regards the factorial structure and the other norms of the attitude scale are conceded.

(3) The present study is confined to study the relationships of attitudinal measures with the independent variables.

(4) The present study also limited to deal with the Cognitive-Conative-Affective structure of attitudes by analyzing the semantic spaces of teachers.

Development of the Attitudes scale

Our first concern was to develop the attitudinal measures. The classification scheme followed by Gold, Christie and Friedman was used for the development of the attitude scales. The statements were obtained from various sources: Newspaper editorials, Magazine articles, leaflets, flyers and other such sources. The items were then classified into following categories.

(a) Political World View, (b) Political Goals (c) Political Life Style (d) Political tactics.

The items in the Political World View category represented the general views of the people about the nature of the present day politics. Statements about the traditional and modern political goals occupied their place in the political goals category. Political Life Style category comprised of items about the style of political functioning and in the political
tactics category were included items concerning present day political strategy. Some of the items which could be placed in more than one category were included in the category in which they were best fitted.

In all 80 items were constructed out of which 39 items were positive while 41 were negative. These items were randomly placed and cast into Likert-format with a range of seven options: disagree strongly, disagree somewhat, disagree slightly, no opinion, agree slightly, agree somewhat, agree strongly, and respective scores assigned to the options were 1 to 7. The attitude scale was written both in English and Hindi.

Development of Semantic Differential Scale

In order to study the cognitive-affective-conative structure of political attitudes three semantic differential scales were developed. These were Evaluation Semantic Differential, Potency Semantic Differential and Activity Semantic Differential Scales. The first step in developing these scales was to choose the concepts. These following chosen concepts actually emerged out of discussion with a number of teachers. (a) Political Goals in India (b) Political Tactics (c) Political Functioning (d) Political Leadership (e) Political Issues (f) Electoral Politics (g) Political Cynicism (h) Political Authoritarianism (i) Political Transparency (j) Politics of Backwardness (k) Politics of Fundamentalism (l) Politics of Religion in India.
In the second step, ten appropriate adjective pairs for each of the Semantic Differential Scales were selected and placed in a simple format which contained seven spaces between the two poles of the adjective pairs.

**Development of Teacher’s Background Questionnaire**

Teacher’s Background Questionnaire was constructed to include a number of independent variables: area, sex, marital status, teaching subjects, participation in political activities and family background, etc., to study the relationships of attitudinal measure and semantic differential scales.

**Sample**

A sample of 75 school teachers were selected by using snowball technique in the first phase to find internal consistency and doing factor analysis. A random sample of 260 school teachers from Government and Recognised Private schools of Ferozepur District was selected in the second phase. Data on semantic Differential scales was collected on a sample of 80 of the 260 selected teachers for the second phase.

**Classification Problem**

Our next concern was to deal with the classification of politically active and politically nonactive teachers on the basis of the data generated by four dichotomous discrete random
variables. Each variable was given two options: even and otherwise and the scores 1 and 0 were respectively assigned to them. Nearest Neighbour Rule (a variant of the Full Multinomial Model) was applied. Taking this into consideration, the misclassification (Probability of misclassification = .10) a criterion for discriminating politically active and politically nonactive teachers was worked out. The criterion was: The teachers who participated in at least two of the four activities were considered to be politically active teachers. The total number of teachers so obtained were 228 of which 108 were politically active and 120 were politically nonactive.

Internal Consistency

To find the Internal consistency, Part Whole correlation technique was used. The responses of each of the 80 items were compared with the summed responses (summed score on 80 items) to 80 items. Product Moment correlational method was used to find the item total correlations for each of 80 items. The 80 items were placed in descending order with respect to their part-whole correlations.

Validity

The validity of the 49 item factor scale was found by using Contrasted Group method and the t-ratio between the high scores and low scores on 49 item scale (n=75) was found out to be 12.9 which is quite significant at .01 level.
Factorial Study

The raw & scores of 75 secondary school teachers on 55 items were subjected to inter-item correlations and a 55x55 matrix of these correlations were obtained. The matrix was then subjected to Principal Component Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotations. This rotation gave Principal eigen values (sixteen in number) i.e. eigen values > 1.0000. The rotated matrix of factor loadings so obtained were then subjected to interpretation. The items with highest factor loadings were retained in each of the nine factors. Seven factors were rejected out of which six factors were the single item factors while the seventh could not have any of the items with highest loadings. The factors were then named according to the nature of items contained in the factor.

The items in the factor Political Goals (I) were concerned with achievement of the goal of development with dignity, goal of maintaining organisational discipline, correct elections, good governance, cleaner political environment, goals of political stability and noncriminalisation of politics, separation of religion from politics, transparency of democratic order, regard for political culture of India, disregard for politics of deception etc.

Political Functioning (Factor II) described the functioning of politics in India which involved putting control on criminalisation of politics, value based political functioning, politics of terror and power grabbing and political functioning to attain political stability by making changes in
political party alignment.

The third factor Political Life Style was concerned with achieving inner party democracy, active political life and translating ideas into actions.

Factor Electoral Politics (IV) was about changes to be made in Electoral Politics by ensuring free and fair poll, corruption in electoral politics and politics of backwardness.

The items in Political Issues (factor V) reflected the basic political issues to be tackled. It involves the problem of lust for power among Indian Politicians, the issue of Transparency in Politics, accountability of government to electors, problem of corruption in elections and the problem concerned with political leaders to keep their image intact in the midst of scandalous conditions.

The factor Faith in Purposive Politics (VI) involved the growing demand for purposive and principled politics, revival of faith in democratic system and equation of common man with politicians.

The factor Emerging Political Trends (VII) involved emergence of communal politics, non-federal political structure of India, no faith in the present political system and giving quality a sense of purpose and direction and acquiring of legitimacy by a political party.

The eighth factor Political Tactics was concerned with the play of political tactics in destroying the country’s political culture, knowledge of people about illegal political activities, place of venality tactics in Indian Politics, tactics of manipulative politics and need of Chanakyan Education in the
present day politics.

The Political World View (factor IX) reflected the view points of the people concerning Indian Politics like deterioration in Indian politics, choice between benevolent dictatorship and democratic order, choice between status quoist approach and innovative dynamic approach.

A comparison of this factorial structure with classification scheme used in the development of attitude scale shows that the two are in similar.

**Reliabilities of the Factor Scale**

Table shows the reliabilities of the nine factor scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>No. of items</th>
<th>Reliability of half measure</th>
<th>Reliability (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>.6642</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.6532</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.5682</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.6225</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.2737</td>
<td>.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.6134</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.6201</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.6450</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.6318</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As is clear from the table the full length reliabilities are quite high on eight of the nine factor scales. The reliability of the factor scale Political Issues (Factor V) has also been found to be quite significant.

Results:

Politically active teachers found to endorse the ideology of the Political Goals more favourably as compared to politically nonactive teachers which reveals that participation in political activities and political goals attitudes are related to each other.

The science teachers also differ from humanities teachers but this difference is not highly significant. The science teachers are likely to be more pragmatic in their approach and are result oriented. This may be the reasons that they endorse the ideology of the achievement of political goals more favourably as compared to humanities teachers.

The rural science teachers are more favourable towards the achievement of Political Goals as compared to urban science teachers but the urban humanities teachers are more favourable towards the achievement of political goals as compared to rural humanities teachers.

Politically active male and female teachers and politically nonactive female teachers have been found to be more favourable as compared to politically nonactive male teachers towards the achievement of political goals. It reveals that politically nonactive male teachers are less concerned about
achievement of political goals due to their noninvolvement in political affairs on one hand and having less interest in the ideology of political goals on the other.

Female science teachers are found to endorse the ideology of political goals significantly less favourably as compared to the other three groups. The difference in their political goals attitudes may be attributed to their preoccupation in studies and other home affairs.

The two variables that mainly effect the ideology of Political Goals are participation in political activities and the subject variable. The interactive effect of Area x Sex x Subject is more pronounced on political goals attitudes in case of rural male science teachers and the rural male humanities teachers. The rural male science teachers are found to be more favourable as compared to most of the other groups, while the rural male humanities teachers endorse the ideology of political goals less favourably as compared to all the other groups. It can, therefore, be concluded that the two variables that mainly effect the ideology of political goals are participation in political activities and the subject variable. It may be due to the reason that the participation in political activities help in developing the political attitudes on one hand and the pragmatic result oriented approach followed by science teachers on the other.

Rural teachers differ significantly from their urban counterparts on the factor Political Functioning. Male teachers differ significantly from female teachers on this factor. It may be due to the greater involvement of the male teachers as compared to the female teachers in politics that they are more
critical about the way of functioning of the political system.

Humanities teachers are found to score higher on the factor political functioning as compared to science teachers. It reflects that science teachers follow more pragmatic approach as compared to humanities teachers.

It has been found that rural male teachers differ significantly from the other three groups. The reason for this difference may be that the urban teachers enjoy greater facilities as compared to the rural teachers and are therefore, less critical about the political functioning. The difference between the rural male and rural female can be due to the greater involvement of rural male teachers in politics.

The female science teachers significantly differ from other groups. They have the lowest score on the political functioning attitude scale. It seems that female humanities teachers are more critical as they study subjects like Political Science and take greater interest in politics as compared to female teachers.

Male science teachers score high on this scale as compared to their male humanities counterparts, but the difference is not so significant.

It has been found that on the interaction Area \times Sex \times Type politically nonactive rural and urban female teachers score considerably lower than all the other three groups. On the interaction Sex \times Type \times Subject politically nonactive teachers score considerably lower as compared to other groups which indicates that participation in political activities is the main reason that the teachers are more critical about the functioning
of politics in India.

In the combined effect of area, type and subject also the participation in political activities is the most dominating factor in determining Political Functioning attitudes of the secondary school teachers.

The science teachers are found to have more faith in Political Life Style attitudes than the humanities teachers. The rural science teachers score the highest.

The male science teachers are found to endorse the ideology of political life style more favourably as compared to the other three groups.

The politically active science teachers differ significantly from politically nonactive humanities teachers.

The politically active science teachers and politically active humanities teachers are found to endorse the ideology of Political Life Style attitudes more favourably than the politically nonactive humanities teachers.

So the subject variable contributes to significant difference. As far as interactive effects are concerned the three two way interactions Area x Subject, Sex x Subject and Type x Subject contribute to significant differences. The interactive effects of Area x Subject and Sex x Subject are more pronounced as compared to Type x Subject. It may be due to the reason that science teachers are more practical minded and believe in the concept of active political life of putting ideas into actions.

Male teachers differ considerably from female teachers on their attitudes to Electoral Politics.

Politically active teachers also differ significantly
from politically nonactive teachers.

The science teachers have different attitudes towards Electoral Politics than the humanities teachers.

Urban male teachers are found to have more favourable attitudes towards Electoral Politics than rural male teachers.

Rural male and female teachers and urban male teachers differ significantly towards Electoral Politics from urban female teachers.

Politically nonactive urban teachers differ significantly from politically active urban teachers. The reason for this difference may probably be that the politically nonactive urban teachers have not entered into electoral politics to realise the difficulties in rooting out the evils associated with it.

Rural and urban humanities teachers have considerably more favourable attitude to Electoral Politics than do the male and female science teachers and female humanities teachers. It may be due the reasons that the science teachers follow a pragmatic (practical) approach and realise the difficulties of introducing changes in the electoral politics.

Politically nonactive humanities teachers have more faith in Electoral Politics than the other three groups.

Interactive effect of the four variables Area, Sex, Type and Subject contribute to significant differences in electoral politics attitudes. The independent variable Area does not have the main effect on Electoral Politics attitudes but in combination with other variables it contributes to significant differences.
Politically active urban teachers differ in the Political Issues attitudes from politically active rural teachers, politically nonactive rural teachers and politically nonactive urban teachers.

The main effects of Area, Sex and Subject variables on the measure Political Issues are negligible, but the type variable shows some effect, though not significant. However, the interactive effects of area and type, area and sex and type and area, type and subject do show significant effects on Political Issues attitudes. Politically active urban teachers differ in their political issues attitudes from politically active rural teachers, politically nonactive rural teachers and politically nonactive urban teachers. It reveals that participation in political activities and urbanization affect the attitudes to political issues like lust for power among politicians, transparency, accountability and issues related to elections, political leadership etc.

Different groups of teachers do not differ in their Faith in Purposive and Principled politics and in their opinions about revival of the peoples' faith in democratic system etc.

None of the main effects as well as interactive effects have been found to be significant. It reflects that none of the four variables is related to the factor faith in purposive politics.

Most of the different groups of teachers differ significantly from each other in their attitudes to Emerging Political Trends. It seems that the different groups of secondary school teachers have divergent views about the emerging political
trends which may be the reason for differences in their attitudes to this factor. They differ in their attitudes towards the emerging communal politics, nonfederal political structure, giving purpose and direction to polity and legitimacy in party politics. People can not have similar attitudes towards newly developed political trends but one thing is certain that people have started questioning about Westminster style of democracy in India probably due to the emergence of these trends in Indian polity.

All the four main effects show significant differences. The differences on Sex and Subject variable are highly significant.

Politically active rural teachers have more faith in Political Tactics than politically active urban teachers.

Female science teachers differ significantly from male science teachers and female humanities teachers.

Politically active science teachers differ in their attitudes to Political Tactics from politically active humanities teachers and also politically active rural science teachers differ from the other groups of teachers.

None of four main effects is significant. But the interactions Area x Type, Sex x Subject, Type x Subject and Area x Type x Subject contribute to significant differences. It shows that politically active rural teachers, female science teachers and politically active science teachers and politically active rural science teachers are relatively more pragmatic in their approach than do the other groups of teachers. This may be the reason that they have more faith in use of tactics in politics.

Rural teachers differ significantly on Political World
Rural science teachers and rural humanities teachers differ significantly in their political ideology (World View attitudes). The differences in attitudes may be attributed to difference in background and approach to be followed by science and humanities teachers in dealing with problems of life which have direct impact upon their ideology.

The main effect of Area is highly significant. The interactions Area x Subject, Sex x Subject and Type x Subject also contribute to significant differences.

It has been found that the three components of political attitudes: Cognitive (Potency), Affective (Evaluation) and Conative (Activity) give almost the same results regarding the classification and clustering of the political concepts. It has been also found that the three components are highly intercorrelated. The correlation between different components show there is a close correspondence between the three components and any of the three can be independently used to measure political attitudes.

**Educational Implications**

The present investigation has many educational implications:

1. The Political Goals, Political Functioning, Political life style, Electoral Politics, Political Issues, Faith in
Purposive Politics, Emerging Political Trends, Political Tactics and Political World View have been found to be the nine dimensions of political attitudes. These attitudinal factors reveal the attitudinal structure of secondary school teachers in the present socio-political environment when every person in the society is concerned about the deteriorating political situation. The study of the political attitudes helps us in understanding the socio-political environment in general and the existing and emerging political trends responsible for the present state affairs in particular.

2. The analysis of the structure of political attitudes helps us in making analysis of the behaviour patterns and in suggesting ways to improve the situation by developing Positive attitudes for effective functioning of the democracy.

3. It is the teachers who can help in the achievement of the political goals, tackling various political issues and in making improvements in the electoral system and political functioning of India. A training in political tactics as a part of political Science curriculum will be helpful in solving problems faced by the society.

4. The study also suggests that radical changes be made in the political system in order to improve the present political situation. Transparency in government, accountability of the government to the electors, separating religion from politics, translating ideas into actions, bringing honest and good people into politics, political stability, inner party
democracy, correct elections, purposive and principled politics and value based politics are some of the important elements to be there in a political set up of the country. The teaching community can play an effective role in creating an awareness among the students about these elements and creating politicians who are repositories of these elements.

5. The study also suggests the changes to be made in the political system should be for a cleaner political environment to effectively control criminalisation, factionalism, communalism, corrupt practices, fundamentalism, politics of vested interests, manipulative politics, venality and political crookedness. A code of conduct for politicians to be prepared by intellectuals and experts in political matter and enforced effectively will be an effective device to put a check on these practices and to protect national interests.

6. It has been found that different groups of secondary school teachers differ in their political attitudes. These differences will exist so long as the political situation does not improve by making radical changes with in the political system by taking all the different sections of the people into confidence. A debate among the intellectuals, teachers and other intelligentsia of the country will be helpful in cryllising the matter. A thorough analysis and evaluation of the Westminster style of democracy in India is needed in order to work for improvements in it.

In the end it can be said that our educational institutions and the teachers in particular can play a vital role
to improve the political situation in India.

**Suggestion for further studies**

The investigation is very limited in its scope. It is mostly based on the data of 75 secondary school teachers of the Ferozepur District in the first phase and 228 teachers in the second phase. A further investigation of the attitude scale on relatively larger samples of secondary school teachers from other Districts of Punjab would add to the revision, validation and perfection of the attitude scale and study of the various correlates of the attitudinal measures obtained by Factor Analysis.

An attempt to investigate the degree of change both in political attitudes and in behaviour of the subjects of the present investigation with the passage of time would help in understanding change in political attitudes.

An investigation into the correlates of political attitudes other than investigated in the present piece of work will also be useful.

A further corroboration of the results obtained in the present study about the Cognitive-Affective-Conative structure of political attitudes and conducting such investigations on the other types of attitudes would be of great value to have insight into attitude structure.