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Introduction

Man is born free but he constantly finds himself in a meaningful social environment. He tends to cultivate societal values, beliefs and norms in society. The process by which the social life of an individual is shaped is called 'socialization'. Much of man's behavior is acquisional and affective one. Society prescribes and enforces certain norms to follow to make people become acceptable members of a society. This type of social training is a continues and endless process. In this process man tends to establish social, economic and political rapport with others and learns attitudes and behavioral patterns. Thus, 'Socialization' is a process of transforming the human animal into a human being or of converting the biological being into a social being.¹

Man is not only a social being but also a political being. Along with social norms, political values are also internalized simultaneously. The agents of political socialization namely, family, school, peer groups, mass media and political parties play a significant role at different levels in this process. This process is called 'Political socialization'. Before we discuss the meaning and importance of the concept 'political socialization', it is necessary to understand the meaning of the term 'Socialization'. Bogardus defines "socialization as the process of working together, of developing group responsibility, or being guided by the welfare needs of others." Similarly, Peter Worsley argues that," Socialization as the process of transmission of culture, the process whereby men learn the rules and practices of social groups." Thus, it is evident from the above definitions that, socialization is the process by which the individual learns to conform to the norms of the group and his Political behavior takes a definite shape in this process.
Although, the concept political socialization has gained prominence very recently, its origin can be traced back to the ancient Greek political philosophers namely, Plato and Aristotle. In their works they gave more importance to train and educate the youth in order to preserve the existing social and political systems. In the later period, it took concrete shape in the writings of European thinkers. Further they argued that, it is a process by which a political culture passes from one generation to another culminating in the situation under which the culture changes."Political culture is a pattern of individual attitudes, beliefs, values and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system". These views are endorsed by Almond and Powell and Lucian Pye. Political culture also refers to the individual as well as the societal orientations of the people. Individual orientations shape the society and at the same time, societal orientations help to mould the individual's orientations and beliefs. Both are complementary to each other.

Thus, Political culture is the manifestation of the aggregate forms of psychological and subjective dimensions of politics. It is an important determinant of the stability of the country. Political orientations are of three types namely, Cognitive, Affective and Evaluative. The concept cognitive orientation refers to an individual's knowledge and awareness of a political system. Affective orientation deals one's feelings, attachments, involvements and participation in various political activities. Evaluative orientation pertains to assessment and judgement of the various aspects related to political system. Thus, all these three types of political orientations are significant for the younger generation before they begin to play the political roles in society. Younger generation has much time and energy to involve themselves in the political activities. They are open minded and they acquire a relatively stable set of basic political attitudes. This is the right time to enlighten them and to create mental awareness among the youth. During this period aesthetic, intellectual, moral, social and political sensibilities of an individual begin to sharpen...
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and move towards maturity. The growth and development of any nation largely depends on the active participation of the student community in these socio-political and cultural patterns of a society. The process of political Socialization is not merely concerned with the maintenance of the existing pattern of political culture, but is also involved in transforming and creating a new political culture. It trains the individuals so as to enable them to perform suitable political roles.2

In India people belong to various cultural, regional, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds live together. The task of integrating and uniting them to build a strong nation is a daunting and a challenging task. Its cascading effect is still being felt, this has made study more relevant in the present political scenario. In this backdrop the meaning and importance of the concept political socialization is discussed.

What is Political Socialization?

Political socialization is a gradual learning of the norms, attitudes and behavioural patterns acceptable to an ongoing political system. It starts at the very early age of an individual. It differs from one country to another. The term 'political socialization' literally means, "The process of learning values" or 'it is an internalization process.' The term 'political socialization' is coined by H. Hyman, for him it is "perpetuation of political values among generations." Similarly, another famous writer Dennis Kavanagh defines it as "a process whereby the individual learns and develops orientations to politics." Almond and Powell exemplify it as, "a process by which political cultures are maintained and changed."

Thus, all these thinkers viewed political socialization as the learning process by which the political norms and behavior are learnt so to make them acceptable to an ongoing political system and they are transmitted from one generation to another generation. It begins at a very early age i.e. childhood and continues throughout one's life. It is through imitation, instruction and motivation that a child learns the
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political values, beliefs, norms and attitudes. It trains the individual to perform political roles.

Forms of Political Socialization

Political socialization can be broadly classified into two types namely, Manifest and latent. The former involves the explicit communication of information, values and feelings towards political objects. A child under the influence of his parents, teachers and some other agencies learns explicitly the patterns and functions of the government. For example, the civics subject taught in the schools help them to develop orientations towards political socialization. The later is the transmission of non-political orientation that ultimately affects political objects and the attitudes of a child towards political leaders. It takes place through interpersonal transference, apprenticeship and generalization.

Political socialization consists of two concepts, 'political' and 'socialization'. There are plenty of literatures available in the academic circle on both these concepts. But almost all of them refer to these concepts evolved in the context of the western culture. These concepts have been used as universally applicable. Until recently this way of treating them as though they make sense across cultures was considered as unproblematic. But of late some scholars have raised serious objections for uncritical borrowing of these concepts that were evolved over the time in the background of the western and European culture oriented and applied them in the context of non-western cultures. The writings of Edward Said and Prof. Balagangadhara are noteworthy in this context. Edward Said in his famous work 'Orientalism' argued that, the literatures produced in the west about non-western cultures are nothing but the western interpretation of the other cultures and they do not reflect actual conditions prevailing in the non-western cultures. Prof. Balagangadhara goes still further to argue that, social sciences are based on the concepts that are evolved in the background of the western culture and that western
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culture is shaped by the Christian theological framework. He argues that Christian theological framework gives shape to the basic understanding of man, society in the west. According to him various concepts that have been uncritically employed as though they are universally intelligible like Self, Nation, Sovereignty, and Rights etc. make sense only in the western theological context and that they are unintelligible in the non-western and outside the Christian theological framework. The only way to overcome the problem is to build social science that is scientific in the true sense of the term. Prof. Balagangadhara has embarked on comparative science of cultures as a starting point.⁴

How do we take up the comparative study of cultures on a scientific basis. Prof Balagangadhar argues that, culture is a learning process. Its sole purpose is to establish meaningful social contacts with others. But the learning process differs from one society to another. It is through this process that it passes from one generation to another. Further he views that, learning process includes two different aspects. One is religious and the other is theoretical based learning of the west, where the ultimate aim of learning is to acquire knowledge. The theoretical knowledge of the west provides a strong foundation for the youngsters to understand their social structures. All their learning patterns are directed towards acquiring knowledge which in turn develops a comprehensive outlook among the children and the youth. Hence, religion plays a pivotal role in creating cultural awareness among them. Western model of learning is 'Monolithic', tends to study culture in its social structures. In India the learning process is both performative and ritualistic which ultimately aims at acquiring self-knowledge'. Although we don't have comprehensive world view as it is found in the western philosophy, yet our major concern is to teach 'how to live and let others to live in a meaningful society.' It is individualistic as well as participatory approach to establish meaningful social contacts. This gives a different content to both 'politics' and 'socialization' in India.⁵
Historical Evolution of Political Socialization

The early history of the concept the political socialization can be traced back to the western political philosophy. Western political thinkers discussed at length about the various theories on the institution called State which provides a solid foundation to the political system. Their writings created political awareness about the various political issues. Here the researcher tries to depict the ideas put forth by these political thinkers to understand and to analyze the governing ideas behind political socialization. Their contributions are classified into three types on the basis of period namely, the early, the medieval and the modern period..

During the early period, the Greek philosophers namely, Plato and Aristotle laid more emphasis on the training and educating the youth so as to preserve the social and political systems. Both the thinkers were well aware of the significance on the socializing process and its relation to politics. Education was their most central concern of their thoughts. According to them, the main objective of education was to teach the virtue of self-control through which men become essentially rational. Thus, education became an important medium in preparing the ideal citizens. In this way they had the farsightedness in recognizing the importance of education as an effective instrument of political socialization.6

In the medieval period, politics was not separate from religion. The concept of political socialization was developed in the midst of dichotomy between the Church and the State over the sovereign power of the state. The events of the struggle for power between the temporal and ecclesiastical authority largely influenced in shaping the western political thought. Here the researcher has made an attempt to explain the link between the changes that occurred in the process of political socialization. Religion controlled every sphere of man's life. It established control over the people to obey the religious principles and practices. Medieval Roman political thinkers namely, Cicero, St. Augustine, St Thomas Aquinas and
Donte advocated that, Church was supreme because, it is a divine creation and hence superior to the state. They believed in the divine right theory of kingship which considered the king as an agent sent by God to govern and administer the people. They believed that, both educational institutions and family are the two prominent institutions which implant these political ideas in the minds of people. The government enacts such laws which cement these political values. On the contrast to this, there were few other thinkers namely, John Paris, Piere Dubois, William Ockham, Marsiglio Padua and John Wycliffe who argued that, State is evolved for the welfare of the people. Pope should not interfere in the affairs of the state. But they too recognize the importance of basic education which is very much needed to create awareness about the civic, political and religious life. Thus, it is evident from the above arguments that, family and the educational institutions were the major instruments to inculcate political values among the people especially the children and the youth.

Modern western political thinkers namely, Montesquieu, Rousseau and J. S. Mill to name a few of them have also argued in the similar manner like the other western thinkers discussed above. Montesquieu in his famous book "The spirit of laws" argued that, type of family and education has an important role to play in a democratic system to educate its citizens to identify their interests with the interests of their country. Rousseau in his "Social Contract" insists to bring the youths to the main political stream through the process of political socialization by nurturing political values among the young minds in schools and other educational institutions. Similarly, another notable Western political thinker J. S. Mill in his book 'on liberty' argues for liberal education system. It is the bounded responsibility of the parents to give necessary education to their children. The government should also formulate the educational policy in this direction. In the liberal system everyone has the opportunity to get the education of his/her choice. Then only the representative democracy can function effectively. In 1920-30's the
American Historical Association sponsored some studies on the formal aspects of civic training. In 1931 Charles E. Merriam conducted studies on the political development mainly focused on the type of education imparted in the educational institutions to train the children or the youth in this direction. But the credit of scientific and systematic study of political socialization goes to H. Hyman. In the year 1959 he wrote a book on 'Political Socialization'. Later many studies have been undertaken in this area in the west by political thinkers namely, Kenneth p Langton, Geoffrey. K. Robert and Edward Arnold, Michal mc devitt, James G. Gimpel, D. Wekkin and Donald E. Whistler, Carter and Buchner Jennifer. These thinkers laid stress on the role of education in creating political awareness and participation.

In India the process of political socialization can be traced back to Vedic period. Gurukulas were the centre of learning where political values were taught to the pupils from Rishimunis. Koutilya’s in his 'Arthashastra' was very particular in imparting education to the people for the success of a political system. During the Renaissance period the group of reformers led by Raj Ram Mohan Roy, Dhayananda Saraswathi and others suggested for a secular educational system based on the European model and recognized the importance of importing education to both boys and girls. In the modern period, According to Mahatma Gandhiji purity in personal life is an indispensable condition for building a sound educational system. He believed that, literal education without practical outlook has no value. It means knowledge of literature did not help them in building a sound character. The system of education advocated by Gandhiji aims at building national image and patriotism. The role of teachers and parents is the dire need to achieve success in this direction. Dr.B.R.Ambedkar insisted on the significance of educational institutions to bring political and social reforms in the country. His popular slogan 'Education, Organization and Agitation' is a sign of public consciousness. For him, to be educated means, not only to get education in a school,
college and university but also to study and understand the socio-economic and political problems and conditions of the society.\textsuperscript{13}

The credit of the systematic and scientific study of ‘political socialization’ in India goes to S. K. Gupta. In the year 1975 he conducted the first empirical study on political socialization.\textsuperscript{14} It has opened up new vistas for the scholars who began to show profound interest in the study of political socialization. Kalpana Gupte, K.S. Padhy, Dr. Roma Chakra borty, Manjith Singh, Haridwar Singh, Eshanul Haq and Jyoshna Rani Behara to name a very few have argued that, socio-economic, cultural and educational back ground has a great bearing in shaping political orientations. Further they argued that, school plays a predominant role in this direction.

Thus, it can be inferred from the arguments of both the western and the Indian political scientists that, they share same common ideas and thoughts on political socialization. Both upheld the role of family, educational institutions and the government in creating conducive environment for political socialization.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

‘Political socialization’ as a new discipline is of great need in the developing countries like India, which is one of the largest democratic countries in the world. The fundamental principle of democracy is to inculcate political awareness and competence among its citizens. Preparing the citizens to take active participation in politics is a big problem. In the past, people were aware of politics and its culture. But in the modern times, a systematic and concerted attempt has to be initiated to encourage the people to take part in politics. While compared to other forms of political systems, democracy ranks better than the other political systems in the world. But a sense of apathy and alienation weakens the democracy. Democracy needs to be strengthened by empowering its citizens through right system of education. Since very little research work has been conducted in this field in India.
In this part the researcher has reviewed the books and articles of both Indian and the western thinkers.

S.K. Gupta's (1975) "Citizen in the Making" is an empirical study conducted in India to know the role of citizenship, their awareness of political system and the extent of political participation among the students of high schools in a district of Uttar Pradesh. He has examined the role played by the various agencies. Such as, family and school in promoting political socialization process.\(^\text{15}\)

Manjith Singh (1992) in his book "Political Socialization of Students" makes a penetrative study on the political orientations of educated youth namely cognitive, affective and evaluative. In this study, the author has tried to understand and examine certain questions as, to whether Indian youths possess political orientations or not, whether their lack of effective political socialization has led Indian democracy into rough weather and what factors are responsible to their political socialization? In this study, author has found that majority of the college students have low level of cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations. The study reveals that, Family as an agent does not play much influence on the students in acquiring political orientations. From this, it can be inferred that, as the children grow older they tend to develop independent thinking. To prove this an empirical study was conducted, 232 college students were selected in order to examine these orientations.\(^\text{16}\)

Kalpana Gupte (1989) in her book "A Study in the Process of Political Socialization," has made an attempt to provide an insight into the political socializing process. The process of socialization begins at the stage of childhood to the stage of adolescence. It is assumed that major part of Political learning is completed at this level. She stresses that, the family atmosphere is an important factor in inducing the children towards politics.\(^\text{17}\)
B.G. Desai (1967) in his Book "The Emerging Youth" examines the role of the youth in shaping the destiny of the country. It is a systematic and evaluative study of the high school students in Baroda district. 540 students were selected as sample on random basis. The research centered on exploring the background of students in terms of school settings, their habits and attainment of family. An attempt has been made to evaluate the impact of education on their aspirations.\(^{18}\)

Kenneth P. Longton and M. Kent Jennings in their article "Political Socialization and The High school civics curriculum in the United States" discuss on how different agencies of Political Socialization have contributed more on an individual in attainment of Political development. The research focuses to a great extent on family and school system. The paper explores and emphasizes how civics course of high school increases the knowledge of students about the Political Institutions and increase their understanding about their rights and citizenship training.\(^{19}\)

Geoffrey, K, Robert and Edward Arnold (1986), in their book "An Introduction to Comparative Politics" discuss on the significance of political culture. It's relation to the structure and process in five different political systems, namely, America, Britain, France, Germany and the Soviet Union. They further emphases the fact that, in any country. Political culture does not exist by accident or hereditary. But it is transmitted and acquired by several of means. They stress on the role of family as an important agency in most of the societies, by which children can get values, beliefs, faiths and attitudes.\(^{20}\)

Michael Mc Davit's article "The Partisan Child": Developmental provocation as a model of political socialization, mainly concentrates on the political identification of an adolescent prompted from their parents. It highlights on the role of family in generating information about politics among the adolescents.\(^{21}\)
Jon Langlo (2009), in his paper "Political Socialization at home and young people's educational achievement and ambition," examines the relationship between the adolescent's educational performance in academic subjects and ambition for higher education and their early political socialization in the family. This is a survey of a Norwegian youth covering the age-group of 13-19. The sample includes the students of three top grades of the Norwegian compulsory basic schools. Educational ambition and civic engagement are co-related among the young people. Parents discuss politics with their children in the families and have stronger effect on adolescent's civic outcome. The findings of the study reveal that, the communication of young people with their parents about political and social issues is strongly associated with their educational achievement. Here how often the students talk about the political and social issues with their parents is an indicator of the extent of their political socialization at home.22

Gary D, Wikkens and Donald E, Whistler (2007), in their article "A casual analysis of the political socialization of high school seniors in Arkansas", examine the female and male's percentage and level of political socialization as reflected in their political orientations. The scholars discuss on the political orientations of the high school seniors with their type of family and family's socio-economic back ground. For the purpose of testing the attitudinal and behavioral patterns of male and female children in nuclear and maternal family settings .703 high school seniors from seven schools in central Arkansas were selected on the basis of random sampling. The questionnaires were administered to collect the required data. The noteworthy aspect of this survey is, the young women do not differ significantly from the young men in either attention paid to politics or in their sense of political efficacy. Thus, it is essential to note that, the type of family does not affect on their political orientations.23

Terrolyn P. Carter (2009): In his article "Predicting Civic and Political Engagement: Family socialization and age-group differences", addresses two
important questions that, 1. Does family volunteering and voting habits determine the civic and political engagement among the adults? 2. Does age-group difference exist among the civic and the political engagement? For that purpose the scholar has selected 1349 respondents as sample of two age-groups namely, 819 were between the age of 20 and 25 and 530 were between the age-group of 26 and 97. The primary aim of this study was to determine the effects of family socialization and socio-demographic factors on the civic and political engagement of the adults. This study also sought to determine whether age-group differences exist among the civic and the political engagement.\(^{24}\)

David Ziblatt (1965): In his article "High School Extra-curricular Activities and Political Socialization", discusses on how extra-curricular activities teach the children to become good citizens. This study also establishes the fact that, there is no direct relationship between participation in extra-curricular activities among the high school students and their attitudes towards politics.\(^{25}\)

A. Holland and Thomas Andre (1987): in their article "Participation in extra-curricular Activities in Secondary Schools" throw light on how participation is correlated with the higher levels of self-esteem, improved race-relation, and involvement in political and social activities among the youngsters. The study further reveals that, students in smaller schools do participate in greater number and in a variety of extra-curricular activities than the students in the larger schools. Low ability and lower S. E. S. students are more involved in school life in smaller schools than their counterparts.\(^{26}\)

James, G, Gimple and jcelste lay (2003): In their book "Cultivating Democracy" civic environments and political socialization in America, emphasize on the need for exposure on the part of the youth to increase their nationalistic sentiment which in turn fosters respect for law and its enforcement as well as encourages tolerance for diversity. The book also focuses on how civics syllabus
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gives better instructions especially by the social studies course work educates the children about the government and politics. The students appreciate the inclusion of this subject which develops relevant attitudes towards the political systems.\textsuperscript{27}

Lee H. Ehman (1980) in his article "The American School in the Political Socialization Process" is an empirical study which addresses on the question of effects of schooling on the political socialization of the American youth. School level and class room level attributes are related to the process of political socialization. The school curriculum is found effective in transmitting knowledge but does not influence their attitudes. He said classroom environment, student participation in school activities and the school organizational environment are the main factors in determining the student's political attitudes.\textsuperscript{28}

Paul Howe (1966): "The Electoral Participation of Young". A working paper which examines outreach strategies targeted young electors in other jurisdictions and draws conclusions about the best practices that one can apply the same in Canada. Here author discusses the two types of non-voters namely, habitual non-voters, who never vote and intermittent non-voters, who vote sometimes but not regularly. As the nature of turnout decline among the young Canadians, the researcher suggests to conduct some programmes in schools as best practices, such as, mock elections and annual democracy day. etc, as a remedy to overcome this problem.\textsuperscript{29}

Richard G, Niem and Mary, A Hepburn (1-995): In their article," the Rebirth of Political Socialization", discusses the origin and down fall of political socialization with an eye towards its rebirth in a new and sustainable form. They argue that, political research should eschew most studies of young children and instead they focus on political learning in the years of the most rapid changes that take place during their adulthood like learning capacities and inquisitional attitudes. The age group between 14 and 25 years is the time in which the society imparts
most of its citizenship training. They emphasis more on school education which plays a vital role in providing better political learning. Finally they offer few specific suggestions for the development of this field, namely, 1. Greater emphasis on comparative studies. 2. More frequent analysis of secondary schools. 3. Direct involvement in an ongoing US studies.  

Eshanul Haq in his book, "School, Family and Media, their impact on Political Socialization of Children," examines how these agencies influence children in acquiring political orientations. He has made an earnest attempt to know this in the background of poverty. Poverty, illiteracy and ignorance are the great obstacles in imparting education to children in India. There is a wrecked connection between poverty and education to evolve a uniform pattern of schooling system. It is often said that, education is an instrument which promotes social transformation. The value based education is a powerful instrument to overcome the obstacles like deprivation, oppression and exploitation. It is an empirical study which contains six hundred respondents covering different school children, parents and teachers. The noteworthy aspect of this study is that, all the respondents were males.

Three type of schools namely; the government, the private aided and the unaided schools are covered for the purpose of testing the political Orientations. In the process of acquiring political orientations, public school (unaided) children, parents and teachers are successful when compared to the non public school's (the government and the aided) where children, parents and teachers lag behind in possessing political orientations. Exposure to media is also very low among them when compared to public schools. Public schools in general are meant for the people who are strong both socially and economically. But the children from the weaker sections of the society mainly depend on non public schools. Hence the researcher strongly recommends for the uniform schooling system in India.
Elaine Grafton Carlson (1975): In his thesis "Political Socialization in North America", makes an attempt to construct a theory on how attitudes are developed through the political socialization process. This thesis throws a light on the principal agencies likely; family, school, peer group and social milieu and their impact on political attitudes. It makes a hypothesis that, the family does not play the most influential role in the political socialization process. The researcher has made an earnest attempt to present an overall picture about the process of political socialization and analyzes the role played by the agents in the creation of political man. The primary object of the researcher is to make an attempt to throw light on or to study cross cultural comparison of the socialization process in Canada and United states.32

Jyoshna Rani Behara (1996) in her book "Political Socialization of Woman": A study of teenage girls, she has selected only girls students from the four districts of the most backward regions hilly areas of Orissa. She has tried to examine the problems that rural girl child faces in comparison with their urban counterpart. The socio-economic, political and educational background causes a restraint to the girl child than to help her. The mass media has remained a distant dream for these regions. The parents biased attitude towards girl child is also one of the barriers to the girl's political learning. On the whole the study provides an insight into the process of political socialization which is strengthened with the increase in the opportunities in education and socio-economic development.33

K.S. Padhy and S.Choudhary (1989), "Political Sociology", in an article relating to the present study 'Political Socialization of high school students of an Orissa town.' The writers mainly concentrate in identifying the patterns of political orientations of the students and examine the role of agencies of political socialization such as, Family, School, Peer group and Mass Media in acquiring them. 200 students from four different high schools were selected for this purpose. The outcome of the study was the convent and the central school students possess a
high degree of political orientations than those of the government and the municipal schools. The study also highlights on the social and economic factors in influencing children's Political socialization. It is remarked that, 'Poverty is one of the greater barrier to the political socialization of the children India.'

Jennifer Bachner (2010), in his paper, "From classroom to voting booth: the effect of high school Civics education on turnout", examines the effects of high school education on turnout. The study reveals that, there is a relationship between civics course and political knowledge. As civics education has been largely neglected in America. Recently scholars have begun to revisit the relationship between civics education and political knowledge. The author finds out problems in education in the ongoing research study. He also discusses on how civics education strengthens student's psychological engagement with politics by increasing their political knowledge. The article also examines the effect of civics course work which helps to interact with the level of parental participation. The author expects that, children whose parents are not highly politicized derive a greater benefit from civics education than their peers'. This has led the children relatively to get influence from the other socializing agents. The article suggests that, civics education compensates for a relative lack of political socialization at home and thereby it enhances a participatory approach.

Dr. Roma Chakra Borty (1990): In her book "Political Socialization of students in Metro Politian Calcutta" has examines the political attitudes of the students of higher secondary, science, arts and commerce under graduates and postgraduates. 440 students were selected as sampling. The study focuses on the role of agents on political socialization, such as, Family, Peer groups and Teachers help in shaping their Political Orientations. The primary interest of the researcher is to assess the difference between the political orientations of the female and male students.
Carale Pate man (1971): In his work "Political Culture, Political Structure and Political Change," has tried to test the statement of Almond and Verba, that is, the relationship between the political culture and the political structure is one of the most pertinent researchable aspect on the problems related to political stability and change. How this relationship is treated as an area relevant to the questions of political stability and change in their society. In this connection the author also discusses about the 'civic culture,' which is largely concerned with the studies of political participation, apathy and political efficacy.\(^\text{37}\)

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1963); in their "Civic Culture: Political Attitude and Democracy in five Nations" have examined on the socialization of the citizens into the civic culture. This is the first study in the comparative politics and also the first attempt to collect and codify the variables measuring citizen's participation across the five different states. It is the cross sectional survey which measures the degree of political participation of the citizens in America, Mexico, Great Britain, Germany and Italy. They conducted identical survey in five countries with 1,000 samples in each country. Experimental method has been adopted. Civic culture is one which refers to the political orientations and the attitudes towards political system. In their study they identify three broad types of political culture namely, parochial, subjective and participatory political culture. Civic culture exhibits participatory characteristics in which participatory action is based on assumptions of rationality. They assert that, civic culture is not taught in schools rather it is transmitted by a complex process which includes training in many social institutions namely, family, school, peers work and the political system. This book has opened up new perspectives in the theory of democratic politics.\(^\text{38}\)

Byeong Chulpark: (1993), in his article "An aspects of Political Socialization of students movement participants in Korea", examines the hypothesis from two perspectives. Lineage socialization and generation unit. To examine the influence of qualitative variables on students protest behavior 360 questionnaire were collected
from three universities of Korea in 1991. The findings support to the generation unit model. This presents a strong horizontal age group bond in Korean society which influences student's political orientations and their protest behavior. The data also indicates that, agents other than parents such as Peers, Mentors, Media and so forth affect the process of socialization to politics among the Korean student's sample.39

Evans, Cortney (2009): In his paper "Agents of political socialization of youth in Mukono, Uganda", puts forth the significance on the process of political socialization among the youth in understanding the political knowledge of citizens. According to this study, youths are more affected by the media and schools rather than by the family to acquire political information.40

James Simon, Bruce D, Merrill (1998): In their study "Political Socialization in the Classroom Revisited: The kids voting programme" have suggested certain secondary benefits of kids voting, through which children develop the habits of attitudes by watching news in Mass media and they develop the attitude to discuss public affairs at home as well as with their friends.41

Amy linimon and mark R, joslyn: "Trickle-up political socialization: the impact of kids voting U. S. A. on voter's turnout in Kansas", is an important study which explicates the direct linkage of kids voting and the voter turnout in America. Its aim is to socialize children towards political affairs at the early age. The programme so designed mainly covers elementary and secondary school students. It includes a special school curriculum that culminates in the actual ballot. Participation in mock election and kids voting are the programmes which allow the parents to accompany their children to the poll on the day, where special ballots are provided for the students to cast their votes. There are two benefits from this programme a) children are informed about candidates, their preference and the electoral process, b) Parents escort their children to the polls on the Election Day;
the programme tends to develop their participation and involvement in the percentage of polling.42

Larry, N, Stern and Monte Palmer (1971): In their article, "Political Socialization of Student Attitudes and Political Participation", have collected a sample of Colombia University students and identified the students’ active participation in the politics. In addition to the steady rise of the student protest in France, Germany and the United states, it also attracts them to the politics of economically developed states. The writers stress on the lack of empirical study in political socialization process to make the students politically active. The shortage of empirical data in the non-American area is acute. The present study is a small step towards filling this wide gap.43

Mare Hooghe, (2004): In his article "Political Socialization and The Future of Politics," discusses, how generation replacement becomes a driving force for social and political changes in liberal democracies. Considerable observations are made in this article. Political attitudes and behaviours of the young people differ significantly from those of the earlier cohorts. It is because of generation replacement in western political systems. Youth studies become a glimpse of the future evolution and the research establishes a marked difference between generations with regards to political behavior, participation, attitudes or norms and values and current opinions etc.

The most important findings of this article are lack of democratic commitment and engagement among the young people who do not like to cast a vote during elections. In many western countries voter turnout is on a decline. At the same time, the author points out certain reasons, namely 1. children that move out of their parental home.2. One who holds a steady job.3 one is getting married and changes in the media environment over the past 20 years are the reasons for their lack of interest of the youth towards political participation in the western political system.44
Martine Barthelemy (1988): In his article "Patterns of Political Socialization in a Social Democratic Culture": The case of Norway focuses mainly on the adolescents attitudes towards the political system and the partisan dimensions of their political universe. This study is based on the response of 616 Norwegians children between the age group of 12 and 16 years.\(^\text{45}\)

E.S.K. Ghosh (1981): "Social identity and Political Socialization", a seminar paper in which the author attempts to explore and investigate certain cognitive and affective aspects and attitudes of the children at the age group of 8, 9 and 10 years in India. The main approach of this paper is to demonstrate differential effects of socio-cultural variables in the acquisition of political orientations.\(^\text{46}\)

Mary A. Hepburn (1995): In her article "Revitalizing Political Socialization research an introduction to the symposium" highlights more on Hyman's views on Political Socialization. Hyman is considered as the initial stimulator for the emergence of Political Socialization concept. In his book Political Socialization 1959, Hyman pointed out that, how the young people learn Political Orientations with the help of agencies of political socialization. He assessed the absorption of Political Orientations among the high school students. His work has led the researchers and scholars to conduct their own studies on this concept and made it popular and enriched this field of inquiry.\(^\text{47}\)

Kenneth P. Longton has stressed on the importance of education to the success of democratic and republican government. "The Civics Courses in High School" emphasizes on the study of political institutions and citizenship training. The civics courses increase the student's knowledge about institutions make him more interested and become loyal citizen and it increases ones understanding of one's own rights and the rights of others. Ultimately it is clear from the above that, curriculum, teacher, school climate, and peer groups contribute to the development of political socialization of the students.\(^\text{48}\)
Robert Douse and others (1972): In their book "Political Sociology" discuss on the political culture, its essence is acquiring by an individual in a political system. They also discuss on the importance of the concept political socialization in transmitting political culture through its various agents. It is noted from this book that, in America family and peer group have not played significant role than the school and mass media.\textsuperscript{49}

Harvey E. Rich (1979); in his paper "The Acquisition of Political Orientations by the college Students" argues that, the acquisition of political attitudes, beliefs and knowledge is essential without which political socialization process becomes incomplete. For that purpose three hypothesis were set and examined. Data was collected by the college students in the town cohorts. The hypotheses were 1. Political Socialization is not uniform at all levels 2) Political effect remains relatively stable throughout the college years, while cognition changes, 3) The present structural variables have a greater effect on cognition while background variables have their own impact on them. The verification of these hypotheses demonstrates the utility of a complex differentiated model such as one that has been postulated and the one fruitful use of this typology lies in the possibility that, researcher can develop linkage between them and can develop as model of political socialization. The agents involved in socialization towards any component of the political domain can be located at any point in the life cycle.\textsuperscript{50}

Haridwar Singh (1983) in his book "Democratic Orientations of Students in India." A study in Political Socialization, discusses sensitive problems of India and on the functional aspects of democracy for its development. The study attempts to explicate, pre-adult political socialization in India. The researcher argues that, Without Socializing the Pre-adult towards democratic values, the system will be deprived of the basic resource which is required' for the stability of the system. The author has interviewed 600 respondents of final year school, college and university to measure the students' level of democratic orientations. This work highlights on
how democracy acts as an agent in socializing the students for the next generation in its values and institutions.\textsuperscript{51}

Shanto Iyenger (1960): In her article, "Socialization towards Democratic Norms in a Developing Nation: Approval of dissent among the Indian youth". Dissents that, the legitimacy of political dissent is an integral element of democratic political culture. The tolerance of dissent among the youth as an area of democracy is evolved in the western world. The available evidence with regard to pre-adult attitudes towards dissent has led the researcher to question the extent to which childhood socialization inculcates support for democratic values. These values are learnt instead of generalized principles. The study reveals that, most of the children and adolescents in case of dissent are unwilling to extent the right to specific individuals and groups. This illustrates that, public support for democratic principles is far from equivalent to public support for application of these principles.\textsuperscript{52}

Pia vedel Ankersen (2008): "Rethinking of Political Socialization in an Old Fashion way", is an empirical study of 896 Danish pupils in common schools and a few private schools covering the age-group of 9-15 years. The study examines the empirical questions regarding children's views on political system. They are, 1. How does child's perception of the political system develop overtime? 2. At what age children establish an effective connection with the political system? 3. What is the difference between the ways in which adult and children perceive the system? Since the author is inspired by the work of David Easton, who has conducted empirical study to understand the children's views on political system at the early age. According to Easton, during childhood an understanding of the political system begins to grow. Later on the political system influences them to relate themselves to the political system when they grow into adults. The main aim of this study is to trace the specific developmental stages among its children, who observe the
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political system in their own ways and relate all these stages for the consideration about political socialization.\(^5^3\)

D, Deol (1985): In his book "Comparative Government and Politics" discusses on the study of political culture and its importance in a political system. He also reveals the patterns of political orientations, its application in a political system and its input and output function.\(^5^4\)

Rajini Kothari (1989): In her book "Politics in India" has pointed out on how Political Socialization is neglected by the Indian scholars. She emphasizes a research on childhood through Political Socialization. Hence, the author mainly stresses the need on the part of Political scientists to work in this area and it is necessary to stimulate the theoretical work in Political Socialization.\(^5^5\)

B.K. Nagla (1999) in his book "Political Sociology" which contains many essays. In an essay 'Towards the understanding of Political Socialization' by Aran P. Bali seeks to understand the phenomenon political socialization as it throws insights into the ways in which cognitive and affective process take place. It seeks to examine the origin and the growth of political tendencies in an individual as he moves from birth and family nurtures him as a child until he attains political maturity as a citizen. This paper examines several definitional problems and statements, on the conceptual frame work of political socialization. He says that socialization is an integral part of every society's social process. A scholar like Easton opines that, 'political socialization is a key variable in the understanding of the political system. It highlights on the different approaches to political socialization. It briefly refers to this concept as a subject matter for interdisciplinary research. It also addresses itself to understand the various agencies of political socialization and their role in generating attitudes and behaviors which have political consequences. It must be borne in mind that, much of political socialization is both non-political in its origin and latent in its process.\(^5^6\)
Jack Dennis (1968): In his paper, "Major problems of political socialization" discusses the major problems that confront in the process of political socialization; its relevance, its content, life-cycle, patterns generation differences, cross-cultural comparisons, sub-groups and sub-cultural variations, the political learning process and extent of impact of agents upon individuals. S7

It is clear from the above review of literature that, socialization is an integral part of every society's social process. Political socialization is a key variable in the understanding of the political system. It is a process by which individual learns and develops certain orientations towards political process. This concept is well established in the western countries and studies have been conducted specially on the children and the students.

Although a few studies have been conducted, the fundamental research in this field has largely been neglected by the political scientists in India. India is a democratic and developing country, wherein the child needs acceptance and exploration through political socialization. It is necessary for the youth of this country to be socialized towards democratic values. Otherwise stability cannot be maintained. Since the youths are the destiny of a nation, they must properly be socialized towards politics and political systems.

In the research of the social sciences there is a growing emphasis on the behavioral research. Greater attention is paid to the study of the socializing patterns. Research study is required in this direction to explore the student's attitudes and orientations towards politics. Therefore, it is evident that research work conducted on political socialization in Karnataka is limited, more so in the context of political socialization of the students of high schools in Shivamogga. No research work has been undertaken on this aspect. Against this back-ground, it is desirable to take up the present research problem, to enquire into and also to examine "the patterns and challenges to political socialization of high school students" and the impact
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of the agents of political socialization over the students of town and village areas of Shivamogga district in Karnataka.

Research Questions:

The present study attempts to address certain questions such as, what is political culture? What is political socialization? To what extent these concepts make sense in the Indian context? Is there any gap between what they learn in the class room about politics, democracy and their actual experiences outside the class room? If so how do we account for the same? Whether the process of political socialization helps the students in understanding the bulk of the political system? Thus, the present study is an analysis on the "patterns and challenges to political socialization of high school students: A case study of Shivamogga District"

Objectives of the Study:

Based on the review of literature, the present study sets the following objectives:

1. To know the nature of political socialization of the students and their understanding about politics.

2. To study as to how different agencies of political socialization shape the students' political attitude and behavior.

3. To understand the parental influence over the students political learning.

4. To know the role played by socio-economic and educational factors of family in shaping and moulding the attitudes and outlooks of student towards politics.

5. To assess the students political orientations, such as political awareness, political participation and evaluative orientations.
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Hypothesis

The present study has the following hypotheses:

1. A sense of political consciousness gradually develops with the growth of their age and education among the high school students.

2. With regard to the notion of politics the students are subject to two types of learning, a) In the class room they learn through the text books and b) they learn their experience outside the class room.

3. Girls are more politically socialized and politically conscious than the boys.

4. Political awareness, political participation and evaluative orientation are found high among the students of lower castes and the students of towns than the villages.

5. Mass media, Parents education, profession and income affect the process of political socialization of the students.

Area and Scope of Study

Area of Study

The present study centers round the process of political socialization through different political orientations among the high school students of Shivamogga district, which is one among 27 districts of Karnataka state. For this purpose, the researcher has selected two taluks out of seven taluks of the district for the field study. Since the study is a comprehensive one, the researcher has considered different variables before making the selection of two taluks and 30 high schools of both in towns and villages. The development indicators such as, Population, Agriculture, Irrigation, Transportation and communication, Financial structure, Medical and health facilities and literacy rate are taken into consideration while selecting these two taluks. Based on the above variables, the researcher has found
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that, Shivamogga is a developed taluk while Shikaripura is a developing taluk. The field survey covers the selected high schools of the government, the private aided and the unaided schools under study.

The nature of these two taluks understudy is, Shivamogga is a district headquarter. Most of its parts come in Malnad region and many well known and respected Educational institutions are successfully imparting education to the children. People here are very sensitive towards politics, which created space among the people to develop political awareness. On the other hand, Shikaripura is one of the developing taluks of the district surrounded by dry land area.

Other important factors which prompted the researcher to select Shivamogga a case study are, it is a cultural centre as well as people are very much aware of politics. Leading politicians and the four chief-ministers have hailed from this district. The role played by the national and the regional political parties cannot be undermined. The parties and their local units and their activities create political awareness among the people in general and youth in particular.

Scope of the Study

The present study relates and restricts the political socialization of the high school students in Shivamogga district. The students of high school are immature and adolescents. It is at this stage both body and mind begins to change or transform. Good impression or awareness about the political system helps them to develop a friendly attitude towards the political system. The syllabus of civics taught can easily shape and mould them towards politics. The present research study covers the high school children belonging to the age group of 13 to 16 years. Three types of school, namely, the Government, the private aided and the unaided high schools are covered to understand the political orientations among the students. The scope of the research study also includes, sex, medium, caste-wise analysis as
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well as town and village high schools to make it a more meaningful and scientific research.

Importance of the Study

India is one of the largest democratic and the fast developing countries in the world. The study of political socialization is essential, as the strength and sustainability of the democratic system requires more and more citizens' participation, which mainly depend upon the political learning of the people. Thus, political learning has to be begun at the early age. In India more than half of the population belongs to younger group, who are considered as the pillars and resources of a country. They can shape the future of the country. Hence it is the need of the hour to channelize them towards the daunting task of nation building. It is through the process of political socialization, they can imbibe democratic orientations, which are essential for creating and sustaining the political system. Thus, pre-adult period is the best period to mould and shape the children towards politics. "What was learnt in this period was learnt best."

Methodology

In view of the nature of the problem and techniques to be used, it is very clear at the outset that, the researcher has collected data's from both the primary and the secondary sources. While collecting the data a combination method of survey and observation have been employed. This in turn has contributed to make an in-depth study covering all the aspects of the patterns and challenges to political socialization of the high school students. A comprehensive study of political socialization of students has been conducted in support of the research under study.
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Tools for Data Collection

Since the study is a comprehensive one, the researcher has employed several field study tools. Adequate care has been given for collecting both the primary and the secondary data. In order to give validity to the study and to make it exhaustive, Primary data is collected by using structured questionnaire and schedule (both in English and Kannada medium) to elicit the response from the respondents, namely the high school students. The questionnaire broadly encompasses the respondents' personal information, their socio-economic and educational background, importance of agents of political socialization and political orientations.

Secondary data has been collected from the published and the unpublished literature on political socialization of high school students to analyze their political awareness, political participation and evaluative orientation. It includes books, reviews, working papers, articles, journals, periodicals, newspapers and other related documents from D.D.P.I., B.E.O. and the statistical department documents regarding the number of schools and the number of students, ratio of boys and girls, number of schools the government, the Private aided and the unaided, and also information about Shivamogga district. The researcher has collected information from the news coverage in the columns of the News papers and from the other research journals.

Pilot Survey

To test the validity and reliability of the questionnaire, a pilot survey has been carried out by using the questionnaire prepared. It is necessary to try out the questionnaire with similar respondents before conducting a field survey; it is necessary from the researcher's point of view to finalize the questionnaire. By pilot survey researcher can determine whether the respondents of different levels are able to comprehend them or not. To find out whether the language used was simple, appropriate and was easily understood by those for whom it was circulated and also
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to establish the reliability of the test. Both English and Kannada versions of the questionnaire was prepared. For conducting pilot survey two high schools were selected. One from a government high school at Shivamogga, another one is a (private) village high school namely, Chamundeshwari high school at Santekadur. 25 questionnaires were administered separately in Kannada for Kannada medium students and English for English medium students. Good response was obtained at the pilot survey. On the basis of the insight and analysis from this survey, necessary modifications and alterations were made in the final questionnaire.

Field Work

The major field work has been done for collecting the relevant materials and field data as a continues process till the completion of work. The researcher has adopted non-participant observation technique to supplement the data collected through the questionnaire. Before administering the questionnaire, the researcher has selected three types of schools namely, the government, the Private aided and the unaided schools in both Shivamogga and Shikaripura Taluks. The researcher took the permission from the head of the Institutions to meet the students and to collect the relevant data. The collected data has been tabulated, coded and decoded manually as well as by using computers. Analysis of information and tables is done by using percentage and verbal description. This study is an attempt within the identifiable confines and the findings are based upon them.

Sampling Method

In order to make the study more comprehensive and inclusive Simple Random sampling method is employed by the researcher. In Shivamogga district, there are 343 high schools. Since it is difficult to conduct interview to all the students, out of 7 taluks, two taluks have been selected, out of 343 high schools, 150 high schools are situated in the taluks selected for the study. 20% of 150 high
schools were selected to make it a scientific study. 20% means, 30 high schools, which include both the government and the private aided and the unaided high schools. The factors prompted the researcher to select these schools are,

a) The medium of instruction differs from one school to another.

b) The socio-economic background of the students who enrolled in these schools differs.

c) The facilities and infrastructure available in the schools.

d) The school environment.

Sample Size:

In the present sample study equal weightage has been given to all the three types of school. From each types of school 10 high schools have been selected. Total 30 high schools are taken to the present study. 466 respondents have been drawn from all the 30 high schools.

Chapter Scheme of the Study:

The present study has been divided into Six chapters;

Chapter - 1 : Introduction

The first chapter is the widely accepted convention, an introductory chapter contains the subject matter and the concept of Political Socialization and its significance, emergence of Political Socialization, review of Literature, need of the Study, importance of the study, objectives of the study, hypothesis and Methodology.
Chapter - II: Theoretical Frame Work and Agents of Political Socialization

There are two sections in this chapter, in the first section the researcher has identified certain theories and approaches regarding the concept of political socialization. Based on the theories, approaches and review of literature certain indicators have been drawn. In the second section the researcher has discussed the agents of political socialization on theoretical basis.

Chapter-III: A Profile of Shivamogga District and Socio-Economic Conditions of the Respondents under Study

This chapter includes two parts, the first part throws a light on the district bird's eye view picture about the natural features of geography, literacy rate, historical background of the Shivamogga, demographic factors, education, factory and industries, transport and communication system in the district and classification of the types of school namely, the government, the aided and the unaided. The second part of the chapter deals with the socio-economic and educational conditions of the respondents understudy. The respondents in Shivamogga district have different religious, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds. It is very important to understand the political orientations of the students of different types of schools in the district. This chapter explicates a brief analysis of the demographic background of the students in the formal educational system in a modern society. The socio-economic status comprises of students age, Sex, class, caste, language and their parents education, occupation and income. All these aspects have a very close correlation with their level of political socialization in apolitical system.

Chapter -IV: Agents of Political Socialization

In this chapter, the researcher has made an earnest attempt to know how the different agents namely, family, school, peer groups, mass media and political parties influence the school children to learn and internalize the Political Orientations.
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Chapter-V: 5.1 Political Orientations and Political Socialization

This chapter contains two sections. The first section of the chapter explains about the Political orientations such as cognitive, affective and evaluative. These three different dimensions of political orientations are the basic requirements to the training of citizens in general and high school students in particular for the survival of a political system. The second section deals with the levels and the Process of Political Socialization of the high school students understudy.

Chapter VI: Summary and Conclusion

This chapter includes a brief summary of the major findings of the previous chapters made by the researcher on the basis of primary and secondary data. It includes few suggestions to improve the children's political learning.
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