CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
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SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

The importance of Political Socialization has been recognised from the earliest times although no systematic study of the political socialization appeared until 1959, when Hebert Hyman's 'Political Socialization' appeared. While the relationship between social and political fields has been perceived for a long time, the term 'Political Socialization' is new one. Socialization was studied by Sociologists, Psychologists and Political Scientists. Piaget has done much work in this field over a period of forty years. In recent years some journals like "Child Development" and the Merrill Palmer quarterly have concentrated on this area. However, these studies do not have much political relevance. They are relevant for the fact that they provide a wider perspective in understanding child perspective in understanding child development.

Political socialization has some of its intellectual origins in education research which goes back to the turn of the century. During 1920-30 the American Historical Association sponsored some studies in the formal aspect of civil training. In 1931, Charles Merrian edited a 9-volume series on political development. The focus of studies was on the school system and the youth.

Pioneering work in the field of political socialization was done by
Herbert Hyman, a Sociologist himself. He reanalysed earlier studies in terms of their political implication and indelibly impressed upon political scientists and psychologists that political learning is indeed a challenging and worthy subject in its own right. His book, ‘Political Socialization,’ is a collection of precursory studies. He attempted to analyse the concept of political sociolization with the help of a number of empirical studies. This was followed by propositional inventories by Patrick, Dawson and Greenstein.


Studies were begun under Easton and Hess of the University of Chicago and by Greenstein at New Haven. The rather surprising findings of these two studies about the idealization of children's political ideas have been a source of fascination and with college uprising of the mid-60s a source of consternation. Ultimately most of these findings were summarized in three works.


These studies were based on quasi-longitudinal research designs aimed at identifying the developmental path of political attitudes over the elementary school years.

In the mid-60s another study with a different research design and emphasis was undertaken at the University of Michigan by Jennings and Neimi. Interviews were held with high school seniors, and their parents and teachers and school principals with the purpose of determining the sources of young people's ideas.

Soon a number of texts and readers appeared.

Texts


Readers


These sources provide an overview of what has been done. More recently studies of political socialization in the USA has taken at least three new directions.

1. There are studies of sub-groups of the American population, especially groups likely to hold attitudes different from those of middle class American whites, e.g. Studies of Appalachian Youth (Hirsch, 1971), Studies of Blacks (Lyons, 1970; Rogers and Taylor, 1971) and Studies of Mexican Americans (Corn Blotch, 1971, Garcia, 1972).

2. The host of studies in other countries indicate the degree of generalizability of some of findings on American youth.

3. The few methodological studies undertaken (Vaillancourt, 1970, Neimi, 1973) get at some of the serious methodological questions that must be considered when any new population is first studied.

All these studies show a serious concern for the development of political socialization theory and its use in empirical research. Yet many
gaps remain despite several contributions. However, controversies over theory, methods and concepts are not unexpected, particularly when given the fact that advances in the field of political socialization have only recently been the basis of systematic research.

Research material and books are available in plenty on this subject. As Dennis remarks, "for a field that had been named and defined less than a decade before this is a phenomenal rate of growth"\(^1\).

The present level and volume of research in this important area in India is inadequate. Most of the notable work done in this field has been that of American scholars. Indian representation in strength in this regard would be appropriate. As a matter of fact, Indian thought and folk practices have been sensitive to the socialization process. However, this has remained unorganised and untapped.

In 1966 Pareek\(^2\) made an attempt to enlist the published and unpublished work done in the field of behavioural sciences and presented it in the form of a book.

In 1971 another volume was brought out supplementing the earlier one. But Pareek does not seem to have listed studies in Economics and Political Science. Yet the references listed under the titles "Socialization," "Student Attitude" and "Youth" have some relevance. The studies on socialization concentrate mainly on child rearing practices and formation of personality of school-going children and are based upon statistical measurement. Under the heading "Student Attitude" are listed a number of studies in the field of psychology and education and some
indirectly encompass the field of political socialization. Under the title "Youth", three studies are indirectly related to political socialization done at master's level. These deal with youth movements in India and political consciousness of youth.

A pioneering study of high school students was made by I.P. Desai in 1953. The study relates to the impact of several social factors like place of residence, caste, occupation and economic condition of the family of the students.

In 1966 Y.B. Damle studied 200 college students, the criteria being their academic performance. Out of the 200 students, 60 were intensively interviewed on the basis of social awareness and sense of wider identity and involvement in social affairs. Besides students, their parents and peer groups also formed part of the study. Study puts emphasis on the development of autonomy amongst the students and has, therefore, taken cognizance of the various facts of development from the curricular to the extra-curricular and also in respect of social sensitivity, social responsibility, etc.

In 1967, B.G. Desai made a descriptive study of High School youth of Baroda District. In all, 540 students from 52 High Schools were selected on a random basis. The focus of attention of this study was to explore the background of students in terms of school settings, their habits and attainment in family. An attempt was made to evaluate the impact of education upon their aspirations-educational and occupational.
In 1975, S.K. Gupta published his study on Political Socialization. He studied a sample of 220 post-primary students in a school in a U.P. town. He takes account of the role of family and teacher in the shaping of attitudes and outlook of his subjects.

In 1977, Rajendra Vora in his mimeographed report on political socialization has emphasis on political socialization of college students. He studied impact of college education upon political knowledge, values and participation of students in Poona.

S.N. Mishra study in political socialization in rural India published in 1980. The author has tried to explain the impact of political socialization on tradition bound stratified rural society. He has successfully depicted the changes occurring in our social system as a result of political socialization. This study revolves round the rural society in the setting of Amarpur Gram Panchayat. The sample drawn is basically rural masses of different age groups and different stratifications. The focus theme of the study is on urban influence and social change.

In 1980, Judith Siquera undertook a study of political socialization of undergraduates in Goa. A sample of 360 students was taken. It was found that sex, religion, economic status, faculty and language affect students in their extent of political involvement. An interesting finding was that Hindu students and students from non-Catholic Institutions were more politically involved than Catholic students and those from Catholic Institutions. Catholic students in non-Catholic educational institutions are more politically involved than those from
Catholic institutions. Thus, religion is an important factor. Marathi speaking students, commerce students and poor students have been found to be more politically involved.

In 1981, Mrs.L.S.Honap\textsuperscript{10} studied the political socialization of college girls in Poona covering a sample of 482 students. It studied the impact of socializing agents on the political socialization of college girl students. Her finding is that family was the most influensive agent in the process of political socialization. Discussions within the family affected the political knowledge and progressive values.

In 1981, another study by Ehsanul Haque\textsuperscript{11} was published. He has studied a sample of High School students in Delhi. He has delineated a positive relation between poverty on one hand and non-conformity and militancy on the other. Looked at from this angle, it becomes easy to understand how value oriented education can become an instrument for soothing discontent, enforcing conformity and nipping in the bud any revolutionary mobilization of the oppressed.

In 1986, Mrs.Kalpana Gupte\textsuperscript{12} has done a pioneering work in studying the process of political socialization spread over the 4th Std Primary, 7th Std Middle School, XIlth Std Higher Secondary and the final year of the graduation level. This spread of respondents has given an interesting spectrum of how students get socialized.

In 1986, K.K.Singh\textsuperscript{13} has thrown light on structures through the MLA's in Bihar Assembly politically get socialized. In this empirical research he has studied causes and consequences of political behaviour on the process of political socialization.
So far the researchers have studied the process of political socialization in pre-adult life. In 1959, H. Hyman has dealt with the concept of political socialization in the Encyclopaedia of Communication. He stated that the political socialization after the adolescent life has not been studied. Hence the topic of present study is chosen. Not only that, but it focuses attention on the politically marginalised group of the beedi workers. It addresses itself to the beedi workers whose age range between 15 to 65 years.

In 1986, Mr. K.K. Singh has studied the political socialization of MLA's in Bihar Assembly. The nature of present study is quite different from that of this study because the MLA's activity share the political power by virtue of their political standard. This research is concerned with political marginalized group at two levels; firstly at urban level and secondly at rural level. These two levels facilitate a comparison between political socialization process at rural level and urban level.

The most striking feature of this study is that it includes women beedi workers. The women in workers are in majority. It is observed that most of the beedi workers are Hindu Padmasali caste.

In the previous researches undertaken on the political socialization, more importance is given to the agents like family, mass media, educational institutions etc., but in the present study trade union as an agent of political socialization has been brought into focus. The present research makes an attempt to study the degree of the consciousness of beedi workers about economic gains vis-a-vis their consciousness about the political surroundings. The study attempts to
explain which of these two consciousness is sharper than the other.

Beedi making is not a regular and the only source of income of beedi-rollers, but it is a secondary source of income. Interestingly the leftist political parties have found it worthwhile to organise this group in Maharashtra State. Beedi workers come under the low income and illiterate category. Therefore, they have limited expectations from the political establishments. Needless to say they could never get any political power. They have a tendency to increase their income and uplift the status of their family. The beedi workers do not contest either for the regional or national level elections. They come into contact with the political establishments only through the trade union. Here too their main object does not go beyond their economic benefit. The beedi workers regard the beedi rolling as a secondary source of income. Therefore, the beedi workers have not been able to form a politically based and well established group of their own. As such they are regarded only a pressure group. It is also to be noted that the beedi workers unions have never nominated any official contestant of their own for Parliamentary, Assembly or Zilla Parishad elections. And, therefore, the beedi workers have always remained as politically marginalized group.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. J. Dennis; “Socialization to Politics” (John Wiley and Sons), 1973, p.493.


8. Mishra S.N.; “Political Socialization in Rural India - A Case Study” Inter India; Publications, New Delhi, 1980.


11. Haque Ehsanul; *Education and Political Culture in India: The Limits of Schooling Systems and Political Socialization*, Sterling, New Delhi, 1981.


15. Singh K.K., n.13

16. The reports submitted by the management of Beedi Industries to the Office of the Assistant Labour Commissioner in Ahmednagar.
SECTION II : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The chapter on Research Methodology is divided in five parts; they are as under:
I) Methodology
II) Tools of Investigation
III) Hypotheses
IV) Universe of Research
V) Limitations of Study

I) METHODOLOGY

This is a field-work research. It aims to find out the process of political socialization of the beedi workers. They are not well educated. Either they are migrated from Andhra Pradesh or shifted from agriculture that provides partial employment. They are not of homogeneous nature. The unique characteristic of beedi rolling group is that the women workers outnumber the main workers. Both the male and female workers are assisted by their children.

The study is based on selective sampling that includes 955 beedi workers, 35 beedi union leaders, 10 beedi factory owners in Ahmednagar city and Sangamner taluka.

The research attempts to inquire into the process to how do the beedi workers acquire knowledge about political environment through the agents of political socialization. It also studies the political attitudes and reactions of the beedi workers to the political phenomenon. The research undertaken endeavours to find out how an economic vertical
mobility has a bearing upon the values and norms of the beedi workers.

The survey visualises the minimum level of political socialization by setting simple questions to measure the awareness of the beedi workers concerning their day to day life. This presumption would not require resurvey of the sample. Hence the incoming replies are treated as the outcome of the process of political socialization as a continuous process.

II) TOOLS OF INVESTIGATION

This part is sub-divided into four parts.

A) Preparation of Questionnaire
B) Conducting Interviews
C) Statistical Tools and Computer Programming
D) Library work

A) Preparation of Questionnaire

For finding out the degree of socialization of beedi workers three types of questionnaires were prepared. They were meant for:

i) the beedi workers
ii) the beedi leaders of the unions of beedi workers
iii) the beedi factory owners

(These three questionnaires are given in the Appendix II)

i) For the beedi workers: The questionnaire for the beedi workers aims to collect their personal information. Certain questions were asked to seek how for the beedi workers are politically socialized. In order to computerise the collected data the quesdtion sets
were properly codified (see Appendix III Part (A)).

ii) For the beedi leaders of the unions of beedi workers: The questionnaire prepared for this category was of elicit information about their experience, education and their knowledgibility.

iii) For the beedi factory owners: The third type of questionnaire was framed for the sake of gathering opinions of beedi factory owners on the issues of beedi workers, their reactions to the welfare schemes proposed by the Government and to the demands of the beedi workers.

B) Conducting Interviews

This part was sub divided into following categories:

i) Interviews of the beedi workers

ii) Interviews of the union leaders

iii) Interviews of the beedi factory owners

i) Interviews of the beedi workers: While filling the questionnaire from the workers a brief interview was also conducted. However, such type of interview was confined to a small number of workers, who showed little depth of social, political and economical information. Proper care was taken so that true information would come out.

ii) Interviews of the Union Leaders: Though institutionally Trade Union was a principal agent of socialization actually union leaders were its active agents. Hence prolonged discussions were held with them.
iii) Interviews of the beedi factory owners: In the socialization process of the beedi workers the owners of the beedi factories had an important say. They have their own perspective which was likely to be contested by the union leaders and vice-versa. The factory owners play a role of political socializer.

C) Statistical Tools and Computer Programming

The total respondents are classified in three groups: beedi workers, beedi union leaders and beedi factory owners. Separate questionnaire is prepared for each group. The questionnaire for beedi workers consists 51 questions, whereas 45 questions are in the questionnaire for beedi factory owners. Actual respondents from beedi workers are 955 whereas 35 and 10 from beedi union leaders and beedi factory owners respectively. The big volume of data has put restrictions on its analysis. The need of the modern technique like computer thus becomes imperative.

The computerisation is of a great help in many ways e.g. caste-wise or sex-wise classification of the data become easily available. Besides this combination of one or more attributes to any other attributes can also be obtained with no extra efforts. Otherwise in manual working it might have taken too much of time.

Computer Programming

The scores of family background, social development, economic awareness, professional awareness etc. are calculated. The score is combined effect of many questions. The software is developed to
generate numerical codes to the answers of the questions of descriptive nature and then the actual score of the targeted groups have been found. Further scores of each questionnaire has been further grouped as per the pre-defined in high, medium and low groups (see Appendix IV).

The programmes have been developed to find a way classifications to get the contingency tables among the various factors under consideration. (See the tables in appendix IV). The chi-square test is applied to test the associations among these factors.

For considering combined effect of some factors, more advanced techniques could have been used. However, it might have caused more involvement of advanced statistical techniques. This is a limitation of this study.

D) Library Work

The present study was not entirely of field work. It involved library reading to prepare a theoretical base and the recent changes or contribution to it.

III) HYPOTHESIS

An effort is made in this study to test the following hypotheses:

1) The marginalised political group of the beedi workers does not seem to pose as a politically organized force.

2) The politically marginalised group of beedi workers successfully plays its role as a pressure group.
3) Means of mass media are the most decisive agent of political socialization.

or

Greater exposure to mass media indicates a higher level of political knowledge.

4) Professional awareness helps the process of political socialization.

IV) UNIVERSE OF RESEARCH

Universe of present research is Ahmednagar City and Sangamner taluka.

V) Limitations of Study

1) The process of political socialization is not examined with some intervals. Minimum level of political socialization is presumed. It means, if the beedi workers give correct answers to the majority of questions, they are said to be properly socialized.

2) In the present study, while forming a questionnaire for beedi workers the factors such as the sex, caste, age, language, education and income of beedi workers have been taken as one group captioned as 'family background'. In the same way while preparing a questionnaire for union leaders the same (above mentioned) factors have been included under the title 'experience'. An attempt has been made to relate the factors like family background experience etc with the factors in the political process.

If the separate study of each group factors with factors in the political process is made then conclusion arrived at might not be
so accurate and decisive. It is so because a separate consideration of sex, caste, age, education etc. is not deemed felt important because all the factors are inter-related and complimentary to one another.

3) While studying the political socialization of beedi workers their political awareness is studied as an 'effect'. But while studying the political awareness of beedi union leaders is studied as 'cause'. The reason for doing so it that the political awareness of beedi workers is no way found to be related to any cause pertaining to beedi workers questionnaire. The political awareness is assumed in case of beedi union leaders.

4) A questionnaire for beedi factory owners is not computerised because the number of factory owners interviewed are less in number and the questions involved elicited discussion rather than mere approval and disapproval.

5) For considering combined effect of some factors, more advanced techniques could have been used. However, it might have caused more involvement of advanced statistical techniques.