CHAPTER IX

THE DIFFERENTIAL PATTERNS OF POLITICIZATION OF STUDENTS: SOURCES AND CONSEQUENCES

In the preceding Chapters, we have discussed the content of school textbooks in the light of the Constitutional values. We have also discussed the level of politicization of students, teachers and parents separately, and the degree of exposure to mass-media. In each case we have seen the implications of localism, as well as, cosmopolitanism and drawn possible propositions. On the basis of our previous discussions, we shall now examine the relationships between the sources of politicization, as given below, and the level of politicization of students. This relationship will be examined in terms of each of the sources, especially in relation to the issues posed at the end of the first Chapter. Secondly, we shall draw some of the concluding statements in terms of the sources to which students of different schools are exposed. Thirdly, we shall synthesize all the sources into one paradigm in order to examine the consequences of the differential patterns of politicization in terms of various typologies of students. Fourthly, we

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statements in terms of the sources to which students of different schools are exposed. Thirdly, we shall synthesize all the sources into one paradigm in order to examine the consequences of the differential patterns of politicization in terms of various typologies of students. Fourthly, we
shall briefly examine the role types, both present and absent, in our empirical situation. This will be discussed in school, as well as, extra-school contexts.

Intemds of the school textbooks, as one of the sources of inculcating political values, we have already posed (p.74) the following major issues:-

1. Is there any systematic or consistent effort made to incorporate Constitutional values into the textbooks?
2. Is there any correlation between the age of students and the nature of values internalized?

We have said earlier that neither there is any systematic effort made nor there is any correlation between the age and the nature of values internalized. The textbooks prescribed in the non-public schools, as well as, public school are not only inconsistent in terms of political values (p.91) but also

| Level of incorporation of Constitutional values into the school textbooks |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Non-public school textbooks     | Public school textbooks         |
| L                               | L                               |

**NOTE:** Govt. and aided schools textbooks are the same. Therefore, we have combined them into non-public school textbooks. \( L = \text{Low.} \) (below 33 in terms of scores secured by the Constitutional values). This paradigm is based on Table-11, page. 81.
have a lower level of incorporation of these values as shown in the paradigm. Therefore, these textbooks cannot play any important role in raising the level of political awareness of students and making them politically responsive citizens. They can contribute insignificantly to the input support to the polity by training students to accept the political symbols of the nation and making them understand the importance of the Constitutional values. The political function of education in general, and that of the textbooks in particular, is very important for the proper functioning and survival of a democratic system. However, the systematic incorporation of political values into the school textbooks will not be a sufficient, although, it is a necessary condition to accelerate the process of political modernization.

The teacher, another source of politicization, may also play an important role in making students more politically informed, committed and participant. On the basis of our discussions in previous Chapters, we can abstract the following paradigm in order to see the relationship of the level of politicization of teachers and students. We have


said earlier that the non-public schools which draw teachers and students mainly from local areas are essentially neighbourhood schools. Both the teachers and the students of these schools have a lower level of political awareness. Therefore, the lower level of political awareness of students of these schools may partly be a function of the lower level of political awareness of their teachers. During the interview with some of the teachers, it was found that they do not make any conscious attempt to equip themselves with political knowledge which seems to be a function of their role-perception. They pointed out that neither there is any deliberate teaching of politics in the classroom nor it is part of their teaching work. There is also a fear of sanction on their part to teach and communicate political informations to their

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<td>Teachers</td>
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**Levels of politicization of non-public school teachers and students**

**NOTE:**
1. We have combined government and aided schools into non-public school because teachers and students of these schools have a uniform level of politicization.
2. We have explained earlier that $L = \text{Low (below 33 in terms of scores)}$, $M = \text{Medium (in between 34 to 66)}$, $H = \text{High (above 67 in terms of scores)}$. See, p. 102.
students. These teachers do not think that rendering students politically informed is a prerequisite for the success of a democratic system. 3 Interm of political commitment both the teachers, as well as, students of the non-public schools, have the same level of commitment and party preference. The government school teachers, as well as, students are more committed to the Congress while the aided school teachers and the students are more committed to the Jan Sangh. (See, Table-17, p. 104 and Table-28, p. 138). Similarly, at the level of political participation both the teachers, as well as, students have more or less the same level of participation, but the teachers who do not want to use the classroom as a forum for political teaching and learning are more active in politics outside the classroom 4 which helps to raise the level of political participation of students. However, both of them have more localistic political orientation and interpersonal relationships.


We find the situation little different in the case of public school teachers and students. The following paradigm shows that these teachers and students have a higher level of political awareness but medium level of political participation as compared with non-public school teachers and students. The public school has more effective school milieu terms of teaching, standard textbooks, attractive classroom, guidance programme, co-curricular activities, proper management, library and laboratory resources and the mass-media. The teachers of this school are comparatively better politically informed. They want their students also to be politically informed but they also feel reluctance to use the classroom for political teaching and learning. However, the paradigm shows that the public school students have a higher level of political awareness as compared with their teachers who seem to play a secondary role in politicization. These students seem to be more independent of their teachers who have not only a medium level of
political awareness but also participation. The medium level of participation of these teachers seem to be a function of certain institutional restriction which we have discussed earlier. (See, Ch. VI, p. 147).

The following paradigm shows the relationship between the parental level of politicization and that of the students of non-public schools. In terms of their political awareness, both the parents and students of non-public schools are not well informed. This implies that the lower level of political awareness of students of these schools may also partly be a function of not only the lower level of political awareness of teachers but also of the parents who send their sons to these schools. In turn, the lower level of parental political awareness is conditioned by their existential conditions: lower socio-economic background (education and occupation) and the community to which they are adapted. It is because of certain circumstantial factors that they do not make any
deliberate effort to make their off-springs politically aware\(^5\) and, therefore, these students who go to non-public schools and belong to poor socio-economic parental background, look to their school rather than the home as a source for imparting political knowledge.\(^6\) However, the teachers also do not make any conscious attempt to raise the level of their political awareness. Textbooks are also not significant to make them politically informed. Therefore, the type of family to which a child belongs and the school he attends play a significant role in determining the level of his political awareness.\(^7\)

Interms of their political commitment, both the parents and students of non-public schools have higher level of commitment and more or less the same pattern of party preference. (See, Table-17, p. 104 and Table-38, p. 168). Those parents who mostly belong to lower white collar

5. Hess and Torney point that the role of the parents in political socialization of their off-springs is not based on any conscious attempt to engage in such activities as a social unit. See, R.D. Hess and J.V. Torney, *The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship During the Elementary School Years*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965, p. 199.


(government) services, live in outer Delhi and send their sons to the government school, are more committed to the Congress (R). Most of the teachers, as well as, students of this school are also committed to the same party. As against this, aided school parents, teachers, as well as, students are more committed to the Jan Sangh. This shows that the teachers, as well as, parental party preferences are transmitted to the students. Their occupational aspiration is also determined by the class to which they belong. The non-public school students who belong either to lower white collar or petty business parental background, have a limited and lower level of occupational aspiration.

(See, Table-18, pages 109-112).

8. Gokte has also pointed out that rural areas of outer Delhi are the strong hold of the Congress. See, V.K. Gokte, "The Role of Caste in Outer Delhi Parliamentary Elections", The Indian Political Science Review, Vol. 1, Nos. 3 and 4, 1967, pp. 225-238.


Interms of political participation; students, teachers and parents have more or less the same level of participation as shown in the above paradigm. This implies that the higher level of political participation of the non-public school students may also partly be a function of not only the higher level of political participation of their teachers but also of their parents who are economically deprived.

We find a different pattern in the case of public school parents and students. The following paradigm shows that both the parents, as well as, students of public school have a higher level of political awareness. This implies that the higher level of political awareness of these students may partly be a function of the higher level of political awareness of their parents who send their sons to a equally better school milieu. In turn, the higher level of political awareness of the public school parents is a function of different existential conditions: higher socio-economic background (education and occupation) and their orientation to the world outside their local areas. It is because of

<table>
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<th>Public school parents &amp; students</th>
<th>Political Awareness</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
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<td>Students</td>
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these circumstantial factors that the parents and their sons are more politically informed. The family seems to be more influential and primary agency of politicization. The students who go to the public school and belong to well-off families, look to their home rather than their school as a source of political information. 11 They are also exposed to a better school milieu: comparatively better informed teachers, standard textbooks, planned extra-curricular activities, higher exposure to mass-media and equally informed peer-group. Therefore, they are benefitted from both the sides: from the family, as well as, the school. Litt points out that a school which has a better effective milieu and generally draws students from well-off families, prepares students who are more politicized than those who are exposed to a less effective milieu and belong to lower socio-economic background. 12

At the level of political commitment, both the parents and students have higher level of commitment but the latter is a little more independent of the former in terms of party preference. The parents who belong to higher administrative (government) services are more committed to the Congress while those who are big businessmen are more committed to the Jan


Sangh. The students of these parental backgrounds have also the same party preferences. (See, Table-17, p. 104 and Table-38, p. 168). However, we have discussed in previous Chapters that those students, teachers and parents who are committed to the Congress or the Jan Sangh, are more reformist-oriented. There is also a small group of these respondents in each school who are left-oriented. Besides parental influence on students' party preference, parental occupational status seems to have strong impact on the aspiration and occupational choice of students. The public school students, as against the non-public school students, belong to higher socio-economic background and, therefore, they have correspondingly higher level of occupational aspiration and differentiated occupational choices. (See, Table-18, pp. 109-112). But at the level of political participation, these students and parents of affluent background have a medium level of political participation as compared with the non-public school students and parents. The former seems to be more "retreatist" while the latter more "militant" in terms of their political orientation.

However, the differential level of politicization may also partly be a function of the differences in the degree of exposure to mass-media. The following paradigm shows that the non-public school teachers, parents and students who have lower level of political awareness, are also insignificantly exposed to mass-media as compared with the public school teachers, parents and students who not only have higher level
of political awareness but also have a higher degree of exposure to the mass-media. (See, Ch.VIII, p. 209). In this context, the socio-economic background of students

<table>
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<th>Types of schools</th>
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<th>Parents</th>
<th>Students</th>
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<tr>
<td>Non-public school</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public school</td>
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NOTE: We have combined government and aided schools because the teachers, parents and students of these schools have the same degree of exposure to mass-media.

plays an important role in the selection of newspapers and the exposure to various news items. Most of the non-public school teachers and parents generally read Hindi newspaper while most of the public school teachers and parents generally read English newspapers. The same pattern is also reinforced in their students.¹³ (See, Table-49, p. 190, Table-56, p. 202, Table-58, p. 207, Ch. VIII). Similarly, those parents who

belong to higher education, income and white collar occupation, have a higher degree of mass-media consumption as compared with those who belong to lower education, income and occupation. In the former context, more interest (extra-local) is developed in national and international matters while in the latter context, there is more emphasis on news related to their immediate social problems.  

(See Table-50, p. 193, Table-57, p. 203, Table-59, page 208, Ch. VIII). The same pattern is also reflected in the students of these parental backgrounds. Those public school students who belong to higher education, occupation and income background of parents, have a higher degree of mass-media consumption as compared to those who belong to the non-public schools and lower education, occupation and income background of parents. Therefore, the differential level of mass-media exposure is influenced by the class to which a child belongs, which in turn, leads to differential level of politicization.

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On the basis of our previous discussion in other chapters and the discussion in terms of the sources and their relationship with the level of politicization of students, we can draw the following concluding statements:

1. The non-public schools are essentially neighbourhood schools with limited catchment areas.
2. These schools have less effective school milieu.
3. The textbooks of these schools cannot play an important role in raising the level of political awareness because no systematic effort has been made to incorporate the Constitutional values.
4. The teachers of these schools do not have sufficient political awareness.
5. They have lower level of political awareness and lower degree of exposure to mass-media but higher level of political commitment and participation.
6. The parents who send their sons to these schools do not have sufficient level of political awareness.
7. They have lower level of political awareness and lower degree of exposure to mass-media but higher level of political commitment and participation.
8. They have lower education, low prestigious occupation, less income and more economic anxieties.
9. They are economically poor and cannot afford public school education.
10. They have disorganised and less effective home conditions.
11. They are adapted to the community and send their sons
to the neighbourhood schools

12. As against this, the public is more broad-based drawing students from different posh areas of Delhi.

13. It is referred to as elite school.

14. It has more effective school milieu.

15. It has textbooks which are also not very significant for political learning because no systematic effort has been made to incorporate our Constitutional Values, but these are standard textbooks in terms of content and English language.

16. The teachers of this school are comparatively more politically informed.

17. They have medium level of political awareness, exposure to mass-media and political participation.

18. The parents who send their sons to this school have sufficient level of political awareness.

19. They have higher level of political awareness and exposure to mass-media but medium level of political participation.

20. They have higher education, more prestigious occupation, more income and less economic anxieties.

21. They can afford public school education.

22. They have organised and more effective home conditions.

23. They are oriented to the world outside their community and send their sons to an elite-based school.
These concluding statements show two opposing family and the school situations to which the non-public school and the public school students are exposed. Because of these differential situations, we have differential level of politicization of students. The textbooks are of no consequences. The school milieu and the teachers are important. But the kind of school one goes is determined by the parental background. The kind of mass-media exposure too is determined by the family. This implies that the family is the most important source of politicization and the school system is the secondary institution which reinforces what family, the primary institution does.

Having discussed the relationships between the level of politicization of students and that of the sources of politicization, we have synthesized the sources into one paradigm in order to examine the consequences. The following paradigms show various typologies of students in terms of the levels of political awareness and participation. Their political commitment is a common factor. The differences in the level of their political awareness and participation are bases for typology construction. On the basis of the following paradigms we can generate the following typologies of students.

16. We are concerned with students only but such typologies can also be generated in terms of teachers and parents.
### Sources and Consequences of Political Awareness

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<th>Sources of political awareness</th>
<th>Consequences of political awareness</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Level of incorporation of Constitutional Values into the TBS</td>
<td>Parents' Degree of exposure to mass media: Teachers &amp; Parents</td>
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<tr>
<td>n-public schools</td>
<td>L L L L L</td>
<td>&quot;Illiterate&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>blic school</td>
<td>L M H H H</td>
<td>&quot;Intellectual&quot;</td>
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### Sources and Consequences of Political Participation

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<th>Sources of political participation</th>
<th>Consequences of political participation</th>
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<td>Teachers' Level of political participation</td>
<td>Parents' Level of political participation</td>
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<td>n-public schools</td>
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<td>&quot;Militant&quot;</td>
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<td>blic school</td>
<td>M M M</td>
<td>&quot;Retreatist&quot;</td>
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**NOTE:** Teachers, Parents and Students of all the schools have higher level of political commitment. Therefore, it is not a very significant variable. They differ in terms of political awareness and participation which we have taken into account while examining the differential patterns of politicization of students. There is a uniform pattern between political awareness and participation.
1. "Illiterate" (Lower level of Political awareness (LPA)
2. "Intellectual" (Higher level of political awareness (HPA)
3. "Militant" (Higher level of political participation (HPP)
4. "Retreatist" (Medium level of political participation (MPP)

These typologies yield mainly two patterns:

1. "Illiterate - Militant" (LPA-HPP)
2. "Intellectual - Retreatist" (HPA-MPP)

These two patterns are present in our empirical situation, where the first is the product of the non-public school conditions while the second is the product of the public school conditions. The other two sides of these patterns, as shown in the following paradigm, are absent from our empirical situation. These two absent patterns are: (1) "Illiterate-Retreatist" and (2) "Intellectual-Militant".

We shall briefly discuss why these two patterns are absent while dealing with the other two.

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<th>Militant</th>
<th>Retreatist</th>
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<td>Illiterate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intellectual</td>
<td>(Absent)</td>
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The "illiterate-militant" plays minimal role in political and intellectual discussions or debates. They are politically
inarticulate because of their lower level of political awareness of the wider situations around them. They are significantly excluded from the national and international scenes which Merton calls the "Great Society." In such a situation students' behaviour may not be a productive force of ushering in any substantial change in the wider society. However, these students have a higher sense of political participation without corresponding level of political awareness. This shows the dysfunctional consequences and imbalances because the illiterate-militants are politically committed and participant without much political awareness which is a necessary condition for purposeful commitment and participation. They are like a rudderless boat in an Ocean and cannot divert the course of change in a constructive direction. They are militant in the sense that they are more violent who do not want any structural change. They are reformist who want a gradual change, unlike radicals who negate the existing system in order to bring about structural changes.

However, while they are politically inarticulate, they are not "illiterate-retreatists". This dimension is absent in our findings. It's reason is rooted in their economic deprivation. Their poor economic conditions compel them not to be retreatist but militant in behaviour in order to usher

in changes in the existing system and to meet their immediate needs through coercive power, a violent agitation and aggression. Such individuals, without political awareness, can create gross violence and politicians with an aim to come into status and power, can easily practice the policy "catch them young", on such rebellious youngsters and utilize them as muscle activists. It is mostly this exploited group of students in particular, and people in general, who are mobilized into collective action to indulge in street politics and physical violence and thus, become 'martyrs.' Their political inarticulateness and militancy are the products of their less effective home and the school conditions, unstimulating content of education and economic anxieties, less prospects in life and a sense of powerlessness. They are more adapted to the community and confronted with immediate social problems. Such individuals may lead a norm-oriented student movement which is primarily concerned with social


19. Lipset points out that politicization is the consequence of various independent variables, such as, socio-economic family background, age, educational prospects, party preference, etc. See, for instance, S.M. Lipset, Student Politics, New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1967, p. 57.
problems of the student community and the people in general. They may also launch a society-oriented movement which is mainly concerned with societal and cultural issues. This may happen when they will attain a higher degree of political awareness and collective consciousness. But this type of movement may subside after momentary effect having no significant impact on the external political situation. 20

The "intellectual-retreatist" signifies a different set of roles. These students would play a maximal role in political and intellectual discussions or debates because they are verbally articulate and have higher level of political awareness. They are sufficiently exposed to the world outside their community. In such a situation student behaviour may be more constructive to usher in changes to affect the wider society, if they are also more politically participant. However, they are politically aware and committed but they do not have corresponding level of political participation. They do not want to participate in political actions (demonstration, gherao, strike, etc.) because they are essentially career-oriented. Therefore, they avoid physical involvement which might affect their future prospects. They are more brain activists. They do not prefer street politics but 'class politics', a politics of their own class. They talk of ideology which they themselves do not practice. They

20. Ibid., p. 87-88.
are ideologues, as well as, escapists. However, while they are verbally articulate and politically informed, they are not "intellectual-militants", the absent side of the "intellectual-retreatist". They are not militant because they retreat from the violent behaviour and physical competition. They are also reformists except a handful of left-oriented. The intellectual-militants are not forthcoming because of the socio-economic factors. These students belong to affluent families and rich business class. They do not have any educational and economic problems. Therefore, they do not feel any necessity of being violent and aggressive and to have any physical involvement in political actions.

Such instances we observe even in extra-school situations and in university campuses where so called progressive and leftist intellectuals who are highly educated, economically well-off and verbally articulate, play a disguised political role. They do not want physical involvement in political actions but they just direct the course of action. They make ideological discussions in their cosy and decorated chambers, loaded with books on Marx, Lenin, Mao, Trotsky and so on. Their ideological discussions and holding seminar and meetings serve as opium for them in which they feel intoxicated and enjoy themselves. They profess ideology which may be useful for the masses but, at the same time, they have instrumental orientation which safeguards their position of status and power. They do not like to declass in accordance with their
ideological commitment and identify themselves with the masses in order to lead a value-oriented movement based on a radical ideology. The students drawn from this socio-ideological background and affluent urban elite groups with no economic anxieties, have the same ideological orientation. They can come into status and power without any involvement in political actions because they are benefitted by the linkages and networks in which they are nurtured.

The "illiterate-militant", and the "intellectual-retreatist", role types are characteristics of the mass and the elite structures of our society, respectively. The differential patterns of politicization of students are the products of these two structures reflected in the existing school systems. Indian society has historically been a stratified society which perpetuates inequality, against the principles of citizenship.21 This has widened the gap between those who are privileged and verbally articulate, and those who are deprived and verbally inarticulate; between those who are rulers, decision-makers and advice-givers, and those who are ruled, decision-followers and advice-seekers. Those who are illiterates are part of the mass culture and those who are intellectuals are part of the elite culture.

The former is more monomorphic and inarticulate in thought but seems to be more polymorphic and militant in action, while the latter is more polymorphic and verbally articulate in thought but seems to be more monomorphic and retreatist in action. Those who are poor and socio-economically deprived are more direct, extrovert, violent, and without class consciousness, while those who are rich and socio-economically well-off are more egoistic, introvert, escapist and class conscious. The former is more practice-oriented while the latter is more theory-oriented which are the consequences of differential family and the school conditions.