

SOCIALIZATION  
FOR THE CITIZENSHIP ROLE  
IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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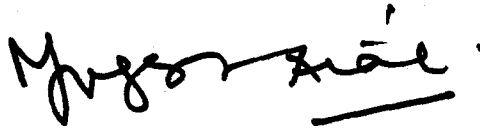
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I forward the thesis entitled  
**SOCIALIZATION FOR THE CITIZENSHIP ROLE IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY**  
by Mr Surendra Kumar Gupta, M.Sc., Research Scholar in the  
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT, Delhi,  
for examination for the award of the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

Mr Gupta did his field work in the Etah town for this study.  
The study is an original piece of research; it is first full-length  
monograph on the theme of political socialization in India.

The study was carried out under my supervision and guidance.  
This thesis or any of its parts has not been submitted to any  
other university or institute for award of any degree.

The thesis may be accepted for examination.



YOGESH ATAL  
Research Guide

## PREFACE

Recent decades have witnessed the growth of sociological studies of political behaviour. Both in terms of theory and methodology, political analysis has become more systematic and sophisticated. The marriage between political science and sociology has given rise to a new branch of Political Sociology. The change in the political map of the world caused by the emergence of a large number of new nations has given an added impetus to the studies relative to political sociology. The diffusion of democratic ethos, the assimilation of values of modernity in the cultures that were geared to tradition, and the rise of new expectations among the people have all necessitated a systematic examination and analysis of the emerging trend. Studies of the developing societies in the framework of political culture and political system have become the order of the day. In these studies both sociologists and political scientists have been making significant contributions.

The territory of political behaviour still awaits, however, exploration. One of the themes that has remained neglected is that of Political Socialization. What to talk of political socialization, even socialization as such, which falls in the province of cultural anthropology and sociology, has not received sufficient attention. In the prefatory remarks to his book Tropical Childhood, Professor David Landy comments on this sorry state of affairs:

It is a pity that except for such studies as those of Jules Henry dealing with a Pilaga in South America, practically no investigation exist in Middle or South America that attempts systematically to study socialization process (p.viii).

Professor Landy goes further to assert that his study "is one of only a few in anthropology generally that focussed on socialization in as systematic a fashion...".

In India, no important study on the process of socialization, barring brief ethnographic accounts, have come to my attention. In the field of political socialization not a single study has been conducted in this country. Reviewing researches on the "Processes of Politics" in India in a Trend Report prepared for the Indian Council of Social Science Research Professor Satish Arora remarks: "no important work has been done by Indian scholars in the field of political socialization". Arora hastens, however, to mention in the foot-note about the only item that came to his attention; it was a paper by the present writer published in the Political Science Review (1969:Vol.VIII, No.3-4.)

This study, therefore, can rightly claim to be the first to be attempted in India. It is a study on a small scale, based on an investigation of a select sample of school children, some of their parents, and all the teachers of a high school located in a district town of the population of about 25,000. Being the first, this may be treated as a pilot study. It is, therefore, inevitable that this study will suffer from all the handicaps that a new venture, without any precedents, would have to suffer from. It can also be hoped, however, that the findings emanating from this modest study

would lead to more rigorous and large-scale studies examining the total process of political socialization obtaining in the country, which is under the throes of change.

The study is divided into four parts. First part consisting of two chapters is devoted to theoretical and methodological considerations that have gone into the making of this study. In part II, the surrounding social milieu of the school children is analyzed. This has been done in two chapters. The chapter on Family Milieu describes the family setting and proceeds to analyze the political involvement profile of the parents/guardians. This is followed by a chapter contemplating a similar exercise on the School Teacher. Part III presents the profile of political socialization of the school children. As an appendix to this part, a chapter is added which presents the findings of a pilot study conducted at the time of Fourth General Elections in 1967. Summary of findings and conclusions arrived at are presented in the last chapter, forming part IV. A select bibliography of relevant literature, and the questionnaire and schedules used in the study are appended towards the end.

This study was done under the guidance of Dr. Yogesh Atal with whom I had the privilege and pleasure of a long and affectionate association. The study was conceived when I was working with him in a research project on "Communication Links and Pattern of Political Participation". My experience in the field during my tenure in the above project, and the readings in the field of political sociology necessitated by my job requirement, developed in me an interest in the

study of political socialization. This interest was nurtured and reinforced by Dr Atal in many ways. I am grateful to him for his guidance. His close scrutiny of the questionnaires and careful scanning of the several drafts of the chapters made me work hard. It is indeed difficult for me to acknowledge my debt to him.

There are many others who have taken deep interest in my work and have continuously given me encouragement, friendly advice, and scholarly stimulation. I would particularly like to acknowledge my gratitude to Professor A. N. Pandeya, Head of the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, who promptly agreed to enroll me at the Institute and who was kind enough to enquire about the progress of my work at different stages. It was gracious of him to have allowed me access to his personal library and to provide facilities for work. I am also thankful to other members of the faculty who have taken interest in my work.

To Professor S. C. Dube, Chairman, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Saugar, I feel indebted for his many kindnesses and for his enthusiastic support for my work. He was kind enough to spare some of his time from a very busy schedule to go through earlier drafts of this thesis and make useful suggestions and comments.

It is difficult for me to express my thanks for my friend Mr Harish Bhatia who has taken all pains to meticulously type the manuscript in the present form in a record time. Special thanks are due to Mr. R.K.Saraswat, Mr. Suresh Chandra and Mr. Puttan for their help in the field. Finally, I am greatly obliged to my

respondents -- the teachers, the parents and above all the school children -- who acceded to my request and willingly offered themselves for interrogation. It is their co-operation and their responses which have made this work possible.

September 14, 1971

*Surendra Kumar Gupta*  
SURENDRA KUMAR GUPTA

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