Chapter 1

Political Socialization:
A Conceptual and Theoretical Construction

1.1 Introduction

"The development of the concept of Political Socialization was necessitated by the complex happenings in several parts of the world. The national explosion in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia resulting in the birth of new states; the loss of dominance of the nations of the Atlantic community and the consequent diffusion of international power and influence challenged the fundamental structure of the government after the Second World War. The newly born states of Asia and Africa were confronted with the problem of nation building. They experienced difficulties in the process. It was realized that the cultural aspects of political development should also to be taken into account for nation building and political culture of a nation is the result of process of political socialization. This made the study of political socialization important and significant for all people and all societies."[1]

"Political socialization gained importance in the middle of the last century. Herbert Hyman coined the word 'Political Socialization' in his writings in 1959. This led to systematic studies in the field of political socialization."[2]

The twenty first century is characterized by radical changes due to the advent of globalization and emergence of new models of development. The exogenous forces of Globalization and Modernization have resulted into widespread transformation in the socio- economic, cultural and political system across nations

of the world. The political, social and economic systems in India are also undergoing major transformation and significant changes can be seen in the normative and existential order of the society. The complex nature of these changes requires learning society and participant democracy so that inclusive development can take place. Democracy is defined as the government of the people, by the people and for the people. In this system the governing power is derived from the people. The people elect their representatives who take decisions on their behalf. "Orderliness is a primary requisite of society. There can be no game of social interaction if the players do not observe the rules. The individuals must learn every rule; there must be curbs on their desires and appetites. Thus, to become a useful citizen and to enjoy the fruits of social life the individuals must have knowledge about the norms and values of society. The social order can be maintained only by giving freedom of expression to the various groups and interests. There must be a social consensus for meaningful action."[3] This can be achieved when there is articulation of interests and members of the society work towards achieving common goals for progress of the country. The orientation towards citizenship begins with the process of political socialization which is a particular type of political learning whereby people develop the attitudes, values, beliefs, opinion and behavior that are conducive to becoming good citizens of their country. It is the process by which young people acquire knowledge, dispositions and social skills that allow them to participate effectively in civic affairs. It helps in understandingthe interaction and interdependence of social and political learning in shaping the political environment of the country which is essential for

nation building. It is a lifelong process and is central to exploring the acquisition of societal norms and political beliefs.   It is a part of the general socialization of individual members of society. Political socialization, socialization towards the work culture and gender socialization are the various aspects of the larger process of socialization. As the younger generation grows in the postmodern world, it is exposed to a wide range of socializing agents which reproduce or modify the cultural practices and ideologies. The experiences in family and society help in shaping political opinion. Together with family, peer groups and educational institutions, the political socialization of youth can also be traced to various sources of mass media.

In this context it becomes imperative that the factors and processes which contribute to the development of participative and informed citizenry are examined. Thus the process of political socialization becomes significant in the period of transition since it provides an insight into the nature of political participation which is essential for success of democracy. This chapter presents the conceptual and theoretical framework of political socialization.

1.2 Political Socialization: Concept

Political Socialization is the process through which internalization of political values, beliefs and attitudes takes place. The social scientists have given varied definitions of Political Socialization.

Aberle defined political socialization as "those patterns of social action, or aspects of action, which inculcate in individuals the skills (including knowledge), motives, and attitudes necessary for the performance of present or anticipated roles… (and

which continue) throughout normal human life, in so far as new roles must be learned."[4]

Hyman defined political socialization as the "individual learning of social patterns corresponding to his social positions as mediated through various agencies of society."[5]

Easton defined political socialization as "those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour."[6]

According to Eisenstadt "political socialization is 'a communication with and learning from other human beings with whom an individual, gradually enters into some sort of generalized relationship"[7]

According to Austin and Nelson "a process by which individuals obtain relevant knowledge, skills and dispositions that are enable them to function competently in the social political culture" [8]

Ball defines "Political socialization as establishment and development of attitudes and beliefs about the political system"[9]

A synthesis of above definitions and views reveals that political socialization is the process which deals with formation of attitudes and public opinion towards the political system, preparation of citizens to actively participate in the political decision making and contributing to development of political culture of a nation. Thus political socialization is a life-long process which socializes a social unit towards the political life of a country thereby establishing an inter-relationship between civil society[10] and polity."Thus Political Socialization is fundamentally

a process of learning from experiences through various agencies. It refers not only to the experience and behavior of individuals but also refers to the group to which the individual belongs." [11]It aims to achieve the goal of political stabilization through individuals and groups." Political Socialization not only gives us insight into the pattern of political culture and sub-culture in society, but also locates for us in the socialization process of the society the point where the particular qualities and elements are being sustained or modified"[12].

Political Socialization helps individuals in the development of awareness of the political world and appreciation, judgments, and understanding of political events. When an individual becomes politically socialized, he /she acquires political orientations and patterns of behavior which provide him/ her with an opportunity to learn the basic orientations necessary for the maintenance of the democratic system. An individual acquires three types of basic orientations- knowledge, values and attitudes related to functioning of polity during the process of political socialization. "It is the most important link between the social and the political system."[13]"It includes all formal, informal, deliberate, unplanned learning at every stage of life.Political socialization helps in learning of political attitudes and social preferences which is crucial for stable government and democracy".[14]

From the sociological point of view political socialization is an extremely important process by which inter-relationship is established between political system and society and through which individuals become involved in the political process. "It is a long term process through which political culture is transmitted in a society. It is how the individuals learn political ideas and orientations and

internalize particular political values and beliefs"[15] The main aim of Political Socialization is the transmission of political values from one generation to another. It shapes and transmits a nations' political culture "It maintains a political culture by successfully transmitting it from an old generation to a new one. It introduces values, norms and orientations in the minds of the individuals so that they develop trust in their political system and leave their imprints on the mind of their successors. The process of political socialization goes on throughout the life of the individuals. Political beliefs and attitudes developed in youth may change in old age on account of contact with new education, changing social environment, new experiences in life and performance of every political party."[16]"Political socialization makes the individuals feel that they are not solitary beings but a part of the entire political system, which creates a sense of responsibility in them. Various agents of political socialization facilitate a better understanding of the political system and through the communication process an individual attempts to cherish the ideas, values and beliefs that are considered essential to the political system. It makes possible better interaction among individuals[17] which provides them the knowledge about the role of citizens towards the nation and their political behavior".[18]

1.3 Types of Political Socialization

 "Political socialization has been classified into the following two types:

 (i)   **Direct or Manifest political socialization**- It is the process in which the content of the transmitted information, values or feelings is political. An

individual, under the influence of family, teachers or other some agencies learns explicitly about the patterns and functions of the government and ideology of political parties. The experiences with government institutions, civics course in schools giving information about democracy, rights to citizens, fundamental duties and directive principles of state policy also result in direct political socialization.

(ii)   **Latent or Indirect political socialization-** The latent political socialization begins with non-political objects and orientations and culminates into political orientation. Latent political socialization involves many of the most fundamental characteristics of the general culture which have great effect on the political sphere. It occurs through certain channels. They are the general social conditions and attitudes leading to political action or inaction; interpersonal communication of information, values and attitudes; and acquisition of skills and techniques in non-political activities that may end in to political skills when an individual become an adult. Participation in college and university politics strengthens the ground for future role in politics.

Thus both forms of socialization act through a variety of channels. Imitation, political experience, anticipatory behaviour and political education refer to channels of manifest socialization. The act of imitation occurs at a tender age wherein children imitate their parents, relatives, teachers, neighbours, etc. It does not have a strong political conviction but has the capacity to build a strong political faith"[19]. Political experiences

leave an enduring impression on the minds of the people and can bring about a change in the attitude of the people towards politics.

Apart from these two types of main political socialization "there are other three categories of types of political socialization, viz particularistic and universalistic,   affective and instrumental, and specific and diffuse political socialization. Particularistic socialization is that process in which individual is taught only one role. He/she does not learn anything about other roles that means, socializing an individual into particularistic values only. In universalistic socialization cosmopolitan outlook is developed. An individual therefore learns several roles. In affective socialization there is stress on emotional values like pride in one's political system, loyalty to one's country, respect for ruler, etc. In instrumental socialization the emphasis is on pragmatic bargaining and calculating strategies which means that political system should be supported not for all times, but as long as one drives benefits from it. In specific socialization, specific attitudes and values are imparted by specific political structures. In diffused socialization there is learning about the vague things such as religion, politics, economy, society, etc. It is found in societies in which there is no differentiation between the state and society."[20]Thus various types of political socialization can be attributed to the political environment of a country. It is a life-long process and takes place by the means of various primary and secondary agencies of socialization.

1.4 Agencies of Political Socialization

"Political socialization is the process by which political culture is transmitted in a society. It occurs at both the individual and community level, and it extends beyond the acquisition of political culture to encompass the learning of more sophisticated political ideas and orientations. A variety of individuals and institutions contribute the shaping of its effect. For e.g. individuals are politically socialized by social units such as their family, peers and social class, and also by existing laws, media, religion, and education. It is a never ending processand the factors which shape it are all encompassing. Those groups and institutions which participate in and contribute to the on-going process of political socialization are known as the agents of socialization. On the basis of the operational period of these agents on individual life, they are divided into primary agents and secondary agents of political socialization."[21]The primary agents of socialization are those that directly develop specific political orientation. Family, peer group, educational institutions came under the category of primary agents of socialization. The secondary agents of socialization are less personal and involved in the process of socialization in more indirect manner. Mass media, political parties, voluntary organizations, and government come under the category of secondary socializing agents.   The roles of various agents of political socialization are as follows:

(i)   Family

> Family is the primary agency of political socialization and plays a significant role in transmitting political culture to the children during their formative years. "The family unit participates in the socialization of

political perceptions in three ways. Firstly the parents transmit attitude which they consider valuable for the child, some attitudes reflect community consensus like respect for symbols, feeling of loyalty etc., some attitudes might be transmitted which represent difference of opinion from the policies of government. This kind of attitude acquisition corresponds to the acquisition model. Secondly, parent's affiliation with a political party is the most significant aspect of family socialization which corresponds with the identification model."[22]

The family constitutes a credible source of information and the children develop initial political attitudes about respect for the country, identification with the ideologies of a particular political party and perception of functioning of the government .The children have a natural tendency to follow their parents therefore they develop a perception of either good or bad political parties from families. Families provide an early experience by participation in decision making, can increase the sense of political competence, provide skills for interaction, and thus enhance the probability of active participation in the political system when an individual becomes an adult. The significance of family in political socialization can be attributed to several reasons.   The family occupies a crucial place in the life of the child with reference to emotional and financial support and ascribed status. Moreover, the parents are the representatives of ideal patterns of behavior for children. Hence the children follow the political beliefs and attitudes of the family. "With the increase of the age the

importance of the parents diminishes and the child learns a lot from outside the family. But the influence of the parents is never completely wiped off from the mind. Thirdly, members of a family usually live in the same environment. The family is influenced by the same neighbours', by the same friends, and the same economic forces. The family members read the same newspapers, attend to the same radio and TV programmer, listen to the same preacher and otherlocal opinion leaders, gather the same gossip and hear the same stories. Thus all the members of the family naturally share similar political ideas, values and behavior due to residing in the same environment."[23]Hence family is regarded as an important agent of political socialization.

(ii)   **Educational Institutions**

Education[24] performs the role of political socialization through the contents of courses in schools and colleges, the process of forming and conducting student associations and through various types of intellectual, cultural and sporting activities organized with the help of students, celebration of regional and national festivals and through the informal relations between students and teachers and among students themselves. Teaching of subjects like history, civics, social sciences, languages, text books etc., also play an important role. Other subjects are also indirectly utilized to this end. A proper performance of this function of political socialization becomes supportive to the structures of the political system and provides stability and continuity to it, whereas its non-performance raises the possibility of

challenges to the structure of the political system and may even disrupt it. "Educational institutions play a pivotal role in political socialization. Even when children are taught civic classes in school, they participate in the political shaping too. While being taught they learn many of the rituals and processes of government edict. College and university education may also bring a new values and help in the formation of radical political attitudes. The educated persons are more aware of the impact of government on their lives and have more information about the political processes. The teachers also help in this process."[25]   Hence school education as well as higher education functions as an important agent of political socialization.

(iii)   Peer group

As children grow older they spend less time at home with their family members give more time to their friends. During this phase the peer groups acquire importance as family or school. Peer groups also socialize other children towards politics. Peer groups have the most impact when they get involved with political discussions and activities. The acquaintances in the neighborhood and at workplace also constitute the peer group. The parent-child relationships are always hierarchic and each family contains at least two separate generations. In such conditions members of a family- the child and the parent-naturally claim to enjoy the same status. Peer groups on the other hand, comprise members about the same age. Hence peer groups can afford to be non-hierarchic and their members can manage to enjoy an equal status in their relation with each other. This equality is characteristic of

equal age, equal functions and equal economic status. This does not mean that peer groups have no leaders, but these leaders do not enjoy authority and characteristics of the parents in the family. Just as in the socialization of the child influence of the family is maximum; similarly the adolescent is influenced by the peer group and friend circle. He/ Sheattain political experience due to socialization in the peer group. The family and the peer groups however, do not conflict butcooperate. The main reason of the importance of peer groups in political socialization is the fact that interactions of members of upper group are spontaneous and not formal. The members naturally influence each other. They have most intimate and emotional relationships leading to socialization as it is in the case of family. Lane reports that "the more politically conscious are a person's friends and associates and follow group members the more likely he is too politically conscious active."[26]The peer group has profound influence in all aspects of life. The discussions with peers raise the political consciousness of the individuals and helps in political socialization.

(iv) Secondary groups

Secondary groups also work as an agents of political socialization. Their impact varies with the nature of societies. The more highly developed and complex society is, the greater will be the number of secondary groups and more important role they will play in the process of socialization. As the complexity and development increases in society so does the value of secondary groups. There are three types of secondary groups which

socialize politically in different ways. Firstly, there are secondary groups with a distinctly political character. Political parties and political youth groups fall in this category. They are established clearly for the purpose of disseminating political values, mobilizing political action and recruiting the political leaders. The second type represents those groups which are instituted for non-political purposes, but which are found to carry on political education and mobilization along with their other activities for example labour union and students union. These groups aim at collective bargain in their particular field. But even these groups are led by the leaders following particular political ideologies. Some of them are even active members of a particular political party. They impart political education to their followers and take part in active politics from time to time. The third type of secondary groups does not have any political character, nor do they ever try to impart political education to their members. But mere participation in their routine affairs gives their members opportunities to develop orientations that have political relevance.

(v)   Mass Media

The contemporary societies are experiencing a convergence of varied forms of mass communication. The new as well as traditional forms of mass media play a crucial role in building and sustaining democracies around the world. As the younger generation grows in the postmodern world they are exposed to a wide range of socializing agents which reproduce or modify the cultural practices and ideologies of the youth. Apart from newspapers

and television, internet and social media has emerged as one of the most dynamic aspects of the present century. The changes have occurred in almost all areas of life. Media is a source of information which not only affects daily activities of human life but also provides information about other events like developments taking place on national and international forums. Mass media has probably the strongest influence to socialize people in politics and its influence is expanding constantly through technology allowing for more interactive media experiences. Instead of a direct access to government, the media is a go-between between the common mass and the government. " Mass Media serve as socializing agents by providing direct linkage to media and contents which are essential for the development of political values, and by contributing to the structuring of social context in which adolescents may exercise such value orientations and reinforce ties with primary socializing agents"[27.] Mass Media is considered to be a powerful agent of political socialization affecting political attitude and behaviors of voters and non-voters. Media are rich sources of information about government; politics and current affairs. The composition of the mass society[28] and the distribution of resources within the society exert an influence on the role played by the media. Most of the times, the mass media represents the views expressed by the economically dominant sections of the society. "A controlled system of media socializes the individually politically, while a free press or media propagate different set of values thus having a tremendous influence on the political behavior of

the individuals. The information first originates at the government level where by the officials or political leaders and the mass media give their own interpretation and provide analysis to the people. Thus mass media not only acts as an agent of political socialization but also as an instrument used by various agents of political socialization"[29]. When a major political event occurs in the nation the media is the only source which provides information quickly.

According to Gonalez "mass media- newspapers, magazines, comic books, movies and especially television presented a very different form of socialization than any other, because they offer no opportunity for interaction. Televisions are an influence on children from a very young age and effect their cognitive and social development. Television is the medium with the greatest socialization effect surpassing all the other media by far its influence on the young child".[30]In contemporary society apart from television other forms of media are also becoming popular. People can choose to follow politics through a face book group that consists largely of close friends and associate with similar view points. In our contemporary society, television, newspapers and magazines act as agents of the government for general awareness of the social and political constructs to reach common people. Furthermore, the use of computer network has proved to be one of the most effective ways of spreading any form of news, and knowledge in a very short span of time to a huge number of people in India and abroad.

According to Hooghe"the political attitudes and behavior of young people differ significantly from those of earlier generation. There is decline of participation and trust among young people. He argues that the society will have to find ways through education and mass media to adapt to more critical and participant citizens".[31] Thus apart from other agencies of political socialization mass media is a powerful agent of political socialization.

(vi) Government

Right from their adolescent age, children start acquiring political views and opinions from their family and surroundings, cultural and social influences, and in a way they do participate, although in a non-potential way, to the future beliefs orientation and of their participation in the political views at a later date when they become mature and from their then contemporary faith and belief to actively participating in the socio-political dissemination of the government views and in the shaping of political socialization. The government also regulates the media what we see and hear. "An individual's continuous experiences with government through his / her direct contact with governmental functions and governmental personnel and direct knowledge of what the government stands and works for are likely either to reinforce his/ her ideas and attitudes acquired through the early political socialization process or to alter them quite substantially. In some cases government directly intervenes to carry on a process of political indoctrination.Political parties disseminate political knowledge and values,

mobilize political action and train political leaders. Individual come directly into contact with the governmental functionaries. They come to know for what purpose the government stands for and what the government is doing."[32]Thus the government directly and indirectly functions as an agent of political socialization.

(vii) Political Institutions

The political parties, pressure groups and interest groups also act as agents of political socialization. The rallies and demonstrations organized by these groups orient the people towards political issues, the objectives and ideologies of political parties enhances the understanding of functioning of government . Direct or indirect relationship with these institutions affects the process of political socialization. "As specialized political structure that exists in democratic and non- democratic system, political parties play an important role in political socialization. Political parties attempt to mold issue preferences, arouse the apathetic, and find new issues to mobilize support. Party leaders and party spoke persons provide the media with a steady flow of information vide the public with a steady flow of information on the political issues of the day. Party organization regularly contacts voters by mail or phone, and in many nations party activists visit voters at home. Election can serve as national civics- lessons, and parties are the teachers. In competitive party system, partisan socialization can also be a divisive force. In their effort to gain support, leaders may appeal to class, language, religion and ethnic divisions and make citizens more aware of

these differences."[33]   The political parties and other interest groups help in building awareness about various political and social issues and assist in the process of political socialization.

Thus political socialization is a continuous process and it requires different agencies of socialization. These agencies have differential impact during various stages of life. These agencies can also bring modification and transformation in political understanding.

1.5   Political Socialization and Pressure Groups

"Political socialization is part of the continuous process of social order which is responsible for teaching certain political behavior's to the new members of a society in order to make them think in keeping with the changing political system they are living in. A pressure group[34] is an organized group that seeks to influence government policy or protect or advance a particular cause or interest. Groups may promote specific issues and raise their voice for the political agenda or they may have more general political and ideological objectives in mind when they campaign."[35]Harold Lass well and Abraham Kaplan remark, 'A group is an organized aggregate and an interest group is an interest aggregate'. A group is recognized as some legitimate and established section of society.[36] 'An interest group is a voluntary association of citizens who attempt to influence public policy"[37]

David Truman has described interest group as 'a shared attitude that makes certain claims upon or through institutions of government'.[38] According to The Blackwell

Dictionary of Sociology 'an interest (or pressure) group is an organization whose purpose is to influence the distribution and use of political power in a society".[39]

An interest group[40] is an association of people having mutual concern about a wide array of economic, social, cultural, political, religious or any other issues. Such associations may have specific and narrowly defined goals which may be moderate or local or national and international in scope. These groups are vital part of the political process. The political process is seen to result from a large number of competing interest groups. Interest groups are occasionally referred to as pressure groups, implying that they attempt to force their will on a resistant public. When an interest group seeks governmental aid in achieving its own ends and succeeds in influencing governmental policy to its advantage, then it becomes a pressure group. Thus pressure groups may be any group attempting to bring about any change in the working of any formal organization, state, government or any other social or economic organization. They are associations to influence mass public policy. Thus achievement of political goals can be facilitated by organization of masses into pressure groups. Orientation of individuals into political system and acquisition of political knowledge through the process of political socialization helps in the formation of pressure groups. The pressure groups arise because they either want to preserve or change their status. Groups play a very direct role in the political shaping of the country. In the event of a dissent with the political view-points, people organize interest groups, pressure groups to influence the government. Various cultural, ethnic, religious, racial and other groups work as pressure groups against a government's decision to bring

about a balance between the ruler and the ruled. Obviously, these pressure groups, may further be called as balancing groups too so that a harmony is maintained between a government's decision and the general public's acceptance. It is not a political group seeking to capture political power though it may have a political character of its own. These pressure or interest groups interact with the representative of the government and the officials then act as a representative of the interest group to convey to the government the desires of the people, and it is quite likely that the demands being genuine and forceful, a change in the government policies may be a natural transition. As we can see, these interest groups are a powerful tool to bring about a change in political, and as a consequence in the social structure and government decisions. They also launched public campaigns and distribute pamphlets to persuade people at grass-root level to support their political objectives. Such groups, according to Functionalists often play a constructive role preparing grounds for orderly political participation. On the other hand, there are Conflict theorists who argue that only few organizations/group are genuine and work on behalf of the poor and disadvantage. While most pressure groups represent vested interests of the lobbyists' viz. big businessmen, big business houses or some political leaders. These powerful lobbies do not encourage political participation of any individual citizen and have a greater say in democracy compared to that of its totalitarian set-up. In-spite of their deficiencies they do become an essential part of the modern democratic system.

Interest groups play an important role in decision-making—an indispensable part of the modem governmental process. It allows orderly expression of public opinion and increase political participation.

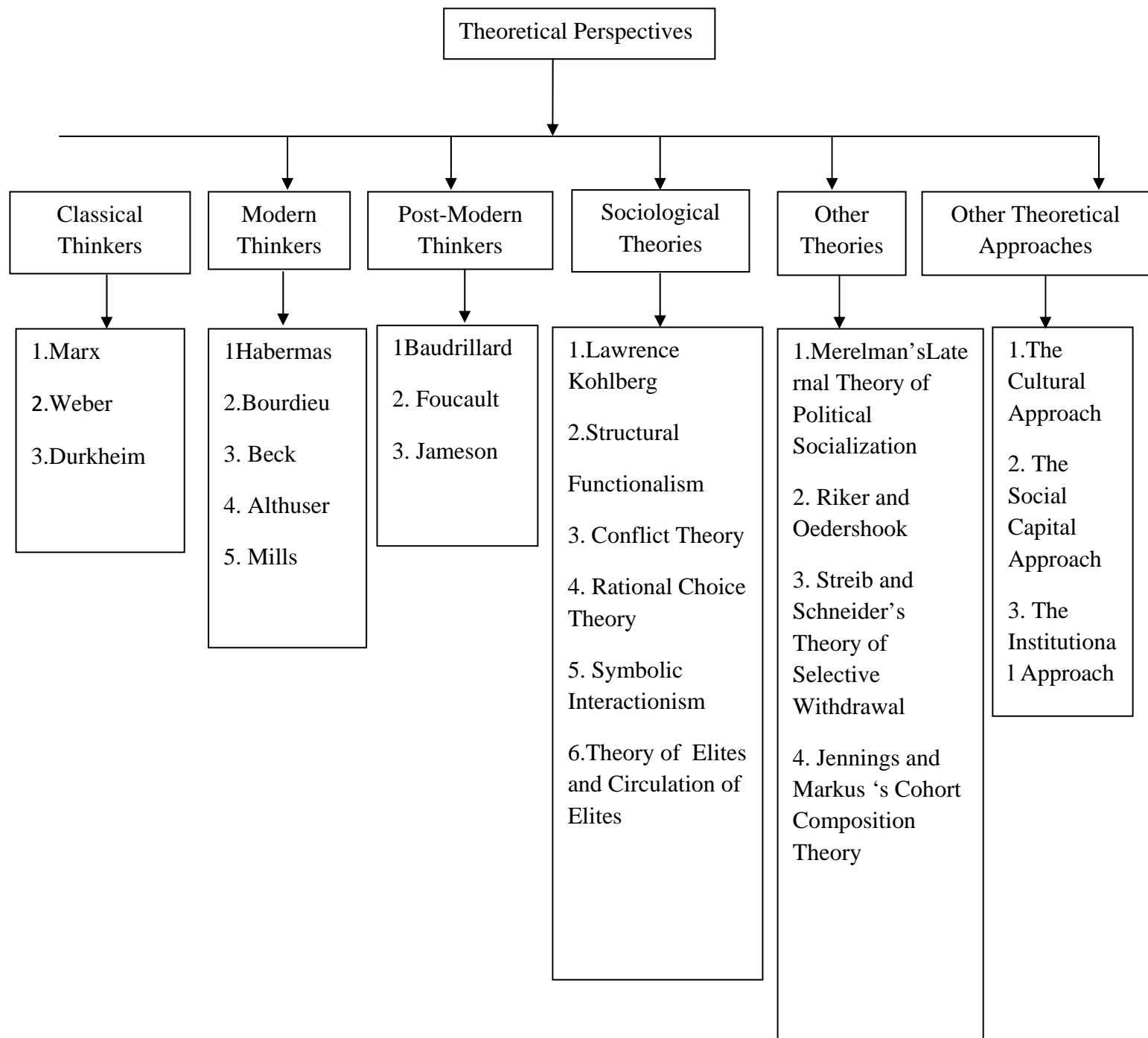## 1.6 Political Socialization, State, Society Interface

The state[41] and society share a dynamic relationship due to new challenges of neo liberalism and nation building. They share a complimentary relationship. Both try to influence and control each other. The government institutions are the major actors in state society interface. The members of society and government institutions interact at various levels. These levels include policy making and social reforms. The demands made by the society are met by the state according to the policy guidelines. The social forces operating at a particular time play a dominant role in deciding whether state society relationship will be on the path of collision or cooperation. Political socialization plays an important role in giving momentum to state society relationship. It encompasses macro level and micro level processes. At macro level the political systems inculcate appropriate norms and values in the citizens and at micro level an individual internalizes the political ideologies and learns about political systems. This helps an individual to participate in the political life of the country. For any democracy to succeed it is essential that the citizens are initiated into political life of the nation and integrated with the needs of the society.

The linkage between society and state can be traced through political linkages. "Political Linkages are structured transactions of influence, support and claims between political participants. They can be regarded as transmission channels

established between individuals and groups who share some basis for mutual identity or seek common goals."[42] The linkages can be between individuals and groups, individuals and leaders. Political Socialization is the determinant of political behavior and political engagement. Policy formation involves interaction between various actors, the state and civil society. This interaction can be effective only if the individuals have undergone the process of political socialization and the civil society is organized into groups.

1.7 Theoretical Perspectives

Theoretical perspectives provides explanation for a particular phenomenon and specifies the relationships between different variables. It provides direction to the researcher and helps in analysis of social phenomena.The researcher has made an attempt to develop a theoretical frame work for the present study with the help of views of classical, modern, and post-modern thinkers and sociological theories .

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Classical Thinkers	Modern Thinkers	Post-Modern Thinkers	Sociological Theories	Other Theories	Other Theoretical Approaches
1.Marx 2.Weber 3.Durkheim	1Habermas 2.Bourdieu 3. Beck 4. Althuser 5. Mills	1Baudrillard 2. Foucault 3. Jameson	1.Lawrence Kohlberg 2.Structural Functionalism 3. Conflict Theory 4. Rational Choice Theory 5. Symbolic Interactionism 6.Theory of Elites and Circulation of Elites	1.Merelman'sLaternal Theory of Political Socialization 2. Riker and Oedershook 3. Streib and Schneider's Theory of Selective Withdrawal 4. Jennings and Markus 's Cohort Composition Theory	1.The Cultural Approach 2. The Social Capital Approach 3. The Institutional Approach

1.7(a) Classical Thinkers

The epistemological perspective of Positivism is the most significant contribution of Conte (1865 in Sociology)."Positivism is based on the knowledge that is gained through investigation, reason and objectivity and Conte's philosophy which in turn, is based on analysis, experimentation and observation for understanding society. Positivism can be considered as necessary for social reconstruction, in bringing about a new society and a new social order. Other classical thinkers have also many different approaches including scientific study of a society's social problems."[43]

Marx (1883) has given the concept of Alienation. Although Marx had coined this concept in context of work but it has also been used to explain different circumstances in society. "Alienation[44] refers to a sense of powerlessness, a sense of normlessness and a sense of social isolation. This can be applied to today's younger generation in the sense that if the individuals feel powerless, they will not participate in political life, if there is normlessness in the society and the individuals are not able to distinguish between right and wrong or do not have proper code of conduct they will not participate. Moreover, if the individuals are too much burdened with their own problems and live in the state of social isolation they will not take interest in the larger society and will become passive citizens. 'Marx opines that right such as legal equality and the right to own property enables the citizens to compete with one another in egoistic civil society. He claims that political character of the civil society has been abolished, rendering it completely materialistic and devoid of even the semi balance of a universal content.' He states

political emancipation represents a paradox in which the egoistic life of a civil society contrasts with the idealized life of a the social citizen, 'the moral person' only by socializing our productive lives can this paradox be resolved and human emancipation can be achieved. Marx gave the revolutionary goal of classless societies throughout the world; free from exploitation and oppression, in which majority of the people would take conscious control over their social systems. This was the vision of human emancipation. Although Marxist ideas are in contrast with liberalism but these ideas are applicable for political socialization as they are associated giving decision making power to civil society. This can only be achieved when members of the society are socialized into the political culture of the country and actively participatein the social and political issues." [45]Thus according to Marx ideological orientation and class consciousness are the motivating factors for political engagement.

Weber (1991)gave the concepts of power and authority which are the basic features of political sociology. He opined that in any society social control is exercised through legitimate authority. There are three types of authority in society. They are traditional, legal- rational and charismatic authority. Traditional authority is legitimated by the sanctity of tradition. Rational –legal authority is based on uniform set of principles and rules. Charismatic authority is found in a person whose mission and vision is to inspire others. It is based upon the perceived extraordinary characteristics of an individual. Weber saw a charismatic's leader as the head of a new social movement.

 He has also put forth the concept of rational social actions and follow-up. "Rational social actions are performed after careful analysis, and motivation for performance is based on the gains and losses associated with the actions. It is a process with traditional orientation and reflective or subjective thinking is replaced with logic, objectivity and reason. According to Weber, modern society is a rational society. It is the result of industrialization and advancement of technology where 'the end, the means and the resulted effects are taken into account after being well weighed.' Rationalization involves calculation of the best means to achieve a given goal or end by the social and intelligent political thinkers and leaders. Weber opines that the ability of each is considered on the basis of result and the ranking of each result associated with utility and therefore, ends having greater utility are pursued first than the less important ends."[46] In context of political socialization the concept of rational social action and rationalization, assumes key importance because if members of society understand the importance of their role in nation building they can contribute to the development and decision making processes. Political engagement and political participation are the means through which desired developmental discourse can be undertaken. Weberalso opines that **"**value dimension is central to sociological analysis. The individuals just don't act but give meaning to their actions. The individuals give meaning to their action through socially accepted genres of thinking and evaluating. They make choices, relate to other people and give meaning to existence on the basis of these accepted genre of thinking prevalent in society."[47] Therefore, if democratic

ideals are inculcated through various agents of socialization it can influence the political participation and development of leadership qualities in the individuals.

Durkheim (1893)has given the concept ofsocial solidarity**.** On the basis of social solidarity societies are divided into two types: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. "The societies with mechanical solidarity are characterized by small population, social homogeneity and controlled by social sanctions. These societies have a perfect socialization process which is based on cultural traditions. Durkheim states that in societies with mechanical solidarity, social cohesion based on common roots of identity, in such societies, the individual is directly linked through various points of attachments to act as a binding force of all the members of a group collectively. They are also bound on the basis of obligations in contrast to bonds or contractual relations. With the development of organic solidarity, social obligations are represented in an entirely different light."[48] Organic society means that with the expansion of the population there is also an orderly societal norms in the group of cities and their development of communication and transport. The societies are characterized by large heterogeneous population, specialization, large scale division of labour, modern means of communication, behavioural freedom and less influence of social sanctions. There is diversity of interests, demands and expectations which can be managed only when there is integration of heterogeneous value orientations. Durkheim has also put forward the concepts of integration and regulation as the two dimensions of social solidarity. Integration means the strength of attachments of an individual with social groups. "Durkheim measured this on a scale from egoism to altruism. Regulation means

the degree to which group norms are able to control the desires and aspirations of people. This was measured by Durkheim on a scale from anomie to fatalism. Lack of normative order leads to anomie in society. According to Durkheim anomie is a condition of normlessness and disorientation or the absence of any regulation by shared norms. He assumed that human beings could only be content if their needs are regulated and controlled by social norms and only socialization into normative order would bring their desires and circumstances into balance with each other. This can be related to political socialization into political culture of the nation and shared norms which will help in regulating the needs and desires of individuals and thus prevent the state of anomie."[49] This integration can be achieved through political socialization.For Durkheim the shift from a society based on mechanical solidarity, characterized by specialization, complexity and diversity, the nature of socialization also changes. Rather than learning rules for action, socialization involves internalization of powerful norms which are used by individuals, who can decide how to act in situations. "Durkheim has laid stress on the important role of education in the life of democracy. Education transforms individuals into citizens ready for moral participation in society. Moral education makes the individual autonomous and develops the skills of reflective and critical thought which is important for flourishing democracies. They should be nurtured in societies shared sentiments and practices**. Education should empower individuals as well as make them realize the significance of community".[50]**Thus according to Durkheim education is an important agency of Political Socialization**.**

1.7(b) Modern Social Thinkers

"Modernity is characterized by a belief in the possibility of human progress, rational planning to achieve objectives, a belief in the superiority of rational thought compared to emotion, faith in the ability of technology and science to solve human problems, belief in the ability and rights of humans to shape their own lives and reliance upon manufacturing industry to improve the living standards."[51] An attempt has been made to examine the views of modern social thinkers on the basis of abovementioned characteristics.

Habermas(1929) has challenged the "traditional understanding ofPoliticalParticipation. He does not limit participation to a specific set of traditional activities such as voting, campaign or letter writing but is designated by the discursive quality of activity. The communication structure in which an activity takes place is equitable and inclusive and the problems must be openly and rationally deliberated. Habermas has propounded a public sphere theory which explains the role of media in civil society. Media is supposed to play informational integrative and expressive roles for providing an open space for free expression and circulation between the institutions of state and private sphere of personal life. For fulfilling this role media need to be numerous and diverse in content and free from any kind of domination."[52]Habermas has proposed a revival of 'public sphere'. "The public sphere is essentially the framework of democracy. Orthodox democratic procedures, involving parliaments and parties, do not provide us with a sufficient basis for collective decision making. We can renew the public sphere through the reform of democratic procedures and the more consistent involvement

of community agencies and other local groups. According to him modern media of communication can also contribute in a fundamental way to the furtherance of democracy. Where televisions and newspapers, for example are dominated by commercial internets, they do not provide a focus for democratic discussion. The public television, radio, together with the internet, offers many possibilities for developing open dialogues and discussion."[53]. Thus Habermas distinguishes various forms of political participation and underlines the importance to mass media for democracy.

Bourdieu(1984) coined the "notion of "habitus" in order to describe the permanent internalization of the social order in human beings. "According to Bourdieu the world is surrounded by structural constraints which form "permanent dispositions" representing various schemes of perception which are very generic and often originate from conventional categories like male and female or young and old. Social life may be perceived as an on-going effort on the part of the individual to find equilibrium in a world full of formidable social constraints, drawing on his/her cultural resources in order to survive. Habitus is non-intrusive and flexible suggesting what people should think and choose to do. The decision making process reflects the operation of the Habitus. Habitus can be conceived as the general principle by which people make choices of strategies that they wish to employ in the society. Consequently, a Habitus planning to political participation is gradually being constructed within the constraints of actuality. Once the political participation Habitus is built, it may be considered as crystallized, although it can change over long periods of time depending on external stimuli like a long period

of unemployment, poverty and economic depression. Bourdieu's concept of Habitus, however, has the advantage of flexibility allowing us to consider individual as an agent who within the field of civil quality, can dynamically, shape their behavior in light of their capital and within specific constraints."[54] Thus, Habitus is related to internalization of political culture and norms and society which takes place through political socialization.Thus habitus is related to internalization of political culture and norms of society which takes place through political socialization.

Beck (1992) "describes Contemporary Society as a "Risk Society". This is so because, the emerging society incorporates new technologies which are as yet not proven, and thus involves a degree of risks for the society. Newly emerging form has been called as Reflexive modernity. Beck assures that the agents of modern era, being free of structural constraints has a supposedly better claim to reflexively create a new social order in the societies in which they live. This means Individualization has taken place. Left to their own devices people have been forced to remove reflective. The newly found social relations and social networks have to be individually chosen: Social ties too are becoming reflexes so that they have to be established, maintained and constantly renewed by individuals."[55] "The domain of traditional politics is losing power as it has been seen that major risks emanate from what Beck calls "Sub-politics". They are – large corporate companies, scientific laboratories, big business houses and the like. It is in the sub-political system that the structures of modern society are being implemented in the name of progress in knowledge which lies outside the purview of

parliamentary system."[56] This is a part of what he calls the "Unbinding of Politics", where politics is no longer left to the central government but is increasingly becoming the province of various sub-groups as well as of individuals. "These sub-groups are individuals can be more reflexive and self-critical than central government can and they have the capability to reflect upon, to better deal with, an array risks associated with advanced modernity."[57] These views point towards the importance of political socialization since individuals have to deal with a variety of risks and decision making in risk society.

Althuser(1982)   Louis Althuser has given the concept of "ideology and ideological state apparatuses. According to him ideology exists in institution and the practices specific to them. There are number of such like Church, School, Trade Union and Family. These institutions have the capacity to incalculate a world view through the series of ritual habits and customs. These ideologies capable belong to the state; even if they are appear formally separate from it. He opines that the state has two components. First Repressive state apparatus. This includes the army, police, and court and enforces class domination class directly. The other is the ideological state apparatus which maintain identification class society. He argues that ideologies has a perform relationship which subjective experiences. According to him class struggle takes place within ideology. Thus political socialization is influence by ideological state apparatus."[58]

Mills (1959) has described "American society as a mass society in which the power elites decide all important issues and keep the masses quiet by flattering, deceiving and entertaining. He also refers to the corruption of the power elite. For

which he accounts for by the absence of any organized public to which they are responsible for their decision. He also refers to the dominance of the wealthy and political influence of military chiefs. He argues that the American society is dominated by these power elite which are of unprecedented power. Power elite make momentous decisions without any reference to the people. It is not accountable to anyone and the people are subjected to instruments of psychic management and manipulation.' The power elite skillfully control the mass media and manipulate it to make man in the mass think and act what it likes."[59] Thus political socialization of masses is essential so as to develop critical consciousness.

1.7(c) Post- Modern Thinkers

The post- modern perspective has become increasingly influential in Sociology since 1980s. "The modern world is a product of inter-play of four major channels: Global capitalism; Central State power weakening; a Life pattern by powerful and penetrative technology that control production and promotes consumerism; and the development of liberationist social movements asserting their identity, nationalism, race, sexual orientation and environmentalism."[58] These perspectives take a variety of forms and explain crucial changes in society.

Baudrillard (1971)describes the postmodern world as characterized by simulations. Simulations, he says leads to the creation of simulacra, or "reproduction of objects or events". As differences between signs and reality overlap, it becomes exceedingly difficult to distinguish the real from things that simulate the real. Baudrillard describes this world as hyper reality. According to

him there is no more reality, only hyper reality. He focuses on culture, which he sees as being in the middle of a massive and "catastrophic" revolution. But this revolution is of a different kind, with the masses becoming more passive, instead of being increasingly rebellious. Information and communication are thus rendered meaningless, as masses act as a "black hole" absorbing all meaning and acting indifferently to any media signs, hyper reality and simulacra. The media is thus compelled to supply to the demand of the masses instead of the other way around, which makes it impossible to separate the real from the spectacle." [59]   "War has become a media spectacle, rather than a lived experience conducted by nation states, remotely performed by professional specialists, legitimized by executive powers, spectatorship and technology rather than emotional appeal of patriotism, citizenship and mass participation as in the era of nationalism."[60]

"Baudrillard believes that the silent majority, masses are free but only in the sense that they are unable to be represented by anyone or any set of beliefs. The world is characterized by the death of politics."[61]

This points to the fact political perceptions of the younger generation have to give a proper direction through political socialization so that they can distinguish between the real and exaggerated versions of political phenomena.

Foucault(1965)has put the forth two ideas "archaeology of knowledge and genealogy of power. Archaeology of knowledge is search forset of rules that determine the conditions of possibility for all that can be said within the particular discourse at any given time.Foucault attempts to throw light on the present using historical resources the potentiality, interconnectedness of diverse trajectories

which makes for contemporary social arrangements. For example how people govern themselves and others through the production of knowledge. He sees knowledge generating power by constituting people as subject and then governing subject with the knowledge. According to him there is structural relationship between knowledge and power."[62]"Foucault has established a link between power and knowledge. He sees power and knowledge as indissolubly joined. He has argued for a strongly participatory politics. His idea of democracy is linked with positive freedom. He distinguishes between the process and practices. The processes are the conditions which give the opportunity to decide upon the receivable and acceptable forms of their existence. The practices of liberty are the actual common and individual decisions about how persons are going to live together. According to him rights are a part of the process but not the practice."[63]This is applicable to political socialization because of the people have knowledge then they can exercise their rights in a better manner and will be able to play their role in the development of the country.

Jameson(1984) has given " the image of the post-modern society on the basis of four elements. First, post-modern society lack depth which makes them superficial, second by waning of emotions effect, Third historicity to them almost lost and Fourth technology associated with modern society. People as a result are unable to comprehened the multinational capitalist system and explosion of information and technology. The individuals have become fragmented and do not think in a collective manner. This individualism is detrimental for the development of country as well as the society. According to Jameson, the central problem is that

we cannot cognitively map ourselves within the hyperspace as we unable to position ourselves correct by in the social structure."[64] Thus loss of historicity and waning of emotions results in fragmentation. This leads to apathy and indifference among individuals with regard to political participation.Political Socialization can help in relating the individuals to their historical roots and inculcate a sense of collectivism among them.

1.7(d) Sociological Theories

Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of Moral development

Kohlberg's theory of moral development proposes that moral development involves an understanding of justice. This can be linked to the process of political socialization since this provides an insight into the stages of civic and political engagement. "Development of moral reasoning affects political reasoning. This moral reasoning takes place throughout the life in six developmental stages. These stages can be grouped into three levels: Pre-conventional, Conventional and Post-conventional.

- **Level 1: Pre-Conventional Morality:** This consists of two stages. Stage 1 is known as Obedience and Punishment Stage. This is the first stage of moral development. During this stage the children learn to obey rules in order to avoid punishment.Stage 2 is known as Individualism and Exchange. During this stage the children learn to express individual viewpoints and judge actions on the basis of fulfillment of individual needs.

- **Level 2: Conventional Morality:** Thisincludes Stage 3 and Stage 4. Stage 3 is of Interpersonal Relationships. This stage is related to social

expectations and roles and focuses on living up to the expectations of the society. Stage 4 is refers to Maintaining Social Order. During this stage the perception of society as a whole develops. The focus is on maintaining law and order, fulfilling one's duties and respect for authority.

- **Level 3: Post-Conventional Morality:** This level comprises of Stage 5 and Stage 6. Stage 5 is related to Social Contracts and Individual Rights. During this stage the members of the society began to account for differing values, individual beliefs and opinion of other people.Stage 6 is related to Universal Principles.This stage focuses on universal ethical principles and abstract reasoning. During this stage the members follow the principles of justice and equity which they have internalized through the socialization process. The process of political socialization can be linked to these stages of moral development. "The customs, traditions and norms of societytransform a human being into a social being. A child gets closer to the world, develops oral dependency and develops expectations about needs for care. This is the first stage which extends from 0 to 1 year. The child learns to use the sense organs and makes sense of empirical reality from 1 to 3 years. This is the time when internalization of social norms begins and a foundation of socialization is laid. Political learning begins from the age of three. During pre-school age of 3to 6years the child starts forming opinion and developing attitudes. This is the time when a child becomes inquisitive and is curious to understand the events taking place in the society.Primary knowledge about the society is acquired during this stage. During the

primary school age of 6 to 11 years the children start identifying themselves with their country and community. The feelings of nationalism and belongingness develop in the child. During the adolescent stage of 12 to 18 years the children become aware of the notions of democracy, equality, liberalism, elections, voting and begin to play a role in the political process. This is the stage when a person develops ideological notions. They form early loyalties towards political parties and are more emotional than intellectual. During the adulthood stage from 18 to 35 years people have their own personality and attitude and have definite perceptions about the political world. Their level of political knowledge and analysis increases. They tend to become critical and sharply criticize the policies of the government. In the late adulthood stage of 35 to 60 years the person becomes a product of the long socialization process and it becomes too difficult to challenge the value orientations and political notions. During late sixties the people fulfill their major responsibilities and lead a retired life. They remain closer to political process. Their leisure time is fully utilized in political dialogues, discussions and deliberations. In this sense it can be asserted that later part of life is more oriented towards activities and it can be asserted that political socialization continues till the end of life."[65] On the basis of these stages it can be interpreted that political socialization starts early in life and continues throughout life. The orientations developed in the early part of life are of significant importance which affects an individual's political participation.

- **Structural Functionalism**

The most significant intellectual forerunners of functionalism are Spencer, Durkheim and Weber. The two leading structural functionalists are Parsons and Merton. According to this view social systems tend to perform certain tasks that are necessary for their survival. According to Parsons "various social systems can only be understood in the context of the whole and can be analyzed in the form of functionally interrelated variables. He opines that there are four fundamental functions which every social system must perform. These functions are adaptation, goal attainment, integration and pattern maintenance & tension management. Adaptation relatesto allocation of need and aspiration related resources, goal attainment means to maximize the capacities of the society to attain group specific and collective goals, integration is related to synthesis and integrationof motivational and cultural elements, and latency or pattern maintenance and tension management refers to the organized efforts associated with rewards and punishment to ensure conformity and minimize deviance."[66]Thus "adaptation means the capacity of the system must be increased so that it can meet the aspirations of the members of the society. Goal attainment implies coordinated action of the units to bring the system and the environment together for achieving those goals which the system has set for itself. The aim of integration is to ensure that the system is permitted to work smoothly. The task of integration is the adjustment of relations

between and among the units of the system for establishing a level of solidarity and cohesion among them. Pattern maintenance refers to upholding of the basic principles of the system. While goal attainment is concerned with the cultural components of the system, pattern maintenance is concerned with the social components. Parsons is of opinion that systems equilibrium can be maintained only when the basic units are adjustable to the system as a whole. These functional variables can be used for discussing political systems with the following aspects. Adaptation refers to basic infra-structure like government offices, institutions and social infra-structure like the political leaders, government officers, party workers etc., goal attainment refers to flow of knowledge and information, integration refers to providing opportunities to the members of society so that they can develop interest in integral development of the country and latency can be interpreted as an understanding of rules and regulations and mechanism for redressal of grievances."[67] In the context of political socialization, these functional variables assume importance in the sense that political system should be able to respond to the needs of the society so that equilibrium and coherence can be maintained in the society.

In addition , "Almond has divided the functions of political system into input and output functions. The input functions include political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication. The output functions consist of rulemaking, rule adjudication and rule application. The non-governmental agencies like the

pressure groups and interest groups play an important role in performing the input functions. Political socialization and recruitment are important functions which help the individuals in adjustment according to the political system. Political recruitment relates to recruitment of members of society from different communities and classes. This trains the members into appropriate skills to perform specialized roles in the political system. Both political socialization and recruitment functions are important for stability of the political system and also for internal security."[68] Hence according to structural functional perspective political socialization is an important function of the political system.

- **Conflict Theory**

    The sociological conflict theory has its roots in the ideas of Karl Marx (1818-1883), Max Weber (1864-1920), and George Simmel. "Conflict theories emphasize the role of power and the inequality found systematically throughout society. Conflict theorists assume that social life revolves around and that these people use their power and manipulate others to accept their view of the society and the world. Furthermore, because there is a clear power differential among individuals and social classes, resentment and hostility are constant elements of society. The obvious implication of this social reality is that conflict is inevitable. The conflict perspective acknowledges that there are special interest groups that fight over the scarce resources of society. Conflict theorists believe that power is the core of all social relationships. It is the most precious of the

scare social resources. Therefore, conflict theory views society as compared of competing elements that fight over scarce resources (for example wealth, power and prestige); power differentials ultimately determine the allocations and distribution of these scarce resources. Simmel believed that the world can best be understood in terms of conflicts and contrasts between opposed categories. The forms of social life constantly influence individual's decisions and behaviour"[69]. Thus according to this theory the difference in political participation of individuals is because of their own interests. There are group differences in political socialization due to conflict of interests of different groups.

- **Rational Choice Theory**

  The basic principles of rational choice theory are derived from neoclassical economics. "Based on a variety of different models, Friedman and Hechterhave put together what they describe as a "skeletal" model of rational choice theory. The focus of rational choice theory is on actors. Actors are seen as being purposive, or as having intentionality. That is, actors have ends or goals toward which their actions are aimed . Actors are also seen as having preferences. Rational choice theory is unconcerned with what these preferences, or their sources. This theory lays stress on the fact that action is undertaken to achieve objectives that are consistent with an actor's preference hierarchy. Although rational choice theory starts with actor's purposes or intentions, it also takes into account two major

constraints on action. The first is the scarcity of resources. Actors have different resources as well as differential access to other resources. For those with lots of resources, the achievement of ends may be relatively easy. A second source of constraints on individual action is social institutions. Friedman and Hechter enumerate two other ideas that they see as basic   to rational choice theory. The first is an aggregation mechanism, or the process by which the separate individual actions are combined to produce the social outcomes. The second is the importance of information in making rational choices"[70]. This theory stresses that the individuals will participate in political activities only if they have proper knowledge and information about political affairs and they believe that participation is going to fulfill some objectives which are beneficial for him/her Thus political participation is based on rational choice of individuals.

- **Symbolic Interactionism**

  "Symbolic interactionism is a term coined by Herbert Blumer and a theoretical perspective generally associated with George Herbert Mead.The main focus of symbolic interactionism is primarily on individuals and their interactions with others. Symbolic interactionism is based on the idea that social reality is constructed in each human interaction through the use of symbols. Symbols include things as words and gestures."[71] The ability to communicate by the use of language becomes the primary methods of symbolic interaction. "Symbolic Interactionism takes as a fundamental

concern the relationship between individual conduct and forms of social organization. The interactionists assume that human beings are capable of making their own thoughts and activities objects of analysis, that is, they can routinely, and even habitually, manipulate symbols and orient their own actions towards other objects."[72](Denzin, 1969). In addition, because actors are objects themselves, their sense of self is open to meaning and thus amendable. Symbolic Interactionists believe that studying social interaction is the key to understand human behaviour. The Interactionists perspective maintains a belief in the ability of actors to modify their behaviours to meet the needs of the present and the immediate environment.

- **Theory of Elites and Circulation of Elites**:

    The theory of elites and circulation of elites was given by Viferedo Pareto. "According to Pareto society consists of heterogeneous groups. There is intense horizontal and vertical circulation within these groups. The group or individuals which ensure hegemony over other groups are called elites. Pareto uses the term elite refers to people who exhibit intelligence, character, skill, capacity and power. According to Pareto the individual differ in their abilities and accordingly divides the society into two classes; the governing elite and non- governing elite. Governing elite are in minority and consist of individuals who directly play an important role in government. The elites are the individuals who perform key roles in the governance of a society. Existence of elites is a universal feature. The non-governing elites are the masses. They are characterized by the lack of

qualities of leadership as well as the fear from responsibility. Another concept put forward by Pareto is Circulation of Elites. This refers to a process in which individuals circulate between the elite and the non-elite strata. Pareto not only distinguished between elites and non-elites but also suggested the idea of a circulation of elites in which one elite replaces another as aristocracies decay or regenerate. There might also be mobility from a non- elite stratum to an elite stratum or governing class of people who rule directly or indirectly. This simply means that new men of money or power replace the old ones."[73]This theory can be associated with political socialization since an understanding of political systems and political culture can help the masses to participate in the political system. Also, if leadership qualities are developed from the beginning, it can develop abilities in the non-elite stratum and thereby ensure circulation of elites and the nations can move towards participatory form of democracy.

1.7 (e) Others Theories

In addition to the abovementioned theories there are several other theories and approaches which explain the reasons for political participation of people. These are as follows:

Merelman's Lateral Theory of Political Socialization emphasizes that "instead of focusing only on a single model of older generation transmitting to the young, socialization should be considered as more complex and inter- related matter. It is critical of vertical theory of socialization. The vertical model suggests that older

generation are the repositories of information and wisdom that is passed to younger generation. According to this theory an alternative where lateral socialization is the development of horizontally connected agents of socialization that complete with one another to reach the youth and deliver various and diverse images of society. The industrial countries have moved from vertical to lateral forms of socialization where there is no formal central authority those who violate these are strictly punished. It is capable of resolving the conflicting situations happily within the system without putting any extra pressure on the rule maker."[74] This theory emphasizes that apart from family there are several other influential agents of political socialization.

Riker and Oedershook developed the **Decision theoretical framework** to explain the reasons for voting. It perceives human beings as rational thinkers. This theory has been presented in the form of an equation, **U=P*B-C** where **U** is the utility of voting, **P** is the probability that the vote caste will decide the outcome of the election, **B** is the expected benefit when the preferred candidate or party wins, and **C** is the cost of voting. It is therefore claimed than an individual is more likely to vote when **P*B>C**."[75]Thus people will participate in voting only if they perceive it as beneficial for their individual self.

Streib and Schneider's Theory of Selective Withdrawal puts forward the "notion of age- appropriate participation and self-initiated political disengagement. According to this theory the people adjust the level and nature of their political activity on the basis of their personal as well as contextual- situational factors such as health, social pressure and leisure time. This implies that if people have enough

free time it will increase their political participation."[76]On the basis of this theory several factors like health and leisure time can be identified as factors affecting political participation of individuals.

Jennings and Markus'sCohort Composition theory focuses on "relationship between socio- demographic variables such as age, marital status, gender and levels of political participation. Lower participation rates are found among older age groups as compared to younger people as in case of on- line political participation. It may be a consequence of the fact that older people generally become less well equipped, less educated and less prepared to participate."[77]This theory identifies age and marital status as factors influencing political participation.

1.7 (f) Other Theoretical Approaches

There are three approaches which explain the formation of political attitudes and behaviour patterns of the citizens of a country. They are the cultural approach, the social capital approach and the institutional approach.

- **The Cultural Approach**

  "The cultural approach emphasizes the role of collective experiences of a nation, its traditions and history in the formation of political attitudes. It gives importance to the political culture of a nation in which a child grows. The beliefs of people and the behaviour patterns are influenced by the early life socialization. Both individual and collective experiences shape the political

beliefs of a person. In this sense, the values and habits of individuals can be seen as path-dependent and resistant to change. From the point of view of cultural theories the disenchantment of citizens from politics and their civic passivity is a result of the cultural transmission. It is believed to have undermined interpersonal trust, discouraged any out-systemic initiatives and created a very specific type of political culture characterized by political apathy, skepticism and distrust towards authorities."[78]This approach gives importance to cultural transmission for political socialization from one generation to another and puts forward the argument that political indifference in the younger generation is due to lack transmission of political culture.

- **The Social Capital Approach**

From the perspective of social capital theories, "the civic incompetence and passivity is result of inadequate transmission of democratic norms, skills and values through various agencies of socialization like the family and school. The social capital theories assume that by interacting with each other, people learn to trust others, reciprocate, acquire self-confidence, belief in the responsiveness of the political system, and all kinds of civic values. These values are then projected onto institutions and result in better informed, more engaged, efficacious, politically active and democratically responsible citizens. Social capital approach is bottom up approach of political socialization."[79] This approach focuses on the role of family and school in political socialization and gives importance to interaction among people.

- **Institutional Approach**

   According to this approach, "political attitudes are endogenous. The citizens build their opinions and expectations on the basis of their prior experiences and their interpretation of these experiences. Individual experiences in dealing with the government institutions together with the performance level of institutions is evaluated by the citizens on the basis of their responsiveness, accountability, ability to fight corruption and output in terms of growth. The institutional approach is a 'top-down' approach for development of political attitudes and behaviour, and argues that institutions have a major role in promoting cooperative values and behavior among the members of the society".[80]

   These three approaches discussed above link political socialization to cultural transmission, family, school and government institutions. The norms and values projected through these agencies are dominant in the society and effect the perception of citizenship.

Conclusion

Political Socialization is the process through which political beliefs and opinions are developed which are necessary for participating in the civic and political life of the nation. The members of society acquire political values through political socialization. The important agents of political socialization are family, educational institutions, peer group and mass media which complement each other. The classical theorists consider political socialization essential for functioning of

democracy and for participation of people in the civic life of the society. The modern thinkers relate political socialization to habitus and various agencies of mass communication. The post modern thinkers focus on distinction between reality and hyper reality. The sociological theories consider political socialization as a life-long process and essential for maintaining equilibrium in the society. Some other theories link political socialization to age, leisure time and self-interest. The cultural, social capital and institutional approach give importance to family, school and government institutions for transmission of political values. The contemporary society is characterized by widespread changes in social, political and economic sphere. Political Socialization determines the political participation of individuals. The state society relations are based on the fundamental aspects of political trust, efficacy and participation. It is necessary to examine the impact of these changes on formation of political beliefs and opinions. The following chapter focuses on various aspects of political participation.

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10. Civil Society is a central political concept used by Marx to identify the emergence of a new sphere of social action separate from the old political categories of the state and monarch. The term serves to describe the political changes taking place in society during the development of the modern state. It came into use with the work of Adam Smith and George

Hegel, who first used the term to describe the birth of a civil realm which arose after the dissolution of the old political order and the demise of the monarchy as the center of the state. At that time, all society was political. With Marx, however, the term civil society was used to pinpoint the precise historical moment when there was the development of an independent economic realm separate from the political realm of the state, in which individual compete privately and pursue their interests separately from political society. With the emergence of civil society, there is a shift in the center of gravity from the state to the economy as a sphere of free action separate from the state. At the end of the process of civil society stands the 'free individual' who is stripped of various ties to communal bodies and who is the possessor of political rights and freedom based on the private pursuit of economic gain. (Ken Morrison, Marx, Durkheim and Weber: Formations of Modern Social Thought Contents, Sage Publication New Delhi 2015 Pg.390).

11.   Dasgupta, S. (2011), *Political Sociology* Pearson Publication, New Delhi.

12.   Almond, G. & Powell, B.(1996), *Comparative Politics: A Development Approach,* Oxford &IBH Publishing Company, New Delhi Pg. 56.

13   Baruah, M. (2012),*Political Sociology: Theories and Concepts";* EBH Publishers, India Pg. 23

14.   Ibid, pg. 25.

15.   Sullivan, E. Larry. (2009), *The Sage Glossary of Social and Behavioural Sciences*, Sage Publication, California Pg 390 .

16.   Baruah, M. (2012), *Political Sociology: Theories and Concepts";* EBH
       Publishers, India Pg 28,29,30.

17.   Individual-Marx used the term individual to denote a social and political
       entity that makes its appearance in civil society at the end of the eighteenth
       century as a result of historical and economic changes take place during the
       transition from feudalism to capitalism. For Marx, the individual was a
       legal construct denoting a social person who is the better of certain rights
       and freedoms, while at the same time being separate from society and
       subject to its conditions of existence. At the end of this process is the
       isolated individual, whose private autonomy is a political and social
       absurdity.   (Ken Morrison, Marx, Durkheim and Weber: Formations of
       Modern Social Thought Contents, Sage Publication New Delhi 2015
       Pg.400)

18.   Mahajan, Dhar. V. *(2001), Political Theory";* S. CHAND & Company,
       New Delhi Pg 48.

19.   Almond, G. & Powell, B. (1996), *Comparative Politics: A Development
       Approach,* Oxford &IBH Publishing Company, New Delhi Pg 30, 31.

20.   Dasgupta, S. (2011*), Political Sociology*, Pearson Publication New DelhiPg
       66.

21.   Ibid Pg. 38.

22.   Judith, V. P.   (2001), *Development of Political Attitudes in Children*,
       Transaction Publishers, New Jersey Pg 95,96

23. Ibid 84,85

24. Education- The process of education is thought of sociology as the formal transmission of culture, with its elements of preservation, dissemination and innovation. In simple societies this process is not formalized except in rites depassage but in industrial societies education as it takes on disseminating and innovating functions is elaborately organized so as to meet the requirements of society for basic moral education, literacy and numeracy, for specialized training related to the demands of the economy, for skilled workers, scientists and professional people, and for additions to knowledge through research. (G. Duncan Mitchell, A New Dictionary of Sociology, Routledge&Kegan Paul Ltd London 1979 Pg.210)

25. Greenley A.M. & Rossi, P.(1988), "The Education of Catholic Americans, Chicago Aldine. Pg 48.

26. Kerns, A. K. (2004), *Family and Peers: Linking Two Social Worlds*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, London Pg 78.

27. Adoni, H, (1994),*Media and Social Construction of Reality*, Sage Publications, New Delhi Pg 34.

28. Mass Society- A term used to characterize modern western type societies. The concept embraces the following features: large scale industrialization, large urban developments and the ubiquity of bureaucratic administration writers who use this term are often concerned about the relationship of the individual to his society, the degree of freedom an individual enjoys in modern society, how the individual perceives his social environment and

how he evaluates it. There is agreement on the whole that mass society relies on ideological movements, that such movements produce more or less creative and culture- sustaining elites, and that through these elites mass man, although unqualified in many respects, is able to participate in important decision making processes, either by means of party machines, or simply through plebiscites and referenda. (G. Duncan Mitchell, A New Dictionary of Sociology, Routledge&Kegan Paul Ltd London 1979)

29.   Dasgupta, S. (2011*), Political Sociology*, Pearson Publication, New Delhi Pg 56.

30.   Gonalez. G. R. (2000), *Sociology,* Kendall Hunt Publication, American Pg. 78.

31.   Hooghe, M.(2008), *Political Socialization and the Future of Politics*, Acta Political, Beligum.

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34.   Pressure Group- A Pressure group can be described as an organized group that does not put up candidates for election but seeks to influence government policy or 'legislation'. They can also be described as 'interest group; lobby group or protest group. The aim of all pressure groups is to influence the people who actually have the power to make decisions. (www. historylearningsite.co.uk).

35   Mahajan, D. V. (2001*), Political Theory*, S. Chand & Company, New

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40. Interest group- Interest groups neither have any political character nor do they impart any political education to the masses. It is a mere participation in their affairs that gives members opportunities to build an orientation towards the political activities. Thus, it carries on an unintentional latent political socialization. (Dasgupta, S (2011), *Political Sociology*, Pearson Publication New Delhi Pg.64.)

41. State- The political entity that possesses a legitimate monopoly over the use of force within its territory to achieve its goals. (Dasgupta, S (2011), *Political Sociology*, Pearson Publication New DelhiPg. 191).

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44. Alienation-. Alienation denotes the estrangement of the individual from key aspects of his/her social existence. Powerlessness; was that alienation as a feeling on the part of the individual that cannot influence the social situations in which he interact. The second variants, 'meaninglessness; is a feeling that has no guides for conduct or belief'. Normlessness' is the individual 's feeling that illegitimate means are required to achieve valued goals. 'Isolation is a feeling of estrangement from the cultural goals of society, and the final variant; self-estrangement; and inability to find any self- rewarding activities in life. (Ken Morrison, Marx, Durkheim and Weber. (2015), *Formations of Modern Social Thought Contents*, Sage Publication, New Delhi Pg. 387,388).

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46. www. Hollowverse.com

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52.   www. Hollowverse.com

53.   Giddens, A. (2006), *Sociology,* Polity Press, U.S.A Pg. 118.

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64. Ritzer. G.(2013), *Sociology Theory*, The McGraw Hill Companies, Inc New York Pg. 593, 594, 595.

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66. Ritzer, G.(2013), *Sociology Theory*, The McGraw Hill Companies, Inc New York Pg. 607, 608, 609.

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