THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, MASS MEDIA
AND EMPATHY IN MODERNIZATION: A CASE
STUDY OF UTTAR PRADESH (INDIA)

BY

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This is to certify that the

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, MASS MEDIA
AND EMPATHY IN MODERNIZATION: A CASE
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by

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This study, based on field research in India during 1966, was
designed to investigate the relationship between empathy, mass media
exposure, political participation and modernization among nine hundred
and twenty six respondents in Uttar Pradesh State. In the effort to
determine the impact of these variables on modernization the theoretical
framework provided in Daniel Lerner's, The Passing of Traditional Society,
was used. Current conceptualizations of the modernization process in
India have also been discussed and used.

The data reported a positive relationship between empathy and
the other variables of modernization such as political participation,
higher education, mass media exposure and achievement motivation. Our
findings about cosmopoliteness and its correlation with empathy does not
support the earlier studies conducted in other developing areas. Cosmo-
politeness was not that highly correlated with empathy. It was also
found that political participation was positively correlated with other
important variables of modernization such as empathy, innovativeness,
achievement motive, political knowledge, and occupational and educational
aspirations for children. Those individuals who reported to participate
in public affairs have higher sense of personal and public efficacy than

those who are low on participation scale. Participation in rural areas was surprisingly low and females seem to have voluntarily abdicated their right to participate, and whenever they participated they selected organizations which were conservative, traditional, and religious. The findings also indicated that message carried by the mass media affect citizen's information level and shape his cognition of various important factors—essential to make him a participant individual and thereby generate social and political change. Variables of innovativeness, political knowledge, political participation, knowledge of governmental outputs at various levels, knowledge of political and administrative leaders and empathy are correlated with mass media exposure. The data also indicated that urban respondents tend to be more highly exposed to mass media than the rural respondents. It is interesting to note that highly exposed respondents were less supportive to the government outputs and were more cynical towards the political system. It is the contention of the present inquiry that widely accepted models of modernization which attach great importance to political participation, mass media exposure and other variables can not be used in all situations. Social and political environment are crucial for the adoption of solutions. There are no definite solutions and models to the problems of political modernization and social change. In Indian situation the approach has to take into consideration all historical social and political factors.

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By

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My thoughts are also with my family in India. My father, Pt. Shree Narayan Vajpeyi, one of the most outstanding traditionalist-modernist, always provided me with constant inspiration. For him, learning is a daily occupation to be pursued with selfless zeal. My mother's great love toward me kept me going here. I am sure all of them will be happy to know about the completion of the thesis.

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Cedar Falls, Iowa

May, 1971

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CHAPTER I

FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

CURRENT CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF THE

MODERNIZATION PROCESS IN INDIA

Current conceptualizations of the process of modernization in
India fall into two broad categories:

A. Historically oriented analysis

Despite important differences in approach, method and rigor,

these conceptualizations share certain common features, the

most notable of which are a scepticism of overly rigorous

analytic frame, greater reliance on adhoc imagination and

judgment in discerning general trends and attempting sui

generis interpretation, and a desire to keep to the main

factual terrain as defined by their focus of study. The

methodological and ideational parentage are mixed; and it

is rather difficult to trace them to any particular source,

even when individual theorists and scholars may be seen

to have exerted some visible influence over them. To this

extent, therefore, these studies may be firstly regarded as

original and/or creative efforts of varying quality, towards

a scientific understanding, interpretation or explanation

of the complex ongoing processes of social change, as seen

in the historical perspective.

From our point of view, however, their significance is rather

limited; largely because of their thin theoretical fall-out, in terms of

which one could hope to undertake an empirical exploration of the contemporary situation or attempt a prediction of emerging trends.

B. Analytical oriented formulations

One would, under the circumstances, turn with hopes to the second category, which is overtly analytic in its approach as well as intentions. About the most notable example of such a conceptualization is of Dube (1967) and a careful scrutiny of his frame is instructive for more than one reason, even if one is driven in the end to a somewhat negative finding.

Modernity for Professor Dube (1967) denotes the common "behavioral systems" historically associated with the urban, industrial, literate and participant societies of Western Europe and North America as well as those of U.S.S.R. and Japan. Modernization is the process through which their standards of performance and achievement can be accomplished by the less developed societies.

> Modernization involves the emergence of a new behavioral system with certain distinctive characteristics. Such a system implies considerable value-change. Unless the traditional values undergo a radical modification an innovative ethos and an entrepreneurial and an industrial ethic cannot be created. Value-change is necessary also for institutional rearrangement considered essential for modernization. (Dube 1965:37)

> Modernity thus is not just superficial acquisition of some isolated traits and elements characteristic of the more advanced countries. Their selection in a logical order and sequence, and integration into the cultural pattern in a widely ramifying manner is essential. (Dube 1965:35)

How is, then, one to conceive this "logical order and sequence," along with their "integration into the cultural pattern in a widely ramifying manner?" Here one is appropriately warned about the multiplicity of models of modernization, since "they are often perceptive and

offer some meaningful insights, but from the sociological angle they lack coherence and miss certain important aspects of the human context." (Dube 1965:36) In offering his own model, Dube draws from the works of Lerner (1966), Almond and Colemen (1960), and McClelland (1961), and proceeds to telescope their hypotheses while listing the characteristic attributes of modernity as follows:

1. Empathy

2. Mobility

3. High participation

4. Interest articulation

5. Interest aggregation

6. Institutionalized political competition

7. Achievement orientation

8. Rational ends - means calculation

9. New attitudes to wealth, work, savings, and risk-taking

10. Faith in the desirability and possibility of change

11. Social, economic, and political discipline

12. Capacity to put off immediate and short-term satisfactions for higher satisfactions in the longer run.

The anatomy of this model is transparent as to its parentage. The first three attributes are components of the Lerner model;[1] the next

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[1] In Lerner's study of modernization in the Middle East the crucial variable intervening between mass media exposure and modernization is "empathy," defined as the capacity to place oneself in the roles of others. He stated that, "The acquisition and diffusion of psychic mobility (empathy) may well be the greatest characterological transformation in modern history . . . . It is in any case the most fundamental human factor that must be comprehended by all those who plan rapid economic growth by means of rapid social change." (1963:332)

three are adoptions from the Almond-Coleman model;[2] the seventh attribute

comes from McClelland;[3] while the last five of the list are items relating

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1 (contd.) Lerner's (1958:46) model of modernization also brings
concepts other than empathy into focus: "Everywhere...increasing urban-
ization has tended to raise literacy; rising literacy has tended to
increase (mass) media exposure; increasing media exposure has 'gone with'
wider economic participation (per capita income) and political partici-
pation (voting)...The same basic model reappears in virtually all
modernizing societies on all continents of the world." Rogers and
Svenning have presented Lerner's model in 'Symbolic notation as:

Urbanization ──→ Literacy ──→ Mass Media ──→ Income and
                                   Exposure   Voting

[2]According to Almond-Coleman model, structure differentiation
exists when there are structures in the political systems that have a
"functional distinctiveness, and which tend to perform...a regulatory
role in relation to that function within the political system as a
whole." (1960:18) To have a meaningful understanding of structural
differentiation it seems necessary to identify the functions that all
political systems have in common. These functions are classified into
two main categories (1) input functions, and (2) output functions. The
input functions are (a) political socialization and recruitment (b)
interest articulation, (c) interest aggregation, and (d) political
communication. The output functions are (a) rule making, (b) rule
application, and (c) rule adjudication. (1960:17) A differentiated
political system has in each of these functional areas specialized and
distinct structures which tend to regulate that function for the system
as a whole. The other major dimension which distinguishes modern
political system from the traditional one is "secular - theoratic."
Almond and Coleman do not offer a precise and detailed definition and
mention it very briefly. In short, the Almond-Coleman model of the
modern political system is structurally differentiated and secular, and
a system in which the input functions are performed in a specified style.

[3]McClelland (1961) sought to show that an essential ingredient
of entreprenuership leading to economic development is achievement
motivation. According to McClelland achievement motivation is a social
value that emphasizes a desire for excellence in order to obtain a sense
of personal accomplishment (1963:76). The central social value in
McClelland's model-achievement motivation-is not specifically defined,
but he equals it to an inner concern with achievement, a disposition to
engage in activities in which doing well or competing with a standard of
excellence are important (1963:76). The similarity between achievement
motivation and certain aspects of the Protestant Ethic is noted by
McClelland (1961:47), "Certainly, Weber's description of the kind of
personality type which the Protestant Reformation produced is startlingly
similar to the picture we have drawn of a person with high achievement

to attributes, values, and motivations--articulated in the growing

literature on the social and cultural implications of modernization,

more specially Ithiel de Sola Pool (1963), Wilbert Moore (1963), and

Dube (1965). To be sure, the author does recognize the importance of

the sequence or specific form of linkage as between the items listed.

Witness his comment:

> Several interacting transformations are thus called for:
> personality must open up, values and motivations must change, and
> institutional arrangements must be reworked. An integrated combi-
> nation of these attributes leads to modernization (1965:38).

The critical question as to the specific mode of "integrated combination,"

however, is left unasked and unanswered.

Is this model applicable and/or relevant to the Indian context?

The issue is never faced frontally, though one could argue with consi-

derable force that the author envisages an affirmative answer. The

extended analysis of the "Indian Context" seems to imply this; as also

scattered comments like:

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3 (contd.) motivation." McClelland's basic research design
delineating his pattern of personality change has been presented in the
following way by Alfred Diamant (1966:44):

Values associated with	Entrepreneurship
modern industrialism	↓
↓	
Independence and	$\underline{n}$ Achievement
mastery training	

McClelland has been able to show how the values associated with modern
industrialism produced child rearing patterns which led the parents to
encourage in the child early (but not too early) independence and doing
things for himself (mastery training). It is these practices that are
associated with high achievement motive ($\underline{n}$ achievement) which in turn
McClelland links with entrepreneurship. McClelland leaves no doubt that
the crucial variable which spurs individuals to foster economic develop-
ment is not profit, but achievement (1961:391).

The requirements of modernization are hard and almost inflexible.
They will not yield, beyond a point, to particular societies;
societies must yield to them. The dialogue on their adaptive
demands on Indian society has so far yielded only polite nothings.
Fashionable debates on the subject diplomatically avoids facing the
real issue. It is necessary that they be faced with candour and
conviction (Dube 1965:40-45).

These changes occur both at the individual (micro) and social

system (macro) levels, and these two levels are not mutually exclusive.

The modernization process is not unidimensional and, therefore, cannot

be measured by a single index.

The main objective of the present investigation is to test and

verify three variables--empathy, political participation, and mass media

exposure--of Lerner's model of modernization through Survey Research

Method, among nine-hundred and twenty-six citizens of a North Indian

state, Uttar Pradesh.

Background of the Study

The research reported here is part of a much broader project on

"Social and Political change" in India. It was conducted in 1966 to

find out about political, social, and economic changes that have taken

place in India, attitudes of citizens towards these changes, their

perception of the bureaucracy and governmental actions, sense of efficacy,

extent of political participation, mass media exposure, innovativeness,

empathy, and citizens' own role in the political system and in bringing

about these changes. In India one state was selected for each four

regions--East, West, North, and South. The states of Assam and Kashmir

were excluded from the study because it was not possible to obtain per-

mission from the Government of India to conduct a citizens' survey in

these two extremely politically and strategically sensitive areas. In selecting the states, an attempt was made to introduce as much of a variance as possible in the sample. The states selected were: Andhra Pradesh in the South, Uttar Pradesh in the North, Maharashtra in the West, and West Bengal in the East. The evaluation of each state was impressionistic. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to have some amount of national representativeness. These four selected states were compared on certain critical demographic, economic and sociopolitical dimensions with the nation as a whole.

The original questionnaire which was in English was translated by me into Hindi, the language spoken in the state. Two pretests were done by me before a final form of questionnaire was adopted. Traditionally TAT and card sorting techniques are used to measure the innovativeness of respondents, but previous experience had shown that these two techniques were not very popular among respondents and did not work very well (Vajpeyi 1966) in India, therefore, these techniques were abondoned, and simple questions were asked to measure such variables as innovativeness and empathy. After these two pretests the project started in June 1966 and was completed by October 1966.

The central variables selected for the purpose of the research reported here are political participation, empathy and mass media exposure. Additional information on other variables such as literacy, urbanization, achievement motive, fatalism, and aspirations has also been utilized to examine the nature of intervening relationships. Multivariate analysis helps in testing the effects of a third, fourth or more variables on the relationship between two other variables.

For the purpose of present analysis the selected variables have
been grouped as follows:

1. Antecedent Variables:

They are also called independent variables. Antecedent
variables are those which precede the others in order of time
and which theoretically are expected to lead or to be followed
by certain other variables. "The antecedent variable is the
'presumed' cause of the consequence variable, the 'presumed'
effect." (Kerlinger 1964:39) Whenever we say "If X then Y,"
'X' is always the independent variable and 'Y' the dependent
variable. In research the variable which is always manipulated
by the investigator is the independent variable.

2. Consequent Variables:

These variables are also known as dependent variables.
Consequent variables follow the antecedent in time. The conse-
quent variable is "Y," the "presumed" effect, the variable
predicted to, whereas the antecedent is predicted from. Conse-
quent variable varies with changes or variations in the ante-
cedent variable. It is not manipulated. "It is observed for
variation as a presumed result of variation in the independent
variable. In predicting from X to Y, we can take any value of X
we wish, whereas the value of Y we predict to is of course
"dependent" on the value of X we have selected. The dependent
variable is ordinarily the condition we are trying to explain.
. . ." (Kerlinger 1964:39)

3. Intervening Variables:

These have also been called "constructs." "Intervening
variables are terms invented to account for internal and
directly unobservable psychological process that in turn account
for behavior. . . . An intervening variable is an 'in-the-head'
variable. It cannot be seen, heard, or felt. It is inferred
from behavior." (Kerlinger 1964:44) These variables affect the
relationship between antecedent and consequent variables.

A general paradigm of antecedent, intervening, and consequent
variables used in the present investigation is:

Antecedent Variables	Intervening	Consequents
1. Mass Media Exposure	1. Achievement Motivation	1. Innovativeness
2. Education	2. Empathy	2. Political Participation
3. Cosmopoliteness	3. Fatalism	3. Aspirations

Explanation of Concepts

1. Empathy:

Attempts to define the concept have been numerous and
varied. It has been defined as role playing and role taking
(Lipps 1909), as inter-personal perspectiveness (Deutsch 1964),
as interaction (Stewart 1954, Speroff 1953, and Buchheimer 1963)
and "psychic mobility" (Lerner 1966). The concept of empathy
is central in Lerner's model of modernization. According to him
empathy is

(i) the capacity for identification with new aspects of the respondent's environment" (1966:49); (ii) "the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation ((1966:50); (iii) the capacity for rearranging the self-system on short notice (1966:51); (iv) "mobile sensibility (1966:49), and so on.

The central theme in all these descriptions of empathy is the individual's capacity to understand others' feelings in his situation. Empathy is the lubricant which helps the modernization process. To quote Lerner again:

> the acquisition and diffusion of psychic mobility (empathy) may well be the greatest characterological transformation in modern history. . . . the most fundamental human factor that must be comprehended by all who plan rapid economic growth by means of rapid social change. (1963:332)

Measuring Empathy

Attempts to measure empathy have been as varied as have the attempts to define the concept. In order to measure the concept of empathy with others' roles in Uttar Pradesh predictive test was used. The respondents were asked to take public roles, which varied from local to national. A five item scale of empathy was developed on the basis of these questions asked from the respondents. The respondents were asked as to what they would do in their respective positions to solve these problems. A full discussion of the measurement approaches and the type of questions asked in Uttar Pradesh is in the chapter on "Empathy" in this dissertation.

2. Political Participation:

Modern society is a participant society. It "stirs into action those classes which formerly only played a passive part in political life." (Mannheim 1941:44) Democracy by its very

definition is characterized by the fact that power is shared and authoritative decisions concerning the society are taken by citizens or their chosen representatives. Participation is essential for mass mobilization.

Lerner's (1966) research reported a positive association of political participation with other indicators of modernization. Almond and Verba (1963) felt that participation was an essential ingredient to develop political culture and to make a society participant and modern.

Measuring Political Participation:

To measure political participation the respondents were asked a series of questions concerning the frequency of political discussions, engaging in political activities such as attending a strategy meeting, contributing time in a political campaign, attending a political rally or meeting during a campaign, monetary contribution, talking another into voting a certain way, voting in local and national elections, membership in a political party, and voluntary organizations. Further discussion is in the chapter on "Political Participation" later in this disserta- tion. The political participation has been utilized as a consequent variable in this study.

3. Mass Media Exposure:

Modernization has been defined as "the process by which individuals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex technologically advanced, and rapidly changing style of life." (Rogers and Svenning 1969:48) It is essentially a

communication process, and has "brought about the downfall of traditional societies." Exposure to the mass media is an important variable in large-scale directed social change, and modernization in developing societies. The mass media makes indispensable inputs to psychopolitical life of a transitional society via "the minds and hearts of its people!" It teaches people by depicting new and strange situations and familiarizes them with a range of opinions among which they can choose. "A person," according to Lerner "becomes participant by learning to have opinions . . . . The more numerous and varied the matters on which he has opinions the more participant he is." (1966:71) The nature and scope of the mass media differs from one country to another. In less developed countries it reaches only to smaller audiences, such as university students, members of professions, middle class, and urban dwellers. This is due to the availability, and the degree of government control. Communication can be direct or indirect, face-to-face contact versus the impersonal channels. Recent years have shown a tremendous growth in mass media techniques. By using these new techniques such as radio--specially the transistor radio-- and television, the governments of developing countries are reaching larger audiences. According to Rogers and Svenning:

> larger mass media audiences, accompanied by high levels of mass media exposure per capita, can be expected to lead those exposed to more favorable attitudes toward change and development, to greater awareness of political events and to more knowledge of technical information. (1969:100-101)

It has been found that mass media is correlated to other

variables of modernization such as literacy, political know-
ledge, empathy, innovativeness, aspirations, and achievement
motive. (Deutschmann 1963:27-35; Lerner 1966; Rao 1963) They
have been presented in the following paradigm: (Rogers and
Svenning 1969:102)

ANTECEDENTS ————————➤ PROCESS ————————➤ CONSEQUENCE

Literacy
Education
Social Status
Age
Cosmopoliteness

Mass
Media
Exposure

Empathy
Agricultural &
Home Innovativeness
Political Knowledge
Achievement Motivation
Educational & Occupational
Aspirations
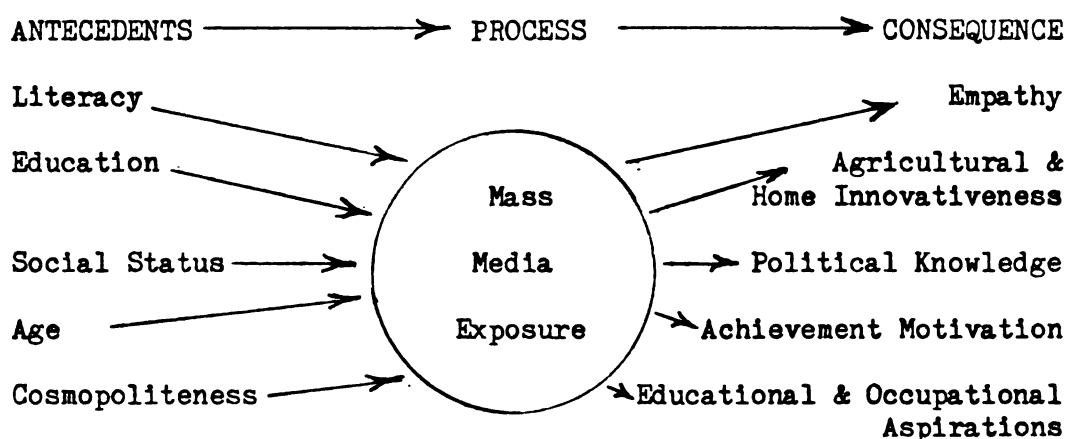
Measuring Mass Media Exposure:

To measure the extent of mass media exposure the respondents
in this study were asked about their exposure to the four mass
media (newspapers, magazines, films and radios). The questions
asked were:

a. Do you ever listen to the radio? About how often?

b. Do you ever read the newspapers or have someone read
them out for you? About how often?

c. How about magazines?

d. Do you ever go to the cinema? About how often?

On the basis of responses received a three level index was
adopted. Those respondents who gave positive responses to at
least three questions were considered to be highly exposed,

those who gave positive responses to two questions and two negative responses were categorized as moderately exposed. Those respondents who gave negative responses to all the four questions or to three questions and positive to one question were considered to be low on mass media exposure.

Other indicators of modernization used in the present research are:

1. Cosmopoliteness

Cosmopoliteness has been defined as a degree to which an individual is oriented outside his immediate social system (Rogers and Svenning 1969:146). Those individuals who are confined to their own immediate social system and environment, possess very little or no interest in the world beyond, are the parochials whose presence is a great hurdle in the process of modernization and change. The cosmopolite, on the other hand, is one with imaginative longings for a better life, is willing to have contacts with the outside world, and travels frequently outside his own environment.

Measuring Cosmopoliteness:

Researches conducted to operationalize the concept of cosmopoliteness have used two types of measures:

> (i) Attitudinal: The respondents are asked to report their agreement or disagreement with statements like, "The most rewarding organizations a person can belong to are local organizations serving local needs." (Dobriner 1958 and Dye 1963:239-246)

(ii) <u>Behavioral Indicators</u>: The respondents are asked to report their contacts with external sources, external to their own social environment. The respondents are asked as to how many trips they had taken to urban areas, his contacts with foreigners, and the type of communication sources or channels used by them. (Sen 1962; Goldsen and Ralis; and Lerner 1958) Studies have also shown that number of urban trips and mass media exposure consistently lead to cosmopoliteness. In our study we used the number of trips as primary measurement of cosmopoliteness. It has been suggested by researchers that urban trips are not the only variable to determine cosmopoliteness. Rogers et. al. have suggested that "a composite cosmopolite index should be constructed. Such an index might include, in addition to trips to the city, such variables as number of visitors (from outside the village) received, number of letters received, change agent contact, mass media exposure, previous military service, and residence outside the community." (Rogers et. al. 1969:166) Unfortunately our study, in the absence of this kind of data, does not have such an index, and we have used only urban trips, and their frequency to determine cosmopoliteness. The respondents were asked two types of questions. First they were asked "Could you tell me how often you have traveled to (Name District Headquarters/nearest city) if you have ever

traveled there?" Then the respondents were asked about the size of the city to which they had traveled, and frequency of such trips. On the basis of the responses a three level scale was formulated. Those respondents who reported to have traveled once a week or more frequently, and between once a week and once a month were considered to be high on cosmopoliteness scale. Those respondents who traveled two to five times a year, or once or twice in a year or less frequently were categorized as moderately cosmopolite, and those who reported to have never traveled were considered to be low on cosmopoliteness scale.

2. Achievement Motivation:

Achievement motivation has been defined as "a social value that emphasizes a desire for excellence in order to attain a sense of personal accomplishment." (Rogers et. al. 1969:243) It has been observed that a desire to excel and achieve is related to economic development and change. Weber (1930), Rostow (1961), Hagen (1962:ix), McClelland (1961), and Rosen (1964) stress the role of value changes in economic development. Rosen (1964) speaks of the "achievement syndrome" in which he includes achievement motivation and such "achievement values" as activism, independence, and future orientation. It is a special type of social value which helps in changing societies.

Measuring Achievement Motivation:

In past various measures have been used to assess the achievement motivation. McClelland and his associates have used TAT type measure of achievement motivation. In our study it was realized, during the pretests, that investigators not only required considerable time to administer in field interviews, but also met resistance on the part of the respondents. The respondents felt that they were being treated as children to tell the stories about what was going on in the TAT pictures. (Vajpeyi 1966), Morrison (1962), and Neill (1963) used the sentence-completion measure of achievement motivation. They felt that such a measure can be administered in a few minutes of interview time, and encountered less respondent resistance than TAT. Past researches in developing countries had shown that sentence-completion measurement was not too successful because farmers of these countries "are obviously much different from those in Wisconsin or Ohio." Due to these above mentioned difficulties in measuring the achievement motivation in India direct questions were asked concerning respondents' occupational areas. Past researches have reported the conceptual importance of occupational expressions of achievement motivation as a predictor of economic development and social change. In this study the rural respondents were asked about agricultural sector, while urban respondents were asked about their respective occupations. Following questions were asked:

a. Are you currently doing anything to try to get a better job--perhaps looking for other work or taking some training that would help you find better work?

b. Do you desire to increase the size of your farm?

c. Are there any new methods and techniques or machines and implements which you will like to use to improve your work?

d. Would you like to increase your farm production? (in urban areas) Would you like to increase your financial situation, or your pay?

e. Here are a few things that some farmers use and some don't. We would like to know if you think their use is good or bad? How about improved seeds? Do you think it is good or bad to use them to improve your farm?

These questions were adopted with the results of past researches in mind. Individuals with high achievement motivation engage in innovating and risk taking activities (McClelland 1964:182-183). According to Rogers et. al. (1969:258) one of the partial indicators of excellence in farming is the size of the farm. A farmer with a larger-sized farm is considered to be more successful. Another indicator of farming excellence is the level of farm production.

On the basis of respondent answers a three level scale-- High, Medium, and Low--was constructed. Those respondents who responded positively to all the five questions were considered to be highly achievement oriented. Those respondents who were positive on at least three questions were considered moderate on achievement orientation scale. The low achievement oriented ones were those who answered positive on one question or less than one.

3. Fatalism:

Fatalism is the belief that phenomena occur for no knowledgeable reason, and nothing can be done to control or prevent them. God or some moral order controls the destiny. The attitude of fatalism breeds inaction, apathy, superstition, irrational behavior and pessimism. It is a great obstacle in bringing about social change, economic development, and modernization. It is this kind of attitude which makes the Indian farmer quote the Ramayana, "It is no use to interfere in the ways of God, hence it is worthless to argue and try."

Measuring Fatalism:

Most of the researches conducted to measure fatalism have been concerned with respondents' attitudes towards nature and supernatural. The fatalism scale for this study was based on attitudes reported by the respondents about supernatural, and its role in their lives. The respondents were asked if there was anything they could do to improve their lives. This question was followed by three more questions. The items were:

    a. Is there anything which you could do to improve your present life?

    b. When man is created, his life is determined by his past actions. He cannot modify it?

    c. If misfortune hits one should accept it. One cannot fight the gods.

    d. Only God could make us happy. No human efforts could alter the fate. Whatever is destined is destined.

The respondents were asked to express their opinions on these items. Those who agreed on first item and disagreed on all the rest of the three items were considered to be low on fatalism, those who agreed on second, third, and fourth items and disagreed on first item were considered to be high on fatalism. Those respondents who agreed on at least two and disagreed on the first item were categorized as moderately fatalistic.

4. Opinion Leadership:

The success or failure of community development programs of planned change depend upon the attitude and cooperation of local leaders. These leaders have tremendous influence in their own social environment. They are sought for information and advice because they are considered to be knowledgeable, competent, and resourceful. Modernization and social change programs make new demands on local leadership. In this study we were interested to find out the relationship between opinion leadership and other variables of modernization process.

Measuring Opinion Leadership:

Various measuring techniques have been used by researchers to determine the opinion leadership. Who are the opinion leaders? Who governs? These questions have plagued sociologists, political scientists and other social scientists for quite a long time. The more important and well known measures are (1) socio-metric; (2) a self-designating opinion leadership scale; (3) a self-anchoring

opinion leadership measure; and (4) judge's ratings. In our study two measuring techniques were used to determine the opinion leadership. They were:

(a) <u>Self-designating leadership:</u> The respondents were asked if people come to them for advice or opinions in solving their problems. Two questions were asked in this series about the frequency of such visits, and if they come for information and advice more often than to others.

(b) <u>Self-anchoring ladder measure:</u> The self-anchoring ladder technique developed by Professor Hadley Cantril was also used to measure opinion leadership. The respondents were handed over a small card with a picture of five stepladders and were asked:

> Suppose the most powerful and influential men in village/town whose opinions and advice are respected are at the top of the ladder, and the men with the least influence and power are at the bottom. Where would you place yourself on the ladder?

Those respondents who had quite a few visitors who came frequently for advice, and those who placed themselves high on the ladder were considered to be high on public opinion leadership scale. On the other hand, those respondents who did not report any such visits were categorized as low on opinion leadership.

4. <u>Education:</u>

Education is an important facilitator of modernization. It puts "the boundaries of human experience beyond the visible

horizons and thus extends social space." Whereas the illiterate, the uneducated is largely dependent on memorization of details, the educated individual is able to manipulate symbols, able to empathize and understand. It has been observed that:

> Where the social setting itself is changing, the more
> literate man will be quicker to perceive the change and
> will find it easier to redefine his beliefs in ways that
> fit his new needs and interests. (Schuman et. al., 1967:6)

There is a widespread consesus among researchers that literacy is the key to national development and modernization, and is closely related to the other variables of modernization.

Measuring Education:

In the absence of uniformity to measure literacy the present study has used the level of formal education. This was considered to be the simplest way to measure education. The important stage or the "take off" stage in education is the postprimary stage which begins in the fourth or fifth year of schooling. The course content in postprimary classes is likely to reflect some modern sort of information, and the location of postprimary schools is usually a town or city or a bigger village.

II

The Sample:

The total sample size for India was determined with reference both to problems of administration and the population in the four states. The following rate for the male and female samples were drawn:

Male Sample	Female Sample
Rural: 2 per 100,000	Rural: 5 per 100,000
Urban: 5 per 100,000	Urban: 2 per 100,000

TABLE I

MALE & FEMALE POPULATION - URBAN & RURAL
(1961 CENSUS)

State	Total Population	Rural		Urban	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
I. Uttar Pradesh*	72,276,786	32,734,243	30,100,419	5,208,239	4,233,885

*Excluding five border districts in which interviewing was not possible because of government restrictions.

It was decided to take a smaller sample of female respondents firstly because of the difficulty of interviewing them individually and secondly it was felt that they, with their very low political involvement (impressionistic in the beginning but later supported by the data) would mainly be reflecting the male political orientations. The higher rate of the urban sample is a function of the low degree of urbanization in India and the fact that about three-fourths of the total Indian population live in the villages. As we were interested in using urbanization as one of the major antecedent variables, we thought we required a sizeable urban sample for analytic purposes. The total sample size was fixed with reference to the number of elite interviews we wanted to do, the load we could carry administratively, in the short time at our disposal before Indian elections start in February, 1967.

Given the above rates, the following turned out to be the sample size for U. P. (See Table II). Each state got a quota of interviews proportionate to the size of its total population in the urban and rural areas. In fixing the number of interviews for each state, we took into account the different male-female ratios within them. For this purpose, we used the 1961 Census of India which provided the latest available figures.

TABLE II

TOTAL MALE AND FEMALE SAMPLES*

State	Rural			Urban			
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Sample
I. Uttar Pradesh	655	150	805	260	85	345	1150

Note: Rural male sample at 2 per 100,000
   Rural female sample at 1 per 200,000
   Urban male sample at 5 per 100,000
   Urban female sample at 2 per 100,000

*Response rate not accounted for.

RURAL SAMPLE

Districts and Socioeconomic Strata

In each state, we decided to take a sample of 25% of the districts. Districts were used as primary sampling units within the states because they are the largest administrative units and have identical administrative units and have identical administrative structure. Thirdly, they provided a convenient unit for stratifying the state into socioeconomically developed and under-developed regions. Lastly, they helped us to cluster the interviews.

For selecting the districts, we ranked all the districts within a state in terms of their level of socioeconomic development. (See Appendix I) Employing then a median split to stratify them into high and low districts, an equal number of districts from each stratum were selected. The selection within each stratum was based on the principles of PPS, the size here referring to the total population of the district. Between the strata, the total rural sample for the state was distributed proportionate to the size of the state population living in the two strata. In this distribution, the sex ratios in the two strata were considered. Similarly, the quota for each stratum was distributed among the selected districts proportionate to the size of these districts, again taking into account the sex ratio in the total population. The following tables illustrate our approach:

TABLE III

TOTAL STRATA WISE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE
RURAL POPULATIONS IN THE SELECTED STATE

State	High		Low	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
I. Uttar Pradesh	15,207,225	13,276,008	15,527,018	16,824,411

Blocks

Within districts, community development blocks were used as sampling units because they automatically cluster the villages. As we were vitally interested in exposure to urbanization and the modern sectors of the community, we decided to rank the blocks with reference to the distance between block and district headquarters. In case of

alternative routes, we took the shortest route into account. Then using a median split, we stratified the blocks into proximal and distal blocks. Then from each stratum we selected on block PPS. The quota of interviews for each district was distributed between the two selected blocks with reference to the latter's population size. Once again, sex ratio of the total population was taken into account.

Villages

In selecting the villages within each block, the principles of PPS were deliberately flouted. Firstly, because any procedure which favoured the selection of the larger villages would have deprived us of the opportunity of studying small size village communities on a regular basis from district to district. Secondly, the presence in the sample of villages of different sizes (varying in size from below 200 to above 10,000) would assure the availability of adequate data on larger villages which in terms of size verged on smaller towns. This should help the study to develop some form of a folk-urban continuum for analytic purposes. We, therefore, ranked the villages in terms of their size and once again used the median split to stratify them into large and small villages. Selecting then one village from each of the strata, we distributed the block-quota of interviews between the two villages proportionate to their size.

Female Sample

Given the smaller rate at which the female respondents were selected, it was pointless to have as many sampling points for the females as for the males. We, therefore, planned to use half the

number of districts for picking our female sample. The selected

districts with number of interviews assigned to Uttar Pradesh are shown

in Tables IV and V.

TABLE IV

FEMALE SAMPLE IN THE SELECTED DISTRICTS

State	Districts	No. of Interviews
I. Uttar Pradesh	Varanasi	25
	Mirzapur	0
	Kanpur	26
	Meerut	0
	Muzaffarnagar	25
	Etah	0
	Budaun	32
	Gonda	0
	Sitapur	32
	Jaunpur	33
	Gorakhpur	0
	Almora	0
TOTAL		173

Within a district, we planned to have both distal and proximal

villages as well as large and small villages. As we were to select

only two villages from a district for the female sample, we decided to

select one village from each of the two selected blocks which would

automatically ensure that we get a distant and nearby village. The

actual procedure was as follows: Out of the four villages used for the

male sample, we selected one village randomly for the female sample.

Then according to whether it was a large or a small village, we selected,

and according to the block to which it belonged determined the selection

of the second village in block "A," the second selection would automa-

tically be a large village in block "D."

TABLE V

State	SED High Districts	Distribu- tion of Interviews	SED Low Districts	Distribu- tion of Interviews	State Total
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
I. Uttar Pradesh	1. Varanasi	92	1. Budaun	91	
	2. Mirzapur	41	2. Gonda	86	
	3. Kanpur	82	3. Jaunpur	100	
	4. Meerut	87	4. Gorakhpur	101	
	5. Musaffarnagar	76	5. Sitapur	99	
	6. Etah	47	6. Almora	24	
TOTAL		425		501	926

URBAN SAMPLE

The sampling rates for the urban interviews resulted in the following distribution of interviews:

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE URBAN POPULATION

State	High		Low	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
I. Uttar Pradesh	4,220,015	3,416,336	1,988,224	1,817,549

TABLE VII

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE URBAN INTERVIEWS

State	Males	Females	Total
I. Uttar Pradesh	312	102	414

Town Types and Towns

Within each state, the urban population was stratified with reference to the size of the town or cities they stayed in. Table VIII gives the distribution of male and female population staying in different types of towns.) It will be noticed that, as the first type could include only the state capital, it amounted to a purposive selection in all cases. This was done because it was felt that the state capitals were likely to have distinctive political features and, therefore, would be important for the comparative analysis of political cultures.

TABLE VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION
AMONG TOWNS IN U.P.

Towns	Total Population	Males	Females
1	2	3	4
1. Lucknow	655,673	366,501	289,172
2. Ghazibad	63,190	34,753	28,437
3. Varanasi	471,258	257,831	213,427
4. Sashawan	23,293	12,284	10,909
5. Baghpat	8,437	4,580	3,857

In classifying the towns, our intention was to develop at least three categories: (1) those which would include industrial centres; (2) those which were in intermediate or transitary stages of industrialization and (3) those which overlapped the villages in terms of their traditional structure and low-level of industrialization.

In selecting the actual towns for the study, all the towns included in the districts selected for the rural sample were listed with their total population size. Then in each of the town-types, we selected two towns from each state. The process of selection was, however, different for types 2 and 3. In the former (over 50,000), we selected the two towns randomly; in the latter, we stratified the towns in terms of their size using a median split and selected one town from each stratum. We felt that this would provide us with a continuum, at one end of which we would have our highly urbanized sampling points and at the other we would have the small traditional village communities.

The selection of two towns from types 2 and 3 was determined by the consideration that, by taking more than one town, we should be able to measure the cluster effect involved in selecting a very small number of towns to represent the entire urban sector of the four states.

Total number of urban interviews in each state were distributed among three types of towns with reference to the proportion of state population in all towns of that size within the state. This was done because the alternative procedure of distributing interviews proportionate to the size of the selected towns within a category would have given us very few interviews in case of small towns. Within each category, the interviews were distributed between the two selected towns, proportionately to the population size, taking into account the sex ratio of the total population of the towns.

Wards

Because of administrative considerations, we decided to cluster the interviews within the larger cities in terms of municipal wards. This was not necessary in case of towns below 50,000 because of their more homogeneous nature and the ease with which one could commute within them.

While trying to cluster the interviews with reference to the wards, we found that no correlation existed between the size of the selected towns and the number of wards they had. In other words, there were great variations within and across towns in ward size. In view of this, the following arbitrary system was developed in the selection of wards within a city:

(a) If a town or city had 30 or more wards, we selected 10% of the wards.

(b) If a city has between 20 and 29 wards, we selected 25% of the wards. This percentage was determined on pragmatic grounds by examining the population size of the cities within this number of wards.

(c) If a town had less than 20 wards, we selected 50% of the wards.

We selected the wards PPS and distributed the interviews among them proportionate to their size. Wherever the sex ratios were available for individual wards within a town, we took it into account. Wards were picked without initial randomization of the universe, so as to obtain an ecological spread, because they were found in the selected cities to radiate from the centre to the periphery.

Urban Female Sample

We decided to interview females in three cities in each state; the capital, one out of the two selected towns in each of the other categories. The selection was made randomly. The reason for selecting a smaller number of sampling points for the female respondents was the same as in the case of the rural sample. (Table IX lists the selected towns for the respondents)

In towns, female respondents were picked from all sampled wards. A separate PPS strategy for the female respondents was not followed because, for administrative and theoretical considerations, we wanted male and female sampling point to overlap. Yet at the same time, we wanted to have an adequate geographical spread for the female respondents.

TABLE IX

State	Town Selected	Male	Female	Total
1	2	3	4	5
I. Uttar Pradesh	1. Lucknow	22	7	29
	2. Ghaziabad	22	0	22
	3. Varanasi	164	60	224
	4. Sashawan	77	35	112
	5. Baghpat	27	0	27
TOTAL		312	102	414

In towns, female respondents were picked from all sampled wards. A separate PPS strategy for the female respondents was not followed because, for administrative and theoretical considerations, we wanted male and female sampling point to overlap. Yet at the same time, we wanted to have an adequate geographical spread for the female respondents.

TABLE X

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE
URBAN INTERVIEWS IN U. P.

State	Male	Female	Total
I. Uttar Pradesh	312	102	414

Respondents

At each sampling point, respondents were selected from the available voters' list. In the absence of an actual voters' list, we

relied upon lists of adult residents that were available with the village or town administration.

In the case of villages, if a single voters' list for adult voters existed, the names of the actual respondents were picked with the help of a random number table. These lists included names of both males and females. Since we had different sampling rates for males and females and since their lists in urban areas were extremely lengthy, it was administratively awkward to separate the males from the females and establish a system for each. Thus, it was decided that in both villages and in urban areas, we would use a common procedure for selecting males and females from one list. The procedure for selecting males and females was as follows: In villages, if the required quota of female names had already been picked, we would start by rejecting any female names which entered our list continued till we exhausted the male quota. In urban areas, within wards, there were separate lists for different polling stations. If, in such a case, there were five polling stations in one ward and 1000 names for each polling station, the first name in polling station 2 automatically became number 1001 as a potential number to be randomly selected. These separate polling stations' lists were again composed of both males and females and we applied the same procedure as described for the villages.

Response Rate

In the absence of reliable empirical guidelines, we had to grapple with the problem of response rate with the help of rules-of-thumb procedures. Keeping in mind the experience of some of the earlier surveys conducted by the Indian participants, the rural sample was increased by 15 percent and the urban sample by 20 percent.

Why I Chose Uttar Pradesh for the Study:

The State of Uttar Pradesh has been chosen for this study for the following reasons:

1. It has been observed that since India is a federal system, containing 17 states, and since the states are "training grounds" for national politicans "our very understanding of the Indian political system depends upon our assessment of patterns of development within the constituent units." (Weiner 1960:3) Myron Weiner has further observed that " . . . Each of the Indian states provides us with an unusual microcosm and macrocosm for studying processes of development. A microcosm since the states are constituent units of a larger system, and a macrocosm because the units are themselves so large that they can be studied as total system." (Weiner 1960:4) Hence one state.

2. I was in charge of the entire project in the North, and as a Regional Research Associate I was responsible for coordinating the project in Uttar Pradesh, and therefore able to include questions and variables which were of interest to my own research plans in future. This not only gave me an opportunity to collect data for my interests but also made the rest of the project data available to me. Hence Uttar Pradesh.

3. Uttar Pradesh: Social, Political and Cultural Background: It is different from most of the other states in India in so many ways. It is predominantly Hindi speaking, rural and

agricultural, and for almost over a century has been a political and administrative unit. The 1956 States Reorganization, which affected most of the states, creating a great political turmoil, upheaval and tension, brought no major reorganization problems in U. P. There have been no groups in post-independent U. P. trying to break away and form a separate state.

> The virulent anti-Brahamanism of South India, the Kamma-Reddi friction in Andhra, and the hill-versus-plains friction in Orissa present tensions which are almost negligible in Uttar Pradesh. (Burger 1969:21)

Area and Population:

The largest of Indian states, Uttar Pradesh covers an area of 113,654 square miles--and its population, according to the 1961 census, was 73,746,401- 649 persons per square mile - and yet the growth rate continues to increase decennially, since 1921, by 6.7%, 13.6%, 11.8% and in the last decade by 16.7% (Census of India 1961:25) The state is overwhelmingly rural and agricultural. About 87% of the people live in villages. (Census of India 1961:349) The eastern districts are among the most poverty stricken in the entire country while the western districts are economically much better off and more highly industrialized. In the eastern districts, the population density is higher (about 900 per square mile), the degree of urbanization lower, the proportion engaged in agriculture higher, the size of rural land holdings smaller than in the west. In economic development sphere there is diversity, with some districts showing increased prosperity and development while others have not changed much in the last one or two decades. There are differences within Hindi on east-west continuum. In western districts

Braj Bhasa and Khari-Boli is spoken, while in eastern districts eastern

Hindi with the Avadhi dialect, with very little Urdu, is spoken.

There are crop variations, also. Rice being more important in the

east and wheat in the west. The village settlement pattern also

differs, with compact villages found in the western districts, groupings

of hamlets in the eastern districts, and a combination of the two in the

central part. (Ahmed 1952:223-246)

According to Spate (1957:495-521), the state could be divided

into two portions--the upper Ganges plain, comprising all of the

western and central plain districts, and the middle Ganges plain, made

up of the eastern districts of the state and more like the plain of

Bihar. The North and South are thinly populated, but the area of the

Central Valley is one of the most populous in the world. According to

Chaturvedi (1959) who divides U. P. in three natural areas, the popula-

tion densities per square mile are as follows:

TABLE XI

		1891	1941	1961
1.	Himalyan Tract	90	123	150
2.	Central Indian Plateau	207	232	278
3.	Gangetic Basin	550	651	900

The upper Ganges plain is mainly a wheat growing area, with sugar

an important cash crop in the northwestern districts. This area has a

light rainfall and is irrigated by the canals of the Jumna and Ganges

rivers. The eastern part of the state has a heavier rainfall, and the

main crop is rice and sugar.

The Land System and the Economy:

The dependence of Uttar Pradesh's economy upon agriculture is
more pronounced than in the case for India as a whole, because it lacks
the mineral and energy sources upon which industrialization sufficient
to employ a large proportion of its labor force. Within the state the
consequent pressure on agricultural resources is exerted upon soil, the
majority of which has been depleted by millenia of constant and intensive
cultivation. Some 14 million cultivators share its 46.7 million culti-
vable acres; the average holding being less than 3.5 acres. Competition
for land has resulted in approximately 900,000 cultivating families
being completely without rights to any land and nearly 60% of all
holdings being restricted to less than 2.5 acres. Coupled with this
severe restriction upon the economic opportunities of the majority of
cultivators in the state has been the failure to achieve the goals of
agricultural production set in the national development plans. (Report
on the Second Agricultural Labor Inquiry 1956-57:12) In 1961, 74% of
the male workers in U. P. were classified as engaged in agricultural
production, 9% were classified as industrial workers. The corresponding
percentages for India as a whole were 65 and 11. (Census of India
Paper No. I, 1962)

Behind this poverty of resources for the great majority of
cultivators in the state and the failure so far to respond to develop-
ment efforts, lies a system of agarian organization determined by
history and natural environment which has made immense the challenge to
significant reform. Agriculture in U. P. has a pattern of considerable
diversity. The great bulk of agricultural activity extends from north-
west to east, down the basins of the Ganges and Jumna rivers between

the foothills of the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains. Flanking the alluvial plain are the hill regions to the north with the flat strip of "tarai" below them and to the south the dry, infertile, broken country of Bundelkhand extending to the eastern district of Mirzapur. There peripheral areas have a tenure structure, cropping pattern and agricultural production potential quite distinct from the main body of the central plain. And there are significant contrasts in crops, productivity, demographic density, tenure institutions and sociological structure within the central region itself.

Such contrasts between regions have been reinforced by distinctive patterns of political, administrative and social development in recent times.

With the inception of Independence, the Congress government in U. P. inherited an agrarian situation in which a clearly superior class of tenure holders maintained a monopoly over title to land, but whose control over both the land and cultivating classes had been circumscribed. Through extralegal pressures and their preeminent position in the rural social structure, it was still possible for the Zamindars to exercise control over village affairs and to extort services and fees from workers and tenants, but the great majority of Zamindars themselves were in a position to gain little more than bare subsistence from their land. (Singh and Misra 1964:5) More than 98% of the Zamindars registered in 1945-46 paid less than Rs. 250.00 annually on holdings which averaged 3.17 acres. Thus, within a state whose economy was almost completely dependent upon agriculture, limitations of natural resources and the anamolies of a land tenure system which

denied all but a tiny minority of the cultivators opportunities for living at a slightly better than subsistence level, Congress faced the challenge of reconciling its objectives of justice and increasing productivity with the realities of agrarian life.

The implementation of the Imposition of Land Holding Act in Uttar Pradesh followed fourteen years of active effort by the Congress government of the state to face this challenge. The change in land tenure, politics and administration brought about by this attempt determined the conditions under which the application of ceiling was tried.

Historical Background:

The British acquisition of Uttar Pradesh is a story of gradual annexation and conquest. The state was put together in over a period of seventy-six years. It began in 1764 with the defeat of Nawab of Oudh at Baksar. The cessation of Benaras in 1775 consolidated British formal authority in this part of North India. They used these new acquisitions as buffers against Sikh, Marathas, Rohilas and Jats. But during the governor-generalship of Wellesley, this policy changed. He acquired Gorakhpur region, Rohilkhand, and the lower Doab in 1801. In 1803 the upper Doab and Rohilkhand were added. The British victory in the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1815 brought most of the Kumaon, except for Tehri-Garhwal, to the increasing territorial acquisitions by British in U. P. Most of Bundelkhand was acquired by the doctrine of "lapse," and by a treaty with the Maratha Chief Sindhia. By this time the only viable non-British territory in U. P. was Oudh, surrounded by British. In 1856, the remainder of Oudh was annexed to complete the story.

The states of Tehri-Garhwal, the Rampur remained autonomous until after independence.

Most of the acquired territories in North India were administered from Calcutta. In 1836, however, for reasons of efficiency and economy changes were introduced in administering these areas. The new areas were reorganized under Bengal Presidency and renamed the Northwestern Provinces to be administered by a lieutenant-governor. (Dharma Bhanu 1957) In 1856, Oudh was added to the Northwestern Provinces, but kept under the separate administration of a chief commissioner. For political reasons the region was brought directly under the administration of the lieutenant-governor in 1877. This was not the last reorganization. In 1902, the two provinces were formally integrated into the Northwestern Provinces, and the two provinces were renamed the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, to be changed again after Independence in 1947 to be called Uttar Pradesh. In 1949, the two autonomous states of Rampur and Tehri-Garhwal were merged in the state.

Social Groups, Caste, and Community:

The population of U. P. is divided into two large religious groups, Hindus and Muslims. These two groups are further divided into innumerable castes and subcastes. According to 1891 census, there were about 54,710 "subcastes" of Hindus and Muslims in U. P. Schwartzberg (1966:478-479) feels that

> The caste system is exceedingly complex and varies greatly grom one part of India to another . . . . However, there are probably no more than a few dozen castes, or at most a few score, that are sufficiently widespread, numerous, or important . . . ."

He maintains that there are about twenty-eight castes with about one million members or more (1931 census) in the part of Indo-Gangetic plain. (Schwartzberg 1965:480) Despite these differences of opinions about the numbers of castes, there is a general consensus that caste rules cover virtually all major aspects of life, and there can be no understanding of Indian society without an appreciation of the pervasive role of caste. In the present discussion, only those castes will be mentioned which, at present, have some political importance.

TABLE XII

IMPORTANT CASTES IN U. P.

Total State Population	% Of Hindus to Total Pop.	% of Muslims to Total Pop.	Brahamans % of Total Pop.	Rajputs % of Total Pop.	Ahirs % of Total Pop.	Kurmis % of Total Pop.	Chamars % of Total Pop.
72,276,786	85%	15%*	9.2%	7.6%	7.8%	3.5%	12.7%

*Divided into 85 caste groups

Source: Census of India, 1891, Part I

The lowest caste groupings are the Scheduled castes, who are defined, protected, patronized, and given preferential treatment in education, government employment, and in legislatures through constitutional and legislative provisions. They are the "ex-untouchables," ones who were outside the four-fold "Varna" scheme. They include the Chamars, Pasis, Arikhs, and several others. The Chamars are said to have benefited most from Scheduled caste legislation. Most of the reserved seat State and National legislators belong to this caste. Although most have been elected on the congress ticket, there is Republican Party with greatest strength in the Southwestern districts

of the state which is commonly referred to as the "Chamar Party."

One of the largest caste groups in the state, they are widely dispersed.

In most of the districts they number among the top two or three castes.

Most of them are not economically well-off, are small landholders, and

landless laborers. The Pasis, by contrast, are geographically concen-

trated in the central east districts where they number among the

largest. Beginning in the late 1930's, Pasis have tried to raise the

status ranking by adopting various customs and religious rituals of

higher castes, calling themselves "Parushram" - a mythological Brahman

saint. According to D. N. Mazumdar, these efforts to "Sanskritize"

Pasis through "Pasi Mahasabha" failed. (1955:63-86)

The second caste grouping, higher than the Scheduled castes,

are the backward classes. These are also defined by law and have been

given some advantages through legislation. However, these advantages

are less than those given to the Scheduled castes, and no seats in

legislatures are reserved for them. These are generally "agricultural"

or peasant castes, described by District Gazetteers of British days as

the "backbone of the cultivating community." The Kurmis and Ahirs are

considered to be at the top on the backward caste scale. Kurmis have

their greatest strength in the eastern and north central districts.

They are better off economically than other low castes. Ahirs have

aspired to and claimed Kshattriya status for many decades, and prefer

to be called as "Yadavas." The Yadavas are a large, fairly well

distributed caste, with great strength in all districts save the

western tier and northwestern hill districts. In recent years, Yadavas

have become most active politically among all the backward castes.

A third significant backward caste is the Lodhi-Rajputs, as they prefer to be called. The economic and social status of this group varies considerably within the state. In some districts, particularly in the south central part of the state, many were and are large land-owners; in other areas they are worse off. The Lodhi-Rajputs do have a caste organization with headquarters in the south central districts.

There are other backward castes of some importance in politics, although not as important as the three previously mentioned. They are the Gujars (concentrated in western districts), Gadaria, Kacchi, Koeri, and Sainthwar. Most of the castes have attempted to "Sanskritize" their statuses.

A number of specific caste associations exist for individual backward castes. In addition, a Backward Classes Association, and a Backward and Depressed Classes Association exist. At various times, in the past twenty years, other political organizations of these castes have been formed.

The third caste grouping consists of all those castes not listed as either scheduled or backward. These are termed "elite castes." The caste with the highest ritual and social status is Brahman who are, by tradition, scholars and priests. In U. P., there are several types of Brahamans. The Brahamans are followed by Kshattriyas (Rajputs), the traditional ruling and warrior castes. They are divided into numerous clans and subcastes. The third impor-tant caste is the Vaishyas (popularly known as Banias). These are the businessmen, traders, and moneylenders. Then there is a caste of Kayasthas whose exact status in caste hierarchy has been very difficult

and controversial to determine. In 1931, 49% of this caste were

recorded as literates in the census. In rural areas, the Kayasthas

often are Lekhpals - Keepers of the land records - a position of great

influence and power. In urban areas they are doctors, teachers, lawyers,

and in other government services. It is said that a Brahman earns his

livelihood by his book, Rajput by his sword, and the Kayastha by his

pen.

> Although caste is theoretically anathema to the equalitarian
> religion of Islam, the strength of the caste system is such that
> all religions which have taken root in Indian soil have in practice
> gradually taken on certain of the attributes of that system.
> (Schwartzberg 1965:491)

Muslims are also divided into several castes. They are heavily

concentrated in Rohilkhand, Northern Oudh, and Upper Doab area. The

heaviest concentration is in the district of Rampur where they comprise

50% of the total population. Politically prominent Muslim castes in

U. P. are Syed, Sheikh, Pathan, and Ansari or Julaha. (Ansari 1960)

Despite these caste differences Muslims have developed a consciousness

of themselves as Muslims which in many areas, specially in politics,

mitigate the caste distinctions.

In general, Uttar Pradesh is a multi-caste state with a

"tremendous diversity of peoples." As Schwartzberg has observed that

> Probably in no comparably large area of India are there as many
> castes per village, on the average, as in the plains of central
> Uttar Pradesh. That is the degree of fractionization of society
> has important political and social consequences should be fairly
> obvious. (1965:479)

According to Paul Brass (1965:19)

> the political significance of this kind of diversity is that there
> are no regional identifications within the state. Diversity is
> spread evenly throughout Uttar Pradesh: this is the most important
> environmental factor in Uttar Pradesh politics.

Political History:

U. P. has always occupied a very important position in India's
political history. Early political history was that of numerous king-
doms and empires, both powerful and weak. This pattern continued
through the period of muslim rule and till the coming of British. The
1857 mutiny, which shook British power in India, started here. Though
for some years after the 1857 mutiny, U. P. was relatively quiet. The
state did not play any important role in the founding of the Indian
National Congress in 1885. Congress leaders came mainly from Bombay,
Bengal and other metropolitan areas. After World War I, once again
U. P. became politically active in national politics. Allahabad became
the headquarters of nationalist movements, and the All India Congress
Committee. It provided great national leaders such as Taj Bahadur Sapru,
the famous Liberal leader, Moti Lal Nehru, later to lead the Swaraj
Party in the legislatures, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Govind Ballabh Pant,
Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, P. D. Tondon, Liagat Ali, Khalik-uz-Zaman, and so
many others. As early as in 1918, Purushottam Das Tondon started
peasant movements against the "Talukdars" in U. P. These "serious
agrarian riots in the Oudh districts of Rae Bareli and Fyzabad"
created great discomfort among Talukdars and strengthened the Congress
movement providing much needed farmer support against British rule.
It was in U. P. that Hindu and Muslim communal politics began to take
form after the founding of the Benaras Hindu University at Benaras, and
the Anglo-Orient College, later to become Aligarh Muslim University,
at Aligarh in 1875. According to Brass(1965:22)

> Despite this background of communal bitterness, Congress and League
> leaders in Uttar Pradesh formed an electoral agreement for the
> provincial elections of 1936...Nevertheless, on the basis of the
> pre-election agreement, negotiations between the League and the
> Congress for a Coalition Cabinet were begun. The negotiations
> failed and the Congress formed a government with the League in
> opposition. The failure of the Cabinet negotiations marked the
> final turning point in Congress-League relations in Uttar Pradesh.
> From 1937 on, the Congress and the League went separate ways...

This was the beginning of Pakistan.

In post-independence period, prominent leaders of opposition came

from U. P. Acharya Narendra Dev, founder of the Congress Socialist

Party, Achyut Patwardhan, a noted Socialist, Atal Beharee Vajpeyi of

the Jan Sangh belong to this state. Jai Prakash Narayan, the late

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, and Acharya J. B. Kriplani had very close ties

with the U. P. politics. The state sends the highest number of mem-

bers (85) to the Indian Loksabha (Lower House), thus a balancing

factor in nation's politics.

The Development of Political Parties in Post-Independent U. P.:

Almost all major Indian political parties, from extreme left to

the Hindu right, have some political support base in U. P. This is

partly due to U. P.'s diversity and political awareness. Selig Harrison

(1960) held U. P. as the "national stronghold" of the Congress Party.

In the 1952 general elections, the Congress Party won 390 out of 430

seats in the state Assembly, and 81 out of 85 seats to the Loksabha.

The percentage of popular vote for the State Assembly was 47.9% and for

Loksabha it was 53% as compared to the national average of 45%. (Report

on the first General Elections 1951-52) But by the second general

election in 1957, the Congress support was on the decline, and finally

in 1967, the party suffered its first defeat in the state, again to

come back in 1971 mid-term elections and sweep the state under the national leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Presently the state has a "New" congress ministry headed by Sri Kamlapati Tripathi.

TABLE XIII

UTTAR PRADESH ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS
(1952-1967)

Party	1952		1957		1962		1967	
	% of Vote	No. of Seats	% of Vote	No. of Seats	% of Vote	No. of Seats	% of Vote	No. of Seats
Congress	47.9	390	42.4	286	34.9	249	32.2	200
Jan Sangh	6.4	2	9.8	17	15.3	49	21.6	98
PSP (a)	17.8	20	14.5	44	11.9	38	4.1	11
Socialist (b)	-	-	-	-	8.5	24	9.9	42
Communist (c)	0.9	0	3.8	9	5.4	14	4.4	14
Swatantra	-	-	-	-	4.8	15	4.9	13
Republicans	-	-	-	-	3.8	8	3.9	8
Others	27.0	18	29.4	74	15.3	33	19.0	39
Total	100.0	430	99.9	430	99.9	430	100.0	425

(a) The 1952 PSP vote is combined vote of the Socialist Party and the KMPP.
(b) In 1957, the Socialists ran as Independents and won 25 seats.
(c) In 1967, there were two CPI's; CPI (M) got 1.2% of votes and one seat.

Uttar Pradesh has been a one-party dominant state till 1967. One of the most important reasons for the decline of Congress has been the development of strong factions within the state party. Though factional politics and personal conflicts existed in U. P. Congress even before Independence. Paul Brass (1965:232) feels that

three conditions have contributed to the development of the
factional system of the Uttar Pradesh Congress: the absence of
an external threat, the presence of an internal consensus upon
ideological issues, and the absence of authoritative leadership.

These factions have existed on all levels of party organization. It

has been said that the fourth general elections simply gave an

"electoral stamp" to the process of disintegration of the Congress

system of power that had been underway for the last five years.

(Kothari 1967:293) The fall of the Congress in U. P. gave it the

worst jolt. The party has lost not only one more state but also one

of the most populous states--its homeland--and along with it the Indo-

Gangetic plain. Besides factions and internal struggle for power,

there were other important factors which contributed to the Congress

defeat. As Norman Palmer (1967:275) has observed that

For sometime the erosion of Congress strength had been apparent.
It was reflected in wholesale defections, internal factionalism,
and the growing alienation of influential elements in Indian
society. For a variety of reasons, some of which could hardly
have been averted while others were of its own making, the Congress
...had become soft and flabby, a house divided against weak
leadership (after Nehru's death) of corruption, and of incompetence.

One of the most important trends in the post 1967 general

elections has been the tremendous number of defectors from political

parties. The importance of the Congress defectors in the formation of

the non-Congress government was reflected in the composition of state

ministries. In U. P., 28 ministers and deputy-ministers were installed

on April 5, 1967, of whom 7 were Congress defectors, that is 40% of

the defectors, comprising 25% of the ministry, were included in the non-

Congress government compared, for example, to 8 Jan Sangh ministers

representing only 8% of Jan Sangh strength in the House. The role

played by Independent candidates has been quite significant. In U. P.,
37 Independents were elected with the total Independent vote reaching
18.71%. In U. P., the Independent vote was larger than that for all
parties except Congress and Jan Sangh.

It is difficult to say as to which parties traditionalists or
modernists defect to. Diverse party coalitions were put together
covering the entire political spectrum.

> There is no doubt that, at least in term of the principles
> expressed in party manifestoes, many of the parties which formed
> these coalitions are incompatible partners...All non-congress
> parties joined,....if not in the government itself, in the legisla-
> ture parties formed to provide support to the governments...
> Minimum common programs were framed. (Brass 1967:10)

There were four main considerations and tendencies which influenced
the decisions of the parties to coalesce--popular demand for such
coalitions, the ability of the parties to formulate minimum common
programs, pragmatic and accomodative tendencies in the parties, and the
recognition of the necessity for adjustment to regional conditions.
(Brass 1967:11). It was the opportunism and political entrepreneurship
which influenced the formation and stability of the non-Congress
governments.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Modern society is a participant society. It is a society of

equality where the emergence of national citizenship becomes possible

through consensus and mass political mobilization. It "stirs into

action those classes which formerly only played a passive part in

political life." (Mannheim 1941:44) The role of individual citizen in

political affairs has been a subject of great interest since the days of

ancient Greeks. Democracy by its very definition is characterized by

the fact that power is shared and authoritative decisions concerning

the society are taken by citizens or their chosen representatives.

Bryce has observed that

> An essential ingredient of a satisfactory democracy is that a
> considerable proportion should have experience of active
> participation in the work of small self-governing groups,
> whether in connection with local government, trade unions,
> cooperatives or other forms of activity. (1921:132)

The modern government does not value a passive citizen, but rather an

active one. He is expected to participate in the process of running

the country. (Inkeles 1969:1122) Participation in politics builds a

commitment to democratic values. Citizen participation is integral to

the political and social system. According to Milbrath "political

system and political culture are important influences on individual

political behavior, and we naturally expect differences in political

patterns from culture to culture." (Milbrath 1965:3) He isolates five

"personal" factors, three of which have been related in research to

political behavior; attitudes, beliefs, and personality traits.

(1965:49) The cognition map of individuals is shaped and influenced by various psycho-cultural and political factors operating in the political and social system. Due to these differences in personality traits individual extent of participation also varies. Some individuals tend to be more active and involved than others.

> Tendency to get involved in politics and the attitudes associated with involvement are not randomly distributed in society... Attitudinal resources sensitize an individual to participate, provide him the sense of competence needed to engage in political behavior. (Nie et. al. 1969:372)

Research in this area has revealed that political participation is "cumulative;" persons who engage in one political action often engage in others as well. Persons who are active in community affairs are much more likely than those not active to participate in politics. (Agger and Goldrich 1958:383-392; Dahl 1961; Rokkan 1959:25-37; Robinson 1952:151-156) Milbrath has categorized three types of activities in which individuals indulge in. (Figure I) These activities indicate hierarchy of political involvement.

> The hierarchy seems to have a kind of internal logic, a natural progression of becoming involved in active politics. Although persons engaging in the topmost behaviors are likely also to engage in those behaviors ranking lower, the obverse does not hold. Minimally involved persons confine their actions to those acts ranking low in hierarchy. As a person becomes more involved in politics, he engages in a wider repertoire of political acts and moves upward in the hierarchy from the more frequent to the less frequent behaviors. (1965:19-20)

It has been observed that the process of economic development drastically alters the social structures of a nation, and consequently, the social life of its citizens. The effects of social change on political behavior and on the operation of the political system are

Holding public and party office

Being a candidate for office

Soliciting political funds   Gladiatorial
                                                     Activities
Attending a caucus or strategy meeting

Becoming an active member in a political party

Contributing time in a political campaign

Attending a political meeting or rally

Making a monetary contribution to a party   Transitional
    or candidate   Activities

Contacting a public official or a political
    leader

Wearing a button or putting a sticker on the
    car

Attempting to talk another into voting a   Spectator
    certain way   Activities

Initiating a political discussion

Voting

Exposing oneself to political stimuli

                                                     Apathetics

FIGURE 1

HIERARCHY OF POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Source: (Milbrath 1965:18)

numerous and complex. Social stratification structure is altered, and so is organizational structure. Economic development also changes residence patterns. As a nation develops economically it becomes more urban. These developments contribute in increasing the number of middle class citizens. Middle class citizens are considered to be more confident than those belonging to the lower strata and they tend to participate more than the later ones. Hence the mass political participation increases as nations become more economically developed. Nie et. al. have presented the following model of economic development and increased participation. (Nie et. al. 1969:808)

A	B	C	D
Economic Development	Alterations in the stratification, urban and group membership patterns	Changes in the distribution of attitudes and cognition	Increase in political participation

Indicators of political participation:

Researches indicate quite a few independent variables which explain, cause, or correlate with political participation as broadly generalized dependent variable. Here an attempt will be made to discuss a few important indicators of active participation in politics. Inkeles' participant citizenship syndrome includes:

1. freedom from traditional authority. Identification with and allegiance to leaders and organizations transcending the parochial and primordial;

2. interest in public affairs validated by keeping informed and expressed through participation in civic action;

3. orientation toward political and governmental processes which recognizes and accepts the necessity and desirability of a rational structure of rules and regulations. (Inkeles 1969:1122)

According to Inkeles "this syndrome is one any modern man might be expected to manifest, just as any modern polity is likely to desire, perhaps even require, that he possess it." (1969:1123)

Those familiar with The Civic Culture will recognize these traits as very familiar to those delineated by Almond and Verba as defining the model of a democratic citizen. According to them the citizen of a democratic polity is expected to

1. engage in political discussion;

2. take interest in politics;

3. voting;

4. knowledge of politics;

5. express a general sense of competence to influence the government; and

6. participation in civic affairs.

In short, the stress is on "activity, involvement, and rationality." Milbrath's conceptual analysis of political involvement includes following activities:

1. voting;

2. discussion and opinion leadership;

3. wearing a button or putting a sticker on the car;

4. petitioning political leaders;

5. making a monetary contribution;

6. attending a political meeting;

7. campaigning;

8. active party membership;

9. soliciting political funds;

10. office-seeking and holding; and

11. protests and demonstrations.

Nie et. al. feel that successful political participation, for instance, promotes greater confidence; successful participation may even later the political structures of society so that participation itself is facilitated. They have developed a political participation scale which includes activities such as: (1969:364)

1. talking politics;

2. contacting local authorities;

3. contacting national authorities;

4. involvement in electoral campaigns

5. membership in political organizations and political parties.

Keeping in view the above conceptual observations an attempt is made to find out relationship between political participation and process of modernization, and social change. The testable hypothesis is that participation is related with modernization. A society which has more active participant citizens tends to be more modern.

Measuring Participation:

To measure political participation in this study the respondents were asked a series of following questions pertaining the frequency of political discussions and conversations, organizational membership, voting history, active party work, working during and for elections, and contributing money to political causes:

1. Have you ever taken part in forming a new organization to try to solve some village/town problems?

2. Do you belong to any group/organization that deals with social, village/town problems such as Civil Defense, Home Guards, Bharat Sewak Samaj, Bharat Yuvak Samaj, Mahila Mangal Dal, Yuwak Nangal Dal?

3. Do you belong to some sport or recreational or hobby groups such as football club, hockey club?

4. Do you belong to any caste association? Which ones?

5. Are you a member of any religious group/organization? Which ones?

6. Besides the organizations you have just mentioned, are there any other groups/organizations, such as cooperative agencies, you belong to? Which ones?

7. Have you ever attended a political meeting/rally during an election/at any other time? (If yes) How many times?

8. Have you ever engaged in any activity during a political campaign to elect some candidate? What kinds of activities?

9. How many times did you engage in these activities, and in how many elections?

10. How often have you voted in national elections?

11. How about Panchayat/municipal elections?

12. Are you a member of a political party?

13. Have you ever given money for a political cuase?

On the basis of responses received all the above-mentioned questions were grouped in the following categories:

1. Political discussions

2. Engaging in a political activity, and number of times

3. Voting

4. Organizational membership

5. Membership in a political party

I. Political discussions

In societies where modern channels of communication and mass media are not readily available to citizens the interpersonal channels of word-of-mouth communication from family members, neighbors, friends,

school teachers, and extension agents are very important in order to
affect the receiver's knowledge, attitudes, and behavior in desired
ways. Research results suggest that mass media communication is more
important in changing cognitions whereas interpersonal communication
is more likely to cause attitude change. When the object is persuasion,
therefore, word-of-mouth channels would seem preferable to the mass
media. (Rogers 1962). Moreover,

> if ordinary men and women are to participate in a democratic
> political process, they must have the feeling that it is
> safe to do so, that they do not assume great risks when they
> express political opinions, and that they can be relatively
> free about the person to whom they talk. (Almond and Verba
> 1965:78)

Hence the frequency of political discussions not only indicates the
citizen's confidence in democratic process but also suggests his
openness to other ideas. The direction flow of interpersonal con-
versations, discussions, and messages is two way. The data reported
here suggests that urban males discuss politics more frequently than
rural males. 18% of the urban male respondents report to discuss
politics nearly every day while only 5% of the rural male sample discuss
politics nearly every day. The same hold true about the female sample.
9% of the urban females and only 1% rural females discuss politics
regularly every day. It is to be noted that in rural areas 40% male
respondents, and 69% female respondents never talk politics at all.
In the urban sample this percentage is lower. 29% urban male respondents
and 58% female respondents report to have never talked politics. The
difference between rural and urban respondents who never talk politics
is quite considerable. The urban respondents talk more about political

affairs than their rural counterparts. 20% of the rural male respondents

and 5% rural females report as talking politics once a week. In the

urban sample 25% males and 13% females talk politics once a week. Those

respondents who report to talk politics time to time were 35% rural

males, 25% rural females, and 28% urban males and 20% urban females.

(Table I)

TABLE I

FREQUENCY OF TALKING POLITICS WITH OTHER PEOPLE
BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=926
Urban N=414
Rural N=512

Percentage of respondents who report they	Rural		Urban	
	Male(%)	Female(%)	Male(%)	Female(%)
Nearly every day	5	1.00	18	9
Once a week	20	5	25	13
Time to time	35	25	28	20
Never talk politics	40	69	29	58
Total percent	100	100	100	100

The data suggests that political activity and interest is

greater in urban India than rural areas. Elite and opinion leadership

studies have shown that most of the Indian political leaders come from

cities. The high percent of rural respondents never talking politics

is also due to the ambiguity of the term "politics." Interviewers were

not allowed to explain the meaning of "politics." A large number of

respondents, both urban and rural, interpreted the term as "partisan

involvement" which somehow is not considered to be a very "nice" thing; and out of their "realm." It is for professional politicians to indulge in these so-called political activities. Female respondents, both urban and rural, show little concern about politics and discuss political affairs less frequently than their menfolk. (Table I)

II. Engaging in a political activity, and number of times

We were not only interested as to how frequent respondents talk politics, but also in the kinds of activities they indulge in, and how frequent they participate in these activities. Participation by chance does not make a citizen active and a participant. It should be consistent, and should be in different kinds of activities. This difference distinguishes "gladiators" from "spectators." The data reported here (Table II) indicates that only 19% of the rural respondents ever participated in a political campaign. Again the male respondents were ahead (13%) of their female counterparts (6%). In urban areas participation in general, both male and female was reported higher than in rural areas. 19% males and 11% females in the urban sample reported to have engaged in some activity during a political campaign. Respondents were also asked as to the kinds of activities they had participated in. 9% rural males, and 3% rural females reported attending a political rally or meeting during a political campaign. Urban participation in this case was higher. 17% males and 9% females reported to have participated in some such rally during an election campaign. It has been said that attending a meeting is not a real indicator of interest. Some persons merely come to watch the "tamasha." No real commitment of support or

interest is implied by their presence. This is very much true in India where local influentials, such as ex-Zamindars in rural areas, exert pressure, and sometimes coerce people to attend a political meeting where a minister or some other influential political leader is going to be present. In some cases people are paid to attend such meetings. Since our question was a closed one, it was very difficult to ascertain the reasons of attending such meetings.

Political campaigns are episodic, but working in them requires a considerable amount of time. "Self-confidence and a feeling of social ease are important prerequisites to participation in the socially interactive phase of campaigning." (Milbrath 1965:25) Respondents were asked about contributing time in a political campaign. 6% rural males and 2% rural females had contributed their time in a political campaign. In urban areas the participation was much more high (15% males and 5% females) than the rural areas.

It has been suggested that contributing money is an important indicator of individual's interest. Political money is a powerful weapon to influence policymakers. Rich and busy persons who are not able to take time out to attend rallies and meetings, look upon monetary contributions as a substitute for their personal participation in "gladiatorial" activity. This is more so in Indian case where money is scarce, and even those participants who are actively interested in political affairs are not in a position to contribute money. This may partly explain the low percent of respondents reporting monetary contributions. In the urban sample 5% males and 1% females reported to have made monetary contribution to a political cause, while in the

rural sample only 2% males and 1% females contributed money to any political cause. Again the urban contribution is higher than the rural ones. Though in both cases the female contribution is same (1%).

In most of the cases strategy meetings are attended only by those persons who have been actively involved in political affairs and occupy positions or are influential in some way. The rank and file members do not attend such meetings. The data reported here indicates that not too many respondents reported to have attended such meetings. Only 4% rural males, and 1% rural females, and 6% urban male respondents and 2% urban female respondents had ever attended such strategy meetings. As mentioned earlier that the impact of word of mouth is tremendous in changing the attitudes of people. Attempting to talk another into voting a certain way definitely indicates greater interest in politics. It is a more difficult task also. 5% of the rural males, 2% rural females, 9% urban males and 7% urban females reported to have talked another into voting a certain way. Again the urban respondents have edge over their rural counterpart. A cursory look at Table II will reveal that urban respondents in general were more participant than the rural ones. Only 37% males, and 15% females in the rural sample have reported participating and engaging in any activity during a political campaign to elect some candidate while in the urban sample 71% males and 35% females reported to have engaged in these activities. (Table II)

TABLE II

ENGAGED IN ANY ACTIVITY DURING A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN
TO ELECT SOME CANDIDATE, AND THE KIND OF ACTIVITY
BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Those reporting	Rural		Urban	
	Male(%)	Female(%)	Male(%)	Female(%)
Engaged in any activity during a political campaign	13	6	19	11
Attending a strategy meeting	4	1	6	2
Contributing time in a political campaign	6	2	15	5
Attending a political rally or meeting during a campaign	9	3	17	9
Making monetary contribution	2	1	5	1
Attempting to talk another into voting a certain way	5	2	9	7
Total percent participating	37	15	71	35
Not participating at all	63	85	29	65
Total percent	100	100	100	100

The number of times respondents engaging in political activities depends on so many socio-economic, political, and pscho-cultural factors. A person with intense preferences is highly likely to be interested in politics (Pesoner 1960; 1961:93-104), a person with strong sense of civic duty is likely to be highly interested in political affairs. The responses to kinds of activities participated in did not tell us the depth of participation; therefore, we asked the number of times respondents engaging in political activities. The number of non-participants,

both in urban and rural areas, was surprisingly high. (Table IIa)
63% of rural males, and 85% of rural female respondents had never
participated in any kind of political activity. In urban sample, 29%
males, and 65% females were found in non-participant category.

TABLE IIa

NON-PARTICIPANTS (REPORTING NEVER PARTICIPATED)
BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Rural		Urban	
Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
63	85	29	65

Only 12% rural males, and 4% rural females reported to have participated
more than twice. In the urban sample the number of more than twice
participants increased to 17% males, and 7% females, yet this difference
is not very high. The percentage of respondents who had participated
twice in political activities increased over the highly participants.
21% males and 8% females in the rural sample, and 13% urban males and
10% urban females belonged to the medium or moderately participant
category. 36% rural males, and 19% rural females in the sample were
found to have participated in political activities only once. In the
case of urban respondents this percentage was 47 males and 26 females.
There is also a high percentage of apathetics who have never participated
in any political activities. 31% males and 69% females in the rural
sample never participated in any political activity. In the urban

sample 23% males and 57% females belonged to this category. In both cases the percentage of female apathetics was found to be higher than males. In summary, the data shows that the number of active or high participant respondents is much more below to that of apathetic and inactive ones (Table IIIa).

TABLE IIIa

LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
BY RURAL-URBAN-RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

| | Rural | | Urban | |
Participation*	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
High	12	4	17	7
Medium	21	8	13	10
Low	36	19	47	26
Apathetics	31	69	23	57
Total percent	100	100	100	100

*High - Participated more than twice.
Medium - Participated twice.
Low - Participated once.
Apathetics - Never participated.

III. Voting

It has been observed that

the roles of adult franchise and periodic elections have been pivotal, not only in displacing the principle of hierarchy by the principle of numbers, but also in establishing a unified focus of attention and affect for the vast masses of people, even before the other learning processes of education and urbanization begin to play their role. (Kothari 1970:283)

According to Shils

the granting of universal suffrage without property or literacy
qualifications is perhaps the greatest single factor leading to
the formation of a political society...the drawing of the whole
adult population periodically into contact with the symbols of
the center of national political life must in the course of time
have immeasurable consequences for stirring people up, giving
them a sense of their own potential significance and for attaching
their sentiments to symbols which comprehend the entire nation.
(Shils 1960:287)

The voter turnout figures (from 1952-1969), in districts

selected for this study, show an increase of 15% to 22%. (Table IV)

TABLE IV

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: TRENDS IN VOTING
(UTTAR PRADESH)--1952-1969

| | Population | | Valid votes as a percentage of the electorate | | | | |
Districts	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	1952 (%)	1957 (%)	1962 (%)	1967 (%)	1969 (%)
Almora	4.3	95.7	30.2	30.7	27.4	30.7	34.5
Badaun	8.4	91.6	37.6	46.6	49.5	56.2	59.2
Muzaffarnagar	13.2	86.8	52.6	50.7	58.7	58.0	64.8
Meerut	20.6	79.4	50.9	55.7	55.9	61.3	65.2
Etah	9.6	90.4	46.2	51.2	51.9	54.6	59.3
Kanpur	41.0	59.0	38.6	44.3	50.8	52.3	54.2
Sitapur	7.6	92.4	34.5	41.5	44.1	48.6	49.0
Gonda	4.9	95.1	37.6	43.2	45.8	48.8	45.3
Gorakhpur	7.3	92.7	32.6	38.2	43.2	49.2	47.1
Jaunpur	5.3	94.7	40.2	48.0	55.8	53.7	55.1
Varanasi	23.4	76.6	40.9	55.3	56.5	55.3	59.6
Mirzapur	11.5	88.5	35.2	42.7	46.1	49.3	54.1
Lucknow	49.5	50.5	38.3	40.9	53.2	52.1	43.7

Source: Craig Baxter, District Voting Trends in India--A Research Tool.
(New York: Southern Asian Institute, Columbia University Press,
1969).

Political parties and candidates work hard to win the support of voters.

But despite this overall increase in voter participation, the number of

non-voters remains substantial.

The data reported here indicates that at least 23.5% of the rural males and 36% of rural female respondents never cared to vote. In urban case 21.5% male respondents, and 30% female respondents never voted in national elections. The percent respondents who reported having voted in every national election is quite low (22.5% rural male, 17% roral female; and 29% and 19.5% in urban areas respectively). It is interesting to note that interest in local election is more than in national elections. Local issues and problems seem to arouse more interest than national ones. Rural respondents are more interested and active in local elections (41% male, 19.5% females) than their urban counterparts (26%, and 16.5%, respectively).

Panchayat elections in villages have created more political competition and involvement than any other national political issue. At that level issues are more familiar, and so are candidates. Loyalties are more polarized, and clear. Hence more interest. (Table V)

IV. Organizational membership

Voluntary associations perform a mediating role between the individual and the state. It is through them that the individual is able to relate himself "effectively and meaningfully" to the political system. According to Almond and Verba

> these associations help him avoid the dilemma of being either
> a parochial, cut off from political influence, or an isolated
> and powerless individual, manipulated and mobilized by the mass
> institutions of politics and government. The availability of
> his primary groups as a political resource in times of threat
> gives him an intermittent political resource. Membership in
> voluntary associations gives him a more structured set of
> political resources, growing out of his varied interests.
> (1965:245)

TABLE V

FREQUENCY OF VOTING IN NATIONAL AND LOCAL
(PANCHAYAT/MUNICIPAL) ELECTIONS BY
RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Voting Partici-pation*	National Elections				Local Elections			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
High Partici-pation	22.5	17.0	29.0	19.5	41	19.5	26	16.5
Medium Partici-pation	36.5	25.5	35.0	27.0	43	21.0	31	22.0
Low Partici-pation	17.5	21.5	14.5	23.5	4	28.5	28	31.5
Apathetic	23.5	36.0	21.5	30.0	12	31.0	15	30.0
Total Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*High - Voted every time.
Medium - Voted most of the time.
Low - Voted rarely.
Apathetic - Never voted.

Participation in voluntary organizations helps in generating self-confidence. A self-confident citizen is also a modern citizen. (Hall 1966:147) To assess the citizen participation in forming new voluntary organizations and joining these organizations, respondents were asked to report their membership in social, economic, and political organizations. Since the sample was from cross-section of the society very few had

actually actively participated in founding an organization. This tends

to be mainly an elite activity. Moreover, such voluntary organizations

which fulfill social needs of individuals are more in number in urban

areas, due to more facilities, higher education, and a social need to

associate in impersonal situation, than in rural areas where life's

pace is slow and leisurely, and personal face-to-face relationship is

easier. The data shows that founders of voluntary organizations in

rural areas are very few. Only 3.5% rural males, and 0.5% rural females

had ever participated in forming an organization. In urban case, on the

other hand, 6% of the male respondents, and 1.5% of the female respon-

dents had participated in organization building activities. Further,

respondents were also asked to report the types of organizations they

prefer to join as a member. I was aware that just by asking about their

membership it will not be possible to know the level of their partici-

pation. I was interested to know more about the nature of their

membership--how active individuals were in their organizations and what

effects their membership had upon them. 7% of the rural males, and 2%

rural females belonged to social organizations such as Home Guards,

Bharat Sewak Samaj, Mahila Mandal, and Yuwak Mangal Dal, and had

participated in their activities for at least three times. In urban

sample 11% males, and 3% females reported to have membership and

participation in such voluntary organizations. It is quite interesting

to note that the membership in economic organizations shows a surprising

increase, both in rural and urban areas. 32.5% of rural males and 41%

urban males were members of organizations devoted to economic benefits

or welfare of members while 0.5% rural females and 2% urban females

belonged to these organizations. These organizations mainly include cooperative societies (housing, seeds, loan, etc.) which have sprung all over India in the last fifteen years. (Table VI)

TABLE VI

PARTICIPATING IN FORMING AND JOINING
NEW ORGANIZATIONS BY RURAL-URBAN
RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Those Reporting	Rural		Urban	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Participating in formation of an organization	3.5	0.5	6	1.5
Membership in* (a) Social organizations	7.0	2.0	11	3.0
(b) Economic organizations	32.5	0.5	41	2.0
Total participating	43.0	3.0	58	6.5
Not participating	57.0	97.0	42	93.5
Total percent	100	100	100	100

*(a) Social - Home Guards, Bharat Sewak Samaj, Mahila Mandal, Yuwak Mangal Dal, and Recreational Clubs.

(b) Economic - Cooperative Society (Housing, credit, seed).

Due to the important role played by caste and religion in Indian socio-political life separate questions were asked about respondents' membership in such organizations. It is said that the operation of competitive politics has drawn caste out of its apolitical

context and given it a new status and identity. Religion too has
provided the different communities with their distinctive socio-cultural
identities. Researches have shown, contrary to certain prevailing
popular notions, that in India caste associations are playing inte-
grative role. (Rudolph and Rudolph 1960) Caste has taken an openly
secular form for new organizational purposes. Kothari maintains that
such forms include:

1. associations of caste members ranging from simple hostels
   and recreational bodies to reform clubs and pressure groups,

2. caste institutions or conferences that are more broad-based
   and cover entire states or linguistic regions,

3. caste federations composed of not one but several castes
   which may sometimes be socially homogeneous but at other
   times may simply have some specific interest or political
   objective in common.

By and large, however, caste associations and caste federations
have provided an important infra-structure of politics in India, and
within the Indian context, perform a role comparable to interest groups
in the West. (Kothari 1970:242-244) The data reported here indicates
that more respondents in rural areas were members of caste associations
(7% males only, no females) than urban respondents (3% males only, no
females). On the other hand, the membership in religious organizations
was higher both in urban (26% males, and 24% females). Here a distinc-
tion was made between traditional, orthodox, and chauvinistic religious
organizations such as Sanatan Dharm Sabha and Arya Samaj for Hindus,
and non-traditional, comparatively less traditional, reformist
organizations such as Rama Krishna Mission. This distinction was based
on the assumption that individuals joining non-traditional, progressive,
reformist religious organizations will be more modern, less dogmatic,

open and cosmopolitan than those joining the dogmatic, chauvinistic religious organizations. Further, as Almond and Verba (1963:323-330) have suggested that non-political authority patterns to which the individual is exposed have a significant effect on his attitudes toward political authority. Religious authority patterns are deeply rooted in the emotional aspects of man's nature. Authoritarian religion and adherence to its beliefs strongly predisposes individuals and societies toward authoritarian political systems. Religions have not only implications but very explicit teachings regarding hierarchical or egalitarian social structure, and these are directly related to assumptions regarding political participation. (Smith 1970:175). The data reported here shows that membership in traditional religious organizations is higher, both in the urban sample (17% males and 21% females) and the rural sample (14% males and 26% females) than in non-traditional religious organizations which is 9% urban males and 3% urban females, and 4% rural males only. No rural female belonged to non-traditional religious organizations. The female membership in these traditional religious organizations (26% rural, 21% urban) was reported to be substantially higher than male membership (14% rural, and 17% urban). (Table VII)

V. __Membership in a political party__

Students of political party systems hold that affiliation or identification with a political party is indicative of citizen's political thinking and idealogy. According to Milbrath

> there are three ways in which a person could be said to be a party
> affiliate or member: (a) psychological identification with a
> party; (b) formal membership through payment of dues; and active
> participation in party affairs. Psychological identification means

TABLE VII

MEMBERSHIP IN CASTE AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS
BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

	Caste Association				Religious Association Traditional*				Religious Association Non-Traditional**			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
Membership reported	7	-	3	-	14	16	17	21	4	-	9	3
Percent who were not members	93	100	97	100	86	84	83	79	96	100	91	97
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Traditional - orthodox, chauvinistic (such as Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharma Sabha).

**Non-traditional - reformist (Rama Krishna Mission).

that the person likes the party and is inclined to support it with
a vote at election time. (Milbrath 1965:25)

We were interested to know the types of parties respondents were in.

Congress, Swatantra, both Communist Parties of India, Praja Socialist

Party, and Samyukt Socialist Party can be categorized as progressive

and ideologically modern parties, while Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha,

Akali Dal, and Dravida Munetra Kazhagham are even by Indian standards

traditional, communal, and chauvinistic parties. Membership in one of

these parties will reflect the respondents' psycho-political affiliations

and his political attitudes--modern versus traditional, secular versus

communal. The data shows that 11% of the rural males, and 2% of the

rural females belonged to one or the other party. For urban sample it

was 17% and 5%, respectively. 9.5% of the rural males, and 1.5%

females belonged to parties categorized above as modern and progressive.

In urban sample 11% of male respondents and 3.5% females belong to these

parties. It is worth noticing that females, both in urban and rural

sample, tended to belong to only two parties--Congress and the Jan Sangh.

(Table VIII) This may indicate that females tend to be more traditional

and conservatives.

VI. <u>Level of education and participation in public affairs</u>

Researches have shown that persons of higher socio-economic

status, especially higher education, are more likely to become highly

involved psychologically in politics than persons of lower status and

education. Campbell has observed that

> perhaps the surest single predictor of political involvement is
> number of years of formal education. There are apathetic college
> graduates and highly involved people of very low educational level,
> but the overall relationship of education and political interest
> is impressive...One may surmise, that education tends to widen
> the scope of one's acquaintance with political facts, to increase

TABLE VIII

MEMBERSHIP IN A POLITICAL PARTY BY
RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE AND SEX

Total N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Those reporting membership	Rural		Urban	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
PARTY NAME				
(1) Congress	8.0	1.5	7.0	3.0
(2) Swatantra	0.5	--	0.5	--
(3) Jan Sangh	1.5	0.5	6.0	1.5
(4) CPI (Left)	--	--	0.5	--
(5) CPI (Right)	--	--	0.5	--
(6) SSP	0.5	--	1.5	0.5
(7) PSP	0.5	--	1.00	--
Total percent who reported membership in a political party	11.0	2.0	17.0	5.0
Percent who did not belong to any party	89.0	98.00	83.0	95.0
Total Percent	100.00	100.00	100	100

capacity to perceive the personal implications of political events, or to enlarge one's confidence in his own ability to act effectively politically. (Campbell 1962:20)

Education is an important variable in developing countries. It is said that with education change occurs in a number of mental abilities, such as a loss of eidectic ability, which becomes unnecessary. In this study it was reported that participation in political affairs was highest among

university educated (49%) and the lowest participation was among those
who had less than primary education (81%). Among the intermediate
educated respondents 36% were found to be highly participant, 38%
moderately participant, and 26% fell in the category of low partici-
pants. 32% of the high school educated respondents reported to be
highly participant, 35% moderate and 33% belong to low participation
category. Those respondents who had less than primary education,
almost functional literates, were the ones who participated least (81%).
Only 2% of the primary educated respondents reported to be highly parti-
cipant while 17% primary educated respondents reported to be moderately
participant in public affairs. (Table IX). Thus a positive relation-
ship is found between education and participation in public and
political affairs.

SUMMARY

The data reported in this study points out that participation
is positively correlated with other important variables of modernization
such as empathy, innovativeness, achievement motive, political know-
ledge, and occupational and educational aspirations for children.
(Table X)

It has been quite frequently observed that modern India is
facing a "crisis of participation." Millions have been given the right
to participate in political activities, and this may create problems
for Indian policymakers. But if we look at the national and state
elections voter turnout, we find that this percentage is quite low. Not
many citizens are that active or interested as they are presumed to be.

TABLE IX

PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS BY EDUCATION

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Level of Participation*	Education					
	University %	Intermediate %	High School %	Secondary %	Primary %	Less than Primary (Literate) %
High Participation	49	36	32	27	11	2
Medium Participation	35	38	35	33	21	17
Low Participation	16	26	33	40	68	81
Total Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100

*(1) Low - Negative responses to both the questions on following political and governmental affairs, and on paying attention and participating in political activities.

(2) Medium - Positive response to one question and a negative to the other.
(3) High - Two positive responses.

TABLE X

CORRELATION OF PARTICIPATION WITH VARIOUS OTHER
CONSEQUENT MODERNIZATION VARIABLES

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Consequences of Participation	Correlation with participation Rural	Urban
1. Empathy score	.405[a]	.509[a]
2. Innovativeness score	.412[a]	.519[a]
3. Political knowledge score	.482[a]	.633[a]
4. Achievement motive score	.527[a]	.559[a]
5. Educational aspirations for children score	.463[a]	.485[a]
6. Occupational aspirations for children score	.477[a]	.486[a]

(a)Significantly different from zero at the 1% level.

Our data which focused on different dimensions of political partici-

pation support this. Participation in rural areas is surprisingly low.

Even in urban areas it is not very high. (Table IIa) Females seem to

have voluntarily abdicated their right to participate. This trend may

be quite alarming to "pundits" of modernization who believe that

participation is very important in changing the cognitive map of

citizens, their attitude towards others in society and political system.

Our data also shows that whenever women were active or if they joined

organizations they selected those organizations which are conservative,

traditional, and religious. The percentage of women reporting to be

members of Jan Sangh is relatively high. (Table VIII) On the basis of

this evidence it could be said that women, when participants, contribute

to traditionalism and conservative activities. But as discussed earlier
that traditional ways and beliefs and modernity are not polar opposites.
Caste associations play an integrative and secular role in Indian
politics. They are interest groups, and provide caste members a plat-
form where they organize themselves to exert pressure on the government
to get more schools, jobs, and seats in legislatures for their members.
Education is an important factor in changing individuals' attitudes and
beliefs. It opens new vistas and creates new aspirations. It makes
people more confident, innovative, and knowledgable. It frees
individual minds from unscientific, narrow thinking, and helps him to
modernize himself. In this study we found that education is not only
related to higher participation but it was an ever present factor which
provided stimuli to respondents to adopt new ideas, to be active, and
have higher achievement motive and aspirations for future generations.
Participation also seems to expand individual's range of political
opinion and his general outlook and perspective. Participant respon-
dents are more confident of their subjective competence, and are able to
empathize. Our findings strongly support the theory of mass society
that participation in voluntary organizations increased the potential
of a democratic society. Democracy depends upon citizen participation,
and as Lerner has said a participant society is a modern society.

CHAPTER III

MASS MEDIA

Modernization has been defined as the "process by which indivi-
duals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex technolo-
gically advanced, and rapidly changing style of life." (Rogers and
Svenning 1969:48) It is essentially a communication process, and has
"brought about the downfall of traditional Societies." Exposure to the
mass media is an important variable in large - scale directed Social
change, and modernization in developing Societies. The mass media makes
indispensable inputs to psycho - political life of a transitional
Society via "the minds and hearts of its people." It teaches people by
depicting new and strange situations and familiarizes them with a range
of opinions among which they can choose. "A person," according to
Lerner "becomes participant by learning to have opinions....The more
numerous and varied opinions the more participant he is." (Lerner 1966:
71) There is much support for this general notion in the writings of
Pye (1963), Schramm (1964) and Rao (1966). A typical statement about
the modernizing effects of media exposure is Powdermaker's (1962:228):
"The mass media introduced to Africans another form of reality - a world
and peoples beyond their experience." Similarly, Lerner (1967b: 122-123)
states that "Increasingly, in the villages and hamlets of the world,
the mass media are bringing "Strange new worlds" into the traditional
environment of rural people."

In transitional societies the learning of modern political roles
(political socialization) in part comes from later experience with mass

media system, since media is a major purveyor of modern influences.
Lerner notes that public communication activates new modes of sociali-
zation. A new political class is recruited that aggregates new interests.

The nature and scope of the mass media differs from one country
to another. In the communication process in transitional societies,
the urban village levels are not closely integrated. In less developed
countries it reaches only to smaller audiences, such as university
students, members of professions, middle class, and urban dwellers.
This is due to the availability, and the degree of government control.
Communication can be direct or indirect, face to face contact versus the
impersonal channels. Recent years have shown a tremendous growth in
mass media techniques. By using these new techniques such as radio--
especially the transistor radio--and television, the governments of
developing countries are reaching larger audiences. According to Rogers
and Svenning (1969:101-102):

> larger mass media audiences, accompanied by high levels of mass
> media exposure per capita, can be expected to lead those exposed
> to more favorable attitudes toward change and development, to
> greater awareness of political events and to more knowledge of
> technical information.

It has been found that mass media is correlated to other variables of
modernization such as literacy, political knowledge, empathy, innovati-
veness, aspirations, and achievement motive (Deutschmann 1963:27-35).

However, in this chapter we are concerned with communication in
all its aspects, media and personal. An attempt is made to find out
relationships between communication exposure and other variables of
modernization and social change. The testable hypothesis is that
respondents exposed to information from the larger society through
communication channels are more likely to be modern and participant.

Measuring Mass Media Exposure:

As discussed in Chapter I of this thesis a series of questions were asked to measure the respondents' exposure to the mass media (newspapers, magazines, films and radios). The following questions were asked:

1. Do you ever listen to the radio? About how often?

2. Do you ever read the newspaper or have someone read them out for you? About how often?

3. How about magazines?

4. Do you ever go to the cinema? About how often?

On the basis of responses received a three level index was formed. Those respondents who gave at least three positive responses were considered to be highly exposed to the mass media, those who gave positive responses to two questions and two negative responses were categorized as moderately exposed. Those respondents who gave negative responses to all four questions or to three questions, and positive to one question were considered to be low on mass media exposure.

I. Following reports of public affairs in various media:

(a) Cinema:

In this study respondents were asked about the type and frequency of their exposure to radios, newspapers, magazines, and cinema. The data reported here indicates that urban population, both male and female, is more exposed to mass media and follows public affair reports more avidly than rural population. Male respondents, both urban and rural, frequented cinema more often than their female counterparts. 1.5% of the rural male respondents went to the cinema regularly while none of

the rural females fell under the category. 6% of rural males and no
rural females went to cinema a number of times a week. The same is
true about those who went to the cinema at least once a week. Only 9%
of the males went to the cinema at least once a week. The percentage of
occasional cinema goers rose substantially in cases of rural males and
females. While 36.5% of the rural males went to the cinema occasionally,
the percentage of females going to the cinema occasionally was reported
to be 61%. 47% rural males and 39% rural females never went to a cinema
show. It is interesting to note that the percentage of non-cinema goers
is higher among male respondents (47% to 39% females). This may be
partly due to the fact that womenfolk in village India have very few
other amusements and cinema is considered to be a big "treat" for them.
Answering the same question the urban respondents provided a different
kind of information. The urban male respondents did not only have an
edge over their females but also over the rural male respondents. While
5% of the urban male respondents reported to be regular cinema goers,
only 2% of the urban females, and 1.5% rural males, and no rural females
reported to have fallen under this category. 9% of the urban males, and
1% of the females went to the cinema a number of times a week. In the
case of rural sample this percentage was lower. Only 6% of the males and
no females belonged to this category. In the urban sample 11% of the
males and 2% of the females went to the cinema at least once a week,
while only 9% rural males and no females went to the cinema at least
once a week. 72% of urban males and 65% urban females, in contrast to
36.5% of the rural males and 61% of the rural females were found to be
occasional cinema goers. Again the urban respondents have a lead over

their rural counterparts. The percentage of urban male respondents who had never been to a cinema show is surprisingly very low, 3%, while the female percentage under the same category is 30%, in contrast to rural female percentage of 39.

(b) Radio:

Almost the same pattern is found about radio listening. 23% rural males and 11% rural females, 53% urban males and 29% urban females reported to listen to the radio and follow public affairs regularly. 20% males, and 41% females in the urban sample follow affairs of public interest a number of times a week on the radio. In the rural sample the percentage reporting under this category was 21% males, and 19% females. In this case the rural males have taken a 1% lead over their urban counterparts. 24% of the males and 17% of the females in the rural sample follow public affairs on the radio at least once a week while only 12% of the males and 11% of the females in the urban sample belong to at least the once a week listener category. Again a slight lead by rural respondents over the urban respondents. 27% of the rural males, and 9% of the urban males reported to listen to the radio occasionally while the percentage of occasional female listeners was 21% and 16% respectively. The percentage of respondents who had never followed public affairs on the radio was reported to be 5% rural males, 6% urban males, 32% rural females, and 3% urban females. Though no specific question was asked about the time spent on public affairs on the radio, the respondents seemed to have spent more time on "light" programs such as film music and dramas. But despite this, radio seems to

be the most effective mass media. Radio farm forums present "a degree of experience unequalled in the world." Not only does the knowledge result from these forums, but changes in group process have also been noted. Observers reported that these radio forums "functioned on the whole very well." (Neurath 1962:179) and "opened up the whole outside world to the villagers. No other medium can do so as inexpensively and to such good effect as radio." (Ford Foundation Mass Communication Team 1963)

(c) **Magazines:**

In this study the respondents were also asked about their exposure to magazines and the articles related to public affairs. 15% males and 2% females in the rural sample, and 41% males and 9% females in the urban sample reported to be reading magazines devoted to public affairs. 19% urban males and 13% urban females read these magazines a number of times a week. In the rural sample this percentage was reported to be 9% and 7% respectively. The urban percentage of at least once a week readers was 23% males and 17% females while in the rural areas 13% males and 9% females fell under this category. Those respondents who had reported to be occasional readers of magazines were not very many. 12% males and 9% females in the rural sample, and 12% males and 8% females in the urban sample occasionally read these magazines. In this case the rural females took a 1% lead over their counterparts of urban females. 51% males and 73% females in the rural sample never read any magazines, while this percentage in the urban areas was 5% and 53% respectively. The data reported here indicates that generally urban

area respondents were more exposed to the magazines than the rural
respondents. This may be due to the fact that magazines are more
expensive and seem to cater urban taste, and are hardly available in
scantly furnished Panchayat libraries.

(d) Newspapers:

Respondents were also asked about the frequency of their
exposure to the newspapers. More respondents, both urban and rural,
reported to be newspaper readers than readers of magazines. 19% males
and 2% females reported to be regular readers of newspapers in the
rural areas, while 42% males and 11% females in the urban areas regu-
larly follow public affairs in the newspapers. 24% rural males and 7%
rural females, read the newspaper a number of times a week. 27% urban
males and 23% urban females fell under a number of times a week category.
18% rural males and 11% urban males reported to at least once a week
readership of the newspapers. 7% rural females and 5% urban females
were found to belong to the above mentioned category. 9% males and 9%
females in the rural sample were occasional followers of public affairs
through newspapers. In the urban sample this percentage was 9 and 26
respectively. A large number of respondents reported to have never read
a newspaper or followed public affairs in the newspapers. In the urban
sample 35% females and 11% males had never read a newspaper or a news-
paper was never read to them by anybody else. In the rural sample the
percentage of such respondents was 75% females and 30% males. It should
be remembered at this point that the respondents were asked "Do you ever
read the newspaper or have someone read them to you? About how often?"

Hence the low readership of the newspapers cannot be exclusively

explained due to the high rate of illiteracy in India. The newspaper

readership comes to second place in relation to the media exposure to

radio. This trend does not seem to be unique to India only. Past

researches have shown that

> Audiences for the electronic mass media, especially radio and film,
> are larger than for the print mass media, such as newspapers and
> magazines, in less developed countries. The messages carried by
> the mass media in less developed nations are of low interest and
> relevancy to villagers because of the strong urban orientation of
> the media. (Rogers and Svenning 1969:115)

The data reported here also indicates a general pattern of

overlapping audiences for the mass media. That is, exposure to one

medium is positively related to exposure to other media. This

"centripetal effect" has been found by other researchers in quite a few

less developed countries (Lerner 1964a, Frey 1966).

II. Education and Mass - Media exposure:

An attempt was also made to determine the relationship between

respondents' education and the extent of their mass media exposure, and

participation in public affairs. The data reveals striking differences

between university educated and primary educated respondents. University

education, high exposure to mass media and high participation rate in

public affairs were found to go together. 54% of the respondents were

highly exposed to mass media, while 49% were highly participants in

public affairs. All these respondents were University educated. The

percentage of moderately exposed (36%) and low exposed respondents

(10%) is also quite impressive among the university educated respondents.

35% of these respondents were moderately participants in public affairs

TABLE I

FOLLOWING REPORTS OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN VARIOUS MEDIA,
BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Frequency	Newspaper				Public Affairs in Media											
					Magazine				Radio				Cinema			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
Regularly	19	2	42	11	15	2	41	9	23	11	53	29	1.5	-	5	2
A number of times a week	24	7	27	23	9	7	19	13	21	19	20	41	6	-	9	1
At least once a week	18	7	11	5	13	9	23	17	24	17	12	11	9	-	11	2
Occasionally	9	9	9	26	12	9	12	8	27	21	9	16	36.05	61	72	65
Never	30	75	11	35	51	73	5	53	5	32	6	3	47	39	3	30
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

while only 16% were found to be low on the participation scale. On the other hand, low level of mass media exposure, and participation in public affairs seem to be correlated with the lower level of formal education. Only 13% of the primary educated respondents, and 5% with less than primary education were found to be highly exposed to the mass media, while their percentage on participation in public affairs was 11% and 2% respectively. Low exposure and low level of education were found to go together. 60% of the respondents with primary education were low on mass media exposure. 68% of these were low on participation scale also. The percentage of respondents increases with the decrease in the level of education. 79% of less than primary educated respondents were low on mass media exposure, and 81% were low on participation in public affairs. 46% with intermediate education were highly exposed to the mass media, and 36% of these respondents reported to be highly participants. 33% intermediate educated were moderately exposed to the mass media while 21% were low to exposure. In the same category 38% were moderately participants and 26% reported to be low on participation scale. The same trend continues in the cases of High School and Secondary School educated respondents. 43% of the High School educated respondents were highly exposed to the mass media channels, 19% moderately exposed, and 38% were low on the exposure. 32% of the High School educated respondents highly participated in public affairs, 35% were moderately participants and 33% were low participants in public affairs. In the case of Secondary School educated respondents 22% were highly exposed, 30% moderately and 48% were low exposed. 27% of them participated highly in public affairs, 33% moderately and 40%

were low participants. The data reported here strongly supports that level of education, extent of mass media exposure, and the level of participation in public affairs are linked. (Table II)

This has been evidenced in other studies conducted in India, and elsewhere. Lerner found that literacy was a "technical requirement for media consumption." In two other studies of Indian villages (Rogers and Svenning 1969:120), it was found that functional literacy and formal education and mass media exposure are closely and highly related.

III. **Mass media exposure and respondents' support for governmental policies and actions:**

The element of public support to governmental policies, programs and actions is conceived to be a very important factor in citizen involvement and cooperation in a democratic system. In this study respondents were asked about their perception of governmental policies, programs and actions, and the extent of support given to governmental actions and policies. The following questions were asked:

(1) How much effect do you think people like you have on what government does? Do you have some effect, or a great deal of effect or no effect?

(2) In general how well do you think the national government understands the needs of the people of this country; does it understand them well or not so well?

(3) How about the state government?

(4) How about Block/district and village officials? Do you think they understand the needs of the people? How well?

(5) Some people say that a large number of people working for the government are corrupt. Do you think this is so?

(6) Generally would you support the governmental actions? All of them, some of them, none of them?

TABLE II

LEVEL OF EXPOSURE TO MASS MEDIA AND PARTICIPATION
IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS BY EDUCATION

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Level of Exposure*	University		Intermediate		High School		Primary		Less than Primary (Literate)	
	Exposure to Mass Media	Participation in Public Affairs	Exposure to Mass Media	Participation in Public Affairs	Exposure to Mass Media	Participation in Public Affairs	Exposure to Mass Media	Participation in Public Affairs	Exposure to Mass Media	Participation in Public Affairs
High	54	49	46	36	43	32	13	11	5	2
Medium	36	35	33	38	19	35	27	21	16	17
Low	10	16	21	26	38	33	60	68	79	81
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Level of Education

*(1) Low Exposure - Negative response to both questions on following political and governmental affairs, and on paying attention to campaigns.

(2) Medium Exposure - Positive response to one question and a negative to the other.

(3) High Exposure - Two positive responses.

An attempt was made to find a correlationship, if any, between the extent of public support, its perception of governmental actions and the level of mass media exposure. The data reported here shows that in urban areas high exposure and high support are correlated. On the other hand it is interesting to note that highly exposed rural respondents do not provide high support to governmental actions. In the urban sample 16% of the respondents who were highly exposed to the mass media were also high supporters of government, while 48% highly exposed respondents provided moderate support, and 36% highly exposed respondents were low on support to governmental policies and actions. 42% moderately exposed urban respondents were found to be highly supportive, 31% moderately supportive, and 27% were low supporters to the governmental output. 54% low exposed urban respondents were found to be highly supportive, 23% moderately supportive and 23% provided low support. In the rural sample, on the other hand, 19% of the respondents reported to be highly exposed and highly supportive of the governmental policies, 27% in the same exposure category were moderately behind the government, and 54% highly exposed to the mass media were low on support. 23% of the rural respondents who were moderately exposed to the mass media provided high support, 36% were moderately supportive and 41% respondents furnished low support to governmental actions. Further 39% of the rural respondents who provided high support to the government were low on exposure to the mass media, 43% low exposed rural respondents were reported to have given moderate support, while only 18% of them were low both on media exposure and support to government programs. It is interesting to note that those respondents who are low on the media exposure are the one's who

highly support (39% rural, 54% urban) governmental programes. (Table

III) More exposed they are, they become more critical and less

supportive. When these two indices - mass media exposure and public

support - are combined, the following patterns emerge:

	Rural	Urban
High Exposure - low support	54%	36%
Medium exposure - Moderate support	36%	31
Low exposure - high support	39%	54%

The directions of relationship is similar in both urban and rural areas.

This trend may suggest that an identification of those factors which

lead to support for, and less criticism of governmental programes and

actions may be important. As Eldersveld et. al. (1968:33) have observed

that

> It is the total pattern of citizen perspectives and their conse-
> quences for citizen action, rather than inaction and withdrawal,
> which must be the focus of attention in any programe of development
> in a society which is participant - oriented."

This may also be said about a society which is seeking to

modernize itself by attempting to elicit citizen support, and broadening

their minds by exposing them to the channels of mass media.

Consequences of Mass Media Exposure:

> The process of modernization and "system change" - "changes which
> affect in some basic manner the functioning of the national politi-
> cal system and results in structural cultural, and performance
> patterns palpably different from those operating earlier. (Almond
> and Powell 1966:166)

Development of modern attitudes, adoption of new ideas, greater politi-

cal knowledge, and empathy are consequences of mass media exposure.

TABLE III

MASS MEDIA EXPOSURE AND PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR
GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMS, BY RESIDENCE

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

| Level of Support | Level of Exposure* | | | | | |
| | High | | Medium | | Low | |
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
High Support	19	16	23	42	39	54
Moderate Support	27	48	36	31	43	23
Low Support	54	36	41	27	18	23
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100

*A - (1) Low exposure - Negative responses on at least two
questions on following public affairs on radio and
newspaper.

(2) Medium exposure - Positive response to one question
and negative to another.

(3) High exposure - Two positive responses.

B - Same scale on support.

I. Empathy:

Empathy has been defined as the

inner mechanism which enables newly mobile persons to "operate
efficiently' in a changing world. Empathy...is the capacity to
see oneself in the other fellow's situation. (Lerner 1966:49-50)

It is "the distinctive psychic component." The findings of Lerner

(1966) and Frey (1966) in the Middle East indicate a positive relation-

ship between media exposure and empathy. Mass media contact provides

peasants with knowledge of new roles.

The research reported here determined the concept as the ability of respondents to assume (imaginatively) the roles of the most powerful and influential person in the village or town. The data indicates that the urban respondents, both urban and rural, are far ahead on the empathy scale to their rural counterparts. 21% of the rural males are reported to be highly empathic and exposed to the mass media channels. 28% rural males were moderately empathic and moderately exposed to the mass media while the percentage of low empathics and low exposed respondents was 51%. In the urban male sample on the other hand, 61% of the respondents were found to be highly empathic and exposed to the mass media, 23% were moderately exposed and empathic while only 16% were found to be low on mass media exposure and empathy scale. Only 8% of the rural females were highly empathic and exposed to the mass media. In the urban sample the percentage under these categories was reported to be 36, a clear edge of 28% over the rural females. 11% of the rural females were moderately exposed to the media channels and empathy while in the urban sample the percentage was 24, again an edge of 13% in favor of urban females. This is also the case in the low exposure and low empathy categories. 81% of the rural females were found to be low on the empathy and mass media exposure scales; while only 40% belonged to this category in the urban sample. (Table IV) No convincing explanation can be provided for this difference between rural and urban respondents except that the respondents in the urban areas are not only exposed to mass media channels more frequently than their rural counterparts but also that the nature of mass media is more urban oriented hence more attractive to urban respondents than the rural ones. Secondly, the

urban respondents come in frequent contacts with new situations and challenges that the rural respondents who lead a more sheltered life and are away from the "fever and fret" of the ever-changing and complex urban life. The data also reports a positive association between empathy and mass media exposure.

II. Innovativeness:

"Innovativeness...is the degree to which an individual decides earlier than others in his social system to adapt new ideas." (Rogers and Svenning 1969) Studies (Rogers and Svenning 1969) have shown that mass media exposure is generally more strongly associated with innovativeness than with almost any other consequent variables.

For the research reported here the respondents were asked about the new techniques and methods which they use on their jobs, the ways farmers and urban workers have changed their methods in the past ten years. They were also asked about the number of changes, or new techniques they have adopted during this period and their willingness to use new methods. The following questions were asked:

(1) Here are a few items that some farmers use and some don't. We would like to know if you think their use is good or bad? How about improved seeds? Do you think it is good or bad to use them?

(2) And chemical fertilizers?

(3) What about using an improved plough or some new agriculture implements? Do you think it is good or bad to use them?

(4) And how about the new methods of sowing crops?

(5) And now we would like to know which of these four items you use? Do you use improved seeds?

(6) And chemical fertilizers?

(7) And an improved plough or some new agricultural implements? Do you use them?

(8) Do you employ any new methods of sowing crops?

Respondents with non-agricultural occupations:

(1) Are there any new methods and techniques or machines and implements being used where you work (or in your work)?

(2) (If yes) What are they?

(3) Do you think it is good or bad to use them?

All Respondents:

(1) Have you ever talked to anybody about these new techniques or methods? I mean how did you come to know about these methods?

In the study respondents were also asked about the extent of their contact with the extension officers, such as the Block Development officers, Village level workers and Cooperative Societies officers. The data reported here reveals that a knowledge about and contact with every measure of extension is highly significantly related with innovativeness. The knowledge of extention officers, the number of times the respondents talked with the Block Development officer, or the Village level worker, the number of demonstrations the respondents have seen and the number of radio talks listened to, were all positively related with innovativeness. The data also shows that the mass media variables are related highly with agricultural, and professional innovativeness. 37% of the rural male respondents are highly innovative in comparison to 53% urban male respondents. 41% rural males reported to be moderately innovative while 32% urban males fell under that category. The percentage of the rural males who were found to be low on exposure to mass media and innovativeness

was 22% while in the urban male sample it was only 15%. The percentage of highly exposed and highly innovative female respondents is not very impressive. Only 2% rural females were reported to be high both on the mass media exposure and innovation. In the urban female sample 5% of the respondents were found to be both highly exposed to the mass media, and were also highly innovative. The number of respondents in the females samples, both urban and rural, who were found to be low on mass media exposure and the level of innovativeness. 93% rural females and 88% urban females fell under the low exposure and low innovativeness categories, both urban and rural are less innovative. This may be due to the fact that most of our females respondents were housewives and did not have any type of job where they could test their talents. The research reveals that mass media exposure and innovativeness are positively correlated. It is also to be noted that quite a few respondents, (about 3%) who were highly exposed to mass media were not at all innovative. They felt that most of the news, and information was not really correct. They were suspicious about new methods and techniques. Other studies (Chu 1966) have shown that in developing countries this relationship between media exposure and innovation may result from the creation of a generally favorably mental set toward change rather than from the transmission of specific details about innovations. But by and large, there is a definite correlation between innovation and mass media exposure as has been shown by the data reported here (Table IV).

III. Political Knowledge:

In most of the countries mass media is a major transmitter of news. Political cognitive attitudes are formulated by mass media exposure. Political knowledge and political behavior touch most intimately, "for all our political acts are bounded by the images of political reality or 'pictures in our heads' which we carry about with us." (Fagen 1966:71) Fagen quotes Walter Lipmann (1954:3) to prove this point.

> There is an island in the ocean where in 1914 a few Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans lived. No cable reaches that island, and the British mail steamer comes but once in sixty days. In September it had not yet come, and the islanders were still talking about the latest newspaper which told about the approaching trial of Madame Caillauz for the shooting of Gaston Calmetee. It was, therefore, with more than usual eagerness that the whole colony assembled at the quay on a day in mid-September to hear from the Captain what the verdict had been. They learned that for over six weeks now those of them who were English and those of them who were French had been fighting in behalf of the sanctity of treaties against those of them who were Germans. For six strange weeks they had acted as if they were friends, when in fact they were enemies.

The level of political knowledge and information varies from individual to individual and from place to place. A civil servant or a politican in the capital city knows most of the national and international developments while in Bhoola, a Bhil village in Sirohi district, the villagers admit:

> Yes, we have heard of the Congress. We have heard of the Congress; yes. Everyone talks of it.

> But, pauses Kania, gravely puckering his bushy eyebrows, but now that you mention it, we do not know whether Congress is a man or a woman. (Nair 1962:125)

This uneveness of information is mainly due to the mass media exposure. In this study the respondents were asked the following questions to test their political knowledgeability:

(1) How old does a person have to be in order to be able to vote?

(2) Do you know who is our prime minister?

(3) And who is the chief Minister?

(4) To which party does the chief Minister belong?

(5) Will you please name the main opposition party in the State Legislature?

(6) What do you call the person who holds the highest post among government officials at the block/municipality level?

(7) Do you know when the next General Elections will be held?

For Urban Areas Only:

(1) Who gives permission for using loudspeakers on any occasion or function?

For Rural Areas Only:

(1) To whom do you apply if you need improved seeds?

The data reported here shows that 19% of the rural males respondents were found to be high both on mass media exposure and political knowledge. In the urban sample 58% of the male respondents were found to be in the above mentioned categories. 26% of the rural males and 27% of the urban males were moderately exposed to the mass media were also found to be possessing moderate political knowledge. The respondents who reported to have low exposure, 55% rural males were low on the political knowledge scale, and 15% urban males, were also low on the political knowledge scale. The same pattern is found about the females in our sample. In the rural sample 7% females were high both on

mass media exposure and political knowledge, in comparison to 21% of the urban counterparts. 9% rural females and 33% urban females were moderately exposed and possessed moderate knowledge of political affairs. 84% rural females and 46% urban females possessed low knowledge politically and were low on the mass media exposure. Female respondents trail their menfolks in exposure to the mass media and political knowledge. Generally, urban respondents performs better than the rural ones. (Table IV) The impact of mass media on political knowledge has been shown by Menefee and Menefee (1965:148-158) in their study of two Indian villages. They introduced mimeographed newspapers and radios in these villages resulting in an increase in political knowledge. Our data supports that mass media exposure and political knowledge are positively correlated.

(a) Ability to name Governmental Ministers and Party Leaders:

Theoretically the ability to identify leaders of different levels is correlated with citizen cognition. With this in mind the respondents were asked to name the prime minister, the chief minister of the state, name of political party to which the chief minister belonged to, and the main opposition party in state legislature. The data shows that highly exposed respondents named more leaders than those who were less exposed to information channels. It is to be noted here that the number of respondents who could not name leaders were those who were very low on mass media exposure scale. 63% of the rural male sample and 66% of the urban male sample, who were highly exposed to the mass media could name the prime minister. The percentage of respondents goes down with the less exposure of mass media. 27% rural males and 29% urban

TABLE IV

LEVEL OF MEDIA EXPOSURE BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Level of Mass Media Exposure	Consequences of Mass Media Exposure											
	Empathy				Agricultural/ Professional Innovations				Political Knowledge			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
High	21	8	61	36	37	2	53	5	19	7	58	21
Medium	28	11	23	24	41	5	32	7	26	9	27	33
Low	51	81	16	40	22	93	15	88	55	84	15	46
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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TABLE IV (continued)

Consequences of Mass Media Exposure

Level of Mass Media Exposure	Educational Aspirations for Children				Occupational Aspirations for Children			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
High	41	23	71	38	46	34	79	47
Medium	29	31	17	46	33	41	12	31
Low	30	46	12	16	21	25	9	22
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

males moderately exposed to the mass media could name the prime minister, and only 8% rural males and 4% urban males who were low on mass media exposure knew the name of the prime minister. Almost the same pattern is found when the respondents were asked to name the chief minister, the party chief minister belongs to, and the main opposition party in the state legislature.

57% males and 41% females in the rural sample who were highly exposed to the mass media named the chief minister, while 53% males and 49% females identified the party to which the chief minister belonged to. But when these highly exposed rural respondents were asked to name the main opposition party in the state legislature, their percentage drops a little bit. Only 31% highly exposed rural males and 23% rural females could name the main opposition party. In the urban sample 65% males, 59% females who were highly exposed to the mass media could name the chief minister, 61% males and 53% females could identify the chief ministers political part, and only 49% males and 43% females could name the main opposition party in the state legislature. Those respondents who were moderately exposed to the information channels were also low on identifying leaders and parties. 36% rural males, 33% urban males, 29% rural females, 31% urban females who were moderately exposed to the mass media could name the chief minister, while only 24% rural males and 19% rural females, 31% urban males and 37% urban females could identify the political party to which the chief minister belonged to. Only 16% moderately exposed rural males, 11% rural females, 31% urban males and 29% urban females knew the name of the main opposition party in the State legislature. Low exposure to the mass media channels resulted into low

level of political information. Only 8% males, and 6% females in the
rural sample, 4% urban males, and 3% urban females with low exposure
could name the prime minister. 6% rural males, 3% rural females, 2%
urban males and 4% urban females with low exposure identified the name
of the State Chief Minister. 13% males and 9% females in the rural
sample, and 5% males, and 8% females in the urban sample with low
exposure could name the party to which the chief minister belongs to.
Only 9% rural males, 7% rural females, and 11% urban males, and 8% urban
females who had low contact with the mass media channels could identify
the name of the main opposition party in the State legislature. The
number of "Don't knows" suddenly increased when respondents were asked
questions concerning the main opposition party in the State legislature
and the party to which the chief minister belonged. (Table V) This may
be due to the fact that during the time of this survey, and just before
it, new alignments between political groups were taking place, and it
was not quite certain as to which party will remain as the main opposi-
tion party. It was also the time when due to Congress party factions,
the position of the then chief minister was not very stable, and rumors
were rife about impending changes in legislative leadership. This
confusion affected the less exposed respondents more than the highly
exposed ones.

(b) Underlining of Governmental Performance:

        Understanding of governmental outputs is very essential for the
stability and success of a political system. Support or lack of citizen
support to governmental institutions depends upon as to how well govern-
mental actions are understood, or misunderstood. The gap between rulers

TABLE V

MASS MEDIA EXPOSURE AND THE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT NATIONAL AND STATE LEADERS, BY RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=914
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Percentage of Total Sample Who Could Name

Exposure	The Prime Minister				The Chief Minister				The Party Chief Minister belongs to				Main Opposition Party in the State Legislature			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
High	63	59	66	61	57	41	65	59	53	49	61	53	31	23	49	43
Medium	27	23	29	34	36	29	33	31	24	19	31	37	16	11	31	29
Low	8	6	4	3	6	3	2	4	13	9	5	8	9	7	11	8
Don't know	2	12	1	2	1	27	--	6	10	23	3	2	44	59	9	20
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

and ruled is caused mainly due to the lack of communication and under-
standing. One of the testable hypothesis for this study was that the
mass media exposure is correlated with the understanding of governmental
outputs. The data reported here indicates that urban respondents
understand national, state, and local outputs better than their rural
counterparts. In the rural sample 22% respondents who were highly
exposed to the mass media reported to have understood national govern-
mental activities well, 30% not so well, 33% knew some well, others not
so well, and 15% answered no knowledge about these activities. In the
urban sample it was 38%, 27%, 26%, and 9% respectively. The percentage
of respondents understanding the state governmental performance increased
over national government. This increase may be due to the fact that
state government is closer than national government. In the area of
local government those respondents who were highly exposed to the mass
media channels seemed to understand the governmental functions well.
63% rural respondents and 71% urban respondents highly exposed to the
mass media understood local government quite well, 9% rural respondents
and 6% urban respondents did not understand local governmental perfor-
mance so well, 23% rural respondents, 15% urban respondents understood
some needs well, others not so well. Only 5% rural and 8% urban res-
pondents did not know about the governmental performance.

The same trend is reported by the respondents who were moderately
exposed to the mass media channels. 17% rural respondents and 27%
urban ones reported to have understood national government well, 39%
rural respondents and 36% did not understand so well, and 18% rural and
11% urban respondents did not know about it. The percentage of modera-
tely exposed respondents understood state government well, 41% rural

respondents and 36% urban ones not so well, 16% rural and 20% urban

respondents and 13% urban respondents fell under the category of

"Don't know." About the performance of local governmental agencies 52%

rural and 57% urban respondents reported to understand them well, 21%

rural and 19% urban respondents not so well, 18% rural respondents and

13% urban respondents understood some needs well, others not so well,

and 9% rural and 11% urban respondents did not know about it. Low

exposure to the mass media and understanding of the governmental pro-

grams were reported to be related. Those respondents who were low on

mass media exposure were also low on the understanding of governmental

performance. 9% rural respondents and 13% urban respondents reported to

understand national government well, 41% rural respondents and 48%

urban respondents not so well. 23% rural respondents and 20% urban

respondents understood some needs well, others not so well, while 27%

rural respondents and 19% urban respondents fell under the "Don't know"

category. 18% rural respondents and 23% urban ones who were low on

media exposure understood state government well, 51% rural and 43% urban

respondents not so well, 21% rural and 19% urban respondents understood

some needs well, others not so well. 10% rural respondents and 15%

urban respondents did not know about the state government's activities.

In the sphere of local governmental activities 31% rural respondents,

39% urban respondents with low exposure reported to understand well,

46% rural and 18% urban respondents not so well, 14% rural and 30%

urban respondents understood some needs, others not so well. 9% rural

respondents and 13% urban respondents belonged to the "Don't know"

category. (Table VI) It is interesting, but not surprising, to note

TABLE VI

EXPOSURE TO MASS MEDIA AND UNDERSTANDING OF
GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE, BY RESIDENCE

N=914
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

		Understand Well (%)	Not so Well (%)	Some Needs Well Others Not so Well (%)	Don't Know (%)	Total Percent (%)
		High Exposure				
A.	National Government					
	Rural	22	30	33	15	100
	Urban	38	27	26	9	100
B.	State Government					
	Rural	32	14	37	17	100
	Urban	41	12	43	4	100
C.	Local Government					
	Rural	63	9	23	5	100
	Urban	71	6	15	8	100
		Medium Exposure				
A.	National Government					
	Rural	17	39	26	18	100
	Urban	27	36	26	11	100
B.	State Government					
	Rural	23	41	16	20	100
	Urban	31	36	20	13	100
C.	Local Government					
	Rural	52	21	18	9	100
	Urban	57	19	13	11	100
		Low Exposure				
A.	National Government					
	Rural	9	41	23	27	100
	Urban	13	48	20	19	100
B.	State Government					
	Rural	18	51	21	10	100
	Urban	23	43	19	15	100
C.	Local Government					
	Rural	31	46	14	9	100
	Urban	39	18	30	13	100

that respondents, both urban and rural, know and understand more about their local governmental outputs than national and state. This may be possible due to the proximity and visibility of local governmental activities and the fact that local issues affect and generate greater interest in citizens lives than the national and state's issues. Those respondents who had low exposure to mass media were one's who were also low on understanding scale. Thus we find a positive relation between mass media exposure and the understanding of governmental outputs.

IV. Educational and Occupational Aspirations for Children:

In a traditional society such as India where hereditary restrictions on status mobility are great due to the caste system, it is difficult for lower caste people to achieve higher social status. Put with independence, and new constitutional provisions educational opportunities are open to everybody. Politics and the adult universal sufferage has also affected a great deal, the traditional channels of mobility. Traditional institutions are being used to advance caste status and individual social position. The process of "Sanskritization," and realization, on the part of villages and urban dwellers alike, that political power, and education opens new horizons, has influenced parental attitudes toward higher education, and better occupations for their children. For this study the respondents were asked about the parental aspirations for their children's occupations and education:

    (1) If you have a son/daughter what occupation will you like him to have?

    (2) If you have a son/daughter how much (how far) education will you like to give him?

The responses to occupational questions were coded in terms of

occupational prestige in Uttar Pradesh.

(1) High Civil Servant
(2) Army Officer
(3) Doctor, Teacher
(4) Clerk
(5) Nurse
(6) Businessman
(7) Politics
(8) Manual Labor

The testable hypothesis was that the higher a respondent's

media exposure, the higher will be his aspirations for his children's

future occupation and education. The data reveals that 41% of the rural

male respondents who were highly exposed to mass media channels were

also the ones who possessed higher aspirations for their children's

education. In the urban sample the percentage under high exposure and

high aspirations was 71% male respondents, a big edge of 30% over rural

males. 29% of the rural males and 17% of the urban males were reported

to be moderately exposed to the mass media and also possessing modest

educational aspirations for their children. Under the low exposure and

low aspiration categories rural male percentage was 30 while it was 12%

in the case of urban males. In the female samples rural women trailed

behind their urban sisters. 23% of the rural females, and 38% of the

urban females were found to be highly exposed and possessing higher

aspirations for their children. 31% rural females, and 46% urban females

belonged to medium categories on these two variables of mass media

exposure and educational aspirations. A high percentage of rural females

(46%) were found to be low on mass media exposure and educational

aspirations. The urban females under low categories were reported to

be 16%. The rural female, who is less exposed to mass media, has less

information about different types of jobs, and education and the new world which education opens, lags behind her highly informed urban counterpart. (Table IV)

In the occupational sphere the data reported here shows that 46% rural males who were highly exposed to the mass media channels had high aspirations in the occupational sphere for their children. In the urban sample this percentage soared to 79%. 33% rural males and 12% urban males were moderately exposed to mass media and possessed moderate aspiration for their children. 21% rural males and 9% urban males belonged to the low exposure and low aspiration categories. In the female sample the data shows that urban females had an edge over the rural females. 34% rural females and 47% urban females who were highly exposed to the mass media channels were also the ones who possessed higher educational aspirations for their children. 41% rural females and 31% urban females belonged to medium categories on mass media exposure and occupational aspirations. 25% rural females, and 22% urban females were low on mass media exposure and on the occupational aspirations for their children. (Table IV) Interestingly enough majority of respondents, both urban (43%) and rural (49%), favored their children going to politics. They seem to recognize that the nobility system is politically oriented, and a man can rise through politics. So why not? Thus according to the data reported here there is a positive correlation between mass media exposure and parental aspirations for their children.

SUMMARY

In summary the data reported in this study suggests that
messages carried by the mass media affect citizen's information level
and shape his cognition of various important factors - essential to make
him a participant individual and thereby generate social and political
change. It is also revealed that variables of innovativeness, political
knowledge, political participation, knowledge of governmental outputs
at various levels, knowledge of political and administrative leaders and
empathy are correlated with mass media exposure. All of these correla-
tions are significantly different from zero at the 1% or 5% level. Mass
media exposure and political knowledge are highly correlated (.405).
Occupational aspirations for children and mass media exposure were found
to be least correlated (.121). Educational aspirations for children and
mass media were not very highly correlated (.233). Empathy and its
correlationship with mass media exposure came forth in the rank order
(.379). Education and its correlation with mass media channels was also
quite high (.384). (Table VII)

The data also indicates that the urban respondents tend to be
more highly exposed to mass media than the rural respondents. Highly
exposed respondents tend to score high on all variables discussed above.

Though the role of mass media in developing political cogni-
tions, and knowledge is widely accepted, its contribution to political
development and modernization is indispensable. It makes "indispensable
inputs to psycho-political life of a transitional society via the minds
and hearts of its people." Communication is the crux of modernization.

TABLE VII

CORRELATION OF MASS MEDIA EXPOSURE WITH OTHER
SELECTED VARIABLES OF MODERNIZATION

Consequences of Participation	Correlation with Mass Media Exposure N=914
(1) Empathy	.379*
(2) Political Participation	.397*
(3) Education	.384*
(4) Political Knowledge	.405*
(5) Educational Aspirations for Children	.233*
(6) Occupational Aspirations for Children	.121*
(7) Innovativeness	.294*

*Significantly different from zero at the 1% level.

It helps persons to become participants, and modern. Mass media is the "magic multiplier," and an important instrument in Social mobilization - "the process in which major clusters of old social, economic, and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior." (Deutsch 1964:280)

CHAPTER IV

EMPATHY

The central concept in Lerner's model of modernization is

empathy. He stated that

the acquisition and diffusion of psychic mobility (empathy) may
well be the greatest characterological transformation in modern
history.... It is in any case the most fundamental human factor
that must be comprehended by all those who plan rapid economic
growth by means of rapid social change. (1963:332)

Empathy is the lubricant which helps the modernization process. The

theory is as follows:

(1) Since empathy makes physical mobility and integration
into a new milieu more probable, the empathic are more
likely to and remain in the cities.

(2) Literacy is a basic skill underlying the modernization
sequence, the initially more empathic are more likely than
the less empathic to become literate and to do sooner.

(3) The empathic are more "mass media-participant." They
learn from the media the intellectual skills and predispo-
sitional requisites of modernity. The mass media is
"mobility-multiplier" because it provides mediated "travel"
experience. Thus, it increases the empathic abilities of
their audiences--and their initial audiences consist
disproportionately of the more empathic individuals.

(4) With mass media participation comes the capacity and desire
to participate politically and economically, to hold views
and opinions on national and international issues, and to
view as important concerns which formerly were outside one's
traditional competence and purview. (Whiting 1967:5-6)

Definition of Empathy:

Attempts to define the concept of empathy have been numerous and

varied. Edith Stein defines empathy as "a kind of act of perceiving

(éine Art erfahrender Akté) 'sui genris.' (Stein 1964:11)

I. <u>Empathy as role playing and role taking</u>:

Lipps used the word "Einfuhlung," later translated into English as "empathy." He used the term to refer to an aesthetic process in which a person took in a stimulus (some work of art) and reintegrated the stimulus thereby causing a "feeling of oneness" or a "feeling together with to occur." This process when applied to interpersonal situations, becomes the common sense idea of "putting yourself in the other fellows place" or role playing. For Lipps empathy is an "inner participation in foreign experiences," and as long as "empathy is complete (exactly what we no longer recognize as empathy) there is no distinction between our own and the foreign "I," that they are one." (Lipps 1909:16) Dymond definition is "...the imaginative transposing of oneself into the thinking, feeling, and acting of another and so structuring the world as he does." (Dymond 1948:228-233) Lerner's main concern is with this role-taking concept of empathy, and his measurement of it is linked to the individual's ability to describe his activities in terms of modern, high-status roles. Lerner postulates a net increase in human imaginativeness and greater cognitive flexibility.

II. <u>Empathy as Interpersonal Perspectiveness</u>:

The view of empathy as interpersonal perspectiveness grew out of the psychology of perception and denotes differential ability in utilization of cues and others' internal states. This can lead to improved prediction of others' behavior and greater success in interpersonal relations. Some writers have suggested that this kind of empathy may be <u>more</u> characteristic of traditional or at least of primitive societies

than of modern ones. Deutsch believes that traditional men are more
interpersonally perceptive because of their experience in the extended
family. Having a need to differentiate carefully between behavior
toward a large number of children and adults who are found in close and
constant interaction in the family, the child develops more capacity to
size up individuals and behave accordingly. (Deutsch 1964) Margaret Mead,
and Hurley (Mead 1964 and Hurley 1965) also suggest that primitive man is
already highly imaginative, involved in vicarious experiences, and
empathic. Hurley believes that modernization wrings this out of primi-
tive. It will be interesting to see empirically whether more traditional
individuals are empathic or less traditional, and modern ones.

III. Empathy as Interaction:

Empathy has also been described as recipathy, as an interactive
process. Stewart defined empathy as mutual transference. Empathy and
role reversal have been considered as complementary processes, a process
involving interaction, and convergence. Buchheimer stressed the inter-
active component of the empathic process and referred to it by using the
term confluence. (Stewart 1954:216-228, Speroff 1953:117-120, and
Buchheimer 1963:61-70)

Deutsch provides a brief discussion of the topic by distinguishing
between understanding a person's situation and understanding his outlook.
In the former we are able to put ourselves into someone else's place while
in the latter we not only do this but also have in our imagination

> a model of his mind, with his memories and values, that is suffi-
> ciently accurate for us to predict--and perhaps experience emotion-
> ally by empathy--how he could act with his mind and his personality
> under conditions in which we ourselves might act differently.
> (Deutsch 1964:12)

Later he makes further distinction between the two types:

a rational reconstruction of the personality, culture, or cognitive map of the actors concerned

versus

an emotional simulation of their feelings by an imaginative manipulation of our own minds. (Deutsch 1964:13)

The researches conducted on modernization and social change have suggested that individuals with more urban contacts are more likely to develop both generalized and differentiated skills in dealing with strangers. This appears somewhat at variance with the Lerner's model but the divergence is only apparent. It was suggested there that the more likely to have urban contact. Urban contact leads to empathy. It is interesting to note, at this point, Roger's view that neither mass-media exposure nor trips to the city probably have much impact on the non-empathic person, because the absence of modicum of empathy to begin with would immunize the peasant from cosmopolitan influence. (Rogers 1965:53) Waisanen and others assert that trips to the city tend to bring about a modicum of empathy. (Lassey, Mendez, and Waisanen)

The more empathic person is less rigidly attached to convention and precedent at least in his imagination alternative courses of behavior or alternative beliefs. Katz argues that because the more empathic person not only has stored a larger number of identifications from his past but is also able to move flexibly from one identification to another he finds himself less threatened by the strains of transition to a modern society. (Katz 1962:110) His self-image and world view are broad enough to include more of the variety the modern world presents. Not only does he arrive more rapidly and with less trouble in the modern institutions and roles, he also continues his adjustment with fewer

problems once there. According to Katz:

> everyone living in a mobile, mass society must be able to make
> rapid adjustments in attitude and to maintain self-esteem in
> the face of many threats. The poor empathizer is simply more
> vulnerable than the average citizen. He is less qualified to
> cope with conflicts and is less defended against the anxieties
> of living in a society of increasing alienation. (Katz 1963:
> 110)

According to Whiting the poor empathizer can be indicted for

(1) difficulty in communicating ideas and feelings, (2) misreading feed-

back needed to assess his behavior's impact on others, (3) a consequent

lack of a sense of mutuality required to maintain self-esteem, (4) being

out-of-step with other group members in judgments, (5) erroneous inter-

pretations of others' attitudes and evaluations, (6) a consequent feeling

that others do not respond appropriately. (Whiting 1967:22-23) Thus,

we see that empathy is a very important indicator of modernization.

Rogers et. al. have presented a paradigm of the role of empathy in the

modernization process. The paradigm clearly demonstrates that empathy

generates innovativeness, achievement motivation, political knowledge,

opinion leadership, self-confidence and aspirations for a better future

life. The paradigm is as follows:

PARADIGM OF THE ROLE OF EMPATHY IN THE
MODERNIZATION PROCESS

Antecedents	Intervening Variable	Consequents
1. Functional literacy		1. Innovativeness
2. Mass media exposure	Empathy	2. Achievement Motivation
3. Cosmopoliteness		3. Political Knowledgeability
		4. Opinionatedness
		5. Opinion Leadership
		6. Aspirations
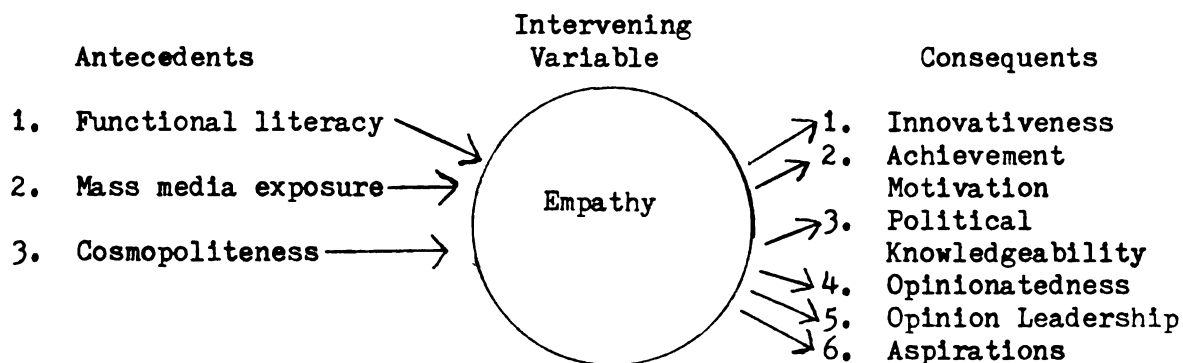
Source: (Rogers et. al. 1969:204)

Measuring Empathy

Attempts to measure empathy have been as varied as have the attempts to define the concept. There have been two main measurement approaches:

(a) Predictive tests of empathy:

Predictive test procedures are generally of two types--those involving predictions based on a specific other and those involving predictions based on a general other. In the generalized other approach subjects are required to specify the likes, dislikes or other psychological characteristics of an average person in the general population or in some subgroup of the population. In using the specific other approach, empathy is measured by assessing the degree of similarity between a person's rating of a specific other known to him through group interaction and the other's actual self rating.

(b) Situational tests of empathy:

Situational approaches to empathy measurement provide subjects with some type of real-life or simulated real-life situations involving visual, auditory or a combination of both stimuli. Such stimuli give the subjects a standard experience to which they can attempt to respond empathically. Research of this nature can be divided into that using written or audio stimuli and that using a combination of audio and video stimuli.

Lerner's empathy scale contained a set of nine "projective questions." Only the following three questions called for role-taking on the part of the respondent.

    (1)   If you were made editor of a newspaper?

    (2)   If you were put in charge of a radio station?

    (3)   Suppose that you were made head of the government?

The other six items in his scale asked about the respondent's opinions.

In order to measure the concept of empathy with others' roles in India predictive test was also used. The respondents were asked to take public roles, which varied from local to national. The predictive test questions contained:

    (1)   Here is a ladder. Let us say that the most powerful and influential men in this village/town are at the top of the ladder and the men with the least power and influence are at the bottom. Where would you place the Pradhan/Mayor on this ladder in terms of his power?

    (2)   Now consider this ladder again. Suppose the most powerful and influential men in village/town are at the top of the ladder and the men with the least power and influence are at the bottom. Where would you place _yourself_ on the ladder in terms of power?

A five item scale was developed on the basis of following questions asked from the respondents. They were asked to take five public roles and report as to what they would in their respective positions do to solve these problems.

    (1)   If you were the Pradhan (President) of the Village Panchayat or Mayor of the town, what would you do for your community?

    (2)   If you were the Block Development officer, what would you do to improve your block?

    (3)   If you were police officer of your area, what would you do to improve police-community relations?

    (4)   If you were the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, what would you do for the people of the state?

    (5)   If you were the Prime Minister of India, what would you do to make people happy and prosperous?

The interviewers were instructed to judge whether or not the respondents placed themselves in the roles called for. A three point scale was formed on the following basis:

(1) Low Empathy: If no answer or response related to the question.

(2) Medium Empathy: If a general non-specific answer, with some relevance to the question was given.

(3) High Empathy: If a specific and relevant answer given to all the five questions, and ability to take the role indicated.

I. Empathy, mass-media and interpersonal communication:

According to Lerner the media is "mobility multiplier." It makes the expansion of imagination possible. The more empathic should be more capable of drawing modernization import from messages in the mass media. In addition, the more empathic should apply these message to themselves to a greater extent.

The data reported here indicates that respondents who were exposed to interpersonal channels are less empathic than those exposed to the mass media. This may be due to the nature and quality of messages carried by these two types of media. Other researches have shown that mass media communication is more important in changing cognitions than interpersonal, word-of-mouth channels.

The research reported here shows that 42% of the rural respondents who were highly exposed to the mass media channels were also found to be highly empathic, while only 27% were highly empathic exposed to interpersonal channels such as word-of-mouth communication. Same is found in the urban sample. 53% of the urban respondents who were highly

exposed to mass media were also highly empathic, while only 36%
were highly empathic who were exposed to only word-of-mouth channels.
33% of the rural respondents and 31% urban respondents possessed medium
empathy though they were highly exposed to mass media channels. 25%
rural respondents and 16% urban respondents were found to be high on
media exposure but low on empathy. The difference between urban and
rural respondents on all the three levels of media exposure and empathy
is quite noteworthy. The urban respondents on both scales are far
ahead to their rural counterparts.

Looking at the exposure to interpersonal channels of communica-
tion and empathy we find that 27% of the rural respondents who are
highly exposed to word-of-mouth and are highly empathic. This high
relationship is also found about the urban respondents. 36% of the
urbans were highly exposed to interpersonal channels and also possessed
high empathy. It is noteworthy that the percentage of respondents who
had low empathy is greater under this category--exposure to interpersonal
channels. 52% of the rural respondents reporting low empathy and high
exposure. In the urban sample the percentage is 35. The remarkably
low empathisers are in the rural sample. 70% rural respondents and 57%
urban respondents are low empathisers, despite that they are moderately
exposed to interpersonal channels. Those who are least exposed are the
ones who make up the category of low empathisers--8% rural respondents,
and 71% urban respondents. Thus we find that the level of empathy is
positively related to mass media exposure and interpersonal channels
of communication. (Table I)

TABLE I

LEVEL OF EMPATHY BY URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE AND EXPOSURE TO MASS MEDIA AND INTERPERSONAL CHANNELS

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

| Level of Empathy | Exposure to Mass Media Channels | | | | | | Exposure to Interpersonal Channels | | | | | |
| | High | | Medium | | Low | | High | | Medium | | Low | |
	Rural %	Urban %	Rural %	Urban %	Rural %	Urban %	Rural %	Urban %	Rural %	Urban %	Rural %	Urban %
High Empathy	42	53	37	41	17	20	27	36	13	24	9	16
Medium Empathy	33	31	30	33	28	29	21	29	17	19	11	13
Low Empathy	25	16	33	26	55	51	52	35	70	57	80	71
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

II. Empathy and Participation in Politics

Earlier we have seen that those who have greater knowledge about affairs, are confident, and joiners are the ones who are likely to participate in political activities. This information led me to presume that those respondents who have higher participation may also be the ones having greater empathy. The data reported supports the above assumption. 51% of the rural male respondents having higher participation possessed greater empathy than those who were both low on participation scale (18%) and empathy scale (55%). The trend continues to go downward with the participation level. Those respondents who were reported to be moderately participants were also moderately empathic. Only 39% of the rural male respondents with medium participation possessed high empathy, while 48%, and 13% possessed moderate and low empathy. The same has been found about the rural female respondents. 43% of the rural females were highly participants and empathic; 34% of them were high on participation but were moderately empathic, while 23% were highly participants but low empathisers. Further low participation seems to go with low empathy. This is true both in the urban and rural samples. 18% of the rural male respondents, and 27% of the urban male respondents were found to be low on participation and high on empathy scale, while 55% of the rural males, 59% of the rural female sample, 34% of the urban males, and 39% of the urban female respondents reported to be low on participation and empathy scales. It is interesting to note that the difference between highly participant rural males and urban males in relation to empathy is not very significant. The urban males who are highly participants and empathisers (56%) lead their rural counterparts only by 5%, but this

gap considerably widens when we look at those respondents who are low

on participation and empathy scales. 55% of the rural males, 59% of the

rural females are low participants and poor empathisers while only 34%

of the urban males (-21%) and 39% of the urban females (-20%) fall under

that category. While the data about male respondents, both urban and

rural, is consistent - high participation with high empathy - the

responses by female respondents, particularly rural, are a little

puzzling if we keep in mind the smaller sample of rural females. The

rural females seem to be quite empathic even if they are not highly

participants. Compare the rural male respondents with low participation

and empathy (55%) with the rural females under the same category (59%).

The difference is very marginal (4%). This information challenges the

general belief that the rural women in India live in a very closed and

restricted social and political environment, do not possess their own

opinions and follow their husbands is not supported by the data reported

here. These rural females seem to be highly empathic, even if they are

not highly participants believing that "they also serve who stand and

wait." Quite a few female respondents expressed their freedom of action,

and told the interviewers that they have as much right to decide indepen-

dently as anybody else. This does not mean that their actions always

followed what they said. Political activities were considered to be out

of their jurisdiction, but this was a voluntary abdication and was not

forced upon them. The rural females also came with quite interesting and

highly empathic responses. One of the female respondents, about 75-80

years old, was asked as to what would she do if she is elected the prime

minister of India. Unlike Lerner's Chief of Balgat, her eyes brightened

up, and she said

> Well I know it is impossible for me to become the prime minister
> of India or even the head of Block Development Council, but if I
> am ever elected as a prime minister I'll lower the taxes on village
> people, give them more land, and build schools in every big village.
> Also I'll appoint my son-in-law, who is an educated person, as the
> chief of this district,

and she went on and on.

In the urban sample male respondents were more empathic than the females. Those male respondents who were highly participants were also highly empathic (56%). Only 11% of the male respondents who participated a great deal were low on empathy. The urban female are in all categories less empathic than the males. 47% of highly participant females were also high empathisers, while 39% were low on participation and empathy in contrast to their male counterparts who made 34% of the sample under this category. Thus a positive correlation exists between the level of participation and empathy. (Table II)

III. Empathy and education:

Education is probably one of the most important variables of modernization. It trains individuals in a skill essential to expand the horizons of minds. Education is clearly closely related to utilization of the mass media. Actors become more capable to handle abstractions and to handle themselves in the richer symbolic environment brought on by increases in technology and urbanization. It has been said that education is regarded as an instance of a coerced, if benevolent, opening of the mind and an expansion of the alternatives, or skills or to perceive alternatives, which a person can use in decision-making. As such it doubtless contributes to modernization. Researches have reported that education also increases the individual's self-confidence and capacity to

TABLE II

LEVEL OF EMPATHY BY SEX, URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE
AND LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Level of Empathy	Participation in Politics											
	High				Medium				Low			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
High Empathy	51	43	56	47	39	37	51	44	18	17	27	19
Medium Empathy	37	34	33	40	48	42	43	37	27	24	39	42
Low Empathy	12	23	11	13	13	21	6	19	55	59	34	39
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

empathise and to see in another's shoes. The data reported here indicates that those respondents, both rural and urban, male and female, who had higher education had also greater capacity to empathise. Female respondents, both urban and rural, were less empathisers than the male respondents. Education does not seem to have affected this difference. Also the difference between rural female respondents and their urban counterparts is not very striking. 50% of the rural females, with university education, were high on empathy, while 52% of their urban counterparts fell under that category. Thus urbanization does not seem to have made tremendous difference in this situation. 48% of the urban and rural females with university education reported to have moderate empathy, while only 1% rural female respondents with university degree were low on empathy. Same trend is found about the high school educated rural and urban females. In both cases 41% of them were highly empathic. The difference between low empathy and less than primary educated urban and rural respondents is also not very significant. 80% of the less than primary educated rural females were low on empathy, while in urban female sample it is 75%, a difference of 5%. It is interesting to note that high school educated rural females were more highly empathic (41%) than their menfolks with the same educational background (39%), though the university education seems to make a lot of difference. 74% of the university educated rural males were highly empathic in comparison to 77% university educated urban respondents. The difference between highly empathic university educated rural and urban males and females is quite noteworthy. In the rural sample this difference between university educated males (74%) and females (50%) is 24%, while in the urban sample this difference is 25% (77% males and

52% females). Another noteworthy difference between rural males and
rural females, urban males and females, is in the medium level of empathy
and university education. 26% university educated rural males possess
moderate empathy while this percentage leaps to 48% (22% gain for rural
females) in the case of rural females. This is also true about the urban
sample where only 23% university educated males have medium empathy while
48% females fall under that category (25% gain for urban females). The
cutting point, where the level of empathy sinks real low, seems to be
the primary education. In the rural sample 42% males and 60% females
with primary education have low empathy. In the urban sample 38% males,
and 55% females with primary education reported to possess low empathy.
It is 65% and 75% respectively in the case of those urban respondents
who had less than primary education. In the rural sample it is 69% and
80% respectively. The level of high school education seems to be a very
important stage in this context. The percentage of high empathisers,
and medium empathisers fall sharply after high school education. The
data reported here clearly indicates that the high education is positively
related with high empathy. Low education produces individuals with low
empathy, individuals who are unable to imagine themselves in borrowed
roles. (Table III)

IV. Empathy and cosmopoliteness:

The relationship between empathy and the variable of cosmopoli-
teness in the modernization process should be similar to that of the
relationship between empathy and the mass media exposure. Cosmopoliteness
has been defined as a degree to which an individual is oriented outside
his immediate social system. (Rogers and Svenning 1969:146) Those

TABLE III

LEVEL OF EMPATHY BY SEX, URBAN-RURAL
RESIDENCE, AND EDUCATION

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Level of Empathy	Education																			
	University				Intermediate				High School				Primary				Less Than Primary (Literate)			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %
High Empathy	74	50	77	52	49	47	68	49	39	41	53	41	21	17	29	19	9	2	11	2
Medium Empathy	26	48	23	48	45	46	31	47	41	44	37	47	37	23	33	26	22	18	24	23
Low Empathy	-	2	-	-	6	7	1	4	20	15	10	12	42	60	38	55	69	80	65	75
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

individuals who are confined to their own immediate social system and
environment, possess very little or no interest in the world beyond,
are the parochials. The presence of these non-empathic parochials is a
great hurdle in the process of modernization and social change. The
cosmopolite, on the other hand, is one with imaginative longings for a
better life. He tends to be rational, and his behavior is based on
"secular rather than sacred considerations and is ready to embrace the
spirit of enlightenment." (Pye 1963:19) Lerner's parable of the grocer
and the chief in the Turkish village of Balgat illustrates the impor-
tance of cosmopoliteness in the developing countries. The chief was
characterized as traditional, and autocratic. He accepted life as he
found it. When asked that if he had to leave Turkey what would he do?
the chief responded that "I was born here, grew old here, and hope God
will permit me to die here." The village shepherd replied that he would
rather kill himself than go to an unknown, and frightful setting. The
cosmopolite grocer was characterized by his frequent trips to Ankara,
and his desire to know beyond his own immediate social environment.
"It is nice to know what is happening in the other capitals of the
world. We are stuck in this hole, we have to know what is going on
outside our village." (Lerner 1958:69-70) The grocer was not like
others. He was in contact with urban life, was not shy of "strangers"
or foreigners. He was empathic and a "marginal" man. After his death
the villagers of Balgat talked about him in great admiration,

> Ah, he was the cleverest of us all. We did not know him then, but
> he saw better than all what lay in the path ahead. We have none
> like this among us now. He was a prophet. (Lerner 1958:41)

To quote Lerner again "the historic increase of psychic mobility (empathy)

begins with expansion of physical travel." (Lerner 1958:52) Contact
with the outside world is likely to increase his empathic ability as he
becomes more aware of new roles and situations foreign to his earlier
experience. Researches have shown that persons whose social psycholo-
gical milieu is less restricted and localite will develop greater
empathy with roles different than their own. Rao in his study of two
South Indian villages found that the key difference between these two
villages—one of which was very modern and the other very traditional—
was the existence of a road that linked the more modern community to a
nearby urban center. The villagers were able to travel easily to this
small city, where they were exposed to modern technology and urban-
industrial roles. When a small industry moved to this village, the
people were prepared for it. Their receptivity had been modified by
their cosmopoliteness. (Rao 1966) The data reported here indicates
that those respondents who had taken frequent trips were highly empathic
while those who did not take such trips possessed low empathy. Those
rural male respondents who are highly cosmopolitan are also highly
empathic (56%). 68% urban male respondents were highly cosmopolite
and empathic. Low cosmopoliteness, both in rural and urban samples,
was found to go hand in hand with the low empathy (74% rural males, 88%
rural females; 71% urban males, and 83% urban females). High cosmopoli-
teness and high empathy, low cosmopoliteness and low empathy were found
to be positively related, both in urban and rural males and females
alike.

It was found that both urban and rural males fared better than
their female counterparts. 56% of the rural males were highly empathic

and cosmopolite while only 49% rural females fell under that category.

36% rural males were highly cosmopolite but possessed moderate empathy.

33% rural females qualified for being moderately empathic and highly

cosmopolite. The difference between rural males and females is not

very much. Similar pattern is reported about the urban respondents

where 68% highly cosmopolite males and 59% females were also highly

empathic, 30% males and 27% were highly cosmopolite but moderately

empathic, while only 2% males and 14% females were found to be highly

cosmopolite but low on empathy scale. Moderate cosmopoliteness and less

empathy seemed to go together. 36% of the urban males and 30% of the

females were moderately cosmopolite but high on empathy. 44% urban males

and 41% females were moderately cosmopolite and empathic. Again low

level of empathy and low cosmopoliteness were reported to go hand in

hand. 71% of the urban male respondents and 83% of the urban female

respondents were low on empathy and cosmopoliteness. With the decrease

in the level of cosmopoliteness the level of empathy decreases. This is

true both about rural and urban sample. The data reported here, thus,

indicates that cosmopoliteness and empathy are positively related. The

change in one indicator produces change in the other. (Table IV)

V. Empathy and achievement motivation:

According to McClelland achievement motivation is an inner

concern, a disposition to engage in activities in which doing well or

competing with a standard of excellence are important.

> Success in competition with some standard of excellence...is our
> generic definition of an Achievement...a spontaneously expressed
> desire to do something well for its own sake rather than to gain
> power or love, recognition or profit. (McClelland et. al. 1953:110)

TABLE IV

LEVEL OF EMPATHY BY SEX, URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE AND COSMOPOLITENESS*

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Level of Empathy	Cosmopolitanism											
	High				Medium				Low			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
High Empathy	56	49	68	59	38	27	36	30	9	2	11	4
Medium Empathy	36	33	30	27	34	31	44	41	17	10	18	13
Low Empathy	8	18	2	14	28	42	20	29	74	88	71	83
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*(1) High cosmopoliteness: Travel once a week or more frequently.

(2) Medium cosmopoliteness: Two to five times a year, once or twice in a year.

(3) Low cosmopoliteness: Less than once or twice in a year; never travelled.

It has been said quite often that a traditional society has limited

resources, few opportunities, hence the society is characterized by

extremely low achievement motivation.

> Where poverty is widespread and opportunity for advancement very
> limited, where only a few enjoy power and independence while most
> are powerless and dependent, the belief that the individual has
> little control over his environment is perhaps inevitable--and
> probably psychologically functional. (Rosen 1964:341-354)

The successful economic development depends on active, ambitious, and

achievement orientated individuals.

The research data reported here indicates that those respondents

who were willing to adopt new techniques and methods to improve their

work conditions were also highly empathic. 36% of the rural males, and

33% rural females reported to possess high achievement motivation and

and high empathy. In the urban sample 49% males, and 38% females

belonged to high achievement motive and high empathy scale. The

difference between urban male and rural female was 13%, between urban

females and rural females it was only 5% but in both cases the urban

respondents possessed greater achievement motivation and empathy. This

may be due to various socio-psychological factors. Urban respondents

are more informed, confident, and generally better educated than their

rural counterparts. The respondents with low achievement motivation

were also low on the empathy scale. 63% of the rural male sample and

81% of the urban males were found to be low on achievement motive and

empathy. Here it is noteworthy that the percentage of urban males with

low achievement motivation and low empathy is higher than the rural

males. The difference (18%) is quite remarkable. This is also true

about the urban females (92%) and rural females (81%) a net difference

of 11%. As indicated earlier that the rural respondents, both males

and females, reported greater capacity to empathise. Despite differences

in socio-economic and educational background the villagers in Uttar

Pradesh were quite empathic. Presently I do not have any data to show

but I found that villagers in the eastern part of the state were more

critical, aware, and empathic than the rest of the state. Due to the

population and size the number of the respondents in eastern Uttar

Pradesh was higher. This factor might have increased the number of

highly rural empathic respondents in this study. But again this is purely

impressionistic observation. Thus we see that the level of achievement

motivation and empathy are related. Since no TAT was used to measure

the level of achievement motivation in this study and only questions

concerned with respondents' performance, ambitions, and aspirations

in their work situations and future life were asked, the data indicates

the respondents, both in the urban and rural sample, were very much

concerned about their future and the future of their children. They

wanted their children to get educated, and achieve more what they them-

selves had. It was also interesting to find out that in an area where

Hindu sacred book "Bhagvatgita," a book which teaches "selfless action,"

action for action sake and not for rewards, at least material rewards,

has tremendous influence over the life style and the thinking of the

people, the respondents were very much concerned with material rewards

and advancement which may not be so bad to bring about the social change

and economic development so essential in the modernization process. The

respondent in this study were not selfless. They hoped to gain either

power or prestige. (Table V)

TABLE V

LEVEL OF EMPATHY AND ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE BY URBAN-RURAL
RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Level of Empathy	Achievement Motive											
	High				Medium				Low			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
High Empathy	36	33	49	38	29	22	37	20	16	7	8	3
Medium Empathy	48	44	46	44	41	44	41	33	21	12	11	5
Low Empathy	16	23	5	18	30	34	22	47	63	81	81	92
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

VI. Empathy and Fatalism

Fatalism is the belief that phenomena occur for no knowledgeable

reason, and they cannot be controlled by the mortal individual. God

or some moral order controls the destiny. With this kind of attitude

> the villager's fatalistic outlook on life results in failure to
> see a relationship between work and one's economic condition.
> Having enough is thought to be almost entirely due to luck (suerte)
> and is never believed to be brought about or furthered by personal
> initiative. (Riechel-Almatoff 1961:259)

Kusum Nair has reported about the villagers of India who consider change

and improvement as an immoral principle:

> "But then" asks Kallatatiah with puckered eyebrows, "how can we
> get other people's lands?" "If we are destined to be landless
> we must remain so." (Nair 1961:66)

Fatalism has been considered to be an impediment in the process

of modernization and directed social change. The causes of individual

and community misfortunes are looked upon as visitations from gods or

devil and evil spirits. It kills individual initiative and a desire

to achieve, promotes a pessimistic outlook towards life, a feeling of

helplessness and a retreat from real life and issues. In a society

which is rife with fatalistic outlook on life it is impossible to

create a "revolution of rising expectations." Fatalism results from

old religious beliefs and authoritarian family structure. Hunt feels

that religious beliefs are barriers to economic development:

> The tradition-bound rigidity of Islam, the other-wordly emphasis
> of Buddhism, the asceticism of Hinduism and the fiesta-laden
> Catholicism of countries with Spanish tradition, may embody im-
> portant teachings, but their emphasis is not calculated to provide
> industrious workers, thrifty capitalists or daring promoters.
> (Hunt 1957:318)

Fatalism also decreases empathy, cosmopoliteness, and achievement

motivation.

The research reported here shows that those respondents who were highly fatalistic were very low on the empathy scale. 83% of the rural male sample and 96% rural females were highly fatalistic and low on empathy; while only 1% highly empathic rural males were also highly fatalistic. No females, both in urban and rural sample, were found to be highly fatalistic and empathic. The urban male sample on these two indicators was also very low, only 1%. Here we see that both urban and rural respondents follow the similar patterns. In the urban sample 77% of the males, and 86% of the females were highly fatalistic but low on empathy. The difference between urban males and rural males was reported to be 6%, while in the female sample this difference reached to 10%. In both cases, though, the rural respondents were highly fatalistic and low empathic than their urban counterparts. Low level of fatalism and high degree of empathy were reported by both rural and urban respondents. In the rural sample 38% of the males, and 34% of the females were low on fatalistic scale but high on empathy. In the urban case 46% and 43% females were low on fatalism but high on empathy. Again the rural respondents had a slight edge (29% males, 27% females possessing low fatalism and low empathy) over the urban respondents (17% males and 25% females). Thus we see that high degree of fatalism results into low empathy and is thus dysfunctional to the development of an active achievement oriented individual personality so essential to social change and modernization. (Table VI)

VII. Empathy and opinion leadership

Most of the researches conducted about opinion leaders and elites demonstrate that these leaders in comparison to the masses or their

TABLE VI

LEVEL OF EMPATHY AND FATALISM BY URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE AND SEX

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Level of Empathy	Fatalism											
	High				Medium				Low			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
High Empathy	1	-	1	-	3	-	4	1	38	34	46	43
Medium Empathy	16	4	22	14	11	6	25	21	33	39	37	32
Low Empathy	83	96	77	86	86	94	71	78	29	27	17	25
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

followers are better educated, belong to higher social strata, have higher capacity to empathise and possess more political knowledge and information. These leaders have great influence in their communities. The success or failure of planned programs and social change depends largely upon the ability and willingness of these opinion leaders to influence public opinion. They are sought for information and advice by their peers, because they are considered to be more competent and knowledgeable. According to Lerner the more modern of his Middle East respondents were more likely to have opinions about a number of issues than were his traditionals. Mead maintains that these individuals possess empathic ability and are better able to see the needs and goals of their peers because they are sufficiently interested in someone else's problems, and hence are most likely to become the leaders of a group. (Mead 1934)

The data reported here shows that those respondents who possessed high opinion leadership characteristics were also ones who were highly empathic. 52% of the rural respondents were found to be high on opinion leadership and empathy scales, while only 1% rural respondents possessed high leadership traits but were low empathics. 8% of the rural sample were found to be low on opinion leadership but highly empathic. Low opinion leadership and low empathy went hand in hand (73% rural respondents and 65% urban respondents). In the urban sample 87% of the respondents reported to have high opinion leadership and high empathy. Only 1% urban respondents were found to be high on opinion leadership and low on empathy. 34% of the rural respondents, and 61% of the urban respondents reported to have moderate opinion leadership and high empathy.

Here the difference between urban and rural respondents is quite

significant. Again 56% rural respondents and 33% urban respondents

possessed medium empathic capability and opinion leadership. By and

large, we find that high empathy and high opinion leadership, medium

empathy and medium opinion leadership, and low empathy and low opinion

leadership are positively related. Any change in one indicator produces

changes in the other related indicator. (Table VII)

TABLE VII

LEVEL OF EMPATHY AND OPINION LEADERSHIP
BY URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE

N=926
Rural N=512
Urban N=414

Level of Empathy	Opinion Leadership					
	High		Medium		Low	
	Rural %	Urban %	Rural %	Urban %	Rural %	Urban %
High Empathy	52	87	34	61	8	11
Medium Empathy	47	12	56	33	19	24
Low Empathy	1	1	10	6	73	65
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100

In this study the data revealed that levels of empathy vary

directly with mass media exposure and other modernization variables. All

of these correlations are significantly different from zero at the 1%

level. Education, and achievement motivation were highly correlated with

empathy. Cosmopoliteness was not very highly correlated with empathy.

Fatalism was least correlated (.214) with empathy. Political partici-

pation and empathy were also found to be highly correlated (.448). The

highest correlation was found between education and empathy (.491), and

political participation and empathy (.448). Media exposure and its

correlationship with empathy came fourth in the rank order (.379).

(Table VIII)

TABLE VIII

ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN EMPATHY AND OTHER
SELECTED VARIABLES OF MODERNIZATION

	Zero-order Correlation with Empathy (N=926)
(1) Education	.491[b]
(2) Mass media exposure	.379[b]
(3) Cosmopoliteness	.280[a]
(4) Achievement motivation	.431[b]
(5) Opinion Leadership	.281[a]
(6) Political participation	.448[b]
(7) Fatalism	.214[b]

[a]Significantly different from zero at the 5% level.

[b]Significantly different from zero at the 1% level.

SUMMARY

The data reported in the preceeding pages indicates that there

is a clear and positive correlationship between empathy and the other

variables of modernization. (Table VIII) The capacity to empathise

is very essential to social change and modernization. As Lerner has

put it that "The model of behavior developed by modern society is

characterized by empathy, a high capacity for rearranging the self-

system on short notice....In modern society more individuals exhibit

higher empathic capacity than in any previous society." (Lerner 1958:51)

Mass media channels are "mobility multipliers." They help in expanding

the imagination of individual and make him more capable of understanding

the qualitative import of the media messages. Those respondents who

were highly exposed to mass media were also highly capable of empathising.

(Table I) Political participation and level of empathy were also found

to be positively correlated. (Table II). The other important variable

which was correlated to empathy was education. Higher education and

higher empathy, low education and low empathy went together. (Table III)

It was interesting to find out that cosmopoliteness was not that highly

correlated with empathy. When we look at the Table IV it seems that

cosmopoliteness and empathy are also highly related, but when we compare

the cosmopoliteness with other variables of modernization we find that

the relationship is not very high. Some researchers have pointed out

that the index used to measure cosmopoliteness should be improved, and

respondents should also be asked about the type of contact or nature of

work which led them to take trips to the urban centers. One may just go

to a nearby town and visit one's relatives and not get in touch with

any urban, or modern things which presumably exist in the town, and which

could have influenced the individual's attitudes. Our findings about

cosmopoliteness and its correlation with empathy does not support the

earlier studies conducted in other developing areas. These studies had shown a high correlation between these two modernization variables. (Rogers 1969 and Lerner 1958) The data reported here indicates a high correlation between empathy and achievement motivation. Those respondents who possessed high aspirations to better their future were also the ones who were highly empathic, and were capable to understand other roles in the society. (Table V) Fatalism, a blind faith in God, and the supernatural is a traditional attitude of helplessness and pessimism, a world full of frustrations and disappointments. Those respondents who were reportedly highly fatalistic possessed very low level of empathy. There is a negative relationship between empathy and fatalism as indicated by a correlation of .214, which is significantly different from zero. (Tables VI and VIII)

The data reported in Tables VII and VIII demonstrates a positive correlationship between empathy and the public opinion leadership. Those respondents who played leadership roles, were in a position to influence the opinions and attitudes of their peers, and were also highly capable to empathise. They are the "marginal" men, "culture-brokers" and harbingers of social change and modernization.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In concluding this analysis I will try to piece together the

findings of the various chapters into some kind of perspective. The

key questions are: How citizen participation, exposure to mass media,

development of greater empathy, and achievement motivation affect the

political and social systems in India? What are the long range and

short range implications of modernization on the political development

of India in general and Uttar Pradesh in particular? Pundits of

political modernization have traditionally held it to be the "Sine

qua non" of all the ills of a traditional and backward society. Though

they have conceded that the

> process of modernization is simultaneously creative and destruc-
> tive, providing new opportunities and prospects at a high price
> in human dislocation and suffering. (Black 1966:27)

> Theorists of political modernization argue that political develop-
> ment is unreal and imaginary without mass participation, that mass
> participation in politics can be delayed or suppressed, but that
> political development and meaningful political participation
> cannot and <u>ought</u> not to be separate. (Brass 1969:98).

The revisionist theorists do not seem to be sure about the above

approach. They feel that this approach will not work as freedom of

dissent and mass participation are likely to release disruptive forces

and undermine authority. Huntington (1968:55) observes that

> the sharp increase in political participation gives rise to
> political instability. The impact of modernization thus involves
> the following relationships:

> (1) $\dfrac{\text{Social Mobilization}}{\text{Economic Development}}$ = Social Frustration

(2) $\dfrac{\text{Social Frustration}}{\text{Mobility Opportunities}}$ = Political Participation

(3) $\dfrac{\text{Political Participation}}{\text{Political Institutionalization}}$ = Political Instability

Therefore it has been suggested that it is far more important for the political stability of developing areas to

> concentrate upon building the instruments of political control before engaging in serious economic development and social mobilization, and before permitting political competition and political participation. (Brass 1969:70)

Now let us look at Uttar Pradesh. Uttar Pradesh is characterized by social diversity, social fragmentation, and relatively low level of participation. This is reflected in political fragmentation of its politics which suffers from factionalism based on castes, districts and personalities. Political competition is one of the least institutionalized in entire India. Political disintegration has resulted in the emergence of communalism and the rise of the Jan Sangh, and in the renewed demand for state's partition on the regional basis. The political leaders of the state have not attempted to organize or mobilize the masses into increased political participation. Uttar Pradesh ranks eleventh among the Indian states in level of social mobilization, twelfth in the absolute level of electoral participation, and has not shown any significant increase in electoral participation over the decade, also ranks lowest in the level of institutionalization of the political process, and is among the politically unstable states of India. (Brass 1969:80) In this case it seems that it is not the increased participation which is responsible for the decay of political process in the state. It is the low level of participation and social mobilization which is contributing to political decay. It is generally held

that exposure to mass media channels not only contributes to the enlightenment of citizens but it also increases the citizen's sense of legitimacy of a political system and strengthens its effectiveness. Mass media exposure increase the self confidence of the citizen and makes him more capable to understand and participate in the political process. Our data on Uttar Pradesh seems to provide a deviant case. Those respondents who were found to be highly exposed to the mass media channels were also the ones who were cynical and less supportive of the government and its output (Chapter IV). These findings do not support the widely held approach in the West. The question arises as to why those citizens exposed to mass media were critical of government? Should mass media be government controlled and feed only success stories? What should be the future of free press in a democratic society if it contributes to the loss of legitimacy? To answer these questions, we will have to see as to what were the factors behind a very critical media. Let us take the case of the United States of America in late 1960's and early 1970's. The society is divided on so many issues. Vocal sedgments of populace make news which is conveyed on the channels creating frustrations among others.

The present study was conducted in 1966, only a few months before the fourth general elections of India. The political atmosphere was confusing. Economic policy failures, governments' credibility gap, administrative corruption, and political fragmentation were making headlines. Besides, constant emphasis upon equality and socialism since the early 1950's had substantially heightened political awareness among the rural masses and had excited expectations of tangible gains.

Frustration among groups was increasingly directed at the political

system which symbolized these failures--for if there was one idea that

was gaining ground among all sections of Indian opinion, it was the

meloncholy notion that the most likely victim of continuing administrative

and political inertia will be the ruling party. Therefore it is not

the exposure to the mass media which will contribute to the citizen's

sense of efficacy but the success of the government in economic and

political spheres.

Hence the modernization process in India cannot be bound to any

specific model or models. The data reported here provides the evidence

that "standard" theories of "political decay" or "political modernization"

do not apply to Uttar Pradesh politics. The Indian model of political

modernization has to be based not on entirely new social and political

structures and imported criteria of political change but on traditional

Indian social structures and values on to a

> renewed awareness and quickening of traditional identity, its
> reinterpretation and rejuvenation, and its consolidation in the
> framework of new institutions and ideas. (Kothari 1970:85)

The impact of modernization on India is bound to be mixed, both

painful and joyful. Increased political participation, exposure to

mass media, rising expectations, and social mobility will put strains

on India's political system resulting into instable political conditions

like post 1967 elections but this should not invite the prophets of

doom and gloom. India will disappoint them too. Modernity is not new.

It is a recurring historical force, a recurring opportunity as

Shakespeare said:

> Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE OF DISTRICTS
SELECTED FOR THE STUDY

Socioeconomic Profile of Districts
Selected for the Study

District	I Total Population of District	II Density of Population Per Square 'Kilo Metre'	III Income Per Capita Inhabitant (Rs)	IV Income Per Active Inhabitant	V Urbanity of District (as % of Total Population)	VI Active Population of District (as % of Total Pop.)	VII Workers in Sector Primary (as % of total Active Population)
1. Almora	633407	90	N.A.	N.A.	27244 (4.30)	375894 (59.34)	338305 (90.00)
2. Badaun	1411657	268	139.76	304.39	119159 (8.44)	486697 (34.48)	409666 (84.18)
3. Muzaffar-nagar	1444921	335	158.14	466.87	191133 (13.23)	489430 (33.87)	266944 (54.54)
4. Meerut	2712960	451	207.23	623.55	558794 (20.60)	901619 (33.23)	407808 (45.23)
5. Etah	1299674	292	164.96	503.24	125114 (9.63)	426042 (32.78)	321514 (75.47)
6. Kanpur	2381353	383	258.55	764.49	976291 (41.00)	805374 (33.82)	403231 (50.07)
7. Sitapur	1608057	278	142.53	392.01	122751 (7.63)	584698 (36.36)	491513 (84.06)
8. Gonda	2073237	279	153.96	337.36	101256 (4.88)	946122 (45.64)	834136 (88.16)
9. Gorakhpur	2565182	402	130.67	295.85	187343 (7.30)	1133008 (44.17)	960618 (84.78)
10. Jaunpur	1727264	429	121.17	300.32	91425 (5.29)	696910 (40.35)	587345 (84.28)
11. Varanasi	2362169	448	196.47	531.05	553146 (23.42)	873927 (37.00)	517200 (59.18)
12. Mirzapur	1249653	113	209.66	452.95	143727 (11.50)	578421 (46.29)	430966 (74.51)

District	VIII Workers in Secondary Sector (as % of Total Active Pop.)	IX Workers in Tertiary Sector (as % of Total Pop.)	X Total Income of District (Rs.)	XI % of Contribution of Primary Sector	XII % of Contribution of Secondary Sector	XIII % of Contribution of Tertiary Sector	XIV Total Geographical Area of District (Acres)
1. Almora	15388 (4.09)	22201 (5.91)	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
2. Badaun	26691 (5.48)	50340 (10.34)	197300000	61.88	7.91	30.21	1306635
3. Muzaffar-nagar	84926 (17.35)	137560 (28.11)	228500000	37.86	20.18	41.96	1084424
4. Meerut	220708 (24.48)	273103 (30.29)	562200000	28.07	20.33	51.60	1483527
5. Etah	35356 (8.30)	69172 (16.23)	214400000	58.67	10.73	30.60	1137573
6. Kanpur	163020 (20.24)	239123 (29.69)	615700000	25.00	30.13	44.87	1549936
7. Sitapur	35677 (6.10)	57504 (9.84)	229000000	58.69	10.38	30.93	1423689
8. Gonda	44396 (4.69)	67590 (7.15)	319200000	58.74	6.33	34.93	1881815
9. Gorakhpur	75236 (6.64)	97154 (8.58)	335200000	47.25	9.52	43.23	1603953
10. Jaunpur	56808 (8.15)	52757 (7.57)	209300000	47.83	11.94	40.23	995410
11. Varanasi	173626 (19.87)	183101 (20.95)	464100000	31.48	17.30	51.22	1305152
12. Mirzapur	73879 (12.77)	73576 (12.72)	262000000	56.64	10.69	32.67	3142605

District	XV Gross Area Sown in Acres (As % of Total Geographic Area)	XVI Gross Area Irrigated in Acres (As % of Gross Area Sown; % of Geographic Area)	XVII Total Medical Doctors (% of Doctors per 1000 Population)	XVIII Total Teachers (No. of Students Above Age of Total Pop. per Teacher)	XIX Total Population Above the Age of 10 Years	XX Illiterates Above the Age of 10 Yrs. (As % of Total Pop. Above the Age of 10 Yrs.)	XXI Total No. of Land Holdings in the District
1. Almora	N.A.	N.A.	127 (0.20)	2623 (21)	450445	329330 (73.11)	23608
2. Badaun	1023000 (78.29)	198570 (19.41; 15.20)	349 (0.25)	2268 (20)	1007815	885101 (87.82)	44286
3. Muzaffar-nagar	800000 (73.77)	455632 (56.95; 42.02)	1091 (0.76)	4366 (24)	1018479	805151 (79.05)	21408
4. Meerut	1156000 (77.92)	761268 (65.85; 51.31)	2033 (0.75)	10058 (25)	1911484	1371341 (71.74)	36449
5. Etah	766000 (67.34)	353570 (46.16; 31.08)	422 (0.32)	2197 (30)	922939	728291 (78.91)	35624
6. Kanpur	1063000 (68.58)	358989 (33.77; 23.16)	1685 (0.71)	8569 (29)	1695606	1034338 (61.00)	39194
7. Sitapur	1065000 (74.81)	146708 (13.78; 10.30)	529 (0.33)	2979 (22)	1160200	970211 (83.62)	51999
8. Gonda	1275000 (67.75)	335417 (26.31; 17.82)	308 (0.15)	3266 (28)	1493381	1275508 (85.41)	66120
9. Gorakhpur	1175000 (73.26)	440364 (37.48; 27.46)	533 (0.21)	5142 (27)	1814840	1459099 (80.40)	74988
10. Jaunpur	734000 (73.74)	381173 (51.93; 38.29)	528 (0.31)	3681 (29)	1191923	929938 (78.02)	47882
11. Varanasi	824000 (63.13)	366716 (44.50; 28.10)	1214 (0.51)	8850 (21)	1643181	1147658 (69.90)	39004
12. Mirzapur	876000 (27.88)	211225 (24.11; 6.72)	651 (0.52)	2522 (23)	868894	679533 (78.21)	26847

District	Number of Land-holdings of Less than 1 Acre Size (% of Total Landholdings)	Number of Land-holdings of Size of 1 to 4.9 Acres (As % of Total Landholdings)	Number of Land-holdings of Size of 5 to 9.9 Acres (As % of Total Landholdings)	Number of Land-holdings of Size of 10 to 49.9 Acres (As % of Total Landholdings)	Number of Land-holdings of Size of 30 to 49.9 Acres (As % of Total Landholdings)	Number of Land-holdings of Size of 50 Acres & Above (As % of Total Landholdings)
1. Almora	8020 (33.97)	14495 (61.40)	913 (3.87)	129 (0.55)	9 (0.04)	7 (0.03)
2. Badaun	3263 (7.37)	22202 (50.13)	12048 (27.20)	6110 (13.80)	332 (0.75)	61 (0.14)
3. Muzaffar-nagar	784 (3.66)	8126 (37.96)	7098 (33.16)	4949 (23.12)	291 (1.36)	96 (0.45)
4. Meerut	1807 (4.96)	14646 (40.18)	11685 (32.06)	7440 (20.41)	458 (1.26)	121 (0.33)
5. Etah	2507 (7.03)	19242 (54.01)	9353 (26.25)	4185 (11.75)	175 (0.49)	40 (0.11)
6. Kanpur	1722 (4.39)	18248 (46.56)	12962 (33.07)	5753 (14.68)	256 (0.65)	44 (0.11)
7. Sitapur	2911 (5.60)	31293 (60.18)	12823 (24.66)	4441 (8.54)	236 (0.45)	90 (0.17)
8. Gonda	8550 (12.93)	39037 (59.04)	12465 (18.85)	5355 (8.10)	424 (0.64)	120 (0.18)
9. Gorakhpur	14499 (19.34)	46230 (61.65)	9155 (12.21)	3868 (5.16)	374 (0.54)	151 (0.20)
10. Jaunpur	9929 (20.74)	26979 (56.34)	7184 (15.00)	3398 (7.10)	174 (0.36)	43 (0.09)
11. Varanasi	6831 (17.51)	20381 (52.25)	7410 (19.00)	3719 (9.54)	315 (0.81)	119 (0.31)
12. Mirzapur	2478 (9.23)	12084 (45.01)	7237 (26.96)	4087 (15.22)	530 (1.97)	297 (1.11)

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

How long have you been living here in this village/town?

1. Less than one year

2. One to three years

3. Four to ten years

4. More than ten years
   (but not entire life)

5. Entire life   (Go to Q. 2.0)

6. Other (specify)

_____

7. DK

IF "R" HAS NOT LIVED ALL HIS LIFE IN PLACE OF INTERVIEW:

During the first fifteen years of your life, did you live mostly in a village, mostly in a town, mostly in a large city - or was it mixed?

1. Mostly village

2. Mostly town

3. Mostly city

4. Mixed; lived in several types

   (specify) _____

_____

5. DK

Are you married?

1. Married

2. Single

3. Widowed

4. Divorced

5. Other (specify)

_____

LIST ALL MEMBERS OF HOUSEHOLD BY THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

Who else lives in the household?

	RELATIONSHIP TO THE HEAD 1	AGE 2	EARNINGS OR NOT 3	EDUCATION 4
RESPONDENT 1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				

Are you currently doing anything to try to get a better job – perhaps looking for other work or taking some training that would help you find better work?

        1. Currently trying to find
            better work

        2. Not currently trying

        8. Other (specify) _____

Could you tell me how often you have travelled to (NAME DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS) if you have ever travelled there?
                CODE ANSWER IN BOX BELOW

Have you ever travelled to *? How often have you gone there?
                CODE ANSWER IN BOX BELOW

*MENTION CLOSEST
CITY WITH POPULATION
600,000 OR MORE
INSIDE OF OUTSIDE THE STATE

                CODE ANSWER IN BOX BELOW

	CITY A	CITY B	CITY C
Travel once a week or more frequently	1	1	1
Between once a week and once a month	2	2	2
Two to five times a year	3	3	3
Once or twice in a year or less frequently	5	5	5
Never travelled	4	4	4
Other	8	8	8
D.K.	9	9	9
Inapplicable-lived there	0	0	0

ASK THOSE WITH AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

Here are a few items that some farmers use and some don't. We would like to
know if you think their use is good or bad? How about improved seeds? Do
you think it is good or bad to use them?

        1. Good

        2. Bad

        3. Mixed

        8. DK

And chemical fertilizers?

        1. Good

        2. Bad

        3. Mixed

        9. DK

What about using an improved plough or some new agricultural implements? Do
you think it is good or bad to use them?

        1. Good

        2. Bad

        3. Mixed

        9. DK

And how about the new methods of sowing crops?

        1. Good

        2. Bad

        3. Mixed

        9. DK

ASK THOSE WITH AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

And now we would like to know which of these four items you use? Do you use improved seeds?

        1. Yes

        2. No

And chemical fertilizers?

        1. Yes

        2. No

And improved plough or some new agricultural implements? Do you use them?

        1. Yes

        2. No

Do you employ any new methods of sowing crops?

        1. Yes

        2. No

ASK OF THOSE IN NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATION

Are there any new methods and techniques or machines and implements being used where you work (or in your work)?

        1. Yes

        2. No

(IF YES) What are they?

        RECORD_____

        EXACT _____

        ANSWER_____

Suppose the most powerful and influential men in village/town are at the top of the ladder and the men with the least power and influence are at the bottom. Whose opinions and advice are respected? Are they at the top of the ladder or at the bottom?

SHOW
LADDER

1. Top (most powerful)

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. Bottom (least powerful)

9. DK

Do you ever listen to the radio? About how often?

1. Regularly, every day

2. A number of times a week, but
   I might miss a day or so

3. At least once a week

4. Less frequently than once a week
   but occasionally

5. Never

8. Other (specify)

_____

9. DK

Do you ever read the newspapers or have someone read them out for you? About how often?

1. Regularly, every day

2. A number of times a week, but
   I might miss a day or so

3. At least once a week

4. Less frequently than once a week
   but occasionally

5. Never

8. Other (specify)

_____

9. DK

Do you belong to any association/voluntary organization?

      1. Yes

      2. No

IF 'R' ASSOCIATES WITH GROUP(S).

How active have you been with this (these) group(s)? Have you been very active, somewhat active or not active at all?

      1. Very active

      2. Somewhat active

      3. Not active

IF MORE THAN _____
ONE GROUPS
ASK FOR EACA _____
GROUP 'R'
ASSOCIATES   _____
WITH

Here is a ladder. Let us say that the most powerful and influential men in this village/town are at the top of the ladder and the men with the least power and influence are at the bottom. Where would you place the Pradhan/ Mayor on this ladder in terms of his power? (IF NEEDED) Nearer the powerful men at the top or nearer the men with no power at the bottom?

SHOW   1. Top (most powerful)
LADDER.
POINT TO   2. _____
LADDER
POSITION   3. _____
WHILE
ASKING   4. _____
QUESTION.
           5. Bottom (least powerful)

           9. DK

Do you ever go to the cinema?   About how often?

        1. Frequently (about once a week or more often)

        2. Ocassionally (about once a month)

        3. Rarely (less than once a month)

        4. Never

        8. Other (specify)

        _____

        9. DK

Have you ever taken part in forming a new organization to try to solve some village/town problems (or meet some village/town need)?

        1. Yes

        2. No

        3. Other (specify)

        _____

Do you belong to any group/organization that deals with social or village/town problems such as Civil Defense, Home Guard, Bharat Sewak Samaj, etc.   Name the organizations.

        1. Yes

        2. No

        3. Name of organization(s)

        _____

        _____

Do you belong to some organization that is interested in economic matters, such as cooperative, housing cooperative?   Which one?

        1. Yes

        2. No

        3. What type

        _____

Do you belong to some sport or recreational or hobby group(s) (such as football clubs, etc.)? Which one(s)?

      1. Yes

      2. No

      3. What type

_____

Do you belong to any caste association/religious group (traditional or non-traditional)?

      1. Yes

      2. No

      3. Which one(s)

_____

Have you attended a political meeting/rally during an election/at any time?

      1. Yes

      2. No

Have you ever engaged in any activity during a political campaign to elect some candidate? What kinds of activities?

      1. Yes   (Fundraising, canvassing individuals, distributing

      2. No   pamphlets, etc.)

      3. What kind

_____

How many times did you engage in these activities and in how many elections?

      1. Once

      2. Twice

      3. More than twice

      4. Never

How do you get most of your information about politics and the affairs of the nation? Is there any other way?

Newspapers _____

Radio _____

RECORD
ORDER OF
MENTION

Magazine _____

Government publications _____

Word of mouth _____
(talking with some one)

Other ways _____

DK_____

In general how often do you discuss politics and the affairs of the nation?

1. Usually every day

2. At least once a week though not every day

3. Less frequently than once a week

4. Never

8. Other (specify)
    _____

9. DK

How interested are you in the politics and affairs of the nation?

1. Very interested

2. Somewhat interested

3. Not interested

8. Other (specify)
    _____

9. DK

Suppose you had some problem to take up with an important official in this
village/towm such as VLW/Municipal Tax Collector or Sanitary Inspector,
but you did not personally know this official. Would it be necessary to
go through some personal connection to approach this official , or could
you approach him directly?

        1. Necessary to use connections

        2. Depends

        3. Approach directly

        8. Other (specify)

        _____

        8. DK

How much effect do you think people like you have on what the government does?
Do you have no effect, some effect or a great deal?

        1. Great deal

        2. Some

        3. None

        8. Other (specify)

        _____

        9. DK

In general, how well do you think the state government understands the needs of
the people of this state; does it understand them well or not so well?

        1. Understands well

        2. Not so well

        3. Some needs well, others not so well

        8. Other (specify)

        _____

        9. DK

How old des a person have to be in order to be able to vote?

      RECORD AGE MENTIONED HERE _____

How much effect does the way people vote have on what the government does? Does it have no effect, some effect, or a great deal?

      1. Great deal

      2. Some

      3. No effect

      8. Other (specify)

            _____

      9. DK

Do you know who is our Prime Minister now?

      RECORD EXACT ANSWER HERE _____

And who is the Chief Minister of (MENTION NAME OF THE STATE)?

      RECORD EXACT ANSWER HERE _____

To which party does the Chief Minister belong?

      RECORD EXACT ANSWER HERE _____

Will you please name the main opposition party in the State Legislature?

      RECORD EXACT ANSWER HERE _____

What do you call the pwerson who holds the highest post among government officials at the block/municipality level?

      RECORD EXACT ANSWER HERE _____

Do you know when the next General Election will be held?

RECORD EXACT ANSWER HERE _____

Have you ever given money for a political cause?

        1. Yes

        2. No

        8. Other (specify)

        _____

        9. DK

Do you think the police do a good job or not such a good job in protecting the lives and the property of the people?

        1. Good

        2. Good in some ways, not in others

        3. Not so good

        4. Bad job

        8. Other (specify)

        _____

        9. DK

Do you think the police treat all citizens equally as well or do they give some people better treatment than others?

        1. All equally

        2. Some better than others

        8. Other (specify)

        _____

        9. DK

Which party do you support?

        0. None

        1. Congress

        2. Swatantra

        3. Jan Sangh

        4. CPI (Left)

        5. CPI (Right)

        6. SSP

        7. PSP

        8. Other (specify)

_____

        9. DK

Do you think that the government contributes to the progress of the Indian people? Does it contribute very little or does it contribute much?

        1. Contributes much

        2. Contributes little

        3. In some ways much, in some ways a little

        8. Other (specify)

_____

        9. DK

What do you think of the job the governmental officials are doing at the village, block, and district levels?

        1. Poor

        2. Fair

        3. Good

        4. Very good

        5. DK

In general, how satisfied are you with the performance of the government in providing services for the people? Are you dissatisfied with its performance or are you somewhat satisfied or are you very satisfied?

    1. Very satisfied

    2. Somewhat satisfied

    3. Dissatisfied

    4. Satisfied with some things but not with others

    8. Other (specify)

    _____

    9. DK

Do you think you could have some influence over the national government's food policy? Do you think you could have a lot of influence, a little influence, or none at all

    1. A lot of influence

    2. A little influence

    3. None at all

    8. Other (specify)

    _____

    9. DK

How much influence do you think you can have on policies and actions of the panchayat/municipality? A lot of influence, a little influence or none at all?

    1. A lot of influence

    2. A little influence

    3. None at all

    8. Other (specify)

    _____

    9. DK

Do people come to you for advice and opinions in solving their problems?

    1. Yes

    2. No

If so, how frequent?

    1. Regularly, every day

    2. A number of times a week, but I might miss a day or so

    3. At least once a week

    4. Less frequently than once a week but occasionally

    5. Never

    8. Other (Specify)

    _____

    9. DK

In general, do you think people come to you for information or advice more often than to others?

    1. Yes

    2. No

How often have you voted in national elections?

1. Every time

2. Most of the time

3. Rarely

4. Never

5. Too young to have voted more than once

6. DK

How often have you voted in Panchayat/municipal elections?

1. Every time

2. Most of the time

3. Rarely

4. Never

5. Too young to have voted more than once

6. DK

Are you a member of a political party?

1. Yes

2. No

Is there anything which you could do to improve your present life?

     1. Yes

     2. No

     3. Depends

     4. DK

When man is born, his life is determined by his past actions. He cannot modify it.

     1. Agree

     2. Disagree

     3. Depends

     4. DK

If misfortune hits, one should accept it. One cannot fight the gods.

     1. Agree

     2. Disagree

     3. Depends

     4. DK

Only God could make us happy. No human efforts could alter the fate. What is destined is destined.

     1. Agree

     2. Disagree

     3. Depends

     4. DK

Was the respondent cooperative?

     1. Very cooperative (R seemed actively interested in helping)

     2. Cooperative (R answered cooperatively but did not seem actively interested)

     3. Uncooperative

Observational items about respondent's house (if interview is in house).

    MATERIALS USED FOR ROOF

     1. Grass, leaves reeds thatch roof or bamboo

     2. Tile, slate, shingle

     3. Corrugated iron, zinc or other metal sheets

     4. Asbestos, cement sheets

     5. Brick and lime

     6. Concrete and stone slabs

     8. Others (specify)

     _____

     0. Inapplicable, interviewed elsewhere

Observational items about neighborhood in which 'R' lives:

I RECORD NAME OF CASTE/CASTES LIVING IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD*

     1. _____

     2. _____

     3. _____

     4. _____

     5. _____

     6. _____

II DESCRIBE THE NEIGHBORHOOD IN TERMS OF OCCUPATIONS OF THE RESIDENTS**

_____

_____

* Neighborhood means Mohalla - Tola - Purwa - Patti - Falia - Sheri
** Broad categories to be used for describing occupation - professional people,
Government employees, businessmen, workers.

TO BE ENTERED BY INTERVIEWER IMMEDIATELY AFTER INTERVIEW

NOT TO BE ASKED:

Sex of respondent:

      1. Male

      2. Female

NUMBER OF SESSIONS	DATE	TIME BEGAN	TIME ENDED	PLACE*	INTERVIEW COMPLETED/ NOT COMPLETED	REMARKS
1st						
2nd						
3rd						
4th						

*CODE CATEGORIES FOR THE PLACE OF INTERVIEW.

      1. R's home

      2. R's place of work

      3. Public place

      8. Other (specify) _____

Was anyone else present?

      1. No one present (or only children under 16 present)

      2. Others present byt they took no part

      3. Others took part

Was permission needed from anyone other than 'R' to conduct the interview?

      1. Yes, permission obtained from member of R's family

      2. Yes, permission obtained from R's employer

      3. Yes, permission obtained from some local elite

      4. Yes, permission obtained from other _____

      5. No permission obtained

We are now talking in MENTION NAME OF LANGUAGE INTERVIEW IS BEING
CONDUCTED IN. What are the other languages that you can understand
and speak?

        RECORD FIRST TWO ANSWERS IN TABLE ON OPPOSITE PAGE

Can you read and write in MENTION NAME & LANGUAGE OF THE INTERVIEW

        RECORD ANSWER IN TABLE ON OPPOSITE PAGE

IF "R" KNOWS SOME OTHER LANGUAGES BUT THAT OF THE INTERVIEW:

In which of these other languages can you read and write?

        RECORD ANSWER IN TABLE ON OPPOSITE PAGE

IF "R" HAS NOT MENTIONED ENGLISH:

Do you understand and speak English?

        RECORD ANSWER IN TABLE ON OPPOSITE PAGE
        (IF "R" HAS MENTIONED ENGLISH, CODE Q. 70.4
        WITHOUT ASKING)

IF UNDERSTANDS ENGLISH, Can you read and write English?

        RECORD ANSWER IN TABLE ON OPPOSITE PAGE

ENTER LANGUAGE OF
INTERVIEW HERE

CAN HE READ OR
WRITE IN LANG-
UAGE OF INTERVIEW

Read only _____

Read & write _____

Neither _____

RECORD FIRST
LANGUAGE MENTIONED
IN RESPONSE TO
70.1 HERE

CAN HE READ OR
WRITE FIRST LANG-
UAGE MENTIONED

Read only _____

Read & write _____

Neither _____

IF "R" UNDERSTANDS
ENGLISH, CHECK
HERE:

Only Reads English _____

Reads & Writes English _____

Neither _____

Understands and
speaks English

_____

<u>Total interviews</u> - 926

<u>Urban Interviews</u> - 414

(1) Male - 312

(2) Female - 102

<u>Rural Interviews</u> - 512

(1) Male - 339

(2) Female - 173

Total number of districts - 12

Two villages from each block

Two blocks from each district

TOTAL BLOCKS - 24

TOTAL VILLAGES - 48