ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES: IMPLICATIONS OF DIFFUSION OF TECHNOLOGY AMONG THE NORTH INDIAN YOUTH*

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Interaction between transference and diffusion of technology and socio-political change is widely recognized although there are diverse theoretical perspectives for looking at such an interaction. For the technological determinist, for instance, "there is some form of inner logic or dynamic in modern industrial technology that results in similar social consequences regardless of the settings."1 John Galbraith, representing this view, asserts that man's freedom in determining the nature of economy is very limited. Once a decision is taken to industrialize a society there from the new technology takes on its own imperative. In his view, thereafter, "the imperatives of organization, technology and planning operate simultaneously, and we have seen to a broadly similar result, on all societies. Given the decision to have modern industry, much of what happens is inevitable and the same."2

Even social psychologists like Alex Inkeles seem to support the view of technological determinists. According to Inkeles, the factory is at the heart of the industrialization process and when a man coming from a traditional society works in a factory, he is likely to undergo radical transformation in his world view. The factory is not a system of production alone, it is a large scale application of both organizational and production technology. According to Inkeles, "the factory-the large scale productive enterprise, brings together a large number of men in one place, systematically-ordering their relations one to another according to rational consideration expressed in formal rules, relying on concentration to inanimate power and inno-

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¹Frederic Fleron, Jr., Technology and Communist Culture: Socio-Cultural Impact of Technology Under Socialism, (New York: Praeger, 1977), p. 459. ²John Galbraith, The New Industrial State, (New York: Mentor, 1971),

p. 380.

vative application of technology, and guided by hierarchy and authority laregly resting on technical skill and administrative competence." Working in such a system is likely to lead to the development of attitudinal patterns and behavioral norms found in modern (western) societies, whatever the nature of the organization or the culture of that society may be.³

Similarly Peter Berger, et al., who look upon a production system based upon modern technology as the heart of a "modern society," find the existence of a close relationship between technology and what they term "modern consciousness."4

Because rationality and scientific knowledge are intrinsic to the operation of a technology-based system of production, it is assumed that with the introduction and diffusion of such a system of production there would develop "modern consciousness" in the subjective structure of individual members of such society. Furthermore, they stress that the production process based upon technology entails "human engineering," that is, the technological management of social relations control over free-flowing emotions, self-anonymization, achievement orientation and bureaucratic organization based upon compliance and rationality and so forth.5

Cultural anthropologists also perceive the existence of a close relationship between diffusion of technology and social structure. Leslie White has singled out four elements of a culture: the ideological, the sociological, the attitudinal and the technological. Even though he concedes that these four elements are interrelated, nevertheless he asserts "that the technological factor is the basic one, all others are dependent upon it. Furthermore, the technology determines, in a general way at least, the form and content of the social, philosophic and sentimental sectors.... It is fairly obvious that the social organization of a people is not dependent upon their technology, but is determined to a great extent, if not wholly by it, both in form and content.6

Following the theoretical perspective of White, the supporters of the theory of cultural evolution assert that the transference of technology from the developed to the less developed countries (LDC) leads to the development of "dominant" and "dependent" cultures. The dominant cultures, it is held, are thermodynamically more versatile; they respond more effectively to different types of environment

³A. Inkeles and David Smith, Becoming Modern: Individual Change in

Six Developing Countries, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 18. ⁴ Peter Berger, et al. The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Conscious-ness, (New York: Vintage Books, 1974).

⁵ Ibid., pp. 32-40. ⁶ Leslie White, Evolution of Culture: The Development of Civilization to the Fall of Rome, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 19.

and they are likely to drive out less developed cultures. Because of its technological superiority, they find that "Western culture is not only extending its dominance over much of this planet, but is also attempting to extend into outer space as well."7

Following the same line of thought, A. B. Singham and Nancy Singham argue that presently the world is dominated by two technological-cum-military superstates which seek to dominate the cultures of technologically weaker societies. According to them, "the global system is dominated by a converging Euro-American cultural system which shares common technology and common concern to control and dominate the weaker cultural systems, despite different forms of economic and social organization in the two powerful superstates."8 They accept and apply Roseneau's concept of "linkages" between a nationalpolitcial system, international politics and stress that such linkages also exist between the cultures of different societies.⁹

In the context of the existence of dominant and dependent cultural systems, it is suggested that with the transference and diffusion of technology from the West, the Western culture and particularly its Anglo-American variant, with its superior scientific and technological knowledge, is likely to become the model on which the behavior pattern and socio-political organizations of non-Western cultures are likely to be built.¹⁰ It is believed that cultural norms, values and institutional structures originating from the metropolitan societies are likely to prevail over the normative and institutional structures existing in the less developed countries.

The nature of the relationship between the cultures of European and the Third World countries may be a subject of further debate and speculation. It is agreed, however, that transference and diffusion of technology into the LDCs is likely to erode the traditional values and attitudinal patterns and create new sets of aspirations and behavior patterns on the part of individual members of a society, even though such a development may not create "dependent" and "dominant" relations between the two sets of cultures. Given the validity of this argument, I propose to test the following hypotheses in the paper:

(1) The introduction of several components of industrial and organizational techniques originating from the Western societies into traditional social systems are likely to cause

 ⁷ David Kaplan, "The Law of Cultural Dominance," in Marshall D. Sahlins and Elman R. Service (eds.), Evolution and Culture, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), p. 73.
⁸ A.W. Singham and N.L. Singham, "Cultural Domination and Political Subordination: Notes Towards a Theory of the Caribbean Political System," Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol. 5, no. 3 (June 1973).
⁹ James Roseneau (edd), Linkage Politics, (New York: Free Press, 1969).
¹⁰ Singham, "Cultural Domination..."

important changes in the subjective structure of an individual's consciousness. Specifically it is held that the more a person is exposed to such a technology, the higher the level of his personal efficacy and achievement orientations.

- (2) Since the literature on the development of pro-democratic political predispositions establishes a close relationship between achievement orientations and democratic disposition, a corollary hypothesis is that the higher levels of exposure to technology, achievement orientations and attitude towards democracy are likely to be positively related.
- (3) With increased exposure to modern technology we would also expect a decline in the role of traditional agents of socialization, such as the religious leaders, in the formulation of values in individuals and the young citizens would be more willing to accept heroes of popular culture as their models of behavior.

Setting and Research Procedure

This study was conducted in Jullundur City of Punjab, one of the three largest cities of the state. It is the headquarters of the district and the seat of administration. The city is located on National Highway I which connects it with Amritsar at the one end and New Delhi at the other. In terms of literacy Jullundur district ranks second in the state (Government of Punjab, 1971).

Before 1946, Jullundur was mainly an administrative and trading center and its total population was 135,000. Since 1946 the population of the city has reached close to three hundred thousand, Hindus constituting the dominant majority (226,856) and the Sikhs the largest minority with a population of 65,340 (Government of Punjab, 1971). Smaller minorities are the Jains and the Christians, and both communities have almost equal representation in the city population.

Although an overwhelming majority of the people still live in the older part of the city studded with Mahallas and crisscrossing narrow lanes and bylanes, nevertheless, since 1948 there has been a steady increase in the outward movement of the inner city population into suburban areas.

Since 1946 there has also taken place a radical change in the economy of the city. From a service and trading town, Jullundur has become a very important center of industry and commerce. Besides the sporting goods, the city has several medium and small-scale industrial units engaged in the manufacturing of surgical instruments, motor parts, rubber goods, engineering goods, brass and chromium sanitary fittings and electrical goods. There are various indicators of increased industrialization of the city and the district. Census data indicate that only 50% of population of the district is classified as

agriculturists or farm workers, and the ratio must be much lower for the city. Another factor which would indicate the importance of industries to the city are the facts that the three most imported commodities in the city are iron, coal and raw materials for sporting goods, and the three most exported commodities are motor spare parts/electrical goods, iron bars/agricultural implements, and sporting goods. In recent years the emphasis in manufacturing has been shifting from sporting goods to electrical goods, sanitary fittings and farm machinery.

Furthermore, in the past decade the city has witnessed the emergence of several new networks of communication. It has become the center of the vernacular newspaper industry of the state as well as book publications, and it has its own television and radio stations. There are twenty cinema houses, showing both Indian and foreign movies.

The city's population has also been exposed to the several modern organizational techniques as well as methods of mass mobilization. There is keen competition between the Congress (1) and the Jana Sangh (now it is called B.J.P.) for capturing the local and the state elective offices, and both the parties have been highly successful in setting up branches and party caucuses in each ward of the city. Besides the Congress and the Jana Sangh, the Communist, the Socialist and the Akali parties also maintain their district headquarters in the city.

With the introduction of the electorate system, the rise of several centers of political activity within the city, and the unionization of teachers, industrial workers, students, editors, office employees, traders and several other sectors of the local community, traditional loyalties based upon ascriptive ties of caste have been considerably weakened and eroded.

Jullundur city is also a well-known center of higher education. Besides having the regional campus of the Guru Nanak Dev University, it also has 12 colleges providing degrees in liberal arts, sciences, native medicines, engineering, teachers' training, physical education and several other areas.

The institutions providing college-level education in the community are of three types:

- 1) Denominational colleges (called private colleges, run by the Hindu and Sikh sectarian organizations).
- 2) Government colleges, run by the state government.
- 3) Exclusively women's college, run by sectarian organizations.

For a fair representation of different segments of the student population, an eight-page structured questionnaire was administered ASIAN STUDIES

to the first-year (freshman) and the third-year (graduating) classes of all the colleges. At the request of the college officials, the questionnaire was administered to all the students present on the day and during the class hour. The completed questionnaires were collected by the author at the end of the class hour. This procedure resulted in the collection of 2,500 usable questionnaires. This survey was conducted in the Fall term of 1979.

Findings and Analysis

In terms of testing our previously stated propositions, I may stress that we are looking mainly at the diffused feelings, values and perceptions of our young respondents rather than their actual behavior patterns. This socio-psychological approach of placing emphasis on attitudinal and ideological aspects of social change is as much a part of social inquiry as is the emphasis on the organizational and institutional aspects of a culture. Furthermore, although the changes in the respondents' attitudinal pattern are not being measured in terms of their experience in the operation of a system of production, nevertheless, their experience of going through modern educational institutions subjects them to a rationally organized pattern of authority. Bureaucracies, production system as well as modern educational institutions, are the center of what Peter Berger, et al., have termed the centers of "human engineering." Even when the use of dichotomous concepts like "modern" and "traditional" are subject to serious scholarly criticism, it can hardly be denied that personalized use of such technological components as radio, television, auto, and newspapers, etc. is likely to cause fundamental changes in a person's social and political work,

The findings in terms of achievement orientations of the respondents have been summarized in Table 1.

Frequency Distribution on Achievement Orientation Scale				
Level	Number	%		
High	693	27.80		
Medium	1,644	65.94		
Low	156	6.25		
Total	2,493	100.00		

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The achievement scale was formulated on the basis of five items which test an individual's belief in terms of personal efficacy, job expectation, success orientation, attitude toward future and depend-

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ence on the help of government for personal success (see Appendix 1). The analysis indicates that while almost 28 percent of the respondents score high, only six percent score low on the achievement scale.

My next concern is to find the interrelationship between a person's level of achievement orientation and the degree of his exposure to modern technology. An analysis of our data provides evidence for a high degree of positive relationship between achievement orientation and the level of a person's exposure to technology (see Table 2). In order to measure a person's level of exposure to technology, we constructed a Guttman scale consisting of nine items. The scale spreads from 1 to 9, indicating that a person possesses a minimum of one to a maximum of nine technological items such as radio/ transistor, television, newspapers, autos, motor bikes or tractors, etc. Persons falling on the upper end of the scale are assumed to have a higher level of exposure to a modern life style. Our findings (see Table 2) clearly indicate that persons with a higher level of exposure to technology also tend to have a higher level of achievement orientation. The spread between the two groups is very striking and revealing.

It is possible to suggest that a person having larger components of modern technology may also belong to well-to-do segments of the society and thus the higher level of achievement orientation may well be the product of a person's social status rather than his level of exposure to technology. Our data, however, are unable to provide any definitive support for this proposition. A cross-tabulation of the father's occupation and achievement orientation does not show any positive relationship. Similarly, such subjective factors as religion and caste, which are, in the context of Indian society, indicative of a person's status, do not seem to have any significant relationship with a person's achievement orientation.

From different background factors, sex, place of birth and the type of degree for which a person is working are positively related to a person's achievement orientation. The rural born, the young females and the persons working for a B.A. degree show the lowest level of achievement orientation. It should be noted, however, that there is a significant (p. .0001) relation between the type of degree a person is working for and his exposure to the components of modern technology. The science and business students have the highest level of achievement orientations and they are also the ones who have a higher level of exposure to modern technology than other groups. Contrary to our expectations, there does not, however, emerge any positive relationship between the type of school a person attends and the level of his achievement orientations. Since some schools have

Table 2

Guttman Scale of Exposure to Technology and Achievement Orientation

Guttman Scale of Exposure to Technology									
Level of Achievement Orientation	High 9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	Low 1
High	31.93	35.44	29.03	27.98	25.15	27.88	25.61	26.08	19.01
Medium	61.40	62.66	64.52	68.66	70.56	65.04	68.09	67.80	62.81
Low	6.67	1.90	6.45	3.36	4.29	7.08	6.30	6.12	18.18
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	(226)	(158)	(268)	(186)	(163)	(285)	(492)	(441)	(121)

sectarian basis while others are run and managed by the government and are expected to have higher level of secular organizations, nevertheless, persons attending such schools do not show higher achievement orientations than others.

Political Attitudes and Achievement Orientations

Earlier research on the development of pro-democratic dispositions and pro-system attitudes demonstrates a close relationship between achievement orientation, political efficacy and generally higher females and the persons working for a B.A. degree show the lowest level of commitment to the norms of democracy.¹¹ Achievementoriented citizens are also likely to demonstrate a higher level of support for the political system. An analysis of our data supports such a pattern of relationship between democratic predispositions and achievement orientations. An achievement-oriented youth is not only positively oriented toward the operation of democracy in India, but he also decisively rejects authoritarianism (see Table 3). There is also a significant difference (at the .0001 level) in their attitude toward the use of revolutionary methods or political violence to bring about change in the organizational structure of the society. Whereas 43 percent of the achievement-oriented persons reject the use of political violence, only 27 percent of non-achievement oriented youth would do so.

Table	3a
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Achievement Orientation and Attitude Towards the Working of Democracy

Only Democracy Can Solve India's		Achievement Scale	
Problem	High	Medium	Low
Agree	76.78	73.55	67.11
Disagree	19.35	17.76	24.85
No Opinion	3.87	8.69	8.04
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
	(684)	(1622)	(155)
$X^2 = 19.59 @ d.f. 4$	p.001		

In order to further test an achievement-oriented person's political moderation, we developed a scale of political alienation on the basis of a person's attitude toward voting, public officials, the role of pressure groups and a general attitude toward politics (see Appen-

¹¹ Robert Lane, Political Life: Why and How People Get Involved in Politics? (New York: Free Press, 1965); G. A. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture, (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1965); Yogendra K. Malik, "Trust, efficacy and Attitude Toward Democracy: A Case Study from India," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 23, no. 3, (October, 1979).

dix II). A cross-tabulation of achievement orientation and alienation scales clearly establishes the political moderation of the achievementoriented persons (see Table 4). Persons with a low level of achievement orientation generally distrust public officials, doubt the effectiveness of voting, find politics too complex to understand and generally show a higher degree of negative orientation toward the national government.

Table 3	۶b
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Only Authoritarian System Can Solve India's Problem	High	Achievement Scale Medium	Low
Agree	38.25	51.31	57.89
Disagree	50.89	38.28	36.19
No Opinion	10.86	10.41	5.92
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
	(627)	(1604)	(152)

	Tal	ole 4	
Crosstabul	ation	of Achiev	ement
Orientation	and	Alienation	Scales

Alienation	Achie	vement Orientation	Scale
Scale	High	Medium	Low
High	28.06	40.46	42.67
Medium	60.78	54.29	53.33
Low	11.16	5.25	4.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
	(668)	(1562)	(150)
$X^2 = 5003 @ d.$	f. 4 p .0001		

The youth with a higher level of achievement orientation also takes greater pride in the achievements of the political system. The relationship between high achievement orientation and positive perception of the political system is significant at the level .0001. The high achievement-oriented youth shows a greater pro-system orientation than others.

Party Identification, Achievement Orientation and the Level of Exposure to Technology

Another dimension of investigation into the relationship between political moderation and achievement orientation is to look into the party preferences of our respondents. Political parties project certain

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ideological images in the minds of the citizens; they are also identified with certain specific programs and goals. In the context of the Indian political situation both the Congress (1) Party and the Bhartaiya Janata Party (B.J.P., formerly the Jana Sangh) represent political moderation, whereas Communist Parties are identified with revolutionary ideologies. The Akali party, until the adoption of its recent political posture, has also been identified with political moderation despite its strong advocacy of the cause of the Sikhs.

A crosstabulation of achievement orientation and party preference does not develop into a positive relationship between the two (see Table 5). Since this resulted in a deviation from the patterns reported in the preceding pages, I decided to run the party identification against each item of our scale. We find that a crosstabulation of party identification and such items as personal efficacy (belief in success on the basis of merit, and capability to influence political decisions other than voting) and job expectation (i.e., obtaining a job without a recommendation) result in the positive attitude toward the socid-political environment. Acievement-oriented youth, however, also displays a mix of traditional and modern value structures, since it is this group which is more positively oriented toward the the socio-political environment. Achievement-oriented youth, howachievement orientation and with a preference for the Communist party is negatively oriented both toward the traditional norms of divine help and his future within the society.

	Preferred Party							
Achievement Orientation	Congress	B. Janata Party	Communist	Akali	Independent	Like No Party		
High	24.56	28.54	37.74	31.37	29.44	26.23		
Medium	67.68	65.49	58.49	62.75	65.26	68.06		
Low	7.76	5.97	3.77	5.88	5.30	5.71		
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.0	100.0	100.0		
	(786)	(452)	(106)	(102)	(180)	(648)		
$X^2 = 14.25$	@ d.f. 10) N.S.						

Table 5

Achievement Orientation on the Basis of Preferred Party

When we crosstabulate the party identification with the Guttman scale of exposure to technology, there develops a highly significant relationship between the two (see Table 6). These findings fall in the pattern reported in the previous pages and confirm our basic proposition that a higher level of exposure to modern technology leads to the development of pro-system orientation and political moderation.

Table 6

Level		Congress	B. Janata Party	Communist	A kali	Independent and Others	Like No Party
(High)	9	11.07	7.97	3.74	9.62	8.81	11.89
	8	7.87	7.76	3.74	.96	11.92	5.36
	7	11.93	10.96	5.60	6.73	9.84	14.78
	6	8.00	6.08	13.08	8.65	6.74	7.10
	5	6.77	9.43	.93	3.85	9.33	7.68
	4	11.69	12.58	19.63	6.73	8.29	11.16
	3	23.37	22.01	21.50	21.15	19.17	18.42
	2	15.62	18.03	22.43	36.54	18.13	20.29
(Low)	1	3.68	6.08	9.35	5.77	7.77	3.34
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
		(813)	(477)	(107)	(104)	(193)	(609)
$X^2 = 3$	11.2	6 @ d.f. 40	p.0001	-			-

Party Identification Crosstabulated with Guttman Scale of Exposure to Technology

Personal Heroes and Achievement Orientation

I have stated above that with a higher level of exposure to modern life style and increased popularity of movies, television, and the movie star-oriented popular magazines, the young adults are likely to express greater admiration for the heroes of popular culture and adopt them as their models of behavior. As a consequence, the role of traditional agents of socialization such as the religious leaders would decline. However, our findings do not tend to support such proposition. Religious leaders still exercise considerable influence. Besides the religious leaders, M. K. Gandhi is the second most admired person by the youth. We decided, however, to crosstabulate the types of heroes with the level of achievement orientation. Such a crosstabulation establishes a positive relationship between achievement orientation and political moderation. M. K. Gandhi, in his personal and political behavior, made a very skillful combination of traditional and modern values. The persons accepting Mahatma Gandhi as their hero also show the highest level of achievement orientation (see Table 7). I have demonstrated in another study that where Gandhi is the predominant agent of socialization, the youth seem to have a higher degree of positive orientation toward both their social and political environment. Such persons also exhibit a higher degree of deferential orientation toward temporal and divine authorities.¹²

From among the different components of modern technology, it is the possession of radios/transistors, newspapers and popular magazines, in that order, which seem to have the most significant impact on a person's achievement orientation. It appears the more a person is exposed to information technology, the higher the level of his achievement orientation. And the higher the level of achievement orientation, the greater the inclination toward adopting a moderate posture in politics.

Table 7

Level Achievement Orientation	Popular Culture	Current Political Leaders	M.K. Gandhi	Religious Leaders	Others
High	23.04	26.73	29.23	26.29	20.38
Medium	70.43	64.03	66.35	67.53	63.21
Low	6.53	9.24	4.42	6.18	16.41
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	(230)	(303)	(520)	(1164)	(156)
$X^2 = 24.57$ @	d.f. 8 p .01				

Types of Heroes and Achievement Orientation

Conclusions and Discussion

The findings reported in the preceding pages generally tend to support the hypothesis stated in the introduction. An analysis of the data tends to indicate a strong relationship between the level of exposure to technology and the development of certain attitudinal patterns. It is the personalized or familial use of technology which seems to have significant impact on a person's orientations and attitudes than the type of school which he attends. Such objective factors as caste and religion which are likely to influence a young person's perception of his future chances within the society do not significantly relate to his achievement orientations. At this stage, however, these findings are mainly suggestive; they are not yet definitive and conclusive. The nature of the data in relation to technology is limited since we are not dealing primarily with production-oriented technology, but rather our focus is on the secondary structure of technology which is related to consumption rather than production.

If, on the other hand, we look upon the Guttman scale of exposure to technology used in this study as an index of the consumption pattern, it will inevitably lead us to conclude that it is a person with higher income and higher social status who is positively oriented toward

¹² Yogendra K. Malik, "Efficacy, Values and Socialization: A Case Study of North Indian Youth," *Political Science Review*, vol. 19, no. 1 (January-March, 1980).

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both his place within the society and the political system. Such a person also identifies strongly with the political parties which do not seek radical transformation of the social and economic structure of the country. Such persons may aspire to join the ranks of the upper classes who emulate Western life style and value systems. Political moderation in this way may be actually an expression of political conservation directed toward the maintenance of the status quo. Thus, it could be argued that continuous expansion of consumption-oriented technology, especially the spread of mass media, is likely to further spread and strengthen the upper middle class outlook in the populace. Our data, however, do not provide conclusive evidence to support this proposition. Further research could demonstrate positively the existence of a linkage between class, status, exposure to technology and political orientations.

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APPENDIX I

ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION SCALE

(1) I believe that I can obtain a job on the basis of my qualifications without any recommendations. (Agree)

(2) I believe that everyone in our society can be successful with his own efforts. (Agree)

(3) I believe that without the help of God a man cannot be successful in his life. (Disagree)

(4) I believe that every individual in this country needs government help to be a success in his life. (Disagree)

(5) I believe that the course of my life has been set by my fate and I cannot change it. (Disagree)

APPENDIX II

ALIENATION SCALE

(1) Sometimes governmental and political affairs look so complex that I am unable to understand them. (Agree)

(2) I think that other than voting there is no other way whereby we can influence the governmental decision making. (Agree)

(3) If the government officials mistreat us we are unable to do anything against them. (Agree)

(4) The Government does not care for men like me, it is influenced only by the leaders of the groups of the Capitalist class. (Agree)

(5) Even though the civil servants and the politicians of our country are incompetent and they do not deserve our trust, I am still proud of the political achievements of my country. (Disagree)