

**POLITICAL SOCIALISATION OF THE YOUTH IN
MIZORAM: A CASE STUDY OF THE YOUTH IN KOLASIB
DISTRICT**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
the Degree of Master of Philosophy**

Submitted by

Lalthatluanga

Regn. No: MZU/Mphil./239 of 01.05.2015

Supervisor

Dr. Ayangbam Shyamkishor



**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCEINCES
MIZORAM UNIVERSITY – 796004**

2015



MIZORAM UNIVERSITY
AIZAWL: MIZORAM
www.mzu.edu.in

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that **Mr. Lalthatluanga** is M. Phil student in the Department of Political Science, Mizoram University. His Registration Number is MZU/M.Phil./239 of 01.05.2015. He has completed the dissertation for the *Degree of Philosophy (M.Phil) in Political Science* under my supervision on the topic: **Political Socialisation of the Youth in Mizoram: A Case Study of the Youth in Kolasib District**. The study carried out by the scholar is original and no part of the dissertation has been published in any form either in journal or in a chapter of a book.

On completion of all the formalities, I am forwarding the dissertation for evaluation and further necessary action.

Dr. Ayangbam Shyamkishor
(Supervisor)

DECLARATION

I, Lalthatluanga do hereby declare that the subject matter of this dissertation is the record work done by me, that the contents of this dissertation did not form bases of the award of any previous degree to me or to anybody else, and that this work has not been submitted by me for any other degree in other University or Institute.

This is being submitted to the Mizoram University for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science.

Date: _____

Aizawl, Mizoram.

Lalthatluanga

(Head)

(Supervisor)

Acknowledgement

I owe immense gratitude to all who had helped me in the process of the materialising this dissertation.

First and foremost, I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to my Supervisor Dr. Ayangbam Shyamkishor, Department of Political Science, Mizoram University for his valuable guidance and worthy suggestion. I am truly grateful to him for giving me the desire to complete my work, encouraged me and rendered all possible help whenever I need.

I am also greatly thankful to all the faculty members and the non-teaching staff of the Department of Political Science, Mizoram University for their valuable suggestions and sincere co-operation in completing this research work.

My appreciation also goes to all the interviewees for sparing their valuable time to share their thoughtful and priceless insights for my research work.

I owe my deepest gratitude to Mr Lalvulmawia, Bukpui and Mr Thangchhuana, Project Veng Kolasib and his family for letting stay with them through conducting my field work research.

I am grateful to my family for all their moral support, material and financial support and their endless prayers. They have been my true inspiration.

I am very grateful to all my fellow researcher - Lalengkima, C. Lalhmingliana, H. Zorinsanga, Zoramthanga Steffi C. Beingiachhiezi, Lalhualhimi and Melody Kawlramchhani for their cooperative attitude and making a beautiful working environment.

Last, but not the least, I thank the Almighty God for giving me good health and strength to complete my research work.

Dated: _____

Aizawl, Mizoram

LALTHATLUANGA

Department of Political Science

Mizoram University

CONTENTS*Certificate**Declaration**Acknowledgement*

Page No.

Abbreviations**vi****Chapter I****1-35****Chapter II****36-63****Chapter III****64-78****Chapter IV****79-98****Chapter V****99-104****Bibliography****105-112**

Chapter 1

Introduction

Political socialisation is very important for political development. It emphasizes on the perpetuation of political values across generations. It also seeks to inculcate political values, norms and orientations in the minds of the individuals so that they develop trust in their political system and thereby keep themselves like well-functioning citizens and leave their indelible imprints on the minds of their successors.¹ The concept of political socialisation is a derivative of political development. Political development has two dimensions – sociological and psychological. They are political socialisation in the psychological and political acculturation in the sociological spheres.² Political socialisation and socialisation has also a relationship. Socialisation means the process by which people of a society learn their values, beliefs, norms and goals of their culture. Likewise, political socialisation means the process by which the people of a political system understand their orientation towards political objects and action.

1.1 Meaning, Nature and Scope of Political Socialisation

The term ‘political socialisation’ was first used by Herbert H. Hyman in 1959.³ The concept was a product of the study on western political system. It is very important to enquire the politics which affected the social

¹ J.C Johari, (1982). *Comparative Politics*. Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.: New Delhi. p.211

²Ibid

³ Herbert H. Hyman. (1959). *Political Socialisation: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour*. The Macmillan Company. New York. p.2.

life of an individual or group of people. Greenstein defined political socialisation both from the narrow and broader perspectives. Narrowly, political socialisation is the deliberate inculcation of political information, values and practices by instructional agents who have been formally charged with this responsibility. Broadly, political socialisation encompasses all sorts of political learning- formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned at every stage of a life cycle. This includes not only political learning but also nominally the non-political learning that effect the political behaviour. It includes the learning of politically relevant attitudes and the politically relevant personality characteristics.⁴

The study of political socialisation is one of the most promising approaches to understand political stability and development. Its special significance in the modern world is a consequence of the great changes which are affecting the contemporary societies. The emergence of the new nations and new ones, and the impact of technological innovations on social, economic, and political affairs even in the most stable western systems mean that old methods of providing orientations to social action are no longer valid. The traditional socialisation structures must compete with the new ones and with new, immediate experiences.⁵

According to G.A Almond and G. Bingham Powell, “Political socialisation is the process by which political cultures are maintained and

⁴Ali Ashrafi & L.N Sharma. (1983). *Political Sociology: A Realistic Approach*. University Publishers: New Delhi. p.158.

⁵G.A Almond & G. Powell. (1966). *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*. Amerind Publication Pvt. Ltd.: New York. p.65

changed”.⁶ It means political cultures are preserving and promote by different agents of political socialisation. Political socialisation also tries to bring new political culture in the system from time to time. In other words, political socialisation and political culture are closely related to one another.

According to S.P Verma, “Political culture is a sociological concept while political socialisation is the psychological concept”⁷. Political culture is not static. It changes as a result of its response to new ideas, industrialisation, impact of new leaders, demographic and many other factors. These change can be varies from time to time and continue from generation to generation. The sum total of orientation of the people to political objects and actions constitute the political culture. The process by which people get their orientation towards political objects, their political culture is called political socialisation. According to Almond and Powell, “individuals are inducted into political culture; their orientations towards political objects are formed. Changes in the patterns of political culture also come about through political socialisation.”⁸ The study of political socialisation and political culture are essential for the understanding of other political functions. Political socialisation produces the basic attitudes in a society towards the political system, its various roles and public policy. It is by studying political culture and political socialisation one can understand the essential conditions which affect the way in which these roles are

⁶ ibid

⁷ N. Jayapalan.(1999). *Modern Political Analysis*. Atlantic Publisher: New Delhi. p.499

⁸G.A Almond & G. Powell. op.cit. p.68

performed and the kinds of political inputs and outputs which these roles produces.⁹

Again, David Easton describes political socialisation as, “those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientation and patterns of behaviour.”¹⁰ It means political socialisation is one of the processes for the development of a society. It tries to guide the right orientation, attitude, direction and pattern of behaviour to the individual towards the polity of a society. Political socialisation is an inescapable process through which the individual has to pass throughout his life. In every society, every individual has his own perceptions or cognition of the political system of the society. He develops such perceptions in course of time as he grows from childhood to adulthood and passes his life as an adult citizen. He is not alone to do so, for him, several are also developing them.¹¹

1.2 Agents of Political Socialisation

There are various agents of political socialisation. According to Almond and Powell, there are four agents of political socialisation. They are family, school, political party and peer group.¹² Moreover, other scholars have pointed out that there are three other agents of political socialisation. They are youth organisation, interest group and Mass media.¹³ Above all, it can be added that religious institution and work place are agents of political

⁹G.A Almond & James A. Coleman.(1960). *The Politics of Developing Areas*. Princeton University: New Jersey. p.27.

¹⁰ N. Jayapalan. op.cit p.500.

¹¹ Kamal Kumar Singh. (1970). *Political Socialisation*. Capital Publishing House: New Delhi. p.3.

¹² ibid p.74

¹³ N. Jayapalan. (2001). *Comparative Politics and Analysis*. Atlantic Publishers: New Delhi. p. 511

socialisation. Some of the important agents of political socialisation are discuss below:

First and foremost, family is the most important agent of political socialisation. It stands pre-eminent. Family plays a key role in transmitting political culture from one generation to another generation. It is the first social group to which individual belongs. Thus, much of the individual's political personality is shaped at home. It is in the family that a child learns the habit of both acceptance of authority and living in cooperation with the other. According to Herbert Hyman, family is the most important and effective institution of political socialisation.¹⁴

Secondly, school or educational institution is also another important agent of political socialisation which comes after family. It plays a vital role in socialising the children and teaches new skills to the young children through specially designed institutions created for that purpose. It has been found that educated persons are more aware of the political process. Also they have greater capacity to influence the decision making process of political system. In most of the western countries and also in Japan, school is the most important agent of political socialisation. G.A Almond and Sidney Verba study five nation (United States, Germany, Mexico, Italy and United Kingdom) and found without exception that educated persons were more aware of the impact of government on their lives, paid more attention to

¹⁴ Herbert H. Hyman. (1959). *Political Socialisation: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour*. The Macmillan Company: New York. p.79

politics, had more information about political processes, and manifested a higher degree of political competence.¹⁵

Thirdly, political party is one of the most important agents of political socialisation. Political parties are established for the purpose of disseminating political values, mobilising people for political action and recruiting the political leaders. Political party carry on the intentional manifest political socialisation. The views of every single individual are bound to be change to more or less extent when political party approached him several times directly or indirectly. Such an influence is exerted with the help of wall posters, electoral campaigns, propaganda, canvassing etc. There are two kinds of political socialisation performed by the political parties. The first is reinforcement of the existing political culture, providing continuity in performance. The second is the initiation of significant change in existing political culture patterns.¹⁶

Fourthly, another important agent of political socialisation is peer group or reference group. It plays an important role in sharpening values and orientations. It is particularly where family ties are loosened in an industrial society or where family training seems incongruous with the youth's social environment, it may expect the formal and informal peer groups to have considerable impact on individual views of politics.¹⁷

Fifthly, youth organisation is also an important agent of political socialisation. The youth organisation tries enhancing the leadership quality

¹⁵ G.A Almond & G. Powell. op.cit. p.67

¹⁶ Ali Ashrafi & L.N Sharma. op.cit. p.171

¹⁷ G.A Almond & G. Powell. op.cit. p.68

of the youth and also training to induct the youth in the politics. It can be formal or informal groups. They also organised different programme by their leaders into groups having considerable relevance for political socialisation. These organisations are set up for more general socialisation but also inculcate political values, norms and information.¹⁸

Sixthly, interest Group is another agent of political socialisation. They do not affiliate to any political organisation. In other words, interest group does not have political character. They do not encourage political education to their members. However the participation in their routine affairs gives their members the opportunities to develop their orientations that have political relevance. Subsequently, it carries on an unintentional latent political socialisation.¹⁹

Seventhly, the increasing role of mass media in political socialisation cannot be omitted. Mass Media is another important agent of political socialisation. Mass media includes television, newspaper, radio, internet, social media like facebook, twitter and whatsapp etc. Mass Media both print and electronic plays a vital role in shaping the political culture and political socialisation of the society. The mass media do shape the individual's basic "cognitive map". Certain symbols are conveyed in the emotive context and the events juxtaposed with them take on the affective colour. A controlled system of mass media can be a powerful force in shaping political beliefs and can provide bases of support as important to totalitarian state as its

¹⁸ N. Jayapalan. op.cit. p.506

¹⁹ Ali Ashraft& L.N Sharma. op.cit. p.171

police force. The role of the mass media is becoming more effective now-a-day than before.²⁰

Eighthly, another agent of political socialisation is religious institution. The parents take their children to religious institutions at their tender ages. In the religious place, people listen to the philosophy of their religion where the priest teaches. In every society, religion plays a significant role in political socialisation.²¹ In the case of Mizoram, politics and church cannot be separate. Church or religious institution plays a significant role in influencing the political behaviour of an individual. Every Mizo normally attend Sunday School on Sunday in the Church. In Sunday School, they teach about the words of God and to abide and obey the law of the land.

Lastly, another important agent of political socialisation is the work place. The nature of employment which one sets in life has been a reflection of political socialisation. It is the employment that one's learn to be dominated as well as subordinate. His attitude towards the political institution and structures gets shape with the nature of employment.²²

1.3 Types of Political Socialisation

There are two types of political socialisation – direct or manifest political socialisation and indirect or latent political socialisation.²³ The two

²⁰ Ali Ashraft & L.N Sharma. op.cit. p.171

²¹ ibid

²² ibid

²³ G.A Almond & G. Powell. op.cit. p.65

types of political socialisation have its own style of socialising the individual in the political process. The two types of political socialisation are discussed below:

Manifest political socialisation is the process in which the content of the transmitted information, values and feelings are clearly political in nature. It involves an explicit communication of values and information towards the political object. The teaching of political system, democracy, parliament, national movement in civics or political science in schools and colleges constitutes an example of this type of political socialisation.

Latent political socialisation is the process through which information, values and feelings which are transmitted to the people that are not directly political. There is a transmission of non-political attitudes which affect the attitude towards analogous roles and objects in the political system. For example, the general attitudes acquired by a child-accommodation or aggression, are bound to affect his attitudes towards other citizens and leaders.

There are two points which must be clarified to understand the process of political socialisation. In the first place, socialisation process goes on continuously throughout the life of the individual. Attitudes are not established during infancy and untouched after the age of ten. They are always being adapted or reinforced as the individual goes through his social experiences. Secondly, certain events and experiences may leave their mark on a whole society. A great war or depression can constitute a severe

political trauma for millions of individuals who may be involved. Through participation in such movements, these groups acquire new conceptions of the role of politics in their lives and new goals for which they may strive.²⁴

Political socialisation, in manifest and latent forms is orient, more or less, in all agencies of political socialisation. In fact, all socialising agents combine them together, though not always in a systematic way. Both manifest and latent political socialisation may be intentional and unintentional. Intended and unintended, whatever may be their form, they are so much involved with the process of political socialisation that no one is so much concerned about their functional differences.²⁵ According to psycho-cultural school of political socialisation the latent function is the basic stage of internalisation of political values. The family, as a primary structure of political socialisation plays a very important role. But along with the process of maturation, this form of politicisation gradually decreases and the family loses its importance while the manifest function of political socialisation increases and other agencies like the school, the secondary structure become more important. In the school both manifest and latent functions take place but the former becomes increasingly more significant as the schooling increases. In modern society political socialisation does not stop at primary or latent stage as is the case in primitive societies. It goes

²⁴ ibid

²⁵ Ali Ashraft & L.N Sharma.op.cit. p.164

beyond latent to manifest political socialisation experiences through primary to secondary structures of the society.²⁶

The nature of the process of political socialisation varies from time to time and according to the environment of which it is part and to which it contribute. It is related to the nature of the political system and the degree and nature of change. “More stable the polity, the more specified major agencies of the political socialisation will be. Conversely, the greatest the degree of change in a non-totalitarian polity, the more diffused the major agencies of the political socialisation will be, the more basic degree of revolution in polity, the more specified the agencies of the political socialisation will be.”²⁷ The study of political socialisation involves the examination of social, economic and cultural factors upon the individual and upon his political attitudes, values and actions. It helps to analyse the link between the political system and the social system for which it operates.

The concepts of political socialisation acknowledge that political attitudes, knowledge, values and behaviour are learned. The political socialisation process varies culturally depending upon the relative importance of various socialising agencies such as the family, schools, churches, the communication media and a variety of social and peers group. However, the end product of political socialisation in all political system is

²⁶ Ehsanul Haq. (1981). *Education and Political Culture in India*. Sterling Publication Pvt. Ltd. p.13-14.

²⁷ Michael Rush & Philip Althoff. (1971). *An Introduction to Political Sociology*. Nelson, London. p.13-14.

“a set of attitudes, cognitions, values standards and feeling – towards the political systems, its various roles and role incumbents.”²⁸

1.4 Importance of Political Socialisation

Political socialisation has become very important for understanding the political culture and participation of the people in politics. Because of this, political scientists analyse systematically the nature of political process as how it involves the people, how do people learn the value of political culture and how do the politically socialised people to come forward to take up political roles and acts as political actors. Without political socialisation man cannot live. Political socialisation enlightened us and it is a source of stability in the political system and also a source of legitimacy for the authority. The study of political socialisation provides valuable information about the nature of political participation in the political system. It can be used to analyse the stability of political system in a country.²⁹

Without political socialisation man cannot be socialised in the field of politics. The day to day life of an individual is affected by politics. Without politics, man cannot live. Politics shape the way of life, and through the process of political socialisation man can understand what politics is? According to David Easton political socialisation is a key variable to understand the political system.³⁰ Men are inducted into politics through political socialisation. It is very important. Man cannot be developed without

²⁸ *ibid* p.164.

²⁹ N. Jayapalan. *op.cit.* p.504

³⁰ *ibid* p.501

political socialisation. Political socialisation is a continuous process. It does not end in itself and it is not static. Through political socialisation, attitudes, values and knowledge are transmitted from one generation to another generation. It is operative at all stages of human life. In a democratic country like India, democratic values do not inherit by birth, but they learn it through the process of political socialisation.³¹

Every man needs to socialise in each way and depend on each other. The individual is acquainted with the political system through political socialisation. While studying the political culture, naturally a question comes to the mind that how people develop their political beliefs and how this set of beliefs are continues from generation to generation. This answer lies with the concept of political socialisation.³²

Political socialisation is very important in our day to day life. It is through this process of political socialisation the uneducated citizens learn and understand about politics. In pre-independent India, the rural community was not subjected to political culture. Religion, caste and various types of old social values played a dominant role in shaping the behaviour of social masses. There were many factors which played an important role in preventing the rural people from being aware of political culture. Only a few families, who were either educated or associated with freedom movement, were exposed to political culture. There are several agencies of political socialisation which try to broaden the cognitive map of citizens of a nation.

³¹ Ehsanul Haq. op.cit. p.17

³² S.K Gupta. (1995). *Citizen in the Making*. National Publishing House: Delhi. p.14

These agencies of political socialisation are supposed to play a crucial role in making the citizens politically conscious and aware of the actual politics³³.

1.5 Political Socialisation in Mizoram

Political socialisation had deeply affects the people of Mizoram. The political consciousness among the Mizo is a product of the process of political socialisation which began in the early 1900's. It was during the early 1900s, the Christian Missionary introduced education to the Mizo. Subsequently, Mizo started interacting with European and understand about modern politics. Ultimately, Mizo got socio-political consciousness. As a result, the most important civil organisation of the Mizo – the Young Lushai Association was formed in 1935. The Young Lushai Association later changed its name into Young Mizo Association (YMA). In pre- British and early part of British rule, *Zawlbuk* (bachelor dormitory) was an important agent of political socialisation in the Mizo society. All men of the village gather inside the *Zawlbuk* and discuss many issues and problems including politics. As a result, youth were aware of the day to day politics. Later on, the first political party- the Mizo Union was formed in 9th, April, 1946. (Discuss in details in the next chapter).

The agent of political socialisation differs from one place to another place. Mizo society has been changing a lot in the last 100 years or so. Now-a-day, there are two important civil societies organisations i.e. Young Mizo

³³ S.N Mishra. (1980). *Political Socialisation in Rural India*. Inter-India Publication: Delhi.

Association and Church in Mizoram which greatly influence the process of political socialisation in Mizoram particularly the youth. Other agents like family, school, political parties, mass media etc. also play an important role in the process of political socialisation. Political socialisation is an ongoing process. It does not stop with the extinction of any group or generation. Attitudes, values and knowledge can be transmitted from one to another generation. Political socialisation is thus operative in all stages of human life.

1.6 Brief Profile of Mizoram

The Britisher comes to know about the Lushai³⁴ (Mizo) in the middle of the twentieth century. In fact, the British had direct contact with the Lushai when the adjoining areas were occupied by the British. The Lushai raided the plains of Cachar from time to time and even continued after British annexed Cachar in 1829. Consistently, the British sent expedition to punish the raiders in 1849, 1868, 1871-72 and 1889. In 1870, there were widespread raids by the Mizo all along the frontiers. They killed Englishmen and captured his six year old daughter, Mary Winchester. The British Governor General in Council decided to send an expedition to avenge the murder of Mr Winchester and to recover his daughter Mary Winchester. The expedition was successful and returned to Calcutta in 1872. This was the first expedition.³⁵ After 16 years of peace, the Mizo again killed Lt. J.F

³⁴ Lushai or Lushei was the name called by the British, later known as Mizo.

³⁵ Sangkima. op.cit p.72.

Steward with his two English bodyguards and one Indian sepoy on 3rd February, 1888. To avenge this brutal killing, another expedition was sent to Lushai Hill known as 'Lushai Expedition' consisting of 1100 men under the command of Colonel V.W Tregear. This columned established fort at *Lunglei* which was manned by British Officer with 212 sepoy. This military expedition of 1889 had not much effect upon the Mizo. Another serious raided was conducted by the Mizo in Changri Valley, Chittagong frontier killing 101 men and 91 men as captives.³⁶ The Government of India sent another expedition on 11th, September, 1889. This expedition was called "*Chin-Lushai Expedition*" because the Government of Bengal, Burma and Assam also took part.³⁷ The British Government mooted the idea of permanent occupation of the Hills and directly controls the Lushai Hills from 1891. The Mizo Hills become a district of Assam after India got independence in 1947. The Mizo Hills district of Assam was upgraded to the states of Union Territory in 1972 and name it as Mizoram. Mizoram was again upgraded to a full-fledged state of Indian Union on 1987 through 53rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1986.

Mizoram is a picturesque mountainous state which is tucked away in the southern tip of the north-east region of India. Flanked on the west by Bangladesh and on the east and south by Myanmar, Mizoram borders the sister states of Manipur and Assam in the north and with Tripura in the north-west with 722 km long international boundary and the Tropic of

³⁶ A.S Reid. (1976). *Chin Lushai Land*. Firma KLM, Calcutta. p.46

³⁷ Ibid p.47

Cancer runs through the heart of it. Mizoram became the 23rd state of India on 20th, February, 1987. Mizoram occupies an area of great strategic importance in the north-east corner of India lying between 22 20' and 24 27' N and 92 20' and 94 29' E latitudes³⁸. Mizoram is one of the peaceful states in the country. The inhabitants of the state are known as Mizo. The area of Mizoram is 21,087 sq. km and the population is around 1,091,014 according to the 2011 Census report. Among them, 552,339 were male and 538,675 were female. The main occupations of the people are cultivation and most of the people are dependent on it. Mizoram is divided into eight districts and namely: Aizawl, Lunglei, Champhai, Mamit, Kolasib, Serchhip, Saiha, Lawngtlai.

³⁸ Jagadish K. Patnaik ed. (2007). Mizoram Dimensions and Perspective Society, Economy and Polity, Mizoram-A Profile, Jagadish K. Patnaik and Lalthakima, p.1.



Source: www.mapsofIndia.com

The research is conducted in Kolasib District (map of Kolasib District in page 21). Kolasib District was created by the bifurcation of erstwhile Aizawl District in 1998. The District covers the Northern region of the state, sharing Inter-State Boundary with Cachar and Hailakandi District of Assam and District boundary with Aizawl and Mamit Districts. Kolasib is the district headquarters of Kolasib District. The population of the district is around 83,955 and the geographical area is 1382 sq.km. It occupies 6.56% of the Mizoram total geographic area. It is situated in between 23 - 5 to 24 - 35 North Latitude and 92 - 3 to 93 East Longitude. The District is covered by Humid Sub-tropical Hill Zone and Humid mild tropical zone. There were three sub-division, two Rural Development Block and 31 villages in the district. For the administration, the district has been divided into 3(three) Sub-Divisions viz. Kolasib Sadar, Vairengte and Kawnpui and 2(two) R.D. Block, i.e. Thingdawl and Bilkhawthlir for the purpose of general and development administration. About 75% of population entirely depends upon agriculture and allied activities.³⁹ Forest covers more than 70% of the total District area. The hilly areas of the district ranging from north to south. Forest is crucial because majority of the population depend their livelihood on the forest resources. Tropical moist deciduous forest and bamboo forests are the commonest form of vegetation. Numerous other trees, shrubs and herbs provide vegetables, fruits, fuel (fire wood), dyes, medicines and fibers.

40

³⁹ http://www.kvkkolasib.com/kolasib_district_profile/kolasib_district_profile.html

⁴⁰ ibid

The field work of the research is carried out in Kolasib town and Bukpui village inside the District to see how the political socialisation had affect among the youths. The population of Kolasib town is 24, 271 and there are around 5142 households.⁴¹ Bukpui village is located 10 KM towards south from District headquarters of Kolasib and 56 KM from State capital Aizawl.⁴² The Bukpui village has population of 1077 of which 562 are males while 515 are females as per Population Census 2011.⁴³

⁴¹ <http://www.census2011.co.in/data/town/801503-kolasib-mizoram.html>

⁴² <http://www.onefivenine.com/india/villages/Kolasib/Thingdawl/Bukpui>

⁴³ <http://www.census2011.co.in/data/village/271151-bukpui-mizoram.html>

Map of Kolasib District



Source: www.mapsofindia.com

1.7 Statement of the Problem

The process of political socialisation has been going on in Mizo society. Many people in Mizo society argued that family is the most important agent of political socialisation in Mizo society. At the time same time, there are many Mizo intellectuals and scholar who argued that it is the Church which is the most influential agents of political socialisation among the Mizo particularly the youth. However, political party is also one of the most important agents of political socialisation in any society particularly during the elections. It means there are different opinions among the Mizo regarding the most important agents of political socialisation in Mizoram. So, it is proposed to study the different agents of political socialisation in Mizoram and its impact to the youth in particular. It tries to find out the most important agent of political socialisation among the youths in Mizoram in general and particularly in Kolasib District. Moreover, the nature of political socialisation in Mizoram as a whole is also examined.

1.8 Review of Literature

The review of literature is divided into two parts: the first part reviews the theoretical related literatures and the second sections examine those literatures which are of field base study in nature.

The book *“Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour”* (1959) written by Herbert H. Hyman is one of the first book that deals with the political socialisation. The author had used

psychological approaches to meet its assumption. In this book, he reviewed the scattered literature and gave the sub disciplinary a name. He even classified into different groups. The author tried to find out the neglected problem and to provide a systematic framework for inquiry into the problem of Socialisation and also tried to suggest a wide variety of methods which are available to future investigators of the problem.

The book "*The Civic Culture*" (1963) written by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba is very important in the study of Political Socialisation. The authors argued that the term political culture and political socialisation cannot separate each other. The book represents an innovation in the literature of comparative politics. It opens up a new perspective on the theory of democratic politics. It introduced potentialities of a new method of data gathering and analysis. The book gave an opportunity for further research and theorising on the sources of the national differences in the character of the relationships between the government and the governed. The book is based on the research conducted in five countries of the western world. There is also a number of limitation regarding the collection of data and the writers have been confined themselves to a presentation of their theory, their method and their basic findings.

The book written by G. Almond and G. Bingham "*Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*" (1966) deals with political socialisation. The book discusses political socialisation as one of the best promising approaches to understand political stability and development in

the world. According to the authors, political socialisation had two forms: latent and manifest. The book also highlights the various agents of political socialisation and different roles to promote socialisation process in the society or nation. It also pointed out that school is the most important agent of political socialization. It analyses political socialization in many countries and drawn a conclusion that public schools tried to bridge the gap between subcultures and the national political culture. Government of United States and Philippines successfully use school as an agent of political socialization.

Roach's book, *'Political Socialisation in the New Nations of Africa'* (1967) is one of the earliest writings on the process of political socialisation in the new African states. The author emphasised on the need for political socialisation on the part of the individuals to face the challenges to the states posed by the internal as well as the external forces.

The book *"Press and Political Socialization"* written by Madhusmita Mishra (2003) tried to highlight the importance of the press in the role of political socialisation in the new era. In this book, it tries to highlight the role, significance and importance of press in the context of development of other mass media in Indian society as well as the notion of political socialisation. Among mass media, newspapers (print media) had gained vital importance in promoting political socialisation in the recent times. The author argued that press is the most influencing socio-economic and political behaviour of the individuals. The book also discusses the notions of culture and communication as well as various approaches to the study of political

socialisation. It concluded that majority of the student were aware of the socio-economic and political issues through the newspaper.

The book "*Citizen in the Making*" (1975) written by S.K Gupta tried to highlight how the post primary student of Uttar Pradesh are affected by the political socialisation. He collected a sample of 220 students and also take account the role of the family and the teacher in the shaping of the attitudes and the outlook of his subjects.

In the book '*Politics and Society in Rural India*' (1979) by S.N Mishra tried to study the process of political socialization and its impact it has on the social system in a Bihar, in the introductory chapter the author has tried to provide a theoretical framework of political socialization which is based on the studies made on the some western countries. After discussing the agencies of political socialization, the author has tried to measure the impact of these variables on the respondents of the area under study.

In the book '*Democratic Orientation of Students in India (A study in Political Socialisation)*' (1983) by Haridwar Singh attempt to observe pre-adult political socialisation in India particularly to give an account of childhood and adolescent growth of commitment with democratic norms and institutions in India. The interest of the researcher is primarily to find out the outputs of the process of political socialisation among the new members of the Indian political system. In this book, an attempt has been made to analyse the role of socio-politico-economic factors shaping attitudes and outlooks of students towards democratic system.

The essay "*Television News and Political Socialisation*" (1978) written by Charles K. Atkin and Walter Gantz had discusses about the survey reports in USA which showed that most of the people regarded Television as their main source of knowledge. Everything is connected and can easily know what had happen in other side of the world in less than a minute. Also children are mostly influence by television. The news report can guide teen age and can turn upside down their mindset. The research also showed that the broadcast news and political attitude is interconnected. Television serves an entertainment for children and TV news is an instrument for a new source of political knowledge acquisition and serves about political affairs.

In the essay of James C. Davies "*The Family's Role in the Political Socialisation*" (1965) highlighted family as the main source of socialising individual into the society. The children tends to identify his/her parents and to adopt their outlook toward political system.

"*Agencies of Political Socialisation: A Case Study of Political Parties*" (1980) written by SN Mishra pointed out that the importance of political socialisation in democratic country. The success of democratic country is largely depends on the effective mobilisation of masses. About seventy per cent of Indian people reside in the rural areas. So, mobilisation of masses is very important. This mobilisation of masses is taken place through political parties. The author had conducted a survey on Amarpur Gram Panchayat in Bihar, and his finding show that political parties had

played a significant role in socialising masses especially during the election time.

“The role of USA Elementary School in Political Socialisation” (1962) by Robert D. Hess and David Easton tries to examine the role of the children towards political socialisation. The children are often neglected in election or politics because they are ineligible to vote. But in the study conducted by Robert D. Hess and David Easton showed that in pre-adult period, children have always made up their mind. In the initial year of High School, 75% claim that they are very interested in politics and in senior year, 80% said that they are very interested in politics. They discovered that in formal programmes of citizenship training and education might be more effectively place at the pre high school level than at the later phase of the education.

“The Family, the School and the Political Socialisation Process” (1971) written by Robert E. Dowse and John Hughes tried to find out another agent of political socialisation apart from family. And, he concluded that school is another very important agent of political socialisation. The research conducted by Hess and Torney finds out that ‘public school appears to be the most important and effective instrument of the political socialisation’.

“Mass Media and Political Socialisation: A Case study of South Africa” (1986) tries to bring out mass media as the newest agent of political socialisation in South Africa. The research was conducted to children. There

are different sources of media like radio, newspaper and television. Among this, television had a huge impact among children. Among student, the research has shown that most of student had spent around four hour watching television. But different class of people had a popular channel to watch or subscribe newspaper based on caste or clan. They find out that white children are more active in reading newspaper or watching related concerned of the politics than black student.

“Political Socialisation in Japan” (1987) written by Junichi Kawata examines the status of political socialisation in Japan. The research finding is very interesting. In Japan, the electorate lacks a strong class, religious or ethnic basis with which to form close linkages between groups and parties and also lack a strong family socialisation process. It also examines that at what age does the child start to support political party. And which of the parents had more influence about politics in their children? And in what ways the children of Japan had seen their politicians can be seen in this essay.

“Political Socialisation Studies in Scandinavia” (1987) written by Gunnel Gustafsson tries to examine the importance of parents as an influential agent in transmission of the political norms and beliefs to their children. It also conducted research regarding the assassination of Sweden Prime Minister Olof Palme and the United State President John F. Kennedy. The finding was that American are more emotional than the Sweden. The Sweden are not fully socialised in the way they witnessed regarding the

death of their Prime Minister. But in many cases, the research show that there are some similarities to support that pure socialisation can help us to understand important aspects of political behaviour.

In the essay “*Political Socialisation Research and Canadian Studies*” (1977) written by George S. Tomkins examines the perceptions, values and attitudes of youth in relation to Canadian society. The research was conducted at the age of 13 – 20 year between Anglophone and Francophone youth. The research showed that Anglophone youth are more interested in politics than Francophone youth. It also highlighted that family and school are two important agents in political socialisation process. In the Canadian cases, class room and text books did not provide a formal civic education in Canada. It is ineffective socialising process because it fails to convey an adequate conception of the Canadian political culture and heritage.

“*Youth Political Organisation in Lithuania*” (2002) written by Diana Janauskiene discusses the different youth political organisation in Lithuania. She finds out that Youth political organisations acts as social clubs uniting active young people who possess similar political views. An interesting finding of the research is that the political strength of the organisation influences the decision of joining the party by the youth. The researched youth political organisations are similar in goals, functions, activities and chances of upward mobility. But there are also some major differences in certain parts of the organisation. The youth political

organisation had played a distinctive role in the process of political socialisation in inducting the youth into the politics.

In his essay "*Assumption about the Learning of Political Values*" (1965) Robert S. Sigel writes that the goal of political socialisation is to strain or develop an individual to become a well functioning member of the political society. The stability of a political system depends in no small measure on the political socialization of its members. A well functioning citizen is one who accepts (internalizes) society's political norms and who will then transmit them to future generations. For without a body politics so in harmony with the on-going political values any political system would have trouble functioning smoothly and perpetuating itself safety. And survival after all is a prime goal of the political organism just as it is of an individual organism.

From the above, it can be said that there are many literatures on political socialisation. However there are limited literatures on political socialisation among the youth. Moreover there are no literatures dealing with political socialisation among the youth in Mizoram to the best of my knowledge. There are some research going on related with political socialisation in Mizoram but there is no research undertaking in the department of Political Science in Mizoram University which deals with the political socialisation of the youth in Mizoram. The aim of the research is to contribute a new literature (political socialisation of the youth in Mizoram) on the subject

1.9 Objectives

The objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To study the nature of political socialisation of the youth in Mizoram in general and particularly in Kolasib District.
2. To examine the agents of political socialisation among the youths in Kolasib District.
3. To analyse the role of civil society organisations in the process of political socialisation of the youth in Kolasib district.

1.10 Research Questions

1. What is the nature of political socialisation of the youth in Mizoram?
2. What are the most important agents of political socialisation of the youth in Kolasib district?
3. What are the roles of the church and other civil society organisations in the process of political socialisation among the youth in Mizoram in general and Kolasib district in particular?

1.11 Research Methodology

The proposed research is mainly qualitative in nature though quantitative analysis is also used to generate primary information. The study is based on primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are collected through questionnaire and interview methods. Questionnaires are distributed among the youth in Kolasib town and Bukpui village to get primary

information for the study. In Kolasib town, questionnaire is distributed among the Class 12 students of St. John Higher Secondary School and CZS Higher Secondary School and students of Government Kolasib College. In Bukpui village, questionnaire is distributed to the youth who attain the age of 18 year of age. Questionnaires are distributed to the respondents chosen through simple random method. Interview are conducted to the leaders of Kristian Thalai Pawl (K.T.P), Thalai Kristian Pawl (T.K.P), Salvation Army Youth (S.A.Y), leaders of the Church, intellectuals, academia, leaders of the Young Mizo Association (YMA), etc.

The research sample size in Bukpui is 40 samples. 27 (67.5%) were male respondent and 13 (32.5%) were female respondent. Among them only 13 respondent (32.5%) were students. In Kolasib town, the sample size is 60 samples. Among them 37 (61.67%) were male respondent and 23 (38.33%) were female respondent. From 60 respondent, 47 respondent (78.33%) were student in Kolasib town. Secondary sources include articles, books, journals, newspaper report etc.

1.12 Scope of the Research

The scope of the research is limited to the study of the nature and agents of political socialisation of the youth in Kolasib District. Kolasib is the smallest district in Mizoram with 1382 sq.km of area. The district is having a population of around 83,054. Among them, there were around

42,456 men and 40,598 women.⁴⁴ There are 31 villages within the district.⁴⁵ For the purpose of the study, Kolasib town and Bukpui village is selected. The reason behind the selection of Kolasib town (district headquarter) and Bukpui (a remote village) is to understand the political socialisation of the youth in the town and in the village. Kolasib town is having 16 Village Council⁴⁶ having a population of 24,272. Bukpui is having one Village Council and having a population of 1200. A survey was conducted in Kolasib College to understand the process of political socialisation among the college students.

It is important to clarify here that youth means the people in the age group of 16-30 year as per the Ministry of Youth Affairs and sport, Government of India.⁴⁷ However, for the purpose of the study, youth is defined as those between the ages of 18 to 30 years. The rationale for choosing 18 years as minimum age is because it is the minimum voting age in India.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Statistical Handbook, Mizoram 2012, Directorate of Economics & Statistics

⁴⁵ www.krkolasib.com

⁴⁶ Village Council is the lowest form of local government in Mizoram. The 73rd Amendment of the Constitution i.e. the Panchayati Raj system is not applicable in Mizoram. Instead of Panchayati Raj system, Village Council is adopted to entrust the need of local people.

⁴⁷ Public Information Bureau, Government of India

⁴⁸ <http://eci.nic.in/m/Elecroll.html>

1.13 Chapterisations

Chapter-1: Introduction.

The first chapter introduces the study. It analyses the meaning, scope and nature of political socialisation. It includes a brief profile of Mizoram in general and particularly in Kolasib district, objectives of the study, research questions, review of literatures, research methodology, etc.

Chapter-2: Political socialisation in Mizoram

The second chapter examines the nature of political socialisation in Mizoram. It mainly focuses on the political socialisation of the youth in Mizoram. It also briefly analyse the role of the *Zawlbuk* (Bachelor's House), role of *Inlawm* and wok place, role of *ramchhuah*, role of Missionaries and educational institutions, role of Young Mizo Association, role of political party, role of family, role of mass media as an agents of political socialisation can be seen in this chapter.

Chapter-3: Political socialisation of the youth in Kolasib District

The third chapter analyses the role of different agents of political socialisation of the youth in Kolasib district. Different agents of political socialisation like Family, School, Mass Media, Peer Group and Political Party is studied to see how it had effect among the youth.

Chapter-4: Role of Church and other Civil Society Organisation in the process of political socialisation in Kolasib district

The fourth chapter studies the role of Church and Civil Society Organisation as an agent of political socialisation among the youth in Mizoram in general and particularly in Kolasib district.

Chapter-5: Findings and Conclusion.

The last chapter contains the summary of the study and the final analysis of what have been discussed in the previous chapters regarding the political socialisation of the youth in Kolasib district in Mizoram.

Chapter 2

Political Socialisation in Mizoram

Political socialisation is the developmental process through which an individual learns the basic orientation necessary for the maintenance of democratic system.¹ It provides information about citizenship role, impetus for participant role and awareness of political values. It is through political socialisation, individuals are inducted into political culture and shape their democratic orientation. Political socialisation operates in quiet and smooth manner without people being aware of it. They take the norms for granted without questioning their legitimacy. Thus the subject matter of this concept is the process by which people acquire political values not simply during active political participation but also in the period before they engage in any explicitly political activities.²

Political socialisation has acquired great importance in the context of contemporary Indian polity. After the long colonial rule, India has introduced a democratic polity of her own; whose basic postulates are empathy, greater involvement and commitment, and higher participation of the people. Success of a democratic polity depends largely on the effective mobilisation of her masses.³ Many Indian are not aware of their role as a

¹ S. N. Mishra. (1980). 'Agencies of Political socialization: A Study in Political Parties (A case Study of Amarpur Gram Panchayat'. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (March 1980), p. 115-121.

² *ibid*

³ *ibid*

citizen due to limited communication, weak penetration of national government, little facilities for education, ineffective mass media, and poorly socialised families particularly in rural areas. Similarly, the level of political awareness (particularly national politics) is also not very high in many parts of North eastern region of India. Under the circumstances, it is worthwhile to find out the extent of political socialisation in Mizoram. The study discusses the various agents of political socialisation in Mizoram in order to understand the nature of political socialisation in the state.

2.1 Role of *Zawlbuk* (Bachelor's House)

Political socialisation among the Mizo can be trace back to the era of Chieftainship in the pre-British era. The chiefs of different tribe ruled the areas and since then socialisation processes began to take shape among the Mizo society. Before the advent of the British in Mizoram, the Mizo society was segmentary in nature like other tribal societies of the world. During the time, different clans followed different customs and traditions and followed different social and political norms, i.e. different clans had their own dialects, their own sacrificial rites, their own *Puithiam* (priest) and their own Chiefs. Social life and social performances of the early Mizo were all restricted and bounded by such fear arising out of their animistic belief. It was only in the beginning of the 18th century that the *Sailo* clan ultimately emerged as the ruling clan over all the others. As a result other clan adopted

the practices and customs of the *Sailo* thus bringing the different clans under uniform customs.⁴

The institution of the Chieftainship was the only political institution in the Lushai Hills⁵ during the time. The institution of chieftainship was evolutionary in the beginning however, slowly and gradually it become hereditary. The right to succession was reserved only to those sons who were potent and gifted with capacity. The genesis of the Chieftainship in Mizo society can be traced back to Zahmuaka. Zahmuaka had seven sons, Zadenga, Paliana, Thangluaha, Thangura, Rivunga and Rokhuma, the seventh died in infancy. Thangura had two sons – Chawnglule and Thanmanga. Thanmanga begot *Sailova*, the progenitor of the present day *Sailo*.⁶

During this period, the most important agents of socialisation was *Zawlbuk* (Bachelor's House or Dormitory of the Youth), the nerve centre of the Mizo society. It shaped the Mizo youths as a responsible adult member of the society. During the time, all the male community after they attend the age of 15 or 16,⁷ enter the *Zawlbuk* house. Every night after dinner, these youth go to the *Zawlbuk* and sleep in it. Before they go to bed, they sing, gossip and swap tales till they feel it is time to go for 'courting'.⁸ It can be noted here that 'courting' means visiting to the house of the girls or girl

⁴ Sangkima, (1992). *Mizos: Society and Social Change*. Spectrum Publications: Delhi. p.25

⁵ Mizo Hills was known as Lushai Hills during the British period.

⁶ *ibid.* p- 34-35

⁷ Cited by Malsawmdawngliana and Rohmingmawii. (2014).(ed). *Mizo Narrative: Account from Mizoram*. Guwahati: Scientific Book Centre, p.60 from J. Meirion Lloyd. (1932). *History of the Church in Mizoram (Harvest in the Hill)*

⁸ *ibid*

friend at night. Visiting to the house of the girls (whom the boys admire or having a relationship) at night is permitted and it is a Mizo culture even today.

During the pre-British and even during British period upto the 1920s, the institution of *Zawlbuk* was an important institution in the Mizo society. In *Zawlbuk*, the youths were train about the customs and traditions of the Mizo. The youths were also the defender of the village. N.E Perry accredited the importance of *Zawlbuk* in the Mizo society in the following words, “I ascribe much of the indiscipline among the Lakhers to the fact that they have no bachelor’s house or equivalent to the *Lushei Zawlbuk*.”⁹ *Zawlbuk* was the centre of all activities of the youth. They discuss everything which holds importance for the village and the welfare of the villager. It is where the socialisation takes place in the traditional Mizo society. *Zawlbuk* was the most powerful social institution which exercised the greatest sway in establishing social norms and customs among the Mizo people. The socialisation of the youth in *Zawlbuk* helps them to understand and learn about their political system during the time. The political socialisation of the youth during the time mainly takes place in the *Zawlbuk* through the training provided by *Val Upa* (leaders of the *Zawlbuk*) and also through informal discussion in bachelor dormitory.

⁹ N.E Perry. (1976). *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*. Tribal Research Institute: Aizawl. p.45

2.2 Role of *Inlawm* and Work place

Another socialisation agent during the traditional Mizo society was *Inlawm* (working together in the field). Mizo society is an agrarian society. Jhumming or shifting cultivation was the backbone of the society. The Village Chief distributed plot(s) of land to every household for agriculture. In Mizo dialect, it is known as “*Lo*” (Jhumming). Every family have a plot of land provided by the Chief and they cultivate different crops in it. Some youths joined together and formed their own group of around five or six members in the village. These youth work together in the field and after they complete the work of one member of the group then it will work to another field of their member and it continued turn by turn till they complete the jhumming work of the group. Working together in the jhum is popularly known as “*inlawm*” in Mizo. During the time, people work in groups. This “*inlawm*” played a significant role in socialising each other in the traditional Mizo society. They discussed different topics regarding what is happening in the village and became aware of the socio-political phenomena of the village. It is important to mention here that *Inlawm* however did not continue nowadays.

In contemporary Mizo society, *Inlawm* become irrelevant due to different reasons. The role of *Inlawm* in the life of the Mizo youth is however replaced by work place (office of any kind) in modern Mizo society. Work place (office of any kind) is an important place where people (office goer) discuss many issues ranging from family issues to socio-

economic and political issues in it. It is the channels for the explicit communication of political information and beliefs. Participation in such discussion on many issues can be a powerful socialising experience for the workers and employers. In the work place, one can understand the political ideology of his/her subordinate staff or his/her seniors, how did politics influence him/her, how did he/she participate in the decision making process, etc. In the work place, one can learn the skill of organising, bargaining and communication skills. The discussion (consciously or unconsciously) in the office (or in any work place) help in the process of political socialisation.

2.3 Role of *Ramchhuah*

Another agent of socialisation among the traditional Mizo youth is “*Ramchhuah*” (hunting). In traditional Mizo society, hunting had a huge impact in the life of the youths. The hunting team comprise of diverse personalities and characters and lead by a *Val-Upa* (s) (leader of the youth in the locality). Some of youth are very good in hunting and they will hunt the wild animal. Some of them are good in preparing meals so they prepared food and serve the other while they return back to the camp. It is a competition for the youths in a different ways. The leader(s) of the hunting team carefully observed the youths. The leader(s) also trained the youth not only in hunting but also in more chivalry so that they will become a responsible youth. During hunting, the youth learned how to work as team by helping one another. It helps them when they grow up. This is a kind of

latent political socialisation in the sense that it is non-political attitude and orientations but still shape their individual orientation about their society. In fact, hunting is another centre for learning and training through which the youths were disciplined and shaped as men in Mizo society. Hunting is now illegal in Mizoram so people stop hunting in the forest. Hunting however was an important agent of socialisation during the traditional Mizo society.

2.4 Role of Missionaries and Educational Institutions

School or educational institutions plays a vital role in socialising the children and acts as an agent of political socialisation. School or educational institution can be a latent or manifest form. Educational institution includes schools, colleges, universities and other research/educational institutions. School is one of the most important agents of political socialisation. School is the first public institution beyond the family institution, with which the children comes into contact during the pre-adult phase of his/her life that extends from childhood to adolescence. The primary concern of the school at different stages of education should develop the necessary skills, values and attitudes of the students. Among the different agencies of political socialisation, the type of influence exerted by schools or educational institutions is very crucial for the students to understand the polity of their society. The student also learns about their history, geography, political system like types of government, democracy, constitution, etc in social science.

The advent of the British in Lushai Hills paved the way for the coming of the Christian Missionaries. The processes of political socialisation in Mizo Hills began to witness a new trend with the coming of the missionary in the modern sense of the term. They introduced the Mizo alphabet and preach the words of God, established Schools and initiated to form the Young Lushai Association for the improvement of the youth in 1935. Political socialisation had taken place in the traditional Mizo society before the coming of the British and the Missionary (as discussed above). The process of political socialisation among the Mizo in relation to modern political ideas like parliamentary system of government, democracy, etc however began effectively after the British controlled the Lushai Hills and the arrival of the Christian Missionaries.

The Christian missionaries arrived in Aizawl in the early part of 1890s. In fact, the first missionary who arrived in Lushai Hills was Rev. William Williams of the Presbyterian (Welsh) missionary. He reached Aizawl on 20th March 1891.¹⁰ He was followed by other missionaries like Rev. F. W. Savidge and Rev. J.H Lorrain. They wanted to spread the teaching of 'Christ'. Simultaneously, they were also interested to introduce education by opening up different schools in Lushai Hills. The first school was open at Aizawl for the children of non-Mizo sepoys and government employee in 1893.¹¹ Again, Missionary J.H Lorrain and F.W Savigde opened another school with two pupils but it was closed down very soon.

¹⁰ Sangkima. op.cit. p.81

¹¹ Sangkima. ibid. p.85

However, D.E Jones reopened the school on 15th February 1898 to celebrate his 28th birthday.¹² In the meantime, schools were opened in Lunglei and Demagiri (presently known as Tlabung) in 1894 by the Missionaries. During the time, the Britishers were interested to open more schools in Lushai Hills. In fact the Political Officer submitted a proposal to the Secretary of Chief Commissioner of Assam for sanctioning grant for establishment of more schools for the benefit of Mizo children.¹³ They were given permission to opens schools. Subsequently, many schools were opened in Lushai Hills. As a result, by the year 1903, there were 15 Lower primary schools in Aizawl district and 3 in Lunglei district.¹⁴ During this time, the Chief Commissioner of Assam visited Aizawl in 1902 and 1903 and instructed the Superintendent to submit proposal for the overall supervision of the education in the Lushai District of Assam to the Missionaries. The proposal was approved by the government. Consequently, Rev. D.E Jones and Rev F.W Savidge became the first Honorary Inspector of Schools in Mizoram. Accordingly, all the government schools in Lushai Hills were put under the supervision of the Missionary from 1st March 1903.¹⁵ The supervision of school education by the missionary continued till 1952.

¹² K.L Rokhuma. (2003). 'Contribution of the Missionaries in Mizoram Education'. In *Compendium The Baptist Church of Mizoram*, The Centenary Committee Baptist Church of Mizoram: Lunglei. p.108

¹³ Sangkima. op.cit. p.85

¹⁴ K.L Rokhuma op.cit. p.108

¹⁵ ibid

After the school were supervised by the missionary, the enrolments of the students in school were increased. In Baptist Mission Report made by Mr J.H Lorrain in 1904 wrote that,

*“[T]he people (Lushai Hills) assured us they were like monkeys, and it was absurd of us to think that they could ever learn like other people. What a change ten years had wrought! Not only would any of them read and write their own language, but some of them knew sufficient English to translate hymns and other books into their own tongue. The Political Officer in sending us a copy of the Census Report said he felt proud of the crop that had sprung up from the seed we had sown when we are in Aijal. Twelve Lushais per thousand were reckoned as literate”.*¹⁶

From the above report, it can be seen that education plays a very significant role in the process of change in Mizo society during the time. The education introduced by the missionaries ultimately played an important agent of political socialisation among the educated Mizo in particular and the Mizo in general. After the introduction of education in Mizo Hills, within two/three decades Mizo were conscious about their ethnic identity and also got social and political consciousness.

Coming to the modern era, the school curriculums under Mizoram Board (where maximum of the Mizo go to school) have huge impact on

¹⁶ J.H Lorrain, (1904). ‘Baptist Mission Report’. In *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram*, Mizoram Gospel Centenary Committee: Lunglei p.12

socio-political awareness of the Mizo. The syllabus of the high school and higher secondary school has influence the students attitudes towards political participation. For example, Social Science textbook for Class X¹⁷ contents topic like India and the Contemporary World, India Resources and their development, Democratic Politics, etc. In Class XI¹⁸ Political Science topics like Indian Constitution and Rights, Election system, three branches of Government, Federation, Local government etc are part of the syllabus. Again in Class XII¹⁹ Political Science syllabus, topics like Social Inequality in India, Social Exclusion, Demographic structure, etc are studied. In Contemporary World Politics topics like Cold War, US Hegemony, Contemporary South Asia, International Organisations, Globalisation etc are teach to the students. In short, the students study about Indian politics, Indian society and also international politics in Mizoram. The syllabus tries to help the student to understand the basic issues in Indian society and the world at large.

The syllabus in the school in Mizoram however did not cover the history and politics of Mizoram. As a result, the student failed to understand their own society. Teachers and parents expressed their view that they wanted to revise the school syllabus and incorporate the social and political

¹⁷ Class X Social Science Textbook. (2010, RP 2012). Frank Bros and Co.: Uttar Pradesh

¹⁸ *Indian Constitution at Work* Textbook for Class XI (2014). National Council of Educational Research and Training: New Delhi

¹⁹ *Politics in India Since Independence* Textbook for Class XII Political Science (2014). National Council of Educational Research and Training: New Delhi

history of Mizoram, politics of Mizoram, etc in the syllabus.²⁰ This will help to understand and aware the student about this own society and political system which they live in.

2.5 Role of Young Mizo Association (YMA)

The education system introduced by the missionaries brought ethnic and socio-political consciousness among the Mizo. Around 1930s, (almost three decades after the introduction of education) educated Mizo were conscious about their ethnic identity and the politics around them. During the time, the missionaries and the Church leaders wanted to form a social organisation for the Mizo. It can be mentioned here that *Zawlbuk* – the most important social and political institution of the traditional Mizo society slowly and gradually lost its age old relevance and importance in the society which ultimately discontinued the institution from 1938. Around 1930s, educated Mizo leaders realised that *Zawlbuk* is no more relevance in their society. As a result, the Christian Missionaries and the Church leaders found it necessary to establish an institution that could take the place of *Zawlbuk*²¹. Subsequently, a meeting was called for the formation of an organisation at the residence of a Christian Missionaries Miss Katie Hughes (*Pi Zaii*) on 3rd, June, 1935. As a product of the meeting, a social organisation called ‘Young Lushai Association’ (YLA) was formed. Officially, YLA was started functioning from 15th, June 1935. The name of the organisation was later on

²⁰ Intewview with Lalchuangkima, teacher of St. John Higher Secondary School by Scholar on Dt 2.11.2015

²¹ YMA official website. www.centralyma.org.in

changed into 'Young Mizo Association' (YMA) in 7th, October, 1947. (From here on the word YMA will be used for the organisation).

The YMA played an important role in all aspect of Mizo society since its establishment. In the early years of its inception, the leaders of the YMA discussed and analysed the political development in Mizo Hills in particular and the politics of the adjoining areas in general. It can be noted here that during the time, political activities in Mizo Hills was totally prohibited by the British government. As a result, some leaders like Mr R. Vanlawma (who were interested in politics) discussed the politics inside the YMA. According to Sangkima (A Mizo Historian), "[T]he formation of the YMA was a boon for the Mizo leaders who are looking for a change. Between 1935 and 1946, the Mizo leaders turn their social zeal into political zeal. This political zeal thus encompasses the authorities".²² Actually, some YMA leaders were interested in politics and already started involving in politics. They even conceived the idea of a political organisation in Mizo Hills. As a result of their involvement in political activities, the then Secretary of YMA, Mr R. Vanlawma concluded that YMA is the harbinger of political party in Mizoram.²³ The role and activities of the YMA has expanded day after day. Now-a-day, YMA is one of the most important and influential civil organisation of the Mizo. It involves almost in every matter (ranging from cultural and traditional to socio-economic and politics) which affect the lives of the Mizo. They actively engaged in social activities in the society. YMA

²² Sangkima. (2004). Essays on the History of the Mizos p.256

²³ *ibid* p.257

is also a member of the Mizoram People Forum (MPF) who tried to bring electoral reform in Mizoram. (Discuss in detailed in Chapter IV)

Young Mizo Association is one of the most influential agents of political socialisation in Mizoram. It inculcates its members to follow its instruction. YMA involves in different activities in the society. For instance, YMA help even in cooking gas distribution. In Mizoram, people normally do not collect or deposit their gas cylinder to the gas agencies (distributors). The YMA with the help of Local Council distribute the gas cylinder to the people. They announce to the people of their locality through YMA information centre when they distribute the gas cylinder. On the same day, they also collected the empty gas cylinder. YMA also help in contribution of house of the poor and needy people. It also organise revival camping for drug addict person, criminals, etc. so that they can change their life. Further, YMA check the illegal selling and made of local liquor, illegal selling and use of drugs etc. All these activities provided an opportunity for its members to interact and learn about their society. In fact, role of YMA had a huge role in Mizo society as it is the largest Non-Government Organisation. The activities and the decision of the YMA sometimes differ with the government policies and programme.

Another organisation which is very active and powerful in Mizoram is the institution of the Church. Apart from spreading the words of 'God', the Churches in Mizoram are also engage in socio-political activities. As a result, people also considered the Church as a civil society in Mizoram. The

Churches help the poor and weak people in the society through the donation collected from its member. For example, *Kohhran Hmeichhia* (Women Fellowship) distributes rice on every Monday morning at a subsidised rate to their members (the same rate in Fair Price Shop under Government of Mizoram Rs 15 per 1 kg) of the Church particularly in Presbyterian Church and Baptist Church in Mizoram. The Church also expresses their concern even in government policies and programme. For instance, when the Government of Mizoram wanted to lift the Liquor Prohibition Act, the Churches expressed their opinion against the idea of the government. The Churches organised prayer meeting against the lifting of the Liquor Prohibition Act, 2015. The Presbyterian Church in Mizoram even displayed banners regarding the opposition of passing Mizoram Liquor Prohibition and Control Act in different places inside Mizoram, the Church became very active in checking the government. The two civil society organisations i.e. the Church and Young Mizo Association play an important role in the society.

2.6 Role of Political Party

Political party is one of the important agents of political socialisation. It provides opportunities for the individual to gain direct political experiences through observation or participation in various political events and occurrences such as election debates and discussions in various places. Political parties are by nature political and they are established for the purpose of disseminating political values, mobilising people for political

action and recruiting political leaders.²⁴ In Mizoram, there are many political party which tries to socialise the individual into their own way. They used different tactics and methods to attract the individual. During the times of election, political party is one of the most effective agents of political socialisation.

Political party in Mizoram came into exist only in 1946. Before 1946 political activities however was ban in Lushai Hills by the British administration. It can be mentioned here that though political activities including formation of political organization(s) were ban by the British administration in Mizo Hill, the Mizo elites were very much interested to form political organization since 1920s. During the time, many Mizo were politically conscious particularly the educated elite. They started discussion about the future of Mizo Hills. They wanted to unite and fight for their political rights. They requested the British administrator to lift the prohibition of politics in Mizo Hill and the later obliged it in 1946. As a result, the first political party came into being in Mizo Hills with the formation of a political party called as “The Mizo Common Peoples Union” on 9th April, 1946.²⁵ Later on, it changed its name to Mizo Union (MU).

The main aims and objectives of the party were to achieve a rightful status for the Mizo; to develop better understanding between the Chiefs and Commoners; to unify the common people; general upliftment of the Mizo

²⁴ Saroj Kumar Jena. (2002). *Political Sociology*, Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi. p.171.

²⁵ Lalhmachhuana Zofa. (2013). *Mizoram Political Records*. Author: Aizawl p.15

people; to become democratic representative and spokesman for the whole of Mizo people; and to popularise Mizo language.²⁶ In the beginning, the party had the objective of uniting the Mizo sub-tribes inhabiting in and around the Lushai hills. In Lakhimpur meeting on 21st November 1946, MU resolved that all the Zo²⁷ inhabitant areas in Assam, Manipur, Chittagong Hill Tract and Chin state should be united with Lushai Hills into one unit and be designated as *Zoram* District.²⁸ MU leaders also wanted to live within the Indian Union. They also made an effort for autonomy to preserve ethnic identity, safeguard and promote culture, customs, dialects and economic pattern of the Mizo. These ideas and the objectives of the MU actually help in the later years to unite with India rather than to Burma (present Myanmar). The party became very popular among the masses within a short span of time. In fact, MU controlled the politics of Mizo Hills District Councils since its inception till early 1960s.

Another political organization called as the United Mizo Freedom Organisation (UMFO) was established on July 1947 in Mizo hills. The UMFO was also known as Mizo Zalen Pawl. On the eve of Indian independence, the Mizo were allowed to participate political activities (as already discuss above). Since then, Mizo began to involve actively in politics. During the time, the most important political issue which could

²⁶ Lalchungnunga. (1994). *Mizoram Politics of Regionalism and National Integration*. New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House, p.73.

²⁷ Some leaders of Chin-Kuki-Mizo group prefer to called themselves as “Zo”.

²⁸ T. Lalsangliana. (2010). ‘Ethnic Nationalism and Insurgency Movements in North East India with special reference to Mizo Nationalism’. In Bharul Islam Laskar. (ed). *Mizoram: The Emerging Issues of Development*. Guwahati: DVS Publishers, p.202

decide the future of Mizo society was either to join India or Burma. Mizo political leaders were divided on the issue. In the meantime, the popularity of the MU reached its zenith. Different opinion among the leaders of the party however cropped up on the contentious issue of merger and the Mizo Chief. Some leaders were pro- Chief and while other are totally against the Chief. The leaders of the pro-Chief wanted to join with Burma, instead of joining with the Indian dominion. Others wanted to join with India and abolish Chieftainship from the society. As a consequence, MU was split up into two camps.²⁹ The split in the party brought into existence two parties—the MU Right wing and the M.U Left Wing. The Left Wing was led by Khawtinkhuma and Saprawnga while the Right wing was headed by Lalbiakthanga, Vanlawma and Pachhunga.³⁰ The Right Wing of the MU believed that the best option for Mizo survival was to join Burma. This breakaway group of the MU formed a new political party—the United Mizo Freedom Organisation (UMFO) on 5th July 1947. The first President, Vice-President and General Secretary were Lalbiakthanga, Rev. Zairema, and L.H. Liana respectively. The President and the Vice-President were important leaders of the MU and left the party on the ground that there was no freedom of speech in MU.

The UMFO was supported by those people who were hostile to MU in general and particularly the Chiefs. The aims and objectives of the party

²⁹ V.V. Rao. (1976, 1995 Rp). *A Century of Tribal Politics in North east India 1874-1974*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd, p.495

³⁰ K.M. Zakhuma. *Political Development in Mizoram from 1946 to 1989*. Aizawl: Sangkungi, p.62

were to form a democratic government for the people which can provide freedom of speech, autonomy for Lushai hills in the beginning which can guarantee independence in the later stage, development, administrative reforms, etc.³¹ The idea and the initiative of establishing a new political party was led by Lalmawia. Lalmawia was a retired Burmese Army. He tried to convince the Mizo (people) to agree to join Burma on the basis of common customs, culture, dialects, decent and common economic patterns. He made an attempt to enthuse the people of Lushai Hills that their future would be more prosperous and better in Burma than in India. The objectives of the party and the promise for a better future began to gain popularity among the masses.

The above mentioned political parties—MU and UMFO, are the first two political party emerged in Mizo Hills—the present Mizoram. Their ideas and objectives made the people more aware about the political development that took place in an around the Mizo Hills during the time. People also become more conscious about their identity and the idea of ‘Mizo’ become more broad and inclusive of other similar tribes and sub-clan of the Mizo living in and around Mizo Hills. The debate about the merger with India or Burma and the idea of removal of the Mizo Chieftainship during the time between the MU and UMFO really enhance the socio-political awareness, orientations and attitudes among the common people. It

³¹ V. Venkata Rao, H. Thangsanga and Niru Hazarika. (1987). *A Century of Government and Politics in North-East India, Volume-III—Mizoram*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company (Pvt) Ltd. p.139.

is during the time, a new political culture based on liberal democratic ideas was set in place in the Mizo society.

The level of political socialization process has further increase among the masses with the emergence of another political party—the Mizo National Front (MNF) on 28th October 1961. The formation of MNF is related with *Mautam* (famine caused due to bamboo flowering) in the late 1950s in Mizo Hills. In 1959, Mizo Hills was devastated by a great famine popularly known as ‘*Mautam Famine*’ in Mizo history. The cause of the famine was attributed to flowering of bamboos which consequently increase rat population in large numbers. After eating up bamboos seeds, the rats turned towards crops and infested the huts and houses and became a plague to the villages. The *mautam* famine causes lots of hardship to the Mizo due to scarcity of food.

At this crucial juncture, some Mizo youths came out themselves and decided to involve in famine relief work by forming civil organisation. For instance, John F. Manliana formed an organisation called as the ‘Mizo Cultural Society’ to extend a helping hand to the starving Mizo. After sometime, this society changes its nomenclature to Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF).³² R. Dengthuama and Laldenga³³ were the Chairman and

³² J.V Hluna. (2004). *The Role of the Mizo National Front in Mizoram Politics upto 1986*. In Historical Journal Mizoram, Vol-V, Issue-1, July 2004

³³ He was a cashier in the Mizo District Council.

Secretary of the Front respectively.³⁴ The members of MNFF volunteer themselves and engaged in famine relief works. The volunteers were fascinated by the people particularly the youths. They served the hunger and starving Mizo due to famine. The Front rendered the yeomen service to the poor people. It became very popular and took all the credit for fighting the famine and helping the suffering masses. Therefore, MNFF was taken as the saviour by many for the Mizo famine stricken poor.

In 1961, famine was over. During the time, the relation between the Chief Minister of Assam Mr Chaliha and the Mizo Union leaders were very strained.³⁵ The leaders of the MU thought that the government of Assam neither paid much attention to famine relief measures nor giving so much importance to the District Council as expected. On the other side, the Chief Minister charged the District Council for non-cooperation to the relief work and also charged with corruption.³⁶ So, the MU moves closer to All Party Hills Leaders' Conference (APHLC) by drifting away the Congress. During the same time, the relation between the Congress and APHLC also appeared to be very bad (and going for worse) on the issue of Assamese language.³⁷ During the time, Laldenga, (who is a good orator and popular leader among the masses because of the services rendered by the MNNF volunteer) was

³⁴ R.N. Prasad. *Mizo National Front Party and its Activities: A study*. In L.S. Gassah. (1992). *Regional Political Parties in North East India*. New Delhi & Guwahati: Omsons Publications, p.149.

³⁵ MU was the staunch supporter of the Assam Congress Government in the beginning.

³⁶ SK Chaube. (1999). *Hill Politics in Northeast India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman, p .179.

³⁷ Some Assamese political leaders wanted to make Assamese as an official language for Assam. During this time, Assam comprise of the present Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland.

closely following and analysed the political affairs of the Mizo Hills. Actually, he was waiting for a right moment to take political advantage. And, he thought it was the right time. As a result, he converted the MNFF into a political organisation by exploiting the prevailing political atmosphere in Mizo District in particular and within Assam in general. He named the new political party as Mizo National Front by omitting the word Famine on 22nd October, 1961.³⁸

The main aims and objectives of the Front were independence of Mizoram, integration of all Mizo people living in and around the Mizo Hills, improvement of social, economic and political conditions of the Mizo and preserving and promoting Christianity. The motto of the party was *For God and Our Country*. The party also propagated the ‘son of the soil theory’ by advancing slogan such as ‘Mizoram for the Mizo.’ The aims and objectives of the Front show that MNF was basically based on political, socio-economic, religious and ethnic issues of the Mizo.

The members of the MNF worked tirelessly right after its birth so that the organisational aims and objectives can be achieved, accepted and made popular among the masses. Within no time, the Front was recognized by one and all. It became very popular especially among the Mizo youths because, it promised independence of Mizoram. The promised arouse nationalism and political consciousness among the Mizo youth and brought Mizo nationalism to the forefront. The Mizo poets and writers started composing

³⁸ R.N Prasad and A.K. Agarwal. (1991). *Political & Economic Development of Mizoram*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications, p.93.

songs praising their motherland. Within two-three years of their emergence, the Front faced internal problem, however the spirit of the MNF was very strong and intact.

MNF become very popular in Mizo Hills in the early and mid-1960s. The Front also realized that they got the support of the people on the issue of Mizo nationalism. They know and understand fully the separatist sentiment and feeling of the people, Laldenga decided to prepare for the Mizo National Movement. MNF wage a war against Indian government on at zero hour, i.e. midnight of 28th February 1966 and declared independence of Mizoram on 1st March 1966. Indian government declared MNF as unlawful organization on 6th March 1966. Later on, Indian government and MNF leaders negotiated for almost 15 years or so and signed a *Memorandum of Understanding* (popularly known as Mizo Peace accord) on 30th June 1986. Consequently, the front was recognized as apolitical party and became (again) one of the most important political parties in Mizoram. MNF rule the state for around 12 years in the Post Accord era. It is one of the oldest political parties in the state. MNF always talk about Mizo nationalism during insurgency period and after post-statehood period. Actually, it enhance the Mizo sub-nationalism among the Mizo in general and particularly the youth.

From the above, it can conclude that MNF play an important role as an agent of political socialization in the Mizo society. MNF brought Mizo sub-nationalism to the forefront after its inceptions till date. From time to time, it organized political camp for its members in particular and the people

in general. Its objectives include re-unification of all Mizo inhabited areas under a single administrative unit, to preserve and uphold Mizo religion, to promote and safeguard the good traditions and cultural heritage of the Mizos, to protect the rights and privileges of minorities living in Mizoram, etc.³⁹

2.7 Role of Family

Family is the most important socialising agents operating during childhood and early adolescence. It can be mentioned here that family is the oldest social institution in the history of human civilization. According to Gillespie and Allport, “[Y]outh in all nations anchor their documents within a basic family frame. To be sure, the mode of mention differs in different cultures... but the unquestioned fact remains that the family is the primary social institution in all lands. And our date clearly reflects this cultural universal.”⁴⁰ Like in other society, in Mizo society, also, family plays the most important role as an agent of political socialisation. In Mizo society, they discuss about everything from culture and tradition to social and political issues among the members of the family in a free and frank manner. Traditionally, all the members of the Mizo family eat their food together whether breakfast, lunch or dinner. It is during the dinner time, the parents teach their wards about their etiquette, culture and traditions of the society. They also discuss about socio-political issues about their society from time to time. For example, during election (whether local, state or national level),

³⁹ MNF Constitution amended in 2004

⁴⁰ Herbert H. Hyman, (1959). op.cit. p.51

the topic of the dining table is about elections in particular and politics in general. The parents generally decide to whom the entire family members will cast the vote and the other members normally obliged it. During insurgency in Mizo Hills, the discussion of the family is dominated by MNF movements and its consequences particularly the harassment of the civilian by the Army. The discussions over the dining table even continue after the dinner is over particularly in the common room.

In traditional Mizo society, family continue the post-dinner discussion among the members of the family by sitting around the *Tapchhak* (hearth). During the discussion, children learn about their culture and tradition, the socio-political aspects and concerns of their society.

In modern Mizo society, every family also used to meet together either in the morning or evening for family prayer. During the prayer meeting, the parents or the guardian teaches the words of the Bible. In the prayer meeting, children are also given the opportunities to read the verses of Bible and pray for the entire family members. It means children learn how to speak in front of the crowd in the form of leading the family prayers. In short, Mizo children get basic training of their life in the family in a very discipline manner. It helps them a lot by developing one's personality when they grow up and face the world. It means the child is not only born in the family but also is reared up in an open and free environment from birth till adolescence. Parents provide the basic needs to him/her. They also dispense rewards for good behaviour and manner of the child and also punished for

disobedience. There are no other agents who can compete with parents in term of its impact on various socio-political attitudes and orientations of the children in Mizo society.

Family holds a crucial role in the life of the children. Every child is dependent on family. Slowly, s/he subscribes to the familial culture, political beliefs and attitudes. The entire family members share the same newspaper, watch the same television programmes and attend the same church services. It creates a kind of uniformity of opinion (whether political or otherwise) among the member of the family through which the children are likely to carry forward (inherits) the attitudes and orientation in the future and share them with their friends and other. During the time of election, the importance of family as an agent of political socialisation can also be seen. The children follow the footsteps of their parents and become active in the political party as their predecessor. In Mizo society, family role can be describe as the most important role as an agent of political socialisation.

2.8 Role of Mass Media

Mass media includes both print and electronics like newspaper, radio, television, internet, social media like facebook, twitters, etc. Mass media covers all the issues and concerns in the society. It provides the latest news and happening in the world. It had a wide coverage on socio-political topics. It is easier and quick to access to a large audience at a time. Mass Media provides a platform for discussion and analyse different important issues in

the society. As a result, people—the audience or the viewer can easily understand and learn about the socio-political issues in the society through mass media. It plays an important role in maintaining (or changing) and transmitting the political culture of a society. Thus, it becomes an important agent of political socialisation.

Like in other society, mass media became an important agent for political socialisation in Mizoram. Almost every Mizo either read newspaper or listened TV news every day. With the emergence of social media through smart phone and internet, the younger generation are more updated their news through whatsapp, and facebook. For example, in the recent past, one of the hot topics among the Mizo in facebook was the ‘office of the profit’. This was in relation to the by-poll election of Aizawl West-3 Assembly constituency represented by Lalthanzara (the youngest brother of the present Chief Minister of Mizoram). He vacated the seat due to an allegation of the ‘office of profit’ however he won the vacated seat by himself from his nearest rival candidate K.Vanlalvena, the MNF candidate. People learn through the debate in the facebook about the issues of office of profit under the Indian constitution. This trend is a new one however the publication of newspapers in Mizoram (the then Lushai Hills) started in early 21st century after the annexation of Lushai Hills by the Britishers. In fact, the first Mizo newspaper “*Mizo leh Vai*” was published in 1902. The second newspaper “*Kristian Tlangau*” (published monthly from Aizawl) was published by Presbyterian Church in 1911 to share information among its members and

the words of God for those who need. The largest circular daily in Mizoram is “*Vanglaini*”. It publishes from Aizawl which started from 1978 and continue till date. The newspaper contents political and non-political issues and views which may became politically relevant in forming political values and dispositions to the individual. The non-political communication of mass media design as merely to entertain the audience or to sell their product(s) and make money for a producer, may also serve the latent function of political socialisation.

There are two important local TV networks - Laldailova Pachuau and Sons (LPS) and ZONET—in Mizoram. They telecast not only the national and international channels but also some channels in local dialects. In these channels, they telecast news in local dialect at 6.30 PM in winter and 7 PM in summer. These channels also telecast (live and deferred live) the common platform organized by the Mizoram People Forum (MPF)⁴¹ during the elections. It really helps the people to make aware of the political issues and concerns through discussion in these channels from time to time in local dialects. During the elections, these channels organized ‘live talk show’ and ‘political awareness programme’ to educate the general public. All these help the people to understand about the day-today politics of the state. In other words, the mass media really help in the political socialization processes in Mizoram.

⁴¹ Mizoram People Forum is an organization form by the Synod—the highest decision making body of the Mizoram Presbyterian Church. It is having 11 different civil organizations including YMA and MHIP.

Chapter – 3

Political Socialisation of the Youth in Kolasib District

In every society of the world, youth occupied an important position in almost all sphere of life. In Mizoram, the youth holds an important place in the society. The youth are the pillars of the society. So, it is important for the society and the government to provide the best facilities (such as education, sport, etc) to promote them so that they can guide and give the right direction of the society in the future. The youth will become stronger and healthier in term of personality through socialisation and political socialisation. Political socialisation is very important for the youth because it is through political socialisation, the youth will acquire political orientation and pattern of behaviour. If the youth is more politically socialise the youth will be more mature in his/her political outlook and attitudes of the system. In this Chapter, it is discuss the different agents of political socialisation of the youth in Kolasib district, Mizoram. The different agents of political socialisation among the youths of Kolasib district can be discussed under the following heads.

3.1 Family

Family is the first primary socialisation agent encountered by an individual in the society. Family set the entire socialising process in motion and retains an impact on the child over a long period of time. Family plays a

distinctive role in shaping child's attitudes towards authority. It makes collective decisions which are mostly authoritative for the child.¹ American scholars like Hyman, while analysing the parent-children relationships has also confirmed the importance of contribution of family to the process of political socialisation. Hyman establishes that in most cases children are oriented towards ideology, political party and political value which their parents possess.² In Kolasib district, family is the most important agents of political socialisation among the youths. In fact, 72.5% of the respondent from Bukpui village believes that family is the most important agent of political socialisation. Among them, 67.5% are male and 32.5% are female and 32.5% are students. In Kolasib town, 58.33% of the respondent expressed that family is the most important agent of political socialisation. Among them 61.67%, 38.33% and 78.33% of the respondent are male, female and student respectively.³ In other words, maximum number of youth in Kolasib District believes that family is the most important agents of political socialisation. Actually, 65.41%⁴ of the respondent said that family is the most important agents of political socialisation.

¹ G.Almond and Sydney Verba. (1963). *The Civic Culture*. Princeton p.346-252

² Herbert H. Hyman. op.cit. p-52

³ See Table 3.1

⁴ See Table No. 3.1

Table 3.1: Family as an agent of political socialisation

Place	No of Respondent	No. of male respondent	No. of male respondent %	No. of female respondent	No. of female respondent %	Total No. respondent who believe family as the most important agent of pol. soc	
Bukpui	40	27	67.5%	13	32.5%	29	72.5%
Kolasib Town	60	37	61.67%	23	38.33%	35	58.33%
Total	100	64	64%	36	36%	64	64%

Source: Field Work

The Scholar also finds out that many of the youth discuss about politics at home with their family members. In Bukpui village, 70% of the respondent said that they discuss about politics with their family members. Only 30% respondent said that they did not discuss politics in their family. In Kolasib town also the result is more or less same with Bukpui village. 65% of the respondent discusses about politics in their family and the remaining 35% of the respondent said that they never discuss politics in their family.⁵

⁵ See Table No. 3.2

Table 3.2: Did you discuss politics in your Family

	No. of Respondent	Yes	%	No	%
Bukpui	40	26	65%	14	35%
Kolasib	60	42	70%	18	30%
Total	100	68	68	32	32

Source: Field Work

Table 3.3: How often did you discuss politics in your Family?

Place	Respondent of Yes as discussion of politics in the family	Regularly	%	Sometimes	%	During election	%
Bukpui	26	3	11.55	10	38.45	13	50
Kolasib	42	3	7.15	27	64.28	12	28.57
Town							
Total	48	6	9.35	37	51.36	25	39.28

Source: Field Work

From the above, it can conclude that Kolasib town is more often discuss politics about politics among the members of the family than in Bukpui village. It can be noted here that in Bukpui village, 50% of the respondent discuss about politics with their family members during elections. In Kolasib town, however 64.28% discuss politics very often in their family.⁶ It means people in town are more often discuss about politics than in the village. Most of the respondents also said the political party

⁶ See table 3.3

which their parents support becomes naturally their support also. In short, the youth in Kolasib district discuss about politics with their family member.

3.2 School

School is another important agent of political socialisation among the youths in Kolasib district. School is the first public institution, beyond the family environment with which the child comes into contact during the pre-adult phase of his/her life that extends from his/her childhood to adolescence. It is in the school that s/he gets formal education and instructions imparted by the teachers in a wide variety of ideas, values and skills on the basis of a deliberately framed syllabus. In the school, s/he not only learns formal curricular instructions, but also interacts regularly with teachers and fellow classmate and school mates and participates in extra-curricular activities as well. The school curriculum as well as extracurricular activities helps them to acquire new experience during the school years. The experiences acquire in the school gradually make them mature physically and their attitudes and orientation from childhood to adolescence. It also naturally shape and define their socio-political ideas and outlook to the society. Thus, the school seems to have tremendous potential to play the role as a 'political socializers' or as an agent of political socialisation. The role may be both manifest and latent political socialisation of student through

some major agencies and mechanisms such as the curriculum, the teacher etc.⁷

School is one of the most importance agents of political socialisation in the world. In most part of the world where much of education is formal and institutionalized, the role of the school in political socialisation is considered a major dimension of its task. A concern for the proper induction of youth into the political values and practices of society is pervasive and capable of penetrating every aspect of the curriculum. In modernizing nations, education is viewed as a major mechanism for progress of all kinds, and its potential for leading the march from inadequate to modern political institutions is clearly recognized.

In the School under Mizoram Board of School Education, the students learn about history, geography, political science, etc of Inida. The youth in Kolasib District believe that they learn about government and politics in the school. In fact, all the respondent in Kolasib town said that they learn something on politics during their school days. In Bukpui village, 62.5% of the respondent said that they learn politics in the School.⁸ All the respondent (both in Kolasib and Bukpui) told the scholar that they gain political knowledge and increase their political consciousness through

⁷ Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt. (1969). *Political Socialization*. Little Brown & Co: Boston. p.13

⁸ See Table 3.4

school education. They knew about the government and political leaders through education.⁹

Table 3.4: Did you study about government and politics during your school day?

Place	No. of Respondent	Yes	%	No	%
Bukpui	40	25	62.5	15	37.5
Kolasib town	60	100	100	-	-

Table 3.5: Did you learn about the political leaders of Mizoram during your school day?

Place	No. of Respondent	Yes	%	No	%
Bukpui	40	30	75	10	25
Kolasib town	60	54	90	6	10

The Mizo youth particularly the College student are not satisfied with the syllabus in the School. They suggested that the School syllabus should include about government, administration and the politics of Mizoram. They think the syllabus does not cover the importance of politics in every aspect of life. The teachers of Higher Secondary and also College Lecturer suggested that the syllabus is not good enough to make more political

⁹ See Table 3.4

awareness among the student.¹⁰ It should include about how politics shape the country and also provide on of politics to the students through seminars, conferences, workshop in schools, colleges and also in the locality. This will enhance the political consciousness among the youth in general and educated youth in particular. The political awareness programme is important to the youth.

3.3 Political Party

Political party play an important role as an agent of political socialisation among the youths of Kolasib District. Political party contribute significantly towards manifest political socialisation of the individual. It provides opportunities to him/her to gain direct political experiences through observation of or participation in various political events and occurrences such as elections campaign, casting of vote, debates and discussions in the Parliament and Assembly, governmental decisions and policies, role of the political leaders, roles of bureaucrats and public officials, agitation, etc. These direct political experiences obtained through the political process may acquaint him/her with political realities and therefore may “serve to correct or complete.”¹¹ However, the political process may exert determinative influence upon those socializees who are politically active and attentive

¹⁰ Interview with Mr. Thangchhuana, Lecturer Government Kolasib College by Scholar on Dt 2.10.2015 at his house.

¹¹ Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt. op.cit. p. 194

whereas for those who are not interested in and inattentive to politics, it is less likely to influence the formation of their political processes.¹²

During elections, political party organised public meetings, rallies, released party manifesto, etc. Political party also tries to enrol new members during the elections and also from time to time. Above all, party leaders, members and party candidate try their best to meet as many electorate as possible during the elections and try to convince them to cast their vote. In the process, people use to learn and gain political consciousness and awareness. When election is over, it does not have much effective role in inducting the youths into active politics. During election, political party is however one of the important agents of political socialisation. 55% of the respondent from Bukpui village said that they did not have any loyalty to any political party. 5% of them said that they like Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP), 25% of the respondent like Indian National Congress (INC) and 15% of the respondent like Mizo National Front (MNF). Among all of them only 12.5% have affiliation with political party and 87.5% did not enrol themselves with any political party.¹³

In Kolasib town, 53.33% of the respondent answer that they do not have party loyalty. 21.66% of the respondent however like INC, 20% of the respondent like MNF and 1.67% like other Party i.e. ZNP, BJP, AAP.

¹² *ibid* p-193

¹³ See Table 3.6

Among them 98.33% said they do not enrol with any political party. Only 1.67% has party affiliation.¹⁴

Table 3.6: Party Affiliation

Place	Congress	%	MNF	%	ZNP	%	Other	%	Neutral	%
Bukpui	2	5	3	7.5	-	-	-	-	35	87.5
Kolasib Town	1	1.67	-	-	-	-	-	-	59	98.33
Total	3	3.33	3	3.75	-	-	-	-	59	92.92

Source: Field Work

Among the students, neutral or those who did not have party affiliation is very high because they regard politics is not good to involve. They did not see any trustworthy politicians in Mizoram. In Kolasib town, among the respondent, 78.33% are students and none of them have any affiliation to political party. In Bukpui, 32.5% of the respondent are students and they also do not enrol in any political party.

3.4 Peer Group

Another agent of political socialisation among the youth of Kolasib District is the Peer Group. Peer Group refers to “a form of primary group composed of members sharing relatively equal status and intimate ties.”¹⁵ It is also known as “informal face to face group”. Peer Group can be included childhood playgroups, friendship circles and small work group in which members share relatively equal status and close ties. A peer group by its

¹⁴ See Table 3.6

¹⁵ Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt. op.cit. p.127

activities wants to influence the individual or puts pressure on him/her to accept his ideas and attitudes. An individual may become involved in political activities because of the influence of his close friend. In such cases, the individual changes his attitudes and ideas and presents the behaviour pattern as desired by his close friends circle.¹⁶

In Kolasib district, the youth discuss both the politics of the state and also national politics. In fact, 60.83%¹⁷ of the respondent discuss about politics with their friend. They talk and discuss normally day to day politics (happening) of the state. During elections, these youth discuss more often about the politics of the state, party politics, manifestos, candidates, etc. The knowledge or ideas they get through discussion among their friend however does not affect their political decision. In fact, 83.33% of the respondent in Kolasib town said that their political decision (example to whom s/he should cast the vote?) does not affect by the peer groups.

Table 3.7: Did you discuss about politics with your peer group?

Place	No. of respondent	Yes	%	No	%
Bukpui	40	26	65	14	35
Kolasib Town	60	34	56.66	26	43.33
Total	100	60	60.83	40	39.17

Source: Field Work

In Bukpui village, 77.5% of the respondent also said that peer group had no influence in making their political decision and the remaining 22.5%

¹⁶ Madhusmita Mishra. (2003). *Press and Political Socialization*. Dominant Publishers and Distributors: New Delhi. p.60

¹⁷ See Table 3.7

believed that that peer group had an influence in taking their political decision.¹⁸ In other words, the youth discuss and debate about politics with their colleagues. The discussion with their friends help them to understand and aware about the current politics in the state in particular. It means, peer group is an agent of political socialisation among the youth of the Kolasib district.

Table 3.8: Did peer group have any influence in making your political decision

Place	Respondent	Yes	%	No	%
Bukpui	40	9	22.5	31	77.5
Kolasib Town	60	10	16.67	50	83.33
Total	100	19	19	82	82

Source: Field Work

3.5 Mass Media

Mass media is another agent of political socialisation with universal exposure in modern societies. A study into the agencies of political socialisation would be incomplete without a reference to the role of mass media. It is said that “[M]edia are the agents of political socialisation and they do so in a highly complex manner”¹⁹ Exposure to mass media is very important for the development of political orientation among the individuals.

¹⁸ See Table 3.8

¹⁹ Lucian Pye. (1963). *Communication and Political Development*. Princeton University: Princeton

People get a great deal of information about politics from mass media. Mass media has gained more importance in the recent year. It has been trying to be a feedback mechanism and research technique for the assessment and interpretation of public opinion. The mass media help in promoting political values along with social values. They serve as the store house of political information, distributor of political messages and powerful makers of public opinion.

Mass media play an important role in the process of political socialisation among the youths in particular and the general populace. This is very true in Kolasib district of Mizoram also. In Kolasib, most of the people learn about politics from television. People do read newspaper daily and know about politics and others from it. Actually, 62.5% of the respondent from Bukpui village said that they learnt about political information from television news. Again 12.5% of the respondents know about politics from newspaper. Most of the youth said that they did not subscribe newspaper however they watch television news regularly. For them, TV is the main source of political news. In Bukpui village, only 4 houses have subscribed newspaper out of 40 household.²⁰ The same trend also witnessed in Kolasib town. In fact, 58.33% and 38.33% of the respondent learn about politics through TV and newspaper respectively in Kolasib town and Bukpui village.²¹ Here, it is important to mention that the youth in Kolasib town read newspaper more regularly than that of Bukpui

²⁰ See Table 3.11

²¹ See Table 3.9

village. It is basically because Kolasib town is the district headquarter. Moreover, the town is pass through by National Highway (Aizawl - Silchar) No. 54. It means the communication is better in Kolasib town than Bukpui. As a result, newspapers do not come in time and not very regular in Bukpui village. Therefore, people are not interested to read newspaper. The people of Bukpui depend more on Television (the local network) for state news.²²

Table 3.9: Mass media as a source of getting information on political consciousness or knowledge

Place	Television news	%	Newspaper	%	Total	%
Bukpui	25	62.5	5	12.5	30	75
Kolasib Town	35	58.33	23	38.33	58	96.67
Total	60	60.42	28	25.41	88	85.83

Source: Field Work

Table 3.10: Do you read newspaper regularly?

Place	Newspaper	Regularly	%	No	%	Often	%
Bukpui	40	4	10	13	32.5	23	57.5
Kolasib Town	60	20	33.33	2	3.33	38	63.34
Total	100	24	21.65	15	17.92	61	60.43

Source: Field Work

²² See Table 3.10

Table 3.11: Questionnaire respondent regarding subscription of newspaper

Place	No. of Household	Yes	%	No	%
Bukpui	40	4	10	36	90
Kolasib Town	60	53	83.33	7	16.67
Total	100	57	46.66	43	53.34

Source: Field Work

Chapter 4

Role of Church and other Civil Society Organisation in the process of Political Socialisation in Kolasib District

The Church and Civil Society Organisations are important agents of political socialization in Mizoram. They are influential and effective in Mizo society. Mizo are religious and the religious institution in Mizoram engage in socio-political activities in nature apart from religious activities. The Mizo considers themselves to be cent-per-cent Christians.¹ Religion is a strong basis for civil society in Mizoram. The churches in Mizoram involve in civil activities like helping the poor and weaker sections of the society.

The story of the phenomenal conversion of the Mizo to Christianity is taken as very significant “because it is also in a way the story of political and administrative development of the people in the region.”² After the conversion, Christianity become the only religion of the Mizo, it acted as a strong agent of modernisation also. It brought about changes in their traditional customs, and gave them formal western education which direct and indirectly made them socio-politically conscious. Indeed the arrival of Christianity provides a new sense of common identity to the Mizo and later

¹ J.C Zomuanthanga. (2008). ‘The Civil Society in Mizoram: A Study of the Church & YMA’ in J.K Patnaik (ed) *Peace and Development in Mizoram*. op.cit, p.236

² ibid

on dominated the politics of the state.³ During the times of insurgency period in Mizoram, the Church played a very important role regarding peacemaking between Mizo National Front (MNF) and Government of India. The Church in Mizoram actively involved in bringing peace and normalcy in the state.

There are different denominations of Churches in Mizoram. Almost all the major denomination of the Christianity is also serving in Mizoram. Some of the Churches in Mizoram are Presbyterian Church, Baptist Church of Mizoram, Salvation Army, Salvation Church, Roman Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist, United Pentecostal Church (North East) and United Pentecostal Church (Mizoram) and many more. Presbyterian Church is the biggest denomination followed by the Baptist Church of Mizoram (BCM). The Churches play the role of a socialising agent among the youth in particular and the public in general. Politically, Christianity has been a strong modernising agent or factor among the Mizo. The efforts of some Churches particularly Mizoram Presbyterian Church to impart morality in politics, especially during the election can be cited here. Since the first State Legislative Assembly election in 1972, the Mizoram Presbyterian Church has been issuing “election message” during each campaign. Each message urges the parties to carefully choose candidates of honourable and

³ J.C Zomuanthanga. op.cit. p. 236

upright character and to conduct the elections with integrity and decency.⁴ Consequently, the Church becomes an agent of political socialisation among the church member.

4.1 Role of the Church

The Churches in Mizoram in general confined their involvement and participation in the electoral process in the form of prayers, request and appeals. In Bukpui and Kolasib town where the field work was carried out, many denominational church are there. In both places some of them are Presbyterian Church, Baptist Church, United Pentecostal Church (North East and Mizoram), Salvation Army, Roman Catholic, etc. Presbyterian Church is the largest denomination member and during the times of election the role church of the church is very important. Because it gives awareness among church member to cast their vote according to their sense and vote the person who is god abide person and good for the state.

The awareness programme organised by the Presbyterian Church of Mizoram is actually conducted by a separate branch of the Church known as Social Front Committee. The functions of Social Front Committee are as follows:

⁴ J.C Zomuanthanga. op.cit. p. 237

1. To give awareness campaign through literature and seminar about Family life, Political Education, Economy according to the Christian principles.
2. To look for the need of relief and rehabilitation and to help people in all possible ways.
3. To work for the equal distribution of development in the state and to urge the state government in this respect
4. To prevent class and caste discrimination among Christians
5. To work in co-operation with outside Christian organisations to combat social evils and for the progress of the society.⁵

The primary aim of the Social Front is to give teaching and guidelines for Christian involvement in society and politics by means of seminar, booklets, campaign etc. Social Front is very active during election period but after the Mizoram People Forum is established, the role of Social Front is now taken care of by the MPF. The Church did not actively involved in politics but it played many roles during elections. The Synod⁶ issue election message among its church in Mizoram and each message urges the parties to carefully choose candidates of honourable and upright character and to conduct the elections with integrity and decency. The Presbyterian Church in Bukpui and in Kolasib town also takes necessary action among their members during election time. The election message of the Synod was read out in the church and also takes

⁵ Vanlalchhuanawma. (2007). *Mizoram Presbyterian Church: A History of Development*. Aizawl Theological College. Aizawl. p. 168

⁶ Synod is the highest decision making body in Presbyterian church in Mizoram

necessary steps to implement it. In Bukpui Presbyterian Church, the election message had good impression among the member. Also the Church has played and organised seminar and interaction among the Church member about political education. The programme helps the members to make more aware of politics.⁷

Other churches particularly Salvation Army and United Pentecostal Church (N.E) did not have any engagement in politics or political awareness among their members. They did not join the MPF. However they did confirm that their Church members participate in MPF activities.⁸

In Kolasib town, there are three Presbyterian Pastorate Church i.e. Kolasib Venglai Pastorate, Diakkawn Pastorate, Hmarveng Pastorate. The research scholar had visited two Pastorate Venglai and Diakkawn. The role of Presbyterian Church in this two Pastorate is almost the same with other Presbyterian Churches. They organise political education or awareness among church member as much as possible. They also work with Social Front Committee, they organise political awareness among the member of the church. One of the interviewee said that Church and State cannot separate from each other and it is like head and tail in a coin. So, Church cannot separate from politics. Church has a responsibility to make aware its members about politics.⁹

⁷ Interview with Presbyterian Church Pastor Lalchhanhima, Bukpui by the Scholar on 30.9.2015

⁸ Interview with Upa Biakthansanga, UPE (N.E) Bukpui by the Scholar on 30.9.2015

⁹ Interview with Kolasib Venglai Church Pastor Biaksailova by the Scholar on 2.10.2015

Besides this, the church had organised a political education among the youths. Also, they have a local Mizoram People Forum.

In their respective area, during election time, the Church distribute political awareness leaflet in their church member house and speak about political awareness in the church. In the church, the Kristian Thalai Pawl¹⁰ have organise separate political awareness among the youth members. In this way they introduce their church member into politics. The church should organise more awareness programme regarding political education, because church and government cannot separate each other. They have to work together hand in hand. But, there should not be any hatred among them, because Mizoram is a Christian state and without Church, Government cannot do anything.¹¹

Church organised several awareness campaigns during the elections. The church even had a political awareness sermon during the election. The Church also made a political awareness publication in their local church newspaper and also works together with Kristian Thalai Pawl and local Young Mizo Association. Kolasib Diakkawn Pastorate conducted political awareness among the members of the church. The publication of pamphlet or election message made by the Synod has huge impact on the church member. The interviewee suggested that political education can be added more in the Sunday School curriculum. The children can develop more socio-political awareness when they

¹⁰ Kristian Thalai Pawl is the Christian Youth Fellowship of Presbyterian Church

¹¹ Interview with Kolasib Diakkawn Pastor Lalremruata by the Scholar on 2.10.2015

become an adult.¹² So, the role play by the Church is important in the political spheres.

In Kolasib Town, Baptist Church is the 2nd largest denomination in terms of membership in Kolasib town. The Baptist Church policy is not to interfere with politics. The Church however gives political education to its member during the time of election. The General Headquarters, Baptist Church of Mizoram circulate pamphlets and read out in the church. The pamphlets and some circulation had made a huge significant impact among the Church member during elections. The Baptist Church had no ties with Mizoram People Forum. The Church takes steps regarding political activities when it's feel necessary.¹³ The Baptist Church Pastor also agreed that Church is one of the agents of Political Socialisation.¹⁴

4.2 Role of Kristian Thalai Pawl

Kristian Thalai Pawl was established on 22nd February 1974¹⁵. The Christian Youth Fellowship is the youth wing of the Presbyterian Church of Mizoram for the benefit of the Church in general and the youth in particular. Right from its inception, the Christian Youth Fellowship commonly known as the 'KTP' has been a platform to strengthen youth fellowship, sharing of leadership and pooling together of talents. It enables and helps its members to

¹² Interview with Kolasib Diakkawn Pastor Lalremruata by the Scholar on 2.10.2015.

¹³ Interview with Baptist Pastor Zonunfela Ralte by the Scholar on 2.10.2015

¹⁴ *ibid*

¹⁵ <http://cktp.blogspot.in/p/history.html>

be closer to each other and to respect and express concern for each other. The KTP has been coordinating the youth works of different Districts and Branches and promoting closer ties to each other. As KTP is only a fellowship, it neither interferes in Church courts nor questions the authority of any decisions taken by the Synod. On the other hand, it tries to be of greater service to the church as well as promoting activities among the youth. Its aim and objective are as follows:

1. To guide the youths in faith and in the likeness of Jesus Christ.
2. To prepare the youth to be the pillar of the Church.
3. To fulfil the mission of the Church.
4. To preach the Gospel.¹⁶

Central Kristian Thalai Pawl (CKTP) publishes out a pamphlet or election message during elections. This election message was read out in different local Kristian Thalai Pawl to aware more politics in the state. Local Kristian Thalai Pawl (KTP) organise political awareness among their members.

In Bukpui village, the local Kristian Thalai Pawl had organised some campaign among their members. Later on, KTP joined hands with the Presbyterian Church, Bukpui and work together for political awareness programmes.

¹⁶ <http://mizoramynod.org/index.php?phek=bawm&bid=7>

In Kolasib town, KTP is more active as compare to Bukpui Village in regard to political awareness and campaign. There were more awareness campaign among the KTP members. KTP also take separate charge from the Church. They organised different programme which can help in the political socialisation process. KTP Venglai Pastorate Conference, Kolasib held in January, 2015 one of their agenda was to make aware their members in politics and also made a circulation among the members of their Pastorate. The circulation was about the Mizoram Liquor Prohibition and Control (MLPC) Act; KTP Venglai Pastorate Conference in 2015 also passed an agenda not to open shop or open a Liquor Bar inside their pastorate.¹⁷ It affects members to make political awareness and also gain political consciousness. In other words, Kristian Thalai Pawl help in guiding the youths to gain political knowledge and made them influence in politics in some way or other. This made them aware and gain some thought in politics. It helps them to transform their concept of politics.

4.3 MIZORAM PEOPLE FORUM (MPF)

Mizoram Synod is the largest denomination church in Mizoram. It plays a very important role in the life of the Mizo people, not only for their members. The influence of Mizoram Synod is very strong especially in the field of social and political apart from the teaching of the 'Christ'. In political field, the Synod

¹⁷ Interview with KTP Venglai Pastorate Secretary Mr Laldinpuia by the Scholar on 2.10.2015

plays a very important role from 1952, i.e. the starting point of Parliamentary Democracy in Mizo Hills District Council of Assam (the present Mizoram). During the time of election, Mizoram Synod work very hard to conduct the election in a free and fair manner in the state.

An organisation called as Mizoram People Forum (MPF) was set up with the initiative of the Synod in 2006. It is a turning point in the political history of Mizoram in the sense that MPF tries to bring electoral reform particularly in election campaign. MPF has nine constitutional members. They are:

1. Mizoram Presbyterian Church
2. Catholic Church, Mizoram
3. Wesleyan Methodist Church
4. Evangelical Church of Maraland
5. Evangelical Free Church of India
6. Lairam Isua Krista Kohran
7. Young Mizo Association
8. Mizoram Upa Pawl
9. Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl

The Chairman of the MPF is the Synod Moderator and the post of General Secretary is also hold by the Synod. This organisation was established because the Mizoram Legislative Assembly elections, 2003 was not conducted

in a free and fair manner. It means distribution of money and use of muscle power was witnessed in that election. These practised of unfair means in the elections were not healthy for the future of Mizoram. The Synod wanted to rectify and reform the state politics in Mizoram and set up the organization of Mizoram People Forum on 21st June, 2006.¹⁸

Mizoram People Forum largely involved in the reform of politics and Government, but it does not involve in party politics. The mission statement of Mizoram People Forum is to have a good governance, peace and harmony, progressive, just and sustainable socio-economic development and freedom to cooperate with Churches and Non- Governmental Organisation.¹⁹

Some of the important aims and objectives are-

- 1) For the existence of the virtuous and effective government which works cooperatively with the churches and the NGOs.
- 2) For the existence of good and fair government.
- 3) For the existence of a democratic government through a free and fair election in accordance with the election rules under the Indian Constitution.
- 4) For the abolishment of coercion and corruption for a free and fair election.
- 5) To educate the people of Mizoram to follow the right path of development

¹⁸ Constitution of Mizoram People Forum published by Mizoram People Forum. 2014

¹⁹ Interview with Upa Laremthanga, General Secretary MPF by the Scholar on Dt 4.11.2015

- 6) To negotiate with the government regarding development, discuss matters of policy and cooperate with the government.
- 7) To advice the government whereby good governance can exist in the state.
- 8) To educate the people of Mizoram to be responsible citizens in terms of honesty, fairness and diligence, so the people can live a happy and honest life by receiving what they are entitled to and also being informed about what they need to know.²⁰

The Mizoram People Forum has signed an agreement with all the political parties in Mizoram in the last Assembly election 2013. Elections campaigns in Mizoram are under the guidance of MPF. Mizoram People Forum organised a joint platform to have a public speech by the candidates. The violation of rules and regulations by candidates or parties are published or announce in the public through newspaper and local TV networks. The Indian Express said, “Poll with a difference: The Church’s Code of Conduct is more stringent than the Election Commission’s and it is followed.”²¹ In short, the MPF under the guidance of Mizoram Synod tries to bring free and elections, good governance and maintain peace and normalcy in the state. it tries to play a role model for electoral reform in India.

The heart and soul of the MPF is the local unit/branch establish in every locality/village in Mizoram. In Bukpui village, a local branch of the MPF was

²⁰ *Constitution of Mizoram People Forum*. (2014). Mizoram People Forum. Aizawl. p-4

²¹ <http://www.ijsr.net/archive/v3i8/MDIwMTUzODk%3D.pdf>

formed immediately after the MPF was formed in Aizawl. In Bukpui, Presbyterian Church and others NGO are fully co-operate to one another. They organise common platform in Village Council elections and also made awareness programme to the people. The local branch of the Mizoram People Forum in Bukpui village bring political awareness to the people especially among the youths. Most of the youths in Bukpui village claimed that they did not have any party affiliation. They are aware of the state politics because of the awareness programme of the MPF. The research scholar interviewed the Chairman of the MPF local unit in Bukpui. He said that when the common platform was organised by MPF during elections, it attracts several youth to participate and these youths raised questions to the candidate.²² The MPF can bring changes in the minds of the youths. In other words, MPF does a commendable job in providing a common platform for all the candidates in every election. It helps the youth to understand the candidates and their manifestos better. It also provides an opportunity to raise different questions and issues to the candidate about their aim and objectives of the Constituency.

The role play by Mizoram People Forum in bringing political awareness to the people is very important. The MPF local unit in Kolasib had made contribution in making and organise political awareness or consciousness in the mind of the people of Kolasib town. In the last Mizoram State Legislative Assembly elections, the MPF organised a live talk show with the candidate of

²² Interview with Bukpui MPF Local Unit Chairman Pastor Lalchhanhima by the Scholar on 30.9.2015

all political party in Diakkawn Hall. The MPF also organised different form of political awareness and education programme to the people of Kolasib town. It brings some positive change in the mind of the people.

4.5 Role of Young Mizo Association

Young Mizo Association (Y.M.A) was formed in June 15, 1935. (discuss in detail in Chapter 2). The Young Mizo Association (Y.M.A) pledges three objectives to its members, viz.

- (i). Good use / Proper utilisation of leisure time
- (ii). Reverence for a good Christian life
- (iii). Striving towards a holistic development of the Mizo society.²³

The Constitution of the YMA, 1935 is known as ‘*Dan Bu*’. It elaborated the objectives as:

“YMA will create an atmosphere so that youth may fully utilise their leisure in a profitable way so that they may live a life proper and healthy. Imitating Christian ways of living in every respect, it should be a Christian-like Association. It should mainly aim at showing a manner that of Christ. This Association would organise debates, discussions and drama. It would

²³ <http://www.centralyma.org.in/>

*encourage games like hockey, football, badminton etc. It would also inspire the members to have indoor games and books to read at home.”*²⁴

The Young Mizo Association is the largest and the most powerful and influential civil organization in Mizoram. The present enrolment of Y.M.A members has crossed over 4,04,535²⁵ till the last General Conference in Bairabi, held on 21st-23rd October 2015. Young Mizo Association plays a very important role in the state politics. In the last General Conference, 2015, they passed several agenda which are political and administrative in nature. Some of them are as follows:

1. For the speedy skill development in Mizoram, YMA must take up necessary action(s).
2. To celebrate *Remna Ni* (Peace Day) on June 30 by all the people in Mizoram with one commemoration. This is basically because YMA viewed that *Remna Ni* is celebrated by different political parties with divergent political views
3. To make more stringent laws on drug in Mizoram by the Government of Mizoram.
4. The dictum of 2016 Young Mizo Association is decided to be as ‘Protection of land and culture’.

²⁴ <http://www.centralyma.org.in/constitution/>

²⁵ Vanglaini Dated 22nd, October, 2015

Young Mizo Association uses to engage in different socio-economic and political field. It helps the government when the government needs them. They also expressed their opinion and protest if the government tries to frame any policy (ies) which is/are against the interest of the Mizo society. For example, YMA along with other members of the NGO Co-ordinating member (Mizoram Upa Pawl, Mizo Zirlai Pawl, Mizo Student Union and Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl) launched protest rallies and called a 72 hour bandh from 7th April 2014. The bandh was against the Election Committee decision to allow Bru refugees in Tripura relief camps to cast their votes through postal ballot for the Lok sabha seat from Mizoram. They obstructed all polling party to leave the district headquarters for Lok Sabha election duty.²⁶ The protest forced the Election Commission to bow down to the conglomerate of powerful civil society organisations in Mizoram. “The Election Commission has agreed to our demand that Bru voters lodged in Tripura refugees’ camps in future should exercise their franchise in Mizoram” said by Lalbiakzuala, Chairman of the Joint NGO Co-ordination Committee and the President of the Central YMA while calling off the bandh on 8th April, 2014.²⁷ It can be mentioned here that YMA use to protest or demonstrate if they do not agree with the policies or programme of the government from time to time. In the process, many of their members in particular and the public in general got different socio-political

²⁶ Vanglaini dated 1st April 2014 Volume No XXIX No 81

²⁷ ibid

awareness. So, it can be said that YMA is one of the important agents of political socialisation in Mizoram.

Many political leaders in Mizoram are former leaders of the Young Mizo Association in one way or another. T. Sangkunga is the former YMA President involved in politics after his President term was over. He was elected as a Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) in the last election of Legislative Assembly in 2013. It is from the YMA that they learnt how to deal with the public. In fact YMA provides them an excellent political training ground. It can be cited here that the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly, 1972 (the first of its kind for Mizoram) the elected members of State Legislative Assembly include five of the Young Mizo Association (Y.M.A)'s Office Bearer.

In Bukpui village, the YMA help the poor and needy people in the village. They help the poor people while constructing their house. YMA also help the villager when people face any kind of natural calamity like landslide. YMA involves in voluntary work and organise programmes for socialising its members. The Research Scholar interview with the Secretary of Bukpui Young Mizo Association branch and he said that they organise political education and awareness programmes among the youths with the help of the Mizoram People Forum. They work with the Mizoram People Forum during elections however their role in politics is very less. In Kolasib town, the local YMA organised political awareness programme for its members. This makes their members

more aware of the state politics. The role of YMA can be described as both manifest and latent political socialisation. It is because YMA directly organised political awareness programme for the youth (it may be with MPF local unit). Further YMA also engage in social activities which shape the minds of the youth. In short, YMA makes the people more civilise and positive in their outlook, attitudes and orientation towards their society.

4.7 Role of Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP)

Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl is a voluntary organisation of the Mizo women. The motto of MHIP is “service to others”. The basic principle of the MHIP is based on philanthropic social work without any expectation for any return (benefit or profit). It aims to create a state of welfare in which every individual is cared for irrespective of their Caste or Creed. However, since it is being a women organisation, most of their activities emphasis on the upliftment of women and children. The objective of MHIP is to uplift the status of women in Mizo society and prepare to make more responsibilities in the society. Mizo Society is a patriarchal society. Women and children in the society are generally considered inferior to man. In modern society, man and women are considering as equal. However, some sections of the male community still believe that man and women are different. They think themselves as more powerful and stronger than women. In Mizo society, such people do exist. They do not care about

morality and ethics. The MHIP take up such issues in the society. The MHIP criticised such act strongly as discriminatory and unjust to the destitute women. The MHIP takes up the issue to higher authority in the state.

The Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl plays an important role in the Mizo society particularly for the upliftment of women. The Association encourage its members to take necessary steps to empower women in the society. Empowerment of women will make the women stronger and they can participate actively in the decision making process. The reservation of women seat in Local Council and Aizawl Municipal Corporation in Mizoram made them more aware in politics because they have to participate actively in the political process. MHIP organised seminar, published booklet for the benefit of the women.

In Bukpui village, the MHIP engaged themselves in different activities that make their members more aware in politics and political participation. Every year MHIP celebrated MHIP Day on 6th July in Mizoram. On MHIP day, the Bukpui Branch celebrated by helping widows of their locality and also engages in voluntary work for the Village community. This helps the members of the MHIP in socialising each other in the society. MHIP, Bukpui Branch also organise awareness campaign among their members regarding women empowerment and promoting the welfare of women in the society. In Kolasib town, the situation is almost the same with Bukpui. The MHIP in Kolasib town organise many Seminar and campaign among the members for promoting

empowerment of women more than Bukpui Branch. They publish booklet to improve the living standard of women. Many of the MHIP leaders were also actively involved in politics. The role played by MHIP in promoting the welfare of the women in the Kolasib district had a tremendous influence among the youth especially the female youth. The role of MHIP help its members in particular and generally the female youth to understand and aware about politics in the state.

From the above, one can see the importance of Church and other civil society organisation like Young Mizo Association, Mizoram People Forum, Kristian Thalai Pawl (KTP), Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP) in the Mizo society. All the organisation engage in some kind of socio-economic and political issues and concerns in their society. These organisations are very helpful to the common people and the youth in particular. The focus of most of the organisation is to bring development and welfare in Mizo society. In the process of their engagement with socio-political activities, the youth (in particular) learn and got socio-political awareness through their programmes or through interaction among them. In other words, the civil society organisation plays an important role as an agent of political socialisation in Mizo society.

Chapter 5

Findings and Conclusion

Political socialisation is very important for political development. It emphasises on the perpetuation of political values and transmitted across generations. It also seeks to inculcate political values, norms and orientations in the minds of the individual so that they develop trust in their political system. The process of political socialisation made them well-functioning citizens and leaves their indelible imprints on the minds of their successors. It plays an important role in every aspect of human life. It is through which the politics is inducted to another.

The term ‘political socialisation’ was first used by Herbert H. Hyman in 1959. The concept of political socialisation is a product of the study on western political system. It is very important to enquire the politics which affected the social life of an individual or group of people. Political socialisation is one of the most promising approaches to understand political stability and development. Its special significance in the modern world is the consequence of the great changes which affect the contemporary societies. According to G.A Almond and G. Bingham Powell, “Political socialisation is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed”.¹ It means political

¹ G.A Almond and G.Powell. op.cit p.64

cultures are preserving and promote by different agents of political socialisation. Political socialisation also tries to bring new political culture in the system from time to time. In other words, political socialisation and political culture are closely related to one another.

Political socialisation has become very important for understanding the political culture and participation of the people in politics. Without political socialisation man cannot socialise in the field of politics. Political socialisation enlightened the people. It is a source of stability in the political system and also a source of legitimacy for the authority. The study of political socialisation provides valuable information about the nature and level of political participation among the people in the system. It can be used to analyse the stability of political system in a country. According to David Easton, political socialization is a key variable to understand the political system.

Coming to Mizoram, political socialisation plays an important role in Mizo society. It transmits the Mizo political culture inherited from the past to the modern era. Political socialisation of the Mizo can be traced back to the era of Chieftainship. During the time, the most important agents of socialisation was the *Zawlbuk* (Bachelor's House or Dormitory of the Youth), the nerve centre of the Mizo society. It shaped the Mizo youths as a responsible adult member of the society. During the time, all the male community after they attend the age of 15 or 16, enter the *Zawlbuk* house. In the *Zawlbuk*, the youths

were trained about the customs and traditions of the Mizo. The youth sleep together in the *Zawlbuk* house at night. They shared their views among them on their different topics ranging from day-to-day life to culture and tradition, politics, etc. In other words, the youth interact freely among them. In the process, the youth gained lots of new knowledge and ideas about their culture, tradition, politics, etc. The institution of *Zawlbuk* however becomes irrelevant in the Mizo society due to conversion of Mizo to Christianity and the introduction of modern education to the Mizo by the Missionaries. Ultimately, it discontinued during the British period from 1938.

Some other important agents of political socialisation during the traditional Mizo society were *Inlawm* (working together in the field), *Ramchhuah*, (hunting), etc. Mizo society is an agrarian society. Jhumming or shifting cultivation was the backbone of traditional Mizo society. During the time, “*inlawm*” played a significant role in socialising each other. They discussed different topics regarding what is happening in the village and became aware of the socio-political phenomena of the village.

“*Ramchhuah*” was another important agent of Political socialisation among the traditional Mizo society. In traditional Mizo society, hunting had a huge impact in the life of the youths. During hunting, the youth learned how to work as a team by helping one another. It helps them when they grow up. This is a kind of latent political socialization in the sense that it is non-political

attitude and orientations but still shape their individual orientation about their society.

In the modern Mizo society and particularly among the youth in Kolasib district, family is the most important agents of political socialisation. In fact, 65.41% of the respondent said that family is the most important agents of political socialisation. It means family is the primary influence among the Mizo in developing the child's political orientation, due to cordial and constant relationship between parents and child.

Next to family, mass media become the second important agent of political socialisation. Among the youths (in Kolasib in particular and the youth in general), mass media play a major role in socialising among them. The youth use mass media, like television and newspaper as the sources of getting information about political news and other. Exactly, 85.83% of the respondent in Kolasib district said that they get information on politics from mass media. Among them, 60.41% said that they learnt about politics or political news from television news. And, 25.41% of them said that they get information about politics from newspaper. In other words, the contribution of the mass media as sources of getting information and promoting political socialisation process among the youths is enormous and cannot be challenged. The role of mass media as an agent of political socialisation will be much more in the days to come.

After mass media, school is the next important agent of political socialisation among the youth in Mizoram. In the school, they learn about history, geography, political science, etc in social science text book. In social science text book, there is a section on Indian polity which they learn about the Indian Constitution, democracy, parliament, political party, etc. It helped them to understand and aware about their rights and duties as a citizen of India. The educated elite particularly the school teachers believe that the school syllabus under Mizoram Board of School Education (MBSE) is not good enough and out-dated to give political education among the student. The main reason is that there is no political history of Mizoram and also about Mizoram government and politics in the school curriculum. So, the school teachers wanted to revise and update the syllabus by incorporating Mizo history and politics of Mizoram.

Another important agent of political socialisation is political party. Political party however is not very effective as compare to family, school and mass media in Mizoram particularly among the youth. It becomes effective only during elections by inducting the youths as their party members. No doubt, the role of political party is important; however the youth in Kolasib district are not interested to party politics. Among the respondent, 92.92% claim that they did not have any loyalty and affiliation to political party.

Peer group is also an agent of political socialisation among the youths of Kolasib district. The youth discuss freely about politics (and other) with their colleague during their leisure time and also in their work place. During the

discussion, they learn many things about their society in general and politics in particular. The discussion among the peer group (in Kolosib district) did not have much influence in taking political decision. Only 19.5% of the respondent said that the peer group had an effect in their political decision. And, the remaining respondent (80.42%) held the view that it did not have any influence in drawing a political decision.

Last but not the least, Civil Society Organizations like Church, Young Mizo Association (YMA), Kristian Thalai Pawl (KTP), Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP) and Mizoram People Forum played an important role in the process of political socialisation in Mizoram. They have been engaging themselves in several socio-political activities among the youth. They initiated various socio-political reforms in Mizoram. It can be mentioned here that the Churches (particularly Mizoram Presbyterian Church) with YMA and other formed a forum—the Mizoram People Forum (MPF), to remove electoral mal-practices in Mizoram. The MPF organized conferences, workshops, camps for political education among the people in general. The youth wanted the civil organisations to organise more such seminars and conferences in the future. The youth expect them to organise more awareness or seminar which is political in nature. Many of the youth (while interviewing by the scholar) expressed their opinion that they did not learn much new ideas or knowledge about politics from the civil society organizations. Actually, they did not regard the civil society as the main source of understanding or learning about politics or

political knowledge. This is basically because the activities of these organization are socio-religious in nature and not political. It can be noted here that the role of civil society organization in promoting political socialization is latent. It is a latent political socialization in the sense that the youth learnt from civil society organizations are mainly non-political attitude and orientations which shape their individual orientation about their society.

Abbreviations

AAP	Aam Aadami Party
APHLC	All Party Hills Leaders' Conference
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
ECI	Election Commission of India
INC	Indian National Congress
KTP	Kristian Thalai Pawl
MPC	Mizoram People Conference
MLTP	Mizoram Liquor Total Prohibition
MLPC	Mizoram Liquor Prohibition and Control
MNF	Mizo National Front
MNFF	Mizo National Famine Front
MU	Mizo Union
MPF	Mizoram People Forum
MHIP	Mizo Hmeicche Insuihkhawm Pawl
MUP	Mizo Upa Pawl
MSU	Mizo Student Union
MZP	Mizo Zirlai Pawl
SAY	Salvation Army Youth
TKP	Thalai Kristian Pawl
UMFO	United Mizo Freedom Organisation
YLA	Young Lushai Association
YMA	Young Mizo Association
ZNP	Zoram Nationalist Party

Bibliography:

A) Books:

Ashraft, Ali & Sharma, L.N. (1983). *Political Sociology: A Realistic Approach*. University Publishers: New Delhi.

Almond, G.A, & Powell, G. (1966). *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*. Amerind Publication Pvt. Ltd.: New York.

Almond, G.A, & Verba, Sidney. (1989). *The Civic Culture*. Sage Publication Inc.: New Delhi.

Compendium: The Baptist Church of Mizoram. (2003). Centenary Committee, Baptist Church of Mizoram: Lunglei.

Chaube, S.K (1999). *Hill Politics in Northeast India*. Orient Longman: New Delhi.

Guru, S.P. (2015). *Theory of Political Sociology*. Concept Publishing Company Pvy, Ltd.: New Delhi.

Gupta, S.K. (1975). *Citizen in the Making*. National Publishing House: Delhi.

Hyman, Herbert H. (1959). *Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour*. The Macmillan Company: New York.

Jayapalan, N. (2001). *Comparative Politics and Political Analysis*. Atlantic Publisher: New Delhi.

- Jena, Saraj Kumar. (2002). *Political Sociology*. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.: New Delhi.
- Johari, J.C. (1982). *Comparative Politics*. Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.: New Delhi.
- Kipgen, Mangkhosat. (1996). *Christianity and Mizo Culture*. Eastern Theological College: Assam.
- T. Lalsangliana. (2010). 'Ethnic Nationalism and Insurgency Movements in North East India with special reference to Mizo Nationalism'. In Bharul Islam Laskar. (ed). *Mizoram: The Emerging Issues of Development*. DVS Publishers: Guwahati.
- Lalhmachhuana Zofa. (2013). *Mizoram Political Records*. Published by the Author: Aizawl.
- Lalchungnunga. (1994). *Mizoram Politics of Regionalism and National Integration*. Reliance Publishing House: New Delhi.
- Lorrain, J.H. (1904). 'Baptist Mission Report 1904'. In *The Annual Report of BMS on Mizoram*, Mizoram Gospel Centenary Committee: Lunglei.
- Merriam, J. Lloyd. (1991). *History of the Church in Mizoram (Harvest in the Hills)*. Synod Publication Board: Aizawl.
- Mishra, Madhusmita. (2003). *Press and Political Socialization*. Dominant Publication: New Delhi.

- Mohandi, D.K. (1999). *Higher Education and Student Politics*. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.: New Delhi.
- Mukhupadhyay, Amal Kumal. (1977). *Political Sociology*. KP Bagchi & Company: Calcutta.
- Nagla, B.K. (1999). *Political Sociology*. Rawat Publications: Jaipur.
- Perry, N.E. (1976). *A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*. Tribal Research Institute: Aizawl.
- Prasad. R.N. (1992). Mizo National Front Party and its Activities: A study. In L.S. Gassah. (1992). *Regional Political Parties in North East India*. Omsons Publications: New Delhi & Guwahati.
- Prasad, R.N and. Agarwal, A.K. (1991). *Political & Economic Development of Mizoram*. Mittal Publications: New Delhi.
- Rao, V.Venkata (1976, 1995 Rp). *A Century of Tribal Politics in North east India 1874-1974*. S. Chand & Company Ltd: New Delhi.
- Rao, V. Venkata, Thangsanga, H. and Hazarika, Niru (1987). *A Century of Government and Politics in North-East India, Volume-III—Mizoram*. S. Chand & Company (Pvt) Ltd: New Delhi.
- Reid, A.S (1976). *Chin Lushai Land*. Firma KLM, Calcutta.
- Rokhuma, K.L. (2003). 'Contribution of the Missionaries in Mizoram Education'. In *Compendium The Baptist Church of Mizoram*, The Centenary Committee Baptist Church of Mizoram: Lunglei.
- Roach, Penelope.(1967). *Political Socialisation in the New Nations of Africa*. Teachers College Press: New York.

Sangkima, (1992). *Mizos: Society and Social Change*. Spectrum Publications: Delhi.

Sangkima. (2004). *Essays on the History of the Mizos*. Spectrum Publication: Guwahati.

Sangkhumi, B. (2009). *Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl Chanchin*. Published by the Author: Aizawl.

Singh, Haridwar. (1983). *Democratic Orientation of Students in India*. Concept Publishing Company: New Delhi

Statistical Handbook, Mizoram. 2012, Directorate of Economics & Statistics

Varshey, Uma. (1983). *Education for Political Socialization*. Manekshi Prakashan Publication: New Delhi.

Xaxa, Johani. (2003). *Political Culture of the Tribal Political Leaders*. Soloni Publishing House: New Delhi.

Zakhuma, K.M. (2001). *Political Development in Mizoram from 1946 to 1989*. Sangkungi: Aizawl.

B) Articles in the Journals:

Abramson, Paul R. Political Socialisation in English and American Secondary School. *The High School Journal*. 54 (2), (1970). Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40365872> (Retrieve on 23/09/2015)

Atkin, Charles K. & Walter, Gantz. Television News and Political Socialisation. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 42 (2), (1978). Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4285937> (Retrieve on 27/01/2015)

- Cary, Charles D. Peer Groups in the Political Socialisation of Soviet School Children. *Social Science Quarterly*.55 (2), (1974). Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42859374> (Retrieve on 27/01/2015)
- Davies, James C. The family's role in Political Socialisation. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.361, (1965).
- Dowse, Robert E & Hughes, John. The Family, The School and the Political Socialisation Process. *Sociology*.5(1), (1971). Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42851011> (Retrieve on 27/01/2015)
- Easton, David. Theoretical Relevance of Political Socialisation. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*.1 (2), (1968). Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3231602> (Retrieve on 09/02/2015)
- Gustafsson, Gunnel. Political Socialisation Studies in Scandinavia. *International Political Science Review*.8 (3), (1987). Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601140> (Retrieve on 09/02/2015)
- Hess, Robert D & Easton, David. Role of Elementary School in Political Socialisation. *The School Review*.70(3), (1962). Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1083289> (Retrieve on 27/01/2015)
- Hluna, J.V. The Role of the Mizo National Front in Mizoram Politics upto 1986. *Historical Journal Mizoram*. 5(1), (2004).
- Mishra, S.N. Agencies of Political Socialisation: A study of Political Parties: A Case Study Amarpur Gram Panchayat. *Indian Political Science*

Journal.41 (1), (1980). Stable URL:
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41854994> (Retrieve on 17-09-2015)

Kawata, Junichi. Political Socialisation in Contemporary Japan. *International Political Science Review*.8 (3), (1987). Stable URL:
<Http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601142> (Retrieve on 09/02/2015)

Kotze, Hendrik J. Mass Media and Political Socialisation : A Case Study of South Africa. *International Political Science Review*.7 (4), (1986).
 Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601034> (Retrieve on 28/01/2015)

Roy, Prasanta. Political Socialisation. *Indian Political Science Journal*. 29(2), (1968).

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41854261>. (Retrieve on 28/01/2015)

Tomkins, George S. Political Socialisation Research and Canadian Studies. *Canadian Journal of Education*.2 (1), (1977). Stable URL:
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1494469> (Retrieve on 09/02/2015)

Westholm, Anders and Niemi, Richard G. Political Institutions and Political Socialisation: A Cross-National Study. *Comparative Politics*.25 (1), (1992). Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/422095> (Retrieve on 09/02/2015)

Januasauskiene, Diana. Youth Political Organisation in Lithuania. *Polish Sociological Review*. 139, (2002). Stable URL:
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41274827> (Retrieve on 03-03-2015)

Sigel, Roberta. Assumption about the learning of Political Values. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 361, (1965).

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1035982> (Retrieve on 23/07/2015)

C) Website:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kolasib_district

http://www.kvkkolasib.com/kolasib_district_profile/kolasib_district_profile.html

<http://www.census2011.co.in/data/town/801503-kolasib-mizoram.html>

<http://www.onefivenine.com/india/villages/Kolasib/Thingdawl/Bukpui>

<http://www.census2011.co.in/data/village/271151-bukpui-mizoram.html>

<http://www.mizoram.ngosindia.com/mizoram-synod-social-front-aizawl.html>

www.krkolosib.com

www.mapsofIndia.com

www.centralyma.org.in

<http://eci.nic.in/m/Elecroll.html>

<http://cktp.blogspot.in/p/history.html>

<http://mizoramsynod.org/index.php?phek=bawm&bid=7>

<http://www.centralyma.org.in/>

<http://www.ijsr.net/archive/v3i8/MDIwMTUzODk%3D.pdf>

Interview:

Pastor Lalchhanhima, Bukpui Presbyterian Church dated on 30/9/2015

Upa Lalvulmawia, Presbyterian Church, Bukpui dated on 30/9/2015

Upa Biakthansanga, United Pentecostal Church (N.E) dated on 30/9/2015

Lalrohluia, Secretary Young Mizo Association, Bukpui Branch dated on 29/9/2015

Pastor Biaksailova, Kolasib Venglai Presbyterian Church dated on 1/11/2015

Pastor Lalremruata, Kolasib Diakkawn Presbyterian Church dated on 1/11/2015

Pastor Zonunfela Ralte, Kolasib Baptist Church dated on 2/11/2015

Rev Samuel Lalrinsanga, Family and Guidance and Counselling Centre, Kolasib dated on 2/11/2015

Upa Lalchuangkima, Diakkawn Presbyterian Church dated on 2/11/2015

Upa Thangchhuana, Project Veng Presbyterian Church dated on 2/11/2015

Mr Laldinpuia, Secretary Kristian Thalai Pawl, Venglai Presbyterian Pastorate dated on 2/11/2015