CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION
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This research work is, thus, an academic endeavour intended to enquire into, and discern the over-all pattern of political culture of a sample of tribal political Leaders of Sundargarh District of Orissa. For the purpose of this empirical study, the Psycho-cultural Approach as conceptualized by Gabriel A. Almond in his work, 'The Civic Culture', has been adopted, and his model of Political Culture constitutes its theoretical foundation. This work, thus, focusses on the political attitudinal pattern or political psychology of the tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District, and therefore, its scope of study is limited accordingly. Of course, a study of their political culture has been undertaken with the specific objective of finding out its relationship, congruent or otherwise, with the prevalent democratic structure of the Indian Polity. The importance of such an enquiry derives from the fact that political culture is a major determinant of not only the political behaviour of the individual but also the dynamics of the Political System. Moreover, a study of the political culture of the political leaders seems to be of special relevance as they provide leadership and guidance to the people at large for realization of societal goals. Hence, a study of the political culture of the tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District is expected to throw some light on their political psychology that tends to shape their vision and roles in the democratic process of a locality which is mostly peopled by the Scheduled Tribes.
As formation of political culture seems to be significantly influenced by the socio-economic characteristics of the individual, an endeavour has been undertaken to enquire into the socio-economic background of a sample of the tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District and to classify them in respect of some important variables such as Age, Gender, Education, Income and Occupation. On analysing, it is found that the sample has been dominated by the Young leaders followed by the Middle-aged and the Old leaders in respect of the variable of Age, by the Male-leaders followed by the Female leaders in respect of the variable of Gender, by the Secondary-educated leaders followed by the College-educated and the Primary-educated leaders in respect of the variable of Education, by the leaders with the Middle-level of Income followed by the leaders with the Low-level and the High-level of Income in respect of the variable of Income, by the leaders with Agricultural Occupation followed by the leaders with Profession and Business as occupation. Thus, the tribal political leadership structure of Sundargarh District has been found to be mostly characterized by the domination of Young Males with Secondary-education, Middle-level of Income and Agricultural Occupation. Such an emerging pattern of leadership, of course, stands in sharp contrast with the general notion that the leadership structure is usually dominated by the high socio-economic group of individuals. But, in case of the tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District, such a change is noticed because there seems to be significant impact of the post-independence process of democratization and modernization upon leadership recruitment, especially at the local levels. These processes of democratization, modernization and social mobilization
which have commenced in India after its independence from the British Rule on 15th August 1947 have opened up avenues for mass participation and popular involvement in politics, and these seem to be responsible not only for a decline in the traditional leadership attributes and values, but also for the emergence of new patterns of power structure at the local level.

Such a classification of the tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District in respect of these major socio-economic variables has cast light as to the emerging pattern of tribal political leadership and the tribal political power-structure at the local level but also has facilitated our enquiry and delineation of the pattern of their political culture. For this purpose, an endeavour has been undertaken to find out the patterns of their cognitive, affective, and evaluational orientations, in the most general way, in respect of four major political objects such as the Indian Political System as a general object, its input and output objects, and the self as an actor in the political process. For delineating the patterns of their political cognition, an assessment has been made on their responses to questions concerning their awareness of the basic values of the Indian Political system, the form of Government in-vogue in India, the impact of Governmental Activities, and the prevalent Party-system in India. It has been found that a very large majority of the tribal political leaders of the Sample is aware of Democracy, Secularism and Social Justice as the basic values of the Indian Political System, of Parliamentary Democracy as the form of government in-vogue in India, of the prevalent Multi-party system in India, and a large majority of
them is aware of the great impact of governmental activities on their day-to-day life. On computing their responses on the above items taken together, it has been found that a very large majority of them has high level of political cognition. Their responses have also been analysed in respect of the variable of Age, Gender, Education, Income, and Occupation. The analyses reveal that the Young political leaders have greater political cognition than the Middle-aged and the Old leaders; that the Male-leaders have greater political cognition than the Female-leaders; that the College-educated leaders have greater political cognition that the Secondary and the Primary educated leaders; that the leaders with High level of Income have greater political cognition than the leaders with the Middle-level and the Low-level of Income; and that the leaders with Professional Occupation have greater political cognition than the leaders who have Business and Agriculture as Occupation. Thus, the level of their political cognition has been found to have increased with an increase in their Age, and Socio-Economic Status characterized by Education, Income and Occupation.

Besides the pattern of political cognition, political affect and evaluation are two other components of political culture. Therefore, an endeavour has been undertaken to enquire into, and analyse the attitudinal patterns of the tribal political leaders of the Sample in respect of some major objects such as their preference as to the form of Government, attitude toward governmental policies in general, attitude toward the public bureaucracy, perception of the gravest national problem, attitude toward the prevalent electoral system, preference as to the party-system, attitude toward some important democratic values such as the right to universal adult franchise, the right to freedom of speech and expression, the right to
freedom from arbitrary arrest, attitude toward state-secularism, and attitude toward human nature, and also their attitude toward themselves as actors in the political process, especially relating to their sense of political competence. It has been found that a large majority of them possesses positive and favourable attitude toward the prevalent Parliamentary Democracy in India, the governmental policies in general, the prevalent electoral system and the plural party-system, the right to universal adult franchise, the right to freedom of speech and expression and personal freedom, secularism of the State, and human nature characterised by interpersonal trust. It has also been found that a large majority of them possesses a high sense of political competence, and that, it increases with an increase in their Socio-Economic Status characterized by Education, Income and Occupation. On computing their responses on all these items in respect of these broad categories of political objects, a large majority of them is found to have been positively and allegiantly oriented toward the Indian Political System as a general object, its input objects, and the self as an actor in the Political process, where as a majority of them is found to be favourably oriented toward the output objects. On the whole, on computing their responses on all these political objects taken together, it has been found that a large majority of them possesses positive and allegiant orientations toward these objects. Their positive attitude toward these political objects, have also been analysed in respect of the socio-economic variables of Age, Gender, Education, Income and Occupation. The analyses reveal that positive and favourable orientations toward these political objects taken together, is found to be greater in the Old leaders followed by the Middle-aged and the Young leaders, in the Male leaders followed by the Female leaders, in the College-educated leaders followed by the Secondary and the Primary educated leaders, in the leaders with the High level of Income followed by the leaders
with the Middle-level and the Low-level of Income, and in the leaders with Professional occupation followed by the leaders with Business and Agriculture as Occupations. Thus, such positive and allegiant orientations are found to increase with an increase in their Age, and Socio-Economic Status characterized by Education, Income and Occupation.

On the whole, this academic enquiry has found out that a large majority of the tribal political leaders of the Sample is cognitively orientated as well as allegiantly oriented toward the Indian Political system, its input and output objects and toward the self as a political actor. Therefore, the pattern of their political culture, in general, may be characterized as 'Allegiantly-participant Political culture'.

IV

This 'Allegiantly-participant' pattern of Political culture seems to have been learned and developed by the tribal political leaders of the sample through the process of political socialization where in some major socializers such as parental family, school, peer group, mass-media, secondary groups and political world are found to have played crucial roles at different stages of their life such as childhood, adolescence and adult-hood. The role and the impact of these socializers have been enquired into, and examined especially in respect of formation and development of the sense of political competence in the tribal political leaders. It has been found that those who recall to have been reared up in politicized parental family, and have interacted with democratic parents during childhood and adolescence, and have been
exposed to democratic teacher-authority structure during school life possess a high sense of political competence. Thus, a strong correlation relationship has been found between their sense of political competence on one hand, and politicization of the parental family, democratic parental authority-structure and democratic teacher authority-structure on the other. Also, a strong correlation relationship has been found between parental party-allegiance and the present party-allegiance of the tribal political leaders. Moreover, during adulthood, those who report that they are members of political parties, peer groups, and non-political voluntary organizations, are exposed to media-communications regularly, and have experiences of participation in political movements, election campaigns, and voting at elections regularly possess a high sense of political competence. Thus, parental family, school, peer group, non-political voluntary organization, political party and political world are found to have provided congenial environment to the tribal political leaders of the sample, at different stages of their life, from childhood to adolescence to adulthood, wherein they have gained participatory experiences in the both the non-political and political arenas. Such participatory experiences are also found to have cumulative impact in the sense that the more the non-political areas and the more the political areas in which they have gained participatory experiences, the greater has been their sense of political competence. Their participatory experiences seem to have contributed a lot toward the formation and development of a high sense of political competence in them. It may, therefore, be inferred that the 'allegiantly-participant' pattern of political culture as found to characterize the tribal political leaders of the Sample is, most probably, the outcome of participatory experiences gained by them in the process of political socialization wrought under the ageis of political socializers such as parental
This empirical research work, thus, constitutes an academic endeavour in characterizing the pattern of political culture of a sample of tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District of Orissa. On the basis of responses elicited from them, through interview and investigation, and on analysing their responses, the pattern of their political culture has been discerned as "Allegiantly-participant" political culture. This pattern of political culture tends to characterize their psychology or mind-set, and seems to have been formed in them through the process of political socialization. On analysing and examining it with the democratic structural arrangement of the Indian Polity, the relationship between them seems to be congruent and allegiant. Such an "allegiantly-participant" pattern of political culture is expected to issue forth in supportive behaviour and roles toward the Indian Political System in general, and therefore, to contribute toward the latter’s stability and viability. It is also likely to foster the process and the pace of democratization of political life especially aimed at realization of the goals of an egalitarian society. Of course, this pattern of "allegiantly-participant" political culture bears resemblance to the elite culture in India as typified by Myron Weiner (India: 'Two Political Culture' in Political Culture and Political Development(eds), Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1965 pp. 119-244). Therefore, the allegiantly-participant political culture of the tribal political leaders as discerned and
delineated in this work ought to be distinguished from the mass political culture that tends to characterise the people of India in general. However, since the leaders are at the helm of affairs as decision-makers and trend-setters, and people tend to look toward them for guidance and direction, the successful working of the democratic polity in India, both at the national and local levels, seems to be crucially dependent upon the pattern of their leadership which, in turn, is mostly determined by their vision, mind-set, and political culture.