CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

1. The Research Problem:

The Research Problem entitled "Political Culture" of the Tribal Political Leaders: "A study of the Scheduled Tribe Political Leaders of Sundargarh District of Orissa" has been selected for in-depth study and analysis because it may provide useful insights for appreciating the psychology of political behavior of the Tribal Political Leaders of a tribal populated district of Orissa in the context of its political dynamics.

The significance of the study of Political Culture derives from its potentiality for appreciating the individual's political behaviour as well as the dynamics of the Political System. Political culture, in general, refers to the pattern of psychological orientations of the people of a society toward politics and their Political System. However, it is a significant dimension of the societal culture that encompasses the totality of psychological orientations toward societal objects. Culture refers to "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society." It is a shared way of life of organized set of individuals, and it permeates and shapes the pattern of their social relationships. It, thus, encompasses all such knowledge, values and beliefs, both existential and normative, which are socially shared and transmitted from generation to generation. To put it succinctly, culture, therefore, refers to shared psychological orientations of a people toward social objects. As Individuals, in a society, interact with one
another in recurrent social relationships, they form ideas, values, and beliefs about these collective endeavours which they share with fellow members. They, thus, tend to form orientations consisting of cognition, sentiments, values, beliefs and attitudes toward societal institutions, – social, economic and political, and also the varieties of roles they are required to perform as members of the society. Such a coherent pattern of psychological orientations toward societal objects is termed as the culture of a society. Culture, thus, emerges from shared societal life. It is the social-web that binds the people of a society together, and it seems to explain and account for the unity, integration and development of the society, because it tends to determine peoples roles and behaviour which, in turn, tends to influence, to a great extent, the performance of the society.

The culture of a society is, thus, a complex whole as it is composed of people’s orientations, perceptions, and dispositions toward varieties of societal objects. However, in the overall cultural pattern of the people, there may be discerned a distinct pattern of orientations formed specifically toward political objects that may be termed as Political Culture. Of course, the Societal Culture and Political Culture seem to be intimately inter-related as the people’s social orientations tend to influence their political orientations. For instance, the orientations of the people of a society toward human nature and inter-personal relationships, whether one of trust or distrust, may significantly influence their political orientations and behaviour patterns. If they view human nature with trust and believe in the fundamental trust-worthiness of the fellow member, they are likely to be oriented toward politics as a game of peaceful competition and alternation of power among competing groups and individuals. On the contrary, if they
view human nature with distrust and suspicion, they are likely to be oriented toward politics as a game of fierce conflict for seizure of power, and they would be unwilling to turn over governmental power peacefully to their opponents. The political cynicism of the people of a society may be the outcome of their deep-rooted distrust in human nature. Similarly, in a society in which people\'s orientation toward nature is essentially one of fatalism and resignation, their orientation toward the government is likely to be much the same. Where people believe that the nature is beyond control, and that, therefore, natural calamities must be patiently suffered as divine retribution, the government is, most likely, to be viewed by them with fatalistic resignation in the sense that its role, howsoever unjust, oppressive, and tyrannical may be, must be patiently tolerated and obeyed. Thus, as Sidney Verba emphatically points out, "the basic belief and value patterns of a Culture – those general values that have no reference to specific political objects – usually play a major role in the structuring of political culture\(^7\)", because people tend to generalize and extend their purely cultural attributes to the political arena.

However, despite the fact that the political culture is an integral part of the general culture of a society, the former encompasses explicitly political orientations of the people. It may be characterized by people\'s patterns of orientation toward politics and the political objects\(^8\). As members of the Societal Political System, they participate in its working directly or indirectly, manifestly or latently, deliberately or inadvertently, and tend to form empirical as well as normative perceptions and orientations toward politics and their political system including its input structures such as pressure groups, political parties and mass-media, and output structures such as the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. Orientations are
also formed in them toward themselves as political actors. All these explicitly political orientations are "not just random congeries but represent coherent patterns which fit together and are mutually reinforcing\(^9\)\(^{9}\), and such a coherent pattern of political orientations may be termed as 'Political Culture'.

Political culture, thus, inheres in the psychology of the individual, and forms his political mind-set that tends to determine and shape his political roles and behaviour. And, the over-all pattern of political culture of the people of a society issues forth in their political behaviour and activities which tend to influence the working of the political system. The Societal Political System requires legitimacy and supportive behaviour of the people for its stability, viability and effectiveness. However, such supportive behaviour may be displayed by the people provided they are allegiantly oriented toward their Political System, and have 'allegiant political culture'. On the contrary, formation and development of alienated political culture in them would, most likely, pave for display of non-supportive behaviour and withdrawal of legitimacy from the Political System and the consequent political instability and collapse. Thus, political culture, at the level of the individual, seems to provide controlling guidelines for effective political behaviour, and at the level of the Political System, seems to determine its pattern of performance and the prospect of its stability or change as "every political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to political actions\(^{10}\)\(^{10}\)."

It is this tremendous relevance of 'Political Culture' as a major determinant of the individual's political behaviour as well as the working of the Political System that constitutes the rationale to consider it as the prime
focus of study and analysis in case of the Tribal Political Leaders of Sundargarh District of Orissa. The rationale for undertaking a study of the Tribal Political Leaders derives from the fact that they represent primitive communities which are expected to undergo attitudinal changes as a consequence of introduction of democracy in India after its independence from the British rule. These Leaders are the central figures in tribal communities, and the tribal people look toward them for guidance and direction. Therefore, democratization of the society and the polity seems to be crucially determined by the patterns of orientations, whether democratic or otherwise, of these leaders. Moreover, as they come to play determining roles in the making and implementation of public policies, their attitudinal patterns seem to be of crucial significance in the context of the over-all performance of the political system, and this is more so in case of a developing polity like India which has not only adopted the democratic structural arrangement for its people but also has embarked upon planned social change aimed at the establishment of an egalitarian society.

For the purpose of this research work, the Sundargarh District of Orissa has been identified and selected as the Universe of Study because of its special significance. Historically, this district comprises of two ex-princely states such as 'Bonai and Gangpur' which were being ruled, during the British Rule in India, by enlightened and benevolent kings as revealed by the enactment and implementation of welfare measures such as establishment of a number of educational institutions and hospitals, and inauguration of democratic institutions such as Panchayats at the local levels. Demographically, the district of Sundargarh is mostly populated by Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes which constitute 50.74\textsuperscript{11} percent and 8.78\textsuperscript{12} percent respectively and together, 59.52 percent of its total
population. The people belonging to Scheduled Tribes are Adivasis or Aboriginees who hail from tribal communities such as Oram, Munda, Kharia, Kishan, Bhuiya, Gonds, Binjhia, and Khonds. They live in rural hilly areas of this district and have a distinct cultural life and traditions. Economically, most of the people of this district are poor despite establishment of a number of major industries which, of course, have been located in and around the city of Rourkela. As most of the tribal people are economically poor, and they lack in literacy and education, they are being greatly exploited by the rich and the educated and the town-dwellers. Politically, in the post independence period, the tribals of the district of Sundargarh have drawn attention by their organization and participation in the Jharkhand Movement aimed at establishment of a separate state for them. In view of these factors that tend to accord a special place to the district of Sundargarh and its tribal population in the state of Orissa, it has been selected as the universe of study for this academic work.

On the whole, the relevance of 'political culture' as a conceptual construct for appreciating both micro-politics and macro-politics, and the relevance of the political culture of the Tribal Political Leaders in the tribal populated district of Sundargarh have provided the necessary impetus for undertaking this research work.

1.2: Over-view of Literature:

The concept of political culture seems to have been pioneered by Gabriel A. Almond who in his research paper 'Comparative Political Systems', defines it as 'the particular pattern of orientations to politics and
political action’, and highlights it as the foundation of a political system. He further elaborates it in the introductory chapter of his book “The Politics of Developing Areas”, and conceptualizes it in the system-maintenance perspective. Subsequently, in collaboration with Sidney Verba, he has authored a research work entitled “The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations” which contains not only a theory of political culture but also an empirical investigation as to the patterns of political culture in the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Germany, Italy and Mexico. In all these works on political culture, Almond establishes the linkage between the pattern of political culture of the people and the structure of the Political System, and emphasizes that congruent relationship between them would, most likely, facilitate the stability of political life, where as Culture-Structure incongruence may culminate in political instability and change. Therefore, the prime concern of Almond is the maintenance of the political system by inducting in the people congruent or allegiant political culture through the process of political socialization. This thesis concerning Culture-Structure relationship has been further re-emphasized by Almond in his article “The Intellectual History of the Civic Culture Concept” published in his book ‘The Civic Culture Revisited’.

As distinguished from the System-maintenance perspective of Almond, David Easton upholds the system-persistence perspective in his conceptualization on the theme of political culture, though he doesn’t explicitly use the term political culture. He prefers to call it patterns of political orientations in his works such as “An approach to the Analysis of Political systems”, “A Frame-work for Political Analysis” and “A systems analysis of Political Life”, and views it in the system-persistence
perspective. His prime concern is the persistence of the political system which may attained and realized as long as it is able to allocate value for the society, and to get these allocations accepted as authoritative by most of its people as well. For realizing this goal of system-persistence, the political system, according to Easton, is required to generate and foster generalized supportive orientations in the people, what he terms as diffuse support, through the process of political socialization.

Another note-worthy theoretical work on political culture is that of Lucian W. Pye who in the introductory article of his edited book 'Political Culture and Political Development' seems to explore the linkage between the pattern of political culture of the people of a society and the level of development of their Political System. This edited book also contains a number of research works on patterns of political culture of Japan, England, Germany, Turkey, India, Ethiopia, Italy, Mexico, Egypt, and Soviet Russia undertaken by different Scholars and also a concluding research paper entitled "Comparative Political Culture" by Sidney Verba who points out the major themes and styles of political culture for comparative study and analysis. The linkage between political culture and political development has also been discussed by Lucian W. Pye in his scholarly works such as 'Aspects of Political Development' and 'Politics, Personality and Nation-building: Burma's Search for Identity'. Some other important research works that highlight the political culture approach are 'Political Life' and 'Political Ideology' by Robert E. Lane, 'Personality and Politics' by Fred I. Greenstein, 'Political Man' by S.M. Lipset, 'Political Culture' by Dennis Kavanagh, Personality and Politics by P. Sniderman, Psychological Needs and Political Behavior by Stanley Allen Renshon,
‘The Democratic Civilization’ by Leslie Lipson, ‘Public Opinion and Political Attitudes’ by A.Wilcox. However Almond’s Civic Culture Approach that links the rational-activist, allegiantly participant model of Political Culture with the stability of the democratic political system is found to have declined and crisis ridden as evident from recent empirical findings by some researchers such as Alan Marsh in his work ‘Protest and Political Consciousness’, Samuel H. Beer in his work “Britain Against Itself: the Political Contradictions of Collectivism”, Dennis Kavanagh in his work ‘Political Science and Political Behaviour’ G. Duncan in his work ‘Democratic Theory and Practice’, Richard Rose in his work ‘Politics in England : Persistence and change”, Philip Norton in his work ‘the British Polity’ David Held in his work ‘Models of Democracy’ M.J.Cosier S.P.Huntington, and J.Watanuki in their work ‘The Crisis of Democracy’ and J.R.Gibbin in his edited work, ‘Contemporary Political Culture: Politics in a Post-modern Age’.

Thus, these empirical findings indicate a decline of the Civic Culture thesis brought about by profound changes in people’s orientations as a consequence of acquisition of new values, attitudes, and life styles, yet the essence of the political culture approach that the pattern of political culture is the vital determinant of politics and political behaviour seems to have been recognized by a large number of scholars and researchers.

Since patterns of political culture are learned and acquired by the people through the process of political socialization, academic concerns and
endeavours, theoretical as well as empirical, are found to have been undertaken by a number of scholars and researchers. In this context, the pioneering work, in contemporary time, has been undertaken by Herbert H. Hyman, who, in his book ‘Political Socialization’: A study in the Psychology of Political Behavior, formulates a series of propositions on the role of socializers in the process of political socialization of the individual, and also provides pre-cursory observations on the political dispositions learned by the American children and adults in the political socialization process. This work of Hyman seems to lay the foundation of ‘Political Socialization Research’ in contemporary time on focussing it as a distinct field of academic study and enquiry. Subsequently, theoretical formulations and constructs developed by David Easton and Gabriel A. Almond have contributed immensely in providing directions and encouragement for research work on the political socialization phenomenon. Almond’s theoretical formulation is found explicitly in his book ‘The Politics of Developing Areas’, especially in its introductory chapter entitled ‘A Functional approach to Comparative Politics’ in which he heralds the system-maintenance approach to the study of the political socialization phenomenon. He asserts that the political socialization function is a major input-function that facilitates formation of congruent political culture in the people of a Political System, and thereby, contributes significantly toward the maintenance and stability of its form, structure and pattern of political existence. On the contrary, David Easton, in his works such as ‘A System Analysis of Political Life’, and ‘Children in the Political System; Origins of Political Legitimacy’, especially in its Chapter II entitled ‘A political theory of Political socialization’, has pioneered the system-persistence approach to the study of the political socialization phenomenon. He considers
the political socialization function as a defence mechanism by which a political system may seek to avoid stress on its essential variables, and to create a reservoir of diffuse support necessary for its persistence so that it may be able to allocate values and to get these allocations accepted as authoritative by most of the people through time. Thus, the works of David Easton and Gabriel A. Almond provide two different yet divergent approaches to the study of the political socialization process through which patterns of political culture are learned and acquired by the people of a society.

Some other prepositional inventories on the political socialization phenomenon are found in Roberta S. Sigel's 'Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values', Richard E. Dawson's 'Political Socialization', Fred I. Greenstein's 'Political Socialization', Lewis A. Froman's 'Learning Political Attitudes', and 'Personality and Political Socialization', and Kenneth Prewitt's 'Political Socialization and Leadership Selection'. Moreover, scholarly works such as 'Political Socialization' by Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, 'Political Socialization' by Dean Jaros, 'Political Socialization' by Kenneth P. Longton, 'Personality and Politics' by Fred I. Greenstein, 'Political Learning, Political choice and Democratic Citizenship' by Robert Weissberg, 'Learning About Politics' by Roberta S. Sigel, 'Socialization to Politics' by Jack Dennis, 'Hand book of Political Socialization: Theory and Research' by Stanly Allen Renshon, and 'New Directions in Political
Socialization\(^{60}\) by Sandra Kenyon Schwartz provide important prepositional inventories, empirical findings as well as critical interpretations of finished works. However, the major research thrust for empirical study of the political socialization process is found to have been focussed on the children and the pre-adults, and that too, mostly in the American context. Some important works, in this regard, are ‘Children and Politics’\(^{61}\) by Fred I. Greenstein, ‘Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy’\(^{62}\) by David Easton and Jack Dennis, ‘The Political character of Adolescence’\(^{63}\) by M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Nicmi, ‘The Development of Political Attitudes in Children’\(^{64}\) by Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, ‘Fathers and Sons: Foundations of Political Beliefs’\(^{65}\) by Robert E. Lane, ‘The Benevolent Leader: children’s Image of Political Authority’\(^{66}\) by Fred I. Greenstein, ‘The Child’s Political World’\(^{67}\) by David Easton and Robert D. Hess, ‘The Child’s Image of Government’\(^{68}\) by David Easton and Jack Dennis. There have also been undertaken some worth-mentioning cross-national studies such as ‘The Benevolent leader Revisited: Children’s Images of Political Leaders in Three Democracies’\(^{69}\) by Fred I. Greenstein, ‘Pre-adult Development of Party Identification in Western Democracies’\(^{70}\) by Jack Dennis and Donald J. Mc. Crone, ‘Political Socialization to Democratic Orientations in four Western Systems’\(^{71}\) by Jack Dennis, L. Lindberg, D. Mc. Crone and R. Stieb, ‘The Development of Systemic Support in Four Western Democracies’\(^{72}\) by Paul R. Abramson, and ‘Attitudes toward Political Authority:Some Cross-National Comparisons’\(^{73}\) by Robert D. Hess.
In the context of adult political socialization, however, empirical works are found to have been a few in number. One highly important cross-national empirical study on adult political socialization is Almond and Verba's "The Civic culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations" that brings to light the patterns of political culture and the process of political socialization of adult citizens in USA, UK, Germany, Italy and Mexico. Some other important works are 'Policitamin of the Electorate in France and the United States' by Philip F. Converse and George Dupex, 'The Political Socialization of the State Legislators' by Heinz Eulau, John C. Wahlke, William Buchanan, Le Roy, C. Ferguson, 'Political Socialization and Political Roles,' by Kenneth Prewitt, Heinz Eulau and Betty H. Zisk, 'The Structuring Principle: Political Socialization and the Belief Systems' by Donald D. Searing, Joel J. Schwartz and Alden E. Lind, 'Occupational and Political Attitudes: The Case of Professional Groups' by T. Roback, and 'The Political Life of American Teachers' by L.H. Ziegler.

In the Indian context, empirical works on political culture and political socialization are also found to be a few in number. A pioneering study has been undertaken by Myron Weiner who in his work 'India: Two Political Cultures' has brought to light the peculiar and distinctive attributes of the elite political culture and the mass Political Culture in India. Lloyd Rudolph and Suzanne Rudolph, in their work 'Modernity of Tradition: Political development in India' have studied the pattern of Indian political culture and the processes of its change from tradition to modernity. W.H. Morris
Jones in the work "The Government and Politics in India" has discerned the pattern of Indian Political Culture as a mixture of 'modern' 'traditional' and saintly idioms. Rajni Kothari in his work "Politics in India" has undertaken a cursory study of the political culture and the process of political socialization in India. In this context some other important works are "Citizen's Sense of Political Efficacy" by Yogesh Atal, "The Culture of Indian Politics" and "The Making and Un-making of Political Cultures in India" by Ashis Nandy, "Political Attitudes and Social Change" by Brij B. Khare, "Political Linkages and Rural Development" by K. Seshadri, "Legislative Elite in an Indian State: A case study of Rajasthan" by Sashilata Puri, "Political socialization in Rural India: Social change and Leadership Pattern in a Bihar Gram Panchayat" by Sachidananda Mishra, "Education and Political Culture in India: The Limits of Schooling System and Political Socialization" by Ehsanul Haq 'Urban Growth and Political Socialization in India' by Sitaram Akinchan, 'Political Socialization and Its Impact on Attitudinal change towards Social and Political Systems: A Case Study of Harijan Women of Delhi' by Neena Sharma, and 'Political Socialization of the Urban Political Elites' by Shyama Prasad Guru.

However, empirical studies concerning the tribal political culture in India are found to be extremely meagre. These works are tangentially related to the political culture and the process of political socialization of tribal people inhabiting in different parts of India. G.S.Ghurye, in his work 'The Scheduled Tribes', has analysed the tribal movement in the Chota Nagpur
area of Madhya Pradesh. Sachidananda, in his work 'Profiles of Tribal Cultures in Bihar', has studied on the Birsa Movement in that State. M.M. Joshi, in his work 'Bastar: India's Sleeping Giant', has enquired into the orientations of the tribal people in the Bastar area of Madhya Pradesh. D.R. Mankar, in his work 'On the Slippery slopes in Nagaland', and V.K. Anand, in his work 'Nagland in Transition', have enquired into the causes of the tribal unrest in that state. S.L. Kalia, in his work 'Sanskritization and Tribalization', has focussed on contemporary changes in the tribal socio-political life brought about through the process of sanskritization. L.P. Vidyarthi, in his work, 'the Tribal Culture of India', Sujit Sinha, in his work 'Tribal culture of Penninsular India', B.K. Roy Burman, in his works 'Tribes in Perspective', 'Meaning and Process of Tribal Integration in a Democratic Society', and 'Socio-Political Processes in India and Integration of the Tribal Societies', S.C. Dube, in his work 'Tribal Heritage in India', K.S. Singh, in his work 'Tribal society in India', P. Gisbert, in his work 'Tribal India', and V. Venkata Rao, in his work 'A Century of Tribal Politics in North-East India, 1874-1974', have undertaken insightful studies concerning the life, living and socio-political orientations of different Scheduled Tribes of India.

As regard empirical studies on the socio-political life of the Scheduled Tribes inhabiting in the State of Orissa, mention may be made of F.G. Bailey's work 'Political Changes in the Kondmals' which brings to light the emergence of kond nationalism and the process of sanskritization of
the Kond tribal people. Other works of importance are L.K. Mohapatra’s ‘Social Movement among Tribes in Eastern India with Special reference to Orissa’\textsuperscript{112} and A. Aiyappan’s ‘Some Pattern of Tribal Leadership’\textsuperscript{113}. Mohapatra has focussed on the process of Sanskritization and political mobilization of the tribal people of Orissa, whereas Aiyappan has discerned and delineated the leadership patterns in Kisan and Koya tribes of Orissa.

However, no major research work has yet been undertaken specifically on the political culture of the tribal political leaders of Orissa. Hence, an academic endeavour is intended to be undertaken to enquire into, and discern the emerging pattern of political culture and the concomitant process of political socialization of tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District which is mostly peopled by the scheduled tribes in the State of Orissa.

1.3: Major Objectives of the Study:

The major objectives of the present study are the following:

(i) To enquire into and portray the socio-economic profile of the tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District of Orissa with specific reference to the Respondents of the Sample of this work.

(ii) To enquire into and to delineate the pattern of political culture of these tribal political leaders, especially in respect of their Cognitive, Affective and Evaluational Orientations toward the Indian Political System as a general object, its Input and Output objects and toward themselves as Actors in the political process of the Indian Polity.
(iii) To examine the relationship between the emerging pattern of political culture of these tribal political leaders and the democratic structural arrangement of the Indian Polity.

(iv) To enquire into the process of political socialization of these tribal political leaders, and to examine the role of some important political socializers such as Family, School, Peer Group, Mass-Media, Non-Political Voluntary Group, Political Party and the Political world in the context of formation of their political culture, especially in the context of development of the sense of political competence in them.

These above objectives, as laid down, are expected to throw light on the pattern of Political Culture as well as the process of Political Socialization of the Tribal Political Leaders of Sundargarh District of Orissa.

1.4: Hypotheses to be tested:

The following hypotheses are proposed for empirical testing in case of the Tribal Political Leaders of Sundargarh District of Orissa.

1. The level of political cognition of the Tribal Political Leaders (the Respondents of the Sample) tends to increase with an increase in the level of their socio-economic status.

   (i) The higher the level of education of the Respondents, the greater is the level of their political cognition.

   (ii) The higher the level of income of the Respondents, the greater is the level of their political cognition.
(iii) The higher the occupational status of the Respondents, the greater is the level of their political cognition.

2. The sense of political competence of the Tribal Political Leaders tends to increase with an increase in their socio-economic status.

   (i) The higher the level of education of the Respondents, the greater is their sense of political competence.

   (ii) The higher the level of income of the Respondents, the greater is their sense of political competence.

   (iii) The higher the occupational Status of the Respondents, the greater is their sense of political competence.

3. The sense of political competence of the Tribal Political Leaders tends to increase with an increase in their participatory experiences.

   (i) The more the non-political areas in which the Respondents gain participatory experiences, the greater is their sense of political competence.

   (ii) The more the political areas in which the Respondents gain participatory experiences, the greater is their sense of political competence.

1.5: Methodology:

For the purpose of this present research work, an empirical method of study especially the psycho-cultural approach, as devised by Gabriel A. Almond,114 has been adopted and made use of for enquiring into and
delineating the patterns of political culture and the process of political socialization of the tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District of Orissa. This work is, therefore, principally concerned with an empirical enquiry into the political psychology of the tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District on following the model of political culture as conceptualized by Gabriel A. Almond. For preparing the theoretical framework on political culture and political socialization, a number of authoritative works have been consulted and reviewed. For introducing the universe of study, relevant data and information have been collected from official documents and reports. For discerning and delineating the patterns of political culture and the process of political socialization of the tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District, data have been collected from the responses of a sample of respondents on administering them a structured interview schedule. The sample consists of 247 respondents who have been identified on the basis of positional approach. For this purpose, all scheduled tribe members from Sundargarh District to the Parliament of India (Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha) and Legislative Assembly of the State of Orissa from 1952 till date, all scheduled tribe members of the Sundargarh District Zilla Parishad at present, all scheduled tribe members of all municipal councils, all scheduled tribe members of all panchayat samities, and all scheduled tribe members of all gram panchayats of Sundargarh District at present and all scheduled tribe members of the executive bodies of the Sundargarh District Units of major political parties have been identified to constitute the sample of respondents of this research work. The composition of the sample of respondents is presented in Table No. 1 given below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL No.</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribe Members from Sundargarh District to the Lok Sabha</td>
<td>= 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(From 1952 to till date)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribe Members from Sundargarh District to the Rajya Sabha</td>
<td>= 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(From 1952 to till date)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribe Members from Sundargarh District to the Orissa Legislative Assembly</td>
<td>= 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(From 1952 to till date)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribe Members of the Sundargarh District Zilla Parishat</td>
<td>= 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(At present)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribe Members of all four Municipal Councils of Sundargarh District</td>
<td>= 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(At present)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribe Members of all seventeen Panchayat Samities of Sundargarh District</td>
<td>= 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(At present)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribe Members of all one hundred seventy Gram Panchayats of Sundargarh District</td>
<td>= 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(At present)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribe Members of the Executive Bodies of the Sundargarh District Units of major Political parties such as the Indian National Congress, The Bharatiya Janata Party and the Jharkhand.</td>
<td>= 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(At present)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>261</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Out of these 261 tribal political leaders, two former members of the Lok Sabha, Eight members of the Orissa legislative Assembly and One Sarpanch are found to have been dead, and three members of the Orissa Legislative Assembly were not available for interview. Therefore, the actual number of the Respondents available for this empirical study comes to 247. These 247 Respondents of the Sample have been interviewed on the basis of a Structured Interview Schedule, and their responses constitute the primary data for characterizing the patterns of their political culture and analysing the process of their political socialization. Thus, the principal focus of study of this research work is characterization of the political culture and analysis of the process of political socialization of a sample of tribal political leaders of Sundargarh District of Orissa by exploring into their political psychology on the basis of the psycho-cultural approach, and the theory of political culture of Gabriel A. Almond Since Almond's concept of Political Culture provides the theoretical direction for this research-work, an analysis of it has been undertaken in following Chapter No.II.

REFERENCES


2. Raymond W. Firth, -Elements of Social organization. ( London: Watts, 1951)p.27
3. E.K. Wilson, - Sociology: Rules, Roles and Relationship.  


6. Ibid., p. 62.

7. Sidney Verba, - "Comparative Political Culture" in Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba (eds), Political Culture and Political Development  


12. Ibid.


   (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965)


22. Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development

23. Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation-building: Burma’s Search for Identity

24. Robert E. Lane, Political Life,

25. Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology

26. Fred I. Greenstein, Personality and Politics
   (Chicago: Markham, 1969).

27. S.M. Lipset, Political Man

28. Dennis Kavanagh, Political culture

29. P. Sniderman, Personality and Politics
   (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975)
   (New York: The Free Press, 1974)
31. Leslie Lipson, - The Democratic Civilization
32. A. Wilcox, - Public Opinion and Political Attitudes.
33. Alan Marsh, - Protest and Political consciousness.
   (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977)
34. Samuel H. Beer, - Britain Against Itself: The Political Contradictions of
   Collectivism.
   (London: Faber & Faber, 1982)
35. Dennis Kavanagh, - Political Science and Political Behaviour.
   (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983)
36. G. Duncan(ed) - Democratic Theory and Practice.
   (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)
37. Richard Rose, - Politics in England: Persistence and Change
   (London: Faber & Faber, 1985)
   (London: Longman, 1985)
39. David Held, - Models of Democracy
40. M.J.Cosier, S. P. Huntington, and J. Watanuki, -The Crisis of
   Democracy
41. J.R. Gibbins(ed), -Contemporary Political Culture: Politics in a post-
   modern Age.
42. Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization: A study in the psychology of Political Behavior.
   (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959)

43. Gabriel A. Almond, "A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics",
    in Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.).
    The Politics of the Developing Areas, op-cit, pp. 2-64.

44. David Easton, -A Systems Analysis of Political Life
    (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965)

45. David Easton, - Children in the Political system: origins of Political Legitimacy

46. Robert S. Sigel, -'Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values',


48. Fred I. Greenstein, -'Political socialization' in D.L. Shills(ed)
    International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences


61. Fred I. Greenstein, - Children and Politics.
62. David Easton and Jack Dennis, - Children in the Political System:
   Origins of Political Legitimacy.
63. M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, The Political Character of
   Adolescence.
64. Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, - The Development of Political
   Attitudes in Children.
65. Robert E. Lane-'Father and Sons: Foundations of Political Beliefs',
   American Sociological Review, 24 (1959),
   pp. 502-511.
66. Fred I. Greenstein-'The Benevolent Leader: Children’s Image of
   Political Authority’ American Political Science
67. David Easton and Robert D. Hess, ‘The child’s Political World’ Mid-
   West Journal of Political Science, 6 ( August 1962),
   pp. 229-246
   Annals of the American Academy of Political and
   Social Sciences, 361 ( September, 1965) pp. 40-57.
69. Fred, I. Greenstein-‘The Benevolent Leader Revisited: Children’s
   Images of Political leaders in three Democracies’,
   American Political Science Review, 64 ( December
   1975) pp 1371-1398.


81. Myron Weiner, - “India: Two Political Cultures” in Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba(eds), Political Culture and Political Development, op. cit, pp. 199-244.


88. Brij B. Khare, Political Attitudes and Social Change.
   (New Delhi: Light and Life Publications, 1974).

89. K. Seshadri, Political Linkages and Rural Development


91. Sachidananda Mishra, Political Socialization in Rural India: Social Change and Leadership Pattern in a Bihar Gram Panchyat.
   (New Delhi: Inter-India Publication, 1980).

92. Ehsanul Haq, Education and Political culture in India: The Limits of Schooling System and Political socialization.

93. Sitaram Akinchan, Urban Growth and Political Socialization in India -
   (Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1982).

   (New Delhi: Inter-India Publication, 1985).
95. Shyama Prasad Guru, - Political socialization of the Urban Political Elites: A Study of the Political Elites of Bolangir Town in Orissa.
   (New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, 1991)

96. G.S. Ghurye, - The Scheduled Tribes

97. Sachidananda - Profiles of Tribal Cultures in Bihar.
   (Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1965)

98. M.M.Joshi, - Bastar: India’s Sleeping Giant

   (Bombay: Manaktala, 1967).

100. V.K.Anand, - Nagaland in Transition

101. S.L.Kalia, - Sanskritization and Tribalization
     (Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara, 1961)

102. L.P. Vidyarthi, - ‘The Tribal Culture of India’

103. Sujit Sinha, - ‘Tribal Culture of Peninsular India, Man in India, vol.
     37, (1957)

104. B.K. Roy Burman, - Tribes in Perspective.
     (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1994)

105. B.K. Roy Burman, - ‘Meaning and Process of Tribal Integration in a


110. V. Venkata Rao, A Century of Tribal Politics in North-East India, 1874-1974). (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd. 1976 )


115. Data have been collected from Reports on the General Elections to the Lok Sabha and the Orissa Legislative Assembly from 1952 till date, official documents of the Election Office of Sundargarh District, District Statistical Hand book of Sundargarh District, official documents of Municipal Councils, Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samities, and Gram Panchyats of Sundargarh District, and from the Offices of the District Units of the Indian National Congress, the Bharatiya Janata Party, and the Jharkhand Party in Sundargarh District.