

## Chapter 4

### POLITICAL CULTURE AND SOCIALIZATION

Culture emerges from this shared social life.<sup>1</sup> Culture integrate a society as well as accounts for its survival It is culture, which tends to shape the individuals predispositions, behaviour and societal roles, which, in turn determine, to a great extent, the pattern and process of social organization<sup>2</sup>The social order is constructed and constituted in the ways people relate to one another. People have invented a vast variety of ways they can relate to each other as fellow citizens, as father and son, as robber and robbery victim, as colleague and colleague, as seller and purchaser, as writer and reader, and so on. Each life embraces numerous and quite disparate ways of relating to others. What people commonly term institutions, laws, customs, roles, languages and life styles are, upon closer examination, all ways they relate to one another

Culture thus refers to "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society"<sup>3</sup> It is a shared way of life of an organized set of individuals, and it permeates and shapes the pattern of their social relationships<sup>4</sup> It encompasses all such knowledge, values and beliefs, both existential and normative, which are socially shared and transmitted from generation to generation.<sup>5</sup> To put it briefly, culture, refers to shared psychological orientations of a people toward social objects.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Marvin E. Olsen, *The Process of Social Organization*, (New Delhi: 1975), p. 52

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 62

<sup>3</sup> Edward B. Taylor, Quoted by Milton Singer in "Culture" in David L. Sills ed, *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (New York, 1968), vol. 3, p. 527

<sup>4</sup> Raymond W. Firth, *Elements of Social Organization* (London, 1951), p. 27

<sup>5</sup> E. K. Wilson, *Sociology: Rules, Roles and Relationships* (Illinois, 1966), p. 27

<sup>6</sup> Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton, 1972), p. 14

Political culture is one integrated dimension of the culture of a society. The concept of political culture was borrowed from anthropological studies on the one hand, and the study of civilizations on the other. The anthropologists have tended to view culture as the structure of meanings in terms of which the actual observed behaviour of the people of an alien society is interpreted in such a way as to accord with those people's interpretation of their own actions. The student of civilizations, on the other hand, work upon the remnants of what has been left behind and survived the accidents of time. These he has to interpret and, through them, to intuit the meanings, ideals and values in terms of which they gave sense and significance to their lives in their brief mortal sojourn on this earth.<sup>7</sup> But Political Scientists who think in terms of 'political culture' are interested in the phenomenon neither as anthropologists nor as students of civilization, but rather as those who are interested primarily in the study of comparative cultures.

Political culture of a society consists of the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values, which defines the situation in which political action takes place.<sup>8</sup> The term "political culture" refers to a very general phenomenon, which can be approached from many points of view. The concept of political culture serves to focus our attention on an aspect of political life. The concept makes it easier for us to separate the cultural aspect of politics from other aspects and to subject it to more detailed and systematic analysis.

The political culture of a collectivity has two domains, a psychological or subjective realm and an external or objective realm. The knowledge, values, motivations, beliefs, sentiments, etc., constitute the subjective realm of political culture. The publicly common ways of relating manifests the objective realm. Both are in fact not separate from each other. The knowledge, values, motivations, sentiments and beliefs of a collectivity are reflected through their publicly common way of relating.

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<sup>7</sup> Daya Krishna, *Political Development A Critical Perspective* (Delhi, 1979), p 149

<sup>8</sup> Sidney Verba, "Comparative Political Culture", in L. W. Pye & Sidney Verba, eds., *Political Culture and Political Development* (Princeton, 1969), p 513

## TYPES OF POLITICAL CULTURE

In classifying political culture of a national political system, a convenient method, as devised by Gabriel A. Almond, is that of enquiring into and discerning "the particular distribution of patterns of orientation toward political objects among the members of a nation"<sup>9</sup> Orientation refers to the internalized aspects of objects and relationships. Orientations may be discerned in terms of cognitive, affective and evaluational dimensions.

Cognitive orientation refers to the level of knowledge and awareness, accurate or otherwise, of the individual about the political objects. Affective orientation relates to feelings of attachment or alienation toward the political objects. Evaluational orientation is concerned with judgment and opinion of the individual about the political objects as to whether these are good or bad, just or unjust, right or wrong, and praise-worthy or condemnable. These three dimensions of orientations may be enquired, as Almond suggests,<sup>10</sup> in respect of four broad categories of political objects such as the political system as general object, input objects, output objects, and self as an object.

The level of knowledge and awareness, the pattern of the feelings, the judgments and opinion, etc., of an individual about a political system can be explored in respect of its constitutional characteristics in general terms, the input structures and processes such as parties, pressure groups, electoral system, and the upward flow of policy proposals, the output structures and processes such as legislature, executive, and judiciary, and the downward flow of authoritative decisions, and finally, his perception of himself as a political actor and about his rights, powers, and obligations.

Such an exploration may reveal distinct patterns of political orientations of an individual and also of a collectivity. The emerging patterns of political orientations tend to characterize political culture that may be classified, according to Almond, into three pure

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, pp 14-15

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p 15

types such as parochial political culture, subject political culture, and participant political culture<sup>11</sup>

### **Parochial Political Culture**

Parochial political culture is characterized by complete lack of knowledge and awareness of individuals about their political system, its input and output objects, and themselves as political actors in the political process. The lack of cognitive orientation naturally leads to lack of affective and evaluative orientations. Political cultures of some isolated tribal societies can be cited as example. In such communities the political, economic and religious leadership and roles are not differentiated.

### **Subject Political Culture**

In subject political culture, individuals are aware of only their political system and its differentiated output objects, and they have developed affective and evaluational orientations toward these two categories of political objects, but their orientations toward the input objects, and the self as an actor in the political process is almost nil. Subject - individuals are passive in their relationship with their political system as they are not oriented toward the upward flow of demands and policy proposals, and they lack in an activist perception of the self as an actor in the political process.

### **Participant Political Culture**

As distinguished from these two types, participant Political Culture is one in which the members of the society tend to be explicitly oriented toward the political system, its output and input objects, and also toward an activist role of the self in the political process. Participant individuals are, thus, those who have a high level of cognitive orientations, and distinct patterns of affective and evaluational orientations toward the four categories of political objects.

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, pp 17-19

The above mentioned three-fold classification of political culture is only the ideal types. No individual is exclusively participant or subject or parochial, and no political system may be characterized exclusively by parochial or subject or participant political culture.

In reality, the individual as well as the collectivity reveal the phenomenon of 'cultural -mix'.<sup>12</sup> The individual's psychology, indeed, is composed of his parochial, subject, and participant orientations, but he may be characterized either as a parochial or as a subject or as a participant depending upon the predominance that distinct type of orientation compared with the other two types orientations in him. Similarly, every political system comprises of all the three types of individuals, but its political culture may be characterized either as parochial political culture or as subject political culture or as participant political culture on the basis of the numerical superiority of that type of individuals as distinguished from the other two types of individuals in its population.

Other than the above said three pure forms of political culture, we have three types of systemically mixed political cultures: (1) parochial - subject culture, (2) subject-participant culture, and (3) parochial - participant culture.

#### **Parochial-Subject Political Culture**

Parochial - subject political culture tends to characterize that political system in which most of its members are overwhelmingly parochial in their orientations, yet a substantial portion of the population has rejected the exclusive claims of diffuse tribal, village, or feudal authority and has developed allegiance toward a more complex political system with specialized central governmental structures. The loosely articulated African kingdoms, and even the Ottoman Empire, are examples of stable, mixed subject-parochial cultures where the latter predominates and central authority takes the form of a primarily extractive, dimly cognized set of political objects.<sup>13</sup> They developed subject orientations in

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p 20

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p 23

the sense of being oriented towards the out put functions of the central government authority

### **Subject-Participant Political Culture**

In the mixed participant-subject culture a substantial part of the population has acquired specialized input orientations and an activist set of self-orientations, while most of the remainder of the population continues to be oriented toward an authoritarian governmental structure and have a relatively passive set of self-orientations<sup>14</sup> In the shift from a subject to a participant culture , the parochial and local autonomies, if they survive, may contribute to the development of a democratic infrastructure In Britain local authorities, municipal corporations, religious communities, and merchant groups in which the tradition of guild freedoms still persisted became the first interest groups in the development of their democratic political system

### **Parochial-Participant Political Culture**

Parochial-participant type of political culture is found in new states which have emerged as independent political systems in Asia and Africa after World War II In these states, participant structures have been introduced, yet most of its citizens are parochially oriented in the performance of their participant-roles For the congruence of the structure and culture we require a participant culture for these states Here the working of participant and democratic structures tends to be influenced significantly by parochial and primordial allegiances of the citizens<sup>15</sup> The parochial allegiances of the people are emanating from their identification with race, tribe, caste, language, religion region etc For the transition to

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p 24

<sup>15</sup> S P Guru, "Political Culture and the Problem of Nation -building in New States", *Journal of Politics (Ranchi)*, vol 4, nos 1&2, 1994, p 58

the proper participant culture we have to penetrate the parochial systems without destroying them on the output side, and to transform them into interest groups on the input side.

### **Civic Political Culture**

Civic political culture contains both the scientific-modern culture and humanistic-traditional cultures allowing them to interact and exchange without polarizing each other. For example the civic culture of Britain was the product of a series of encounters between modernization and traditionalism - encounters sharp enough to effect significant change but not so sharp or so concentrated in time as to create disintegration or polarization. When we examine the transition of Britain from the absolute rule to the parliamentary democracy we could find that the ruling elites were able to tolerate the aristocratic, local and corporate autonomy to a great extent through out the various stages of development. The independent aristocrats with secure local power in the countryside, courageous nonconformists, rich and self-confident merchants were the forces that transformed the tradition of the feudal estates into the parliamentary tradition and enabled Britain to pass through the era of absolutism without destroying her pluralism<sup>16</sup>

In Britain, the aristocratic and monarchic forces were broad-minded enough to compete with the secularist tendencies for popular support and, indeed, to mitigate their rationalism and impart to them a love and respect for the sacredness of the nation and its ancient institutions. What emerged was a third culture, neither traditional nor modern but partaking both a pluralistic culture based on communication and persuasion, a culture of consensus and diversity, a culture that permitted change but moderated it. This was the Civic Culture<sup>17</sup>. The British democracy was groomed under the shade of this culture based on diversity, consensualism, rationalism and traditionalism. Thus emerged the English parliamentarism which accommodated both traditional and modern forces through a party system which aggregated and combined them. A neutral and responsible bureaucracy,

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<sup>16</sup> Almond & Verba, n 8, p 7

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p 8

associational and bargaining interest groups, and autonomous and neutral media of communication are the other components of the British democracy

In a democracy, citizens are expected to be active in politics and to be involved. Further more, he is supposed to be rational in his approach to politics, guided by reason, not by emotion. He is supposed to be well informed and to make decisions on the basis of careful calculation as to the interests and the principles he would like to see furthered. The Civic Culture demands some thing more than this

The Civic Culture is an allegiant participant culture. Individuals are not only oriented to political input, they are oriented positively to the input structures and the input process. In other words, the civic culture is a participant political culture in which the political culture and political structure are congruent.<sup>18</sup> In the civic culture, participant political orientations combine with and do not replace subject and parochial political orientations. It is a particular 'mix' of citizens, subjects, and parochial suitable for the effective performance of a democratic political system. We need participant, subject, and parochial attitudes in the citizens for the smooth functioning of the system. Individuals become participants in the political process, but they do not give up their orientations as subjects nor as parochial. Further more, not only are these earlier orientations maintained, alongside the participant political orientations, but the subject and parochial orientations are congruent with the participant political orientations. The fusion of the traditional attitudes and orientations to the modern participant orientations develop a balanced political culture in which political activity, involvement, and rationality exist at the same time are balanced by passivity, traditionality, and commitment to parochial values.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p 31

<sup>19</sup> Ibid,p 32



In the light of the above mentioned discussion of meaning and typologies of political culture now we can focus our attention towards the political culture of the tribals of the Palakkad district.

### **POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE TRIBALS OF PALAKKAD**

The traditional political structures are still existing among the tribals of Palakkad. Their political culture is in a transition stage. The traditional political structure of the tribals lacked differentiation or specialization of political functions. For most of the tribal communities there were only two specialized roles that were politically significant, those of the *Mupan* (headman) and the *Pujari* (religious functionary). Among some groups, both these functions were performed by the *Mupan*. Kadar and Kurumba tribes of the Palakkad district are primitive tribes, they are dwelling in deep forests and have only limited contacts with outside culture.

As discussed earlier, in analyzing the political culture of a society, a convenient method, as devised by Gabriel A. Almond, is that of enquiring into and discerning the particular distribution of patterns of orientation towards political objects among the members of that society. Orientation refers to the internalized aspects of objects and relationships. Orientations may be discerned in terms of cognitive, affective and evaluational dimensions. These three dimensions of orientations may be enquired, as Almond suggests, in respect of four broad categories of political objects such as the political system as general object, input objects, output objects, and self as an object.

The level of knowledge and awareness (cognitive orientation), the pattern of the feelings (affective orientation), the judgments and opinions (evaluative orientation), etc., of the individual about the political system can be explored in respect of its constitutional characteristics in general terms, the input structures and processes such as parties, pressure groups, the electoral system, and the upward flow of policy proposals, the output structures and processes such as the legislature, executive, and judiciary, and the downward flow of

authoritative decisions, and finally, his perception of himself as a political actor and about his rights, powers, and obligations.

### Cognitive Orientation

Cognitive orientation refers to the level of knowledge and awareness, accurate or otherwise of the individual about the political objects. The data collected by applying an interview schedule gives the following information on the cognitive orientations of the different tribal communities of Palakkad. The cognitive orientation of the tribals of Palakkad seems to be very low. Only 47 per cent of the tribals could answer correctly to the question what is the name of our country. The remaining 53 per cent doesn't know even the name of the country where they live. 86 per cent of the Eravalans, 38 per cent of Irular, 82 per cent Kadar, 70 per cent Kurumbas, 11 per cent of Malayan's, 66 per cent of Mudugar and 50 per cent of Paniyans are ignorant of even the country in which they are living. Some of them know about Kerala, some others know only about Palakkad and the remaining know only of their locality.

TABLE 4 1  
WHAT IS THE NAME OF OUR COUNTRY?

Tribe Name	Correctly answered %	Incorrect %	Others %	Don't know %	Total %
Eravalan	14	7	20	59	100
Irular	62	12	8	18	100
Kadar	18	29	29	24	100
Kurumba	30	20	-	50	100
Malayan	89	-	11	-	100
Mudugar	34	9	11	44	100
Paniyan	50	33	17	-	100
Total	47	12	11	30	100

Source: Survey data

Regarding the question about the obligations to our country, 100 per cent of Eravalans, Kadars and Kurumbas were ignorant 91 per cent of Irulars, 92 per cent Mudugars, 83 per cent of Paniyans and 34 per cent Malayans are also totally ignorant of the obligations to our country. So as an average 90 per cent of the tribals of Palakkad are totally ignorant, 6 per cent know little, 2 per cent know well ,and 1 per cent know very well of the obligations to our country It is natural since 47 per cent of tribals do not know even the name of their country. Among the tribal respondents, only some Malayans (11%) seem to have good knowledge of peoples' obligations to their country

TABLE 4 2  
WHAT ARE YOUR OBLIGATIONS TO YOUR COUNTRY?

Tribe Name	Don't know %	Know little %	Know well %	Very well %	Total %
Eravalan	100	-	-	-	100
Irular	92	3	5	-	100
Kadar	100	-	-	-	100
Kurumba	100	-	-	-	100
Malayan	34	44	11	11	100
Mudugar	92	8	-	-	100
Paniyan	83	17	-	-	100
Total	90	6	3	1	100

Source Survey data

Only 35 per cent of the tribal respondents know about the Congress, BJP, C.P M and Janata Dal parties. 37 per cent heard about 2 to 3 parties and 25 per cent heard about either of the parties or none among them. 48 per cent of Eravalans, 13 per cent of Irulars, 86 per cent of Kadars, 10 per cent of Kurumbas, 23 per cent of Malayans, 29 per cent of Mudugars and 33 per cent of Paniyans have only very low knowledge about political parties

TABLE 4-3

DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THE FOLLOWING POLITICAL PARTIES?

CONGRESS, C P M, B.J.P, JANATA DAL

Tribe Name	Less than 2 %	2 to3 %	All of them %	Total %
Eravalalar	48	28	24	100
Irular	13	43	39	100
Kadar	86	14	-	100
Kurumba	10	60	30	100
Malayan	23	11	64	10
Mudugar	29	37	29	100
Paniyan	33	-	67	100
Total	25	37	35	100

Source : Survey data

97 per cent of the tribal respondents have not heard about the Scheduled Tribe Bill 1999 passed in the Kerala legislative Assembly 2 per cent have heard of it and 1 per cent knows about the bill, but no body from among the respondents have a good knowledge about the bill 100 per cent of Eravalans, Irulars, Kadars and Kurumbas, 65 per cent Malayans, 98 per cent Mudugars and 83 per cent of Paniyans are totally ignorant of the bill

TABLE 4 4  
WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT SCHEDULED TRIBE BILL 1999 OF THE  
KERALA LEGISLATURE ?

Tribe Name	Don't know %	Know little %	Know well %	Know very well %	Total %
Eravalalar	100	-	-	-	100
Irular	100	-	-	-	100
Kadar	100	-	-	-	100
Kurumba	100	-	-	-	100
Malayan	65	23	11	-	100
Mudugar	98	-	-	-	100
Paniyan	83	17	-	-	100
Total	97	2	1	-	100

Source: Survey data

97 per cent of the tribal respondents are ignorant about the Prevention of Atrocities Act of Tribals. One per cent knows little and another two per cent know about the act, but none of them know well about the Act. 100 per cent of Eravalars, Kadars, Kurumbas and Paniyans and Mudugars, 98 per cent of Irulars and 89 per cent of Malayans don't know about the Act

TABLE 4 5

DO YOU KNOW ABOUT PREVENTION OF ATROCITIES ACT FOR TRIBALS?

Tribe Name	Don't know %	know little %	know well %	know very well %	Total %
Eravalalar	100	-	-	-	100
Irular	98	2	-	-	100
Kadar	100	-	-	-	100
Kurumba	100	-	-	-	100
Malayan	89	-	11	-	100
Mudugar	100	-	-	-	100
Paniyan	100	-	-	-	100
Total	97	1	2	-	100

Source: Survey data

Among the tribals of Palakkad, the knowledge about basic human rights is very low. 85 per cent of the total tribal respondents were found ignorant of human rights. 100 per cent of Eravalars, Kadars and Kurumbas, 86 per cent of Irulars, 21 per cent of Malayans, 83 per cent of Mudugars and 67 per cent of Paniyans are totally ignorant of human rights. One per cent of the total tribal respondents were found to be having very good understanding of human rights. All of them are from the Malayan community.

TABLE 4-6

LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS

Tribe Name	Don't know %	Low %	Moderate %	Good %	Very good %	Total %
Eravalalar	100	-	-	-	-	100
Irular	86	7	6	1	-	100
Kadar	100	-	-	-	-	100

Kurumba	100	-	-	-	-	100
Malayan	21	45	12	11	11	100
Mudugar	83	6	3	3	-	100
Paniyan	67	16	17	-	-	100
Total	85	7	4	3	1	100

Source. Survey data

### Affective Orientation

Affective orientation refers to the pattern of feelings of an individual, feelings of attachment or alienation toward the political objects. Even though the knowledge of the tribals of Palakkad about the political system and the political objects are very low, they have affective orientations or feelings of the political objects. Their feelings are not of attachment, but of detachment and distrust

Only 6 per cent of the tribal respondents believe that all the Government officials are honest, 7 per cent believes that majority of the Government officials are honest, 27 per cent believes only few are honest, 28 per cent believes none of the Government officials are honest 32 per cent of the respondents have no orientation in this regard. Among the tribal communities of Palakkad, Kurumbas of Attappady, a primitive forest dwelling community, distrust the Government officials most 70 per cent of them believe that none of the Government officials are honest.

Another primitive tribal community, Kadars, who resides in the thick forests of Chittur Taluk of the Palakkad district have more trust in Government officials than other tribal communities, 43 per cent of them say all the Government officials are honest, but another 43 per cent among them have no orientation about this

TABLE 4 - 7

WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, ARE THEY HONEST?

Tribe Name	Don't know %	All are honest %	Majority are honest %	Only few are honest %	None of them are honest %	Total %
Eravalur	34	-	3	41	22	100
Irular	28	6	11	20	35	100
Kadar	43	43	14	-	-	100
Kurumba	-	-	-	30	70	100
Malayan	10	12	11	56	11	100
Mudugar	49	6	3	20	22	100
Paniyan	17	16	-	67	-	100
Total	32	6	7	27	28	100

Source Survey data

While approaching the Government officials for filing some complaints or for some official matters, 30 per cent of the tribal respondents have feeling of fear, 21 per cent have feeling of inferiority, 9 per cent feel subordination. Only 33 per cent feel confident in approaching an official, 6 per cent have no such orientation or experience.

Among the tribal communities, Kadars (43%) and Mudugars (54%) communities recorded higher rate of fear, and Malayans (23%) and Irulars (20%) lower rate fear in approaching Government officials. Malayans (44%) and Irulars (42%) recorded higher rate of self confidence than others, while none of the Kadars were confident when they approached a Government official. 14 per cent of Kadars and 10 per cent of Kurumbans had no idea about their state of mind while approaching a Government official.

TABLE 4-8

## WHAT IS YOUR STATE OF MIND WHILE APPROACHING A GOVT OFFICIAL?

Tribe Name	Fear %	Inferiority %	Subordination %	Self-confidence %	Don't know %	Total %
Eravalar	31	31	7	31	-	100
Irular	20	22	7	42	8	100
Kadar	43	43	-	-	14	100
Kurumba	30	20	20	20	10	100
Malayan	23	-	33	44	-	100
Mudugar	54	11	6	20	9	100
Paniyan	33	17	17	33	-	100
Total	30	21	9	33	7	100

Source Survey data

20 per cent of the tribal respondents believe that there is a large scale corruption in implementation of various tribal welfare programs, 24 per cent are not sure and 10 per cent don't believe it 46 per cent of respondents had no such orientations. Kadars (100%) and Kurumbas (90%) have no affective orientations about this Eravalars (10%), Irulars (24%), Malayans (43%), Mudugars (23%) and Paniyans (16%) believe that there is large scale corruption in executing the tribal welfare programmes

TABLE 4-9

## DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A LARGE SCALE CORRUPTION IN IMPLEMENTING TRIBAL WELFARE PROGRAMMES?

Tribe Name	Don't know %	Believe %	Don't believe %	Not sure %	Total %
Eravalar	66	10	14	10	100
Irular	40	24	6	30	100
Kadar	100	-	-	-	100
Kurumba	90	-	-	10	100
Malayan	12	43	11	34	100
Mudugar	29	23	20	28	100



Paniyan	67	16	17	-	100
Total	46	20	10	24	100

Source Survey data

### **Evaluative Orientation**

As discussed earlier evaluational orientation is concerned with judgment and opinion of an individual about the political objects as to whether these are good or bad, just or unjust, right or wrong, and praise-worthy or condemnable. For a higher level of evaluational orientation, people must have a higher level of cognitive orientation also. In the case of the tribals of Palakkad who have only a very low cognitive orientation, their evaluative orientation also suffers generally from the disadvantage of being meaningless or senseless to evaluate at a higher level. Still many of them are capable to evaluate the political objects within their limitations. So we shall consider some aspects of their evaluative orientations at general level for the purpose of analysis.

27 per cent of the tribal respondents evaluate that the government is not effective in implementing the laws impartially, 33 per cent say Government's achievement is moderate in implementing laws impartially. Only 3 per cent reckon that government is very effective. 37 per cent of the tribals have no evaluative orientations. Kadars (86%), Mudugars (52%) and Kurumbas (52%), have lowest levels of cognitive orientations in this regard. Malayans have comparatively better evaluative orientations than other tribal communities of the Palakkad district. 22 per cent of Malayans assess that Government's achievement in implementing laws impartially is not effective, 56 per cent say it is moderate and 11 per cent view it as very effective. From among the Malayan respondents only 11 per cent lack evaluative orientations.

TABLE 4-10

HOW EFFECTIVE IS THE GOVERNMENT IN IMPLIMENTING THE LAWS IMPARTIALLY?

No	Tribe Name	Don't know %	Not effective %	Moderate %	Very effective %
1	Eravalar	31	10	59	-
2	Irular	30	33	33	4
3	Kadar	86	14	-	-
4	Kurumba	50	30	20	-
5	Malayan	11	22	56	11
6	Mudugar	52	33	15	-
7	Paniyan	33	34	33	-
	Total	37	27	33	3

Source: Survey data

21 per cent of the tribal respondents assessed that the Tribal welfare programmes of the government did nothing to improve the conditions of the tribals. 52 per cent of the tribals assessed slight improvement, 7 per cent, moderate and 2 per cent fast growth 18 per cent of them had no evaluative orientations about this. From among the tribals of Palakkad, Irular and Malayan communities had comparatively better evaluative orientations.

TABLE 4-11

WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE TRIBALS?

Tribe Name	Don't know %	No difference %	Slight improvement %	Moderate %	Fast growth %	Total %
Eravalar	17	17	63	3	-	100
Irular	10	18	63	7	2	100
Kadar	29	29	28	-	14	100
Kurumba	20	40	30	10	-	100
Malayan	11	11	78	-	-	100
Mudugar	32	32	21	15	-	100
Paniyan	33	17	50	-	-	100
Total	18	21	52	7	2	100

Source: Survey data

An analysis of the political culture of the tribals of the Palakkad district reveals that generally they have very low cognitive orientations about a political system, the input objects, output objects and the self in the political process. The 'structural differentiation' and 'cultural secularization' processes are very low. Still the political, economic and religious leadership and roles are not effectively differentiated. The *Mupan* and *Pujari* are the only roles in most of the communities. Some times both these roles are combined in the *Mupan*.

✓ Secularization is the process whereby men become increasingly rational, analytical, and experienced in their political action.<sup>20</sup> The secularization of culture is the process, whereby traditional attitudes are modified by modern rational analytical course of action. Even though they are a part of a large political system, most of the tribals of Palakkad know only about their traditional system. Majority have loyalty only to their tribal community. Only a very few tribals have become rational and analytical in their political actions.

✓ Parochial element is dominant in the political culture of the tribals of Palakkad. 53 per cent of the tribal respondents were ignorant of even the name of their country. Their knowledge about the political parties is also very low. 97 per cent were totally ignorant of the Scheduled Tribe Act passed in 1999 by the Kerala Legislative assembly for prevention of land alienation. 97 per cent were also ignorant about the Prevention of Atrocities Act for Tribals. The lack of cognitive orientation naturally leads to lack of affective and evaluative orientations. The percentage of parochial element is higher among the Kadar and Kurumba tribes, since they live in deep forest and have lesser contacts with outside world.

No society may be characterized exclusively as parochial or subject or participant political culture. There are traces of subject and participant political cultures also among the tribals of Palakkad. Malayan and Irular communities of palakkad have better

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<sup>20</sup> Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* (Boston, 1966), p. 14

cognitive affective and evaluative orientations about the input output objects, about self and the political system in general than other tribal communities

A better political culture is that which is nearer to *civic culture*. The Civic culture is an allegiant participant culture. We need subject and parochial political orientations in congruence with the participant political orientations in citizens for the smooth functioning of the system. The fusion of the traditional attitudes and orientations to the modern participant orientations develop a balanced political culture in which political activity, involvement, and rationality exist at the same time are balanced by passivity, traditionality, and commitment to parochial values.

In the case of the Palakkad tribals, unluckily a proper fusion of their traditional attitudes and orientations with modern participant orientations has not taken place. This is due to lack of effective political socialization. Now they are in the predicament of loosing their traditional culture and are not acquainted with the modern culture. Their parochial and subject cultures are not in congruence with the participant culture. So their political culture is in no way nearer to a civic culture.

### **The Tribal Sub-culture**

As already discussed at the outset, political culture represents the psychological inclinations or dimension of the political system. It consists of attitudes, beliefs, values, and skills which are current in an entire population, as well as those inclinations and patterns which may be found within separate parts of that population. The particular inclinations of regional groups, social classes, etc., which are included in the population are referred to as *subcultures*.<sup>21</sup> The tribals are a social class, who form a subsystem with a particular set of traditions and attitudes.

The tribals of Palakkad, even though they are in a stage of transition, still maintain their traditional structures and roles. They have a way of relating or culture which is different

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p 14

from the mainstream society So their culture is a subculture. Even among the tribals of Palakkad, there are differences in their way of relating. For example, the Irulars, Kurumbar and Mudugar tribes of Attappady area have a five stage hierarchical system of administration with the *Uru Mupan* as the head and *Bhandari*, *Kuruthala*, *Dalapathy* and *Mannukaran* as other offices On the contrary the tribal communities living outside Attappady area including Irular and Mudugar have only two administrative offices; the *Uru Mupan* and the *Pujari* While studying political culture of a community, their sub-cultural differences should not therefore be ignored

As the political culture and sub-culture is tamed through the process of political socialization, we now turn our attention towards this process in the next section

### POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

✓The term "socialization" refers to the whole range of processes through which a newborn baby gradually grows into a full-grown adult member of his society. He imitates patterns of behaviour, ways of feeling, building of attitudes, organization of perception, norms of action, etc It is in a sense, a 'communication' from one generation to the next of its specific ways of living in all realms, including those pertaining to knowing, feeling or willing<sup>22</sup> Political socialization is a specific dimension of the overall process of socialization Political socialization is a concept closely related to political culture. The inclinations, attitudes, beliefs, and values which constitute the political culture are the consequences of political socialization This is the process by which political cultures are maintained as well as changed This is the process whereby political attitudes and values are learned as children become adults and as adults are recruited into roles<sup>23</sup> The study of political socialization seems to be one of the most promising approaches to understand political development.

Two important points have to be taken as bedrock to understand political socialization (1) Socialization is a process which goes on continuously throughout the life of

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<sup>22</sup> Daya Krishna, n 1,P 156

<sup>23</sup> Almond and Powell, n 20, p 14

the individual Attitudes are always being adapted or strengthened as the individual goes through his social experiences. (2) Political socialization may take place by either manifest, direct or latent, indirect transmission It is manifest when it involves the open communication of information, values, or feelings towards political objects. Latent or indirect political socialization is the transmission of nonpolitical attitudes which affect attitudes toward similar roles and objects in the political system <sup>24</sup>

### **The Agents of Political Socialization**

The formal and informal agencies such as family, school, peer group, secondary groups, mass media, along with the actual experience of an individual from direct contact with the political system, shape his/her perception of the political system and his/her attitude towards it We, therefore, briefly discuss these agents of political socialization below

*Family* Both latent and manifest political socializations take place in the family The experiences in the family indirectly influence in shaping attitudes to authority, sense of political competence, skills for political interaction and participation. The general political attitudes of the parents and elders in the family directly influence a child's attitudes towards his/her political system

*School* The school structure has a very powerful influence in the process of political socialization A study of five nations found without exception that educated persons were more aware of the influences of the government on their lives, gave more attention to politics, had more information about political processes, and manifested a higher degree of political competence <sup>25</sup>

*Peer Groups* The peer groups, that is, people of equal status socially or professionally, and the reference groups to which a person commonly relates play an important role in

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid,p 43

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p 46

shaping values and attitudes. The interactions in these groups may help in developing skills required for political participation and political decision making.

*Secondary Groups* Membership in a secondary group provides a very good apprenticeship for dealing with relationships in the political world. Participation in the secondary group equips one with skill, information and predispositions that are found very useful in the context of political participation. There are three types of secondary groups: [1] Secondary groups with a distinctly political character. Political parties fall in this category. [2] Groups which are established for non-political purposes, but which are found to carry on political education and mobilisation along with their other activities. A labour union is an example of this type. [3] Groups which do not have any political character or do not try to impart political education to their members. But mere participation in their routine affairs gives their members opportunities to develop orientations that have political relevance. A sports club is the example for this type of secondary groups.

*Mass Media* The mass media agencies like radio, television, newspapers, magazines and modern information technology provide a good deal of political information. While giving information about specific and immediate political events, the mass media shape the individuals' political ideas also. The advantage of mass media is that it can reach a large number of people in a short time.

Other than the influence of these agencies, a direct contact with the political system also influences and shapes the political orientations of the people. An individual's continuous experiences of government through his direct contact with governmental functions and government personnel and his direct knowledge of what the government stands and works for is likely either to reinforce his ideas and attitudes acquired through the early political socialization process or to alter them quite substantially.

## **POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AMONG THE TRIBALS OF PALAKKAD**

As discussed earlier, the parochial elements are still dominant in the political culture of the Palakkad tribals. This is not in congruence with subject and participant elements in their culture. This shows that political socialization is not effective in transmitting the mainstream political culture, and a proper fusion of the traditional attitudes and orientations to the modern participant orientations has not taken place due to the lack of proper political socialization. This is evident from the following facts:

Among the agents of political socialization, family seems to be the most influential among the tribals of Palakkad. The influence of educational institutions, mass media, secondary groups, Governmental agencies, etc., seems very low in their political socialization.

55 per cent of the total respondents surveyed by us are illiterates, 11 per cent are literates without schooling, 10 per cent have L.P. School education, 10 per cent have U.P. School education, 12 per cent have high school education, and 2 per cent have plus two level education. None of them has a degree or post graduation. Malayan community recorded the highest percentage of literacy (57%) and the Kadars lowest (0%). This does not mean that Kadars are totally illiterates, we had selected samples only from within the persons above the age of eighteen and there are literates among the Kadars below the age of eighteen. On the whole, however, political socialization in the schools has not taken place in the case of Kadars.

Generally, 66 per cent of the tribal respondents have never been in schools, so in their case the influence of schools as agents of political socialization is totally nil. Only 14 per cent of the tribals had been in high schools or plus two level schools, none has gone to the degree or post graduate level schools and colleges. So political socialization from educational institutions of that level had never taken place in the case of the tribals of Palakkad.



TABLE 4 -12

## EDUCATION

Tribe Name	Illiterate %	Literate without schooling %	L P S %	U P S %	H S %	PlusTwo/ Tech Edu %	Degree /P G / Others %	Total %
Eravalar	79	-	10	7	4	-	-	100
Irular	69	4	9	9	9	-	-	100
Kadar	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Malayan	43	-	11	12	22	12	-	100
Mudugar	71	-	29	-	-	-	-	100
Panryan	50	17	17	16	-	-	-	100
Kurumban	50	20	20	10	-	-	-	100
Total	55	11	10	10	12	2	-	100

Source Survey data

As the following table shows, 77 per cent of the respondents never read news papers, 19 Per cent read some times and only 4 Per cent read news papers regularly 100 Per cent of Kadar and Kurumbas never read news papers 44 per cent of Malayans and 5 per cent of Irulars read news papers regularly. Newspaper is a very important agent of political socialization It is the most effective means of political communication since every body has the access to it Generally the tribals have no access to even the newspapers since they are living in isolated places inside or near to forests For example most of the Kadar and Kurumban settlements are in deep forest far away from the non-tribal settlements

TABLE 4-13

## DO YOU READ NEWS PAPER ?

Tribe Name	Never %	Some times %	Very often %	Total %
Eravalar	86	14	-	100
Irular	74	21	5	100
Kadar	100	-	-	100

Kurumba	100	-	-	100
Malayan	32	24	44	100
Mudugar	74	26	-	100
Paniyan	83	17	-	100
Total	77	19	4	100

Source Survey data

As regards radio, 14 per cent of the tribal respondents listen to radio very often and 53 per cent some times, only 33 per cent never listen to radio 57 per cent Kadar and 51 per cent Mudugar never listen to radio. But about 67 per cent of the total tribal respondents have access to radio Comparatively radio is thus a better socializing agent for the tribals

TABLE 4-14

HOW OFTEN DO YOU LISTEN RADIO?

Tribe Name	Never %	Some times %	Very often %	Total %
Eravalalar	41	45	14	100
Irular	29	66	5	100
Kadar	57	29	14	100
Kurumba	20	50	30	100
Malayan	-	44	56	100
Mudugar	51	35	14	100
Paniyan	-	50	50	100
Total	33	53	14	100

Source Survey data

Television nowadays is a very effective agent of political socialization People can see their leaders and listen to their views and messages directly The important political and non political events which take place at different parts of the world are visible to people all over the world within a very short time. Among the tribals of Palakkad, 62 per cent have never seen television, 33 per cent see television some times and only 5 per cent see it very often So, television also has limitations as an agent of political socialization among the tribals

TABLE 4-15

## HOW OFTEN DO YOU WATCH T V ?

Tribe Name	Never %	Some times %	Very often %	Total %
Eravalar	83	17	-	100
Irular	48	48	4	100
Kadar	86	14	-	100
Kurumba	100	-	-	100
Malayan	21	34	45	100
Mudugar	83	17	-	100
Paniyan	33	67	-	100
Total	62	33	5	100

Source Survey data

Reading magazines and periodicals enable people to understand various political issues and events. It imparts a higher level of political socialization. 83 per cent of the tribals never read magazines and periodicals, 13 per cent read some times. Only 4 per cent read magazines and periodicals very often. 100 per cent of Kadars, Kurumbans and Paniyans, 93 per cent of Eravalans, 86 per cent of Mudugars have never read magazines and periodicals. 44 per cent Malayans, 3 per cent Mudugars and 2 per cent Irulars read it very often. Thus other than Malayans no other tribal community is politically socialized through reading magazines and periodicals.

TABLE 4-16

## HOW OFTEN DO YOU READ MAGAZINES/ PERIODICALS?

Tribe Name	Never %	Some times %	Very often %	Total %
Eravalar	93	7	-	100
Irular	78	19	2	100
Kadar	100	-	-	100
Kurumba	100	-	-	100
Malayan	44	12	44	100
Mudugar	86	11	3	100

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Paniyan	100	-	-	100
Total	83	13	4	100

Source Survey data

The interaction with Governmental agencies is another way of political socialization. But as already discussed, the interaction of the tribals of Palakkad with the governmental agencies has imparted a negative socialization. Majority of the tribals are not trusting the Government officials. In their opinion the Government is not very effective in implementing the laws impartially.

From the study of political culture and socialization of the tribals of Palakkad it is obvious that the parochial element is still dominant in their political culture and it is not in congruence with subject and participant elements. The political socialization among them is not effective in transmitting the mainstream political culture. It is therefore relevant to examine how far these inadequacies affect the political input process of the tribals. We shall turn our attention towards this aspect of political development among the Palakkad tribals in the next chapter.