CHAPTER-2

WARANGAL DISTRICT PROFILE

WITH POLITICAL CULTURE
WARANGAL DISTRICT PROFILE

Warangal has been recently in the news because of the separate Telangana issue. It has been a major centre for the movement and its rebirth. Kaloji Narayana Rao is a freedom fighter and a well-known writer from Telangana region. Warangal (also known as Orugallu and Ekasila Nagaram) is a city and district headquarters of Warangal district in Indian state of Telangana. Warangal is located 148 kilometres (92 miles) northeast of the state capital of Hyderabad and is the administrative headquarters of Warangal District. Warangal area is a combination of Warangal, Hanamkonda, and Kajipet. Warangal is the second biggest city next to Hyderabad in Telangana.

Warangal was the capital of Kakatiya kingdom ruled by the Kakatiya dynasty from the 12th to the 14th centuries. The Kakatiyas left many monuments, including an impressive fortress, four massive stone gateways, the Swayambhu temple dedicated to Shiva, and the Ramappa temple situated near Ramappa Lake. The cultural and administrative distinction of the Kakatiyas was mentioned by the famous traveller Marco Polo. After the defeat of Pratapa Rudra, the Musunuri Nayaks united seventy two Nayak chieftains and captured Warangal from Delhi sultanate and ruled for fifty years.

The Mughal Empire or Aurangzeb conquered Golconda in 1687, and it remained part of the Mughal Empire until the southern provinces of the empire split away to become the state of Hyderabad in 1724, which included the Telangana region and some parts of Maharashtra and Karnataka. Hyderabad was annexed to India in 1948, and became an Indian State. In 1956, Hyderabad was partitioned as part of the States Reorganization Act, and Telangana, the Telugu-speaking region of Hyderabad state, which includes Warangal, became part of Andhra Pradesh.

The present chapter is devoted to an assessment and examination of socio-economic profile of Warangal district. The socio-economic and geographical characteristics are analyzed to gauge the potentiality of the man power of the district. It is often said that socio-economic topology of the district has a great relevance to assess the capabilities of work force on public policies. The western political scientists belittled the importance of the socio-economic basis of the masses with regard to their behavioural patterns either in political or in economical. In fact, social
and economical perceptions of people will definitely influence the work ethos and culture of the political background of the study. In fact, it constitutes the basis for evaluation of different public policies and programmes. A brief account of three district profile will through some insight on the social dynamics of the district.

Warangal and Hanamkonda, as legend goes, is linked with the dynasties of great “Vishnukundins” and even prior to it also of the Buddhist and Pre-Buddhist periods of Indian History. During 8th Century A.D. Warangal with an old name “Orukul” has served as capital city of Yadava king of Tuluva Andhra’s from the middle of 12th century up to two hundred years. This area is ruled by the Kakatiyas of Ganapathis making Warangal as capital city. The name of Warangal “orugallu” is said to be correct form of orukal which is the original designation, the old town. The family name Kakatiya is derived from the local appellation of goddess Durga (kakati). The names of few kings i.e. Polaraja Rudra Deva-1, Ganapathi Deva, Rani Rudrama Devi and Pratapa Rudra have occupied a proud position in the history.

Later, after the fall of Bhamani Kingdom, Warangal fell to the “Qutub Shahis” of Golconda and there after it has come under the sway of Nizam’s Dominions.

Thus the city of Warangal has developed both under political and historical influences of successive great kings.

Warangal District is one of the backward districts of Telangana state. Warangal district’s geographical area is spread over 12,846 square kilometers. According to 2011 census reports, the total population of districts is 35, 22,644 which 17, 66,257 are male and females population is 17, 56,387. Out of 1098 Revenue villages of the district 1003 villages are inhabited and the rest of villages are deserted. The total population of districts is 26.23 lakhs. The urban population spread over 5 towns in the in the district viz. Warangal, Jangoan, Kadipikonda, Mahabubabad and Dornakal.

According to the 2011 Census Warangal district has a Population of 35, 22,644, roughly equal to the nation of Kuwait or the US state of Connecticut. This gives it a ranking of 82nd in India (out of a total of 640). The district has a population density of 274 inhabitants per square kilometre (710/sq mi). Its Population growth
rate over the decade 2001-2011 was 8.52%. Warangal has a sex ratio of 994 females for every 1000 males, and a literacy rate of 66.16%.

The composition of the soils of the district is in the following manner. Red loams (36.25 percent), sandy loams (33.42 percent), Black cotton soils (18.32 percent), alkaline (6.42 percent), rocky and latte rites (5.40 percent). One big river and two rivulets have flowing in the district. The major river Godavari and its tributaries i.e., Mannair, pakhal and Laknavaram Vagu, Krishna tributaries of Akeru, Palair there is one major irrigation source, Sriramsagar Project which flows through the northern parts of the districts. The other sources of irrigation in the district are rain fed tanks like Ramappa and Laknavaram, and few other artificial lakes and tanks of varying size together with wells from the principal source of irrigation.

The principal crops grown in the district are rice, Jowar and maize. The main staple food of the people is rice, which is generally grown throughout the district during both the Rabi and Khariff seasons. Besides this green gram, red gram, Bengal gram, groundnut, Chillies, cotton, maize, Joker, turmeric is the major crops grown in various parts of the district.

Warangal Municipality became a corporation in 1997. The corporation radial area is about 57 Kms. The work force in the district is 9.86 lakhs, which is 43.87 percent of total state population. The workers in the agricultural sector are 7.15 lakhs forming 31.06 percent of total population. The remaining 2.27 lakhs workers are engaged in non agricultural sector comprising 11.81 percent of total population of the district. The non workers class population is 12.14 lakhs consisting of 57.13 percent of total population. The district elevation with an average of 870-1700 feet from sea level, the minimum and maximum temperatures is 43.6 C and 28.5 C respectively.

Warangal district for the purpose of administration is divided into five Revenue divisions i.e., Mahabubabad, Warangal, Narsampet, Jangoan, Mulugu and 51 revenue mandals. About 93% of the population is Hindus, 5% are Muslim and
Christians are below 2%. There are small percentages of Jains and Sikhs. A notable aspect of caste structure is that Madiga, one of the Scheduled castes, is the largest caste in the district followed by B.C.s.

Cultural Tourism in the District

History

Warangal district consists of many Prehistoric sites, which were explored by the Indian Archaeological authorities. Palaeolithic Rock art paintings are found at Pandava gutta (Regonda) and Narsapur (Tdvai) in the district. The lower valley along River Godavari is a rich belt of Neolithic settlement extended to the neighbouring Khammam district also.

Jainism

Padmakshi Gutta consists of a Jain temple dedicated to Goddess Padmavathi (Padmakshi), located on a hilltop in the heart of the town of Hanamkonda, and was originally constructed during Kakatiya reign. Till the Kakatiya Kings renovated and established the Goddess Padmakshi, previously it was a ‘Basadi’ a Jain temple. The temple also has rich sculpture of the Jain Tirthankara's and other Jain Gods and Goddesses. The Kadalalaya basadi or Padmakshi temple is built on a large rocky out crop. Angadi Veeranngudi a Jain temple located at Biranpally village in Maddur Mandal in the district.

Kakatiya Reign

Warangal was the capital of Kakatiya kingdom ruled by the Kakatiya dynasty from the 12th to the 14th centuries. Warangal also known as Orugallu, Ekasila Nagaram the old name of this place is Orugallu. Oru means one and Gallu means stone. The Kakatiyas left many monuments, including an impressive fortress, four massive stone gateways, the Swayambhu temple dedicated to Shiva, and the Ramappa temple situated near Ramappa Lake. The cultural and administrative distinction of the Kakatiyas was mentioned by the famous traveller Marco Polo. Famous or well-known rulers included Ganapathi Deva, Prathapa Rudra, and Rani (queen) Rudrama Devi. After the defeat of PratapaRudra, the Musunuri Nayaks united seventy two Nayak chieftains and captured Warangal from Delhi.
sultanate and ruled for fifty years. Jealousy and mutual rivalry between Nayaks ultimately led to the downfall of Hindus in 1370 A.D. and success of Brahmanism.

**Deccan Empires**

Bahmani Sultanate later broke up into several smaller sultanates, of which the Golconda sultanate ruled Warangal. The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb conquered Golconda in 1687, and it remained part of the Mughal Empire until the southern provinces of the empire split away to become the state of Hyderabad in 1724 which included the Telangana region and some parts of Maharashtra and Karnataka. Hyderabad became an Indian State in 1948. In 1956 Hyderabad was partitioned as part of the States Reorganization Act, and Telangana, the Telugu-speaking region of Hyderabad state which includes Warangal, became part of Andhra Pradesh.

**Red Corridor:** In last few years an internal conflict has intensified in India along most of its regions along the east coast spreading from Nepal border to Tamil Nadu. Though started 40 years ago, it ceased to die out and instead had grown ominously. This region largely includes dense forests and tribal areas and consists of 92,000 sq km popularly called the Red Corridor; this area is under the heavy influence of left wing extremists called Naxals. The area where the Maoists operate has grown dramatically in last two decades. In the early 1990s the number of districts affected by varying degrees of Maoist violence stood at just 15 in four states. This rose to 55 districts in nine states by the end of 2003 and to 156 districts in 13 states in 2004. Maoists are currently believed to be operating in around 200 districts (of a total of 604 districts in the country) in 17 states. The worst affected states are Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Bihar, and Orissa.

Unification of dominant Naxal factions into CPI (Maoist) in 2004 has sure made the activities in the Red Corridor as the most serious threat to India’s national security. The central government has banned the CPI-Maoist in 2009 under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, calling it a terrorist organization. The growing influence and strength of the Naxal movement prompted the Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, to describe the rebels as the single biggest internal security challenge faced by India.
Note: *Warangal District is currently a part of the Red Corridor and North Telangana Districts also*

**Geography**

Warangal district occupies an area of 12,846 square kilometers (4,960 sq mi), comparatively equivalent to the island of Jamaica or the US state of Hawaii. Warangal is spread over 12,84,000 ha with merely one-fourth of the geographical area under forests. Gross cropped area is 5, 5 0000 ha and net sown area is 29.1%. The cropping intensity is 123%, the highest among the NAIP districts. Areas under permanent pastures constitute 3.3%, highest next to Nalgonda. The district has a total population of 32, 46,004 of which 17% belong to Scheduled Castes and 14% to Scheduled Tribes. The literates in the rural area constitute 52%. About 68.1% of the workers are engaged in agricultural activities. The proportion of those engaged in non-agricultural activities is 32%. The total adult cattle units in the district is numbered at 13, 79,897, the third highest among the NAIP districts, of which 5, 61,887 are cattle, 4, 86,779 are buffaloes and 3, 31,231 are sheep / goats. Grazing present is 8.5 ACU/ha grazing area.

The district receives 991 mm rainfall and is also having a higher frequency of droughts the district has 2, 85,00 ha net irrigated area, which accounts for 64% of the total cultivated area. Rice has continued to retain its dominant position over the last two decades accounting for 29% of the area under crops. Cotton has gained significant area while groundnut has lost more than half of what it used to occupy in 1995. Other crops that have significantly lost area are sorghum, sunflower and chillies, while maize and pigeon pea have gained significant area. The district has seen nearly a three-fold increase of area under horticulture crops during the last 5 years (2000-01 to 2005-06). The area under vegetables has marginally declined while a drastic decline has been seen in the area under spices from over 42,000 ha to 27,600 ha during this period. The per capita income of the district was Rs. 17253 during 2003-04 at constant prices. Agricultural lending by Scheduled Commercial Banks to agriculture increased from Rs.2, 950 in 1995 to Rs.12, 269 in 2005 resulting in an annual growth rate of 32%. The district has 16 APMCs accounting for 3.4 APMCs per lakh ha of net sown area.
Economy

In 2006 the Indian government named Warangal one of the country's 250 most backward districts (out of a total of 640). It is one of the thirteen districts in Andhra Pradesh currently receiving funds from the Backward Regions Grant Fund Programme (BRGF).

Power Sector

APGENCO has set up a 500 MW (and another unit of 1x600MW unit is under construction, thus the total capacity will become 1100MW) super thermal power plant in the Chelpur, Bhupalpally area. Power Grid Corporation of India Limited is having a 630MVA, 400/220KV Substation in the Oglapur village in Atmakur mandal.

Tourism

World Heritage Status on 28 February 2013, Warangal was accorded World Heritage town status by UNESCO.

Thousand Pillar Temple

The Thousand Pillar Temple is a historic Hindu temple located in Hanamakonda Town, Telangana, India. It is dedicated to Lord Shiva, Lord Vishnu and Lord Surya. The Thousand Pillar Temple is one of the very old temples of South India that was built by the kakatiyas. It stands out to be a masterpiece and achieved major heights in terms of architectural skills by the ancient Kakatiya vishwakarma sthapathis. It is believed that the Thousand Pillar Temple was built by King Rudra Deva in 1163 AD. The Thousand Pillar Temple is constructed on a platform that is raised to one meter height from the ground level. The temple is provided with a number of pillars which are intricately carved and adorned. Rock cut elephants and perforated screens in the temple are characteristic of the then prevailing dynasty.

Bhadrakali Temple

Bhadrakali Temple in Warangal, Telangana is known to be one of the oldest temples for Goddess Bhadrakali in India. This temple is located on the banks of the
Bhadrakali Lake, a picturesque location between Hanamkonda and Warangal. As per the writings on the temple wall this temple is believed to be constructed by the King Pulakesi II of Chalukya dynasty around 625 A.D to commemorate his victory over Vengi region of Andhra Desham. This can be observed from the square pillars used in the temple structure which were different from the circular pillars commonly used in temples constructed by Kakatiyas. Bhadrakali Temple has become a major tourist place and people from many parts of India visit this temple.

**Warangal Fort**

The existence of Warangal Fort in the present-day Indian state of Andhra Pradesh traced back to at least the 13th century CE. Although precise dating of its construction and subsequent enhancements are uncertain, historians and archaeologists generally accept that an earlier brick-walled structure was replaced with stone by Ganapatideva, who died in 1262, and that his successors Rudramadevi and Prataparudra added to its height and added gateways, square bastions and additional circular earthen walls prior to the latter's death in 1323. This places the construction towards the end of the Kakatiya period. There were later modifications between the 15th and 17th centuries, comprising principally the addition of barbicans to the four gates in the stone wall and the creation of gates in the outer earthen wall. Remnants of the structure can be seen today near to the town of Warangal, which was the Kakatiya capital. The Archaeological Survey of India has listed the remains as a Monument of National Importance.

**Ramappa Temple**

Ramappa also known as the Ramalingeswara temple is located 77 km from Warangal, the ancient capital of the Kakatiya dynasty, 157 km from Hyderabad in the state of Andhra Pradesh in southern India. It lays in a valley at Palampet village of Venkatapur Mandal, in erstwhile Mulugu Taluq of Warangal district, a tiny village long past its days of glory in the 13th and 14th centuries. In the Ramappa Temple, many of the smaller structures were neglected and are in ruins. The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) has taken charge of it. The main entrance gate in the outer wall of the temple is ruined. Exactly Ramappa temple is located in Palampet, Venkatapur mandal, which is 19 km far from Mulugu Mandal (50 km off Warangal).
Pakhal Lake

Pakhal Lake, situated amidst undulating forest land hills and dales is a popular retreat for the tourists. The lake, constructed around 1213 A.D. by Kakatiyan Ruler, Ganapathidev and spread over an area of 30 km², provides a beautiful site. Set around the shores of this lake is the Pakhal Wild Life Sanctuary with an area of 839 km². It is a dense forest shelter for a variety of fauna. If, one is lucky, one can spot a tiger or a leopard or a bear and one can find a herd of deer roaming about freely in the wild. The sanctuary is also harbouring Mammals like panthers, hyenas, wolves, wild dogs, jackals, sloth bear, nil gal, porcupine, langoor, Reptiles like python, cobra, common krait, monitor lizard and Crocodiles. Pakhal is situated about 50 km east of Warangal and it is well connected by road passing through the east while taluk headquarters of Narsampeta town which about 12 km away.

Medaram

Medaram Village is situated in dense forest area about 104 km from Warangal city. Sri Sammakka & Saralamma Jatara will be celebrated once in two years in Medaram Village of Tadvai Mandal of Warangal District. People believe that Goddesses Sammakka, Saralamma fulfill their desires with their divine and miraculous powers. Issueless Couples visit to pray the goddess to bless them with children.

Business and Industry

IT/ITES hardware

In 2001 Software Technology Parks of India started its branch in NIT Warangal premises to issue single window facilities, fast track permissions to IT, ITES companies & hardware parks so that IT/ITES parks can be established easily. IT SEZ is also being set up by APIIC and K Raheja Group in Madikonda/Rampur area on the outskirts of Warangal metropolitan area. Singareni calories have vast coal fields in the northern part of the district.
Textiles

This district is famous for producing cotton. Cotton ginning is done here and supplied to places like Mumbai and Coimbatore.

- Nadikattu Cotton Industries-Warangal-India
- Sri Sai Sindhu Cotton Industries

This Place is Famous for textile production in Ancient times by the then ruler As AZAM jahi spinning mills which were later closed due to miss-management present Telangana Government established Jute textile park in Warangal recently.

Food Processing

The district is home to the Regional Research Centre of the N.G. Range Agriculture University. This district is famous for red chilly exports. Most of the chilly exports go to Nagpur, Mumbai and Pune. Watermelon, Musk melon and Gherkins are grown in the district. Nekkonda, Dornakal, Torrur and Mahabubabad are known for Mango gardens. Vegetables are supplied to Vishakhapatnam, Chennai, Vijayawada, Bangalore, Nagpur and Hyderabad.

Household Indicators

In 2007–2008 the International Institute for Population Sciences interviewed 956 households in 40 villages across the district. They found that 94.1% had access to electricity, 94.3% had drinking water, 40.6% toilet facilities, and 30.4% lived in a pucca (permanent) home. 17.5% of girls wed before the legal age of 18 and 87.2% of interviewees carried a BPL card.

Culture Divisions

Mandals include:

Parkala, Cheriyal, Madhur, Narmeta, Bachanapeta, Jangaon, Lingalaghanpur, Raghunathpalle, Ghanpur (Station), Dharmasagar, Hasanparthy, Wardhanapeta, Zaffargadh, Palakurthi, Devarupla, Raiparth, Thorrur, Nellikudhur, Narsimhulapeta, Maripeda, Dornakal, Kuravi, Mahabubabad, Kesamudram,
Nekkonda, Kodakandla, Kothaguda, Khanapur, Narsampet, Chennaraopet, Parvathagiri, Sangam, Nallabelly, Duggondi, Geesugonda, Atmakur, Shayampet, Regonda, Mogullapalle, Chityala, Bhupalapally, Ghanpur (Mulugu), Mulugu, Venkatapur, Govindaraopeta, Tadvai, Eturnagaram, Mangapeta, Warangal.

TRANSPORT

Road

National Highway 202 (India) between Hyderabad-Bhopalpatnam (Chhattisgarh) connecting the district through Mahabubabad, Jangaon, Kazipet, Hanamkonda, Mulug, Eturnagaram. Warangal is surrounded with towns like Bhoopalpally, Parkal, Narsampet, Torrur and Jangaon each 30-90 kilometres. Warangal is about 140 km by road from Hyderabad, the state capital of Telangana.

Railway

Warangal has two railway stations called Warangal and Kazipet, which connect south and North India. The Kazipet Junction lies on both the Secunderabad-Balharshah line and Secunderabad-Vijayawada line.

Airport

Hyderabad International Airport is about 3 ½ hours by road from Warangal town. This district has a small airport in Mamnoor, which can accommodate small aircraft like the ATR42. This airport is currently used by police.

Demography

The district hosts the Samakka Saramma Jatara (congregation). Every two years, approximately ten million people converge over three days around the small village of Tadvai, 90 km from Warangal bus stand. This fair commemorates the valiant fight put up by a mother-daughter combination with the reigning rulers over an unjust law.
Warangal is an excellent abode of fine arts and literature. Many art forms from folklore to the modern arts of singing, dance, painting, poetry and films have been flourished in the land.

**Education**

Warangal is centres of education in northern Telangana and Educational institutions in Warangal have national importance.

- National Institute of Technology, Warangal (formerly known as Regional Engineering College) National Institute of Technology, Warangal (NIT Warangal or NITW) is a public engineering institute located in Warangal, India. Formerly known as the Regional Engineering College, Warangal (RECW), it is the first among the 17 Regional Engineering Colleges established in India and was in 1959 by the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The institute was renamed as the National Institute of Technology, Warangal in September, 2002. Only except one or two Warangal students all other students come from other states of India especially from northern Indian states and foreign students from Palestine, Jordan, Sudan, and Eritrea etc. NIT is for the highly meritorious students from all across the country ranking highest in IIT and JRE but not in EAMCET, Non Resident Indians, and Foreign students. NIT at Warangal is the 3rd best NIT in India. Today it is an Institute of National Importance awarding bachelors, masters and doctoral degrees in engineering, technology, basic sciences and management.

- Warangal has educational institutions such as National Institute of Technology, Warangal. The first of all RECs; the erstwhile REC Warangal started functioning in 1959 with Civil, Electrical and Mechanical Engineering departments. The Bachelors programme in Chemical Engineering was initiated in 1964. The following year saw the start of Metallurgical Engineering programme. In 1971, the college started the undergraduate program in Electronics and Communication Engineering. B. Tech in Computer Science & Engineering was started in 1983 and M. Tech in Computer Science & Engineering in 1987. In 2006, the institute started a Bachelors program in Biotechnology.
In 1976, its affiliation was changed from Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University to Kakatiya University, with which it remained affiliated, until the institute was granted a deemed university status in 2002. In 1994, the institute was selected by the Overseas Development Administration of the UK for exchange programs between the UK and India in the field of information technology. This program ran till 1999. In 2000, the institute started its MBA program. The next year, a centre of Software Technology Parks of India was opened in its campus (now not functioning). In September 2002, the college was renamed as National Institute of Technology and was given a deemed university status. NIT W was been given the status of Institute of National Importance (INI) on 15 August 2007.

In November 2012, NIT Warangal entered into an MOU with 12 European Higher Education Institutes and seven other Indian Institutes (IISc, Bangalore, IIT Bombay, IIT Madras, IIT Kanpur, IIT Gauhati, Anna University and NIT Rourkela) and became a partner institute of the HERITAGE Programme. 29 of the 99 members selected for pursuing their studies or research abroad for 2013-14 are from NIT Warangal.

- Kakatiya Medical College.
- Kakatiya University
- Kakatiya Medical College
- Kakatiya Institute of Technology and Science (KITS)
- Razaavi Educational Academy
- Industrial Training Institute
- Government Polytechnic College
- Chaitanya Degree and PG College, Kishanpura, Hanamkonda, Warangal.
- Ayurvedic Medical College
- Regional Agricultural Research Station, Warangal
- Lal Bahadur colleges
- CKM colleges
Institute for Technology and Management, Warangal.
• S.R engineering, Degree and P.G colleges
• Chaitanya engineering, Degree and P.G colleges
• Balaji Institute of Technology and Sciences
• Jayamukhi Institute of Technology & Sciences
• Ramappa Engineering College
• SVS Institute of Technology
• University College of Engineering & Technology
• Vaagdevi College of Engineering
• Hundreds of high schools/colleges (providing basic & higher education)

POLITICAL CULTURE

The systematic use of ‘Political Culture’ for political analysis is recent development, but the analysis of a political system in terms of socio-cultural attributes is not so new. It can be traced to ‘Plato’s insistence on civic values, Aristotle’s analysis of ‘state of mind’ Montesquieu discussion of the ‘morals and customs of a nation’ which affected the working of political institutions, Bagehot’s description of both the ‘dignified as well as the ‘efficient’ parts of the constitution and De ‘Tocqueville’1 account of the habits, manners and opinions by which members of a system were animated. Herder used the term ‘political culture’ in the late eighteen century and it is also found in the writings of Lenin. But the systematic use of the concept by social scientists dates only from the 1950’s and since then it has been widely used for comparative analysis in political culture.

Numerous reasons accounted for the extensive use of political culture by political scientists for cross-national political comparisons. The foremost reason was the emergence of a much larger and culturally more heterogeneous range of political system after the Second World War. The traditional methods of analysis were no more useful to study the political system of all the nation-states on comparative basis. The failure of liberal democratic institutions in a number of newly independent countries provided another important stimulus. It became clear that elections and
parliaments could not necessarily be transplanted successfully to different environments, social structures and cultures. The collapse of Weimer Germany suggested that even in the developed world, a variety of circumstances like patterns of authority within the wider society and particular personality types might have to be considered to provide explanation which traditional methods failed to supply. For such explanations, it was necessary to turn to other disciplines such as Sociology and Social Anthropology in which the analysis of less developed societies had received a greater degree of attention. The concept of political culture was the result of this process of cross-fertilization of these disciplines.

Moreover, it was felt that the analysis of communist political system needed a more historically informed and developmentally oriented approach ‘which could explain the unique or distinctive aspect of such systems by analyzing the, pre-revolutionary political experiences, socio-economic development and culture was expected to be useful in providing such an analysis. So it had a natural evolution with the growth of the behavioral approach for political analysis. Since the fifties political culture has become one of the most popular concepts in political science but it still remains to be one of the most controversial, vague and nebulous terms. The reason may be that it “function’s as a conceptual umbrella for a wide and apparently heterogeneous range of political issues areas” such as orientations towards political objects, political beliefs and value system, political symbols, national character, the impact of historical experiences on national identity, the normative or emotional dimensions of the relationships between the political system and its components. In fact, political culture has incline to become what Dittmer calls a catch all term, used to deal with questions of meaning and interpretation of peripheral interest to the discipline and elusive of objective treatment. As a result few words have been given as many diverse connotations as the term political culture. Therefore it is necessary to explore Gabriel Almond was the first to advance a definition of political culture. He defined it as “particular pattern of orientations to political action”. Another early definition of political culture is put forward by Samuel Beer in the following words”

Certain aspects of the general culture of a society are especially concerned with how government ought to be conducted and what it should try to do. This sector of culture we call political culture. According to him the principal components of political culture
are values, beliefs and emotional attitudes about the style and functions of the government.

Pye and Verba further developed this concept. They defined it as “the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which define the situation in which political action takes place”. This definition expands the concept to include beliefs, symbols and values besides the attitudes and orientations. Samuel Patterson believes that political culture as a concept focuses attention on the symbolic, evaluative and cognitive response people have towards the political system, and on the relationships of these orientations to other aspects of politics.

Roy Macridis defines political culture as ‘the commonly shared goals accepted rules. The promise of the concept was to make it possible to study individual psychology in such a manner as to make community wide behaviour understandable in the light of individuals actions. The definition put forward by Macridis points to this aspect which becomes all the more explicit in the following words of Rosenbaum: ‘political Culture can be defined in two ways. If we concentrate on the individual, it is psychological, entailing all the important ways in which a person’s is subjectively oriented toward the essential elements in the political system. The second system level approach refers to the collective orientation of people towards the basic elements their political system.

W.Smirmov, a Russian author believes that political culture represents unity of the ideal and the material and in this lays its creative and political significance, the source of its creative role in the establishment and development of the political system.

S.P.Verma maintains that political culture “includes not only the attitudes to politics, political values, ideologies, national character and cultural ethos, but also the style, manner and substantive form of politics. In view of the aforesaid factors we find varieties of political culture among the societies in the globe. S.C.Finer, suggests three variables of political culture. They are: mature political culture, developed political culture and low political culture. The author also tries to relate the aforesaid factors to that of the role of military political life of a country.
Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba\textsuperscript{9} made elaborative study of political culture maintains that culture refers to psychological orientation towards social objects in terms of cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations. Elaborating further, the authors indicate that political culture refers to the specifically political orientations and attitudes towards political system and its various parts and attitudes towards the role of self in the system. Therefore, political culture refers to varied values and norms concerning political life and beliefs people entertain about political legitimacy. Such values, norms and beliefs of the citizens are reflected through their attitudes and orientations towards political action institutions and processes.

Dowse and Hugnes point out that the political culture is concerned with what people believe about political structures and behaviours. It is these beliefs that give the behaviors a meaning for them and others. These beliefs can be of several kinds, such as cognitive beliefs about what the study of political life is or there can be values concerning the desirable ends of political life or attitudes towards some perceived study of the system\textsuperscript{10}.

Almond and Powell in their volume “Comparative Politics” have held that political culture is the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of political system. It is a subjective realm which under-lines and gives meanings to political actions. Such individual orientations involve several components which include\textsuperscript{11}:

Political Culture is viewed as having three main components namely:

The individual orientations towards any political object may be viewed in terms of aforesaid three dimensions. An individual may have a relatively high degree of knowledge about the whole political system works, which the leading figures are, and what are the current problems of policy are? This is the cognitive dimension of orientation towards the system as a whole. Further an individual may have a feeling of alienation or rejection towards the system because his/her family and friends must have such attitudes. In such a case he/she would be unlikely to respond favorably for demands upon him by the system. This is the affective orientation. The third in the series is moral evaluation of the system. The democratic norms compel an individual to evaluate the system. His/her may expect proper response towards the system and
involve him/her within the system or he/she may condemn in view of limitations of the system. These three dimensions are very much inter-related. These orientations have a significant influence on the way the political system, the response towards laws and appeals for support, and the conduct of individuals in their political role, will all be shaped and conditioned by common orientation patterns.

Lucian W.Pye\(^{12}\) maintains that political culture is composed of attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society which relates to political system and the political issues. Normally the people of a society share a common human nature, such as, intellectual capacities, emotional drives and moral perspectives. Such common human nature expresses itself in the form of certain values, beliefs and emotional attitudes which are transmitted from one generation to another with some kind of modification. It constitutes the general culture of the society. Beer and Ulam hold that certain aspects of general culture of a society are especially concerned with how Government ought to be conducted and what should it do? This aspect of culture is known as political culture. These attitudes and beliefs that give order and meaning to a political process and that provides underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour to the political system. The political culture may be viewed as the overall distribution of citizen’s orientation to political objects. It is also meant as commonly shared goals and commonly accepted rules.

Robert A.Dahl\(^{14}\) indicated that political culture explains different patterns of citizen’s orientation, such as

1. Orientation of problem solving whether pragmatic or realistic
2. Orientation to collective action whether co-operative or non-cooperative
3. Orientation to the political system whether loyal or alienated and
4. Orientation to the other people whether worthy of trust or otherwise.

Aforesaid dimensions point out the nature of support or political opposition.

Lucian W.Pye\(^{15}\) has examined political culture in relation to political development and includes three factors in his study. They are

1. Scope of politics relation between ends means
2. Standards for evaluating political action and

3. Values that is salient for political action.

Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils\textsuperscript{16} point out that political culture denotes orientation towards political objects. These orientations are guided by factors, such as, traditions, historical memories, motives, norms, emotions and symbols.

A comprehensive definition of political culture given in the International Encyclopaedia of Social Science it describes political culture as ‘the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and operating norms of a polity. Political Culture is thus the manifestation in aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics\textsuperscript{17}.

The survey of the definitions of political culture makes it clear that the concept and the contents of political culture are not permanently fixed. Consequently we find a number of attempts to define political culture. Although different definitions imply different conceptions of culture on serious scrutiny, they appear to all into one of the following four categories.

1. In the \textbf{psychological} definitions, political culture is seen as a set of orientations towards political objects and actions.

2. In the category of \textbf{comprehensive} definition, the political culture includes both attitudes and overt and covert behaviour.

3. In the \textbf{objective} category, the Political Culture connotes the authoritative standard that defines the range of acceptable behaviour for actors within any political system.

4. For the \textbf{heuristic definitions}, the political culture is a hypothetical construct and is employed for analytical purposes.

Political culture, as a concept, implies various attitudes, beliefs, values, etc. which characterize the thinking and behaviour of a particular population? It is of strategic importance to the consideration or assessment of the structure and functioning of a particular political system. Political culture, therefore, becomes
significant parameters for assessing how a system functions successfully or otherwise.

The political culture is a product of several interrelated factors such as historical, geographical and socio-economic. Besides, it is not static but it is dynamic. It responds to the needs generated within the political system or at times imposed or imported from outside. There are ample historical evidences, which prove continuity or discontinuity of political system, behind which political culture plays a pivotal role. Britain provides a significant illustration where in gradual transformation had taken place from absolute monarchy to constitutional Government without violence or internal strives, or domination by foreign power. On the contrary, France provides a different picture of political development. The revolution of 1789 violently overthrew the then existing political structures and institutions, and brought different structures and institutions in their place. Such a political culture had its impact upon the French colonies also. India has very much gained from British masters about values of parliamentary democracy and significance of constitutional means and Government. Algeria and Vietnam having been the colonies of France learnt very much from their French masters of the lessons of insurrectionary struggle. Thus we find different trends among different countries where in the political culture of the citizens appears paramount to determine the process of change and transformation.

Geography also lays the foundation of the political culture. The insular character of British Isles protected the country from foreign invasion and also from the massive influx of foreign races that could have created the problem of ethnic differences. Contrary to this, India opened ways for foreigners for invasion and even making a permanent settlement in the sub-continent. In view of such permanent settlement several races have migrated to India, and thus provided for ethnic differences and also a kind of hostile political cultures. The Government of Kenya had to wage a continuous fight against its Somali tribesmen demanding their union of a bit of Somali Land. In Indian context, Nagas and Mizos, in view of distinct political geography, rebelled against the union Government for a separate political identity. So is the case with that of tribal populations in India and expressed assertion for distinct identity and separate state. I view of therefore said instances it may well be
maintained that geography plays a vital role in laying the foundations of political culture.

The socio-economic factors also may be viewed as determinants of political culture. The urban industrialized society exhibits a different political culture in view of its complexity, while the rural parts exhibit peculiarly a different political culture. It is because in the former, urbanization exposures to urban environment, high educational standards greatly influence the pattern of political culture, while the rural societies seldom geared to change and innovation. The rural societies greatly represent the peasant population, agrarian labor and those engaged in cottage industries tend to become non-progressive and backward. All these factors tend to make them more conservative.

The development in the field of science and Technology provided a great impact in the country as well as its people. It helps in the growth of agriculture, industry, the process of transportation, communication, immigration, migration and therefore it radically alters the values of people and makes them to imbibe modern values and modernistic political culture. The people, therefore, demand greater participation in decision making processes at various levels of the Government. The labor class assert for a share in the industry and demand for the labor participation in management. The slum dwellers demand for eradication of slums, artisans and craftsmen organize themselves into Guilds and demand for Governmental patronage to make them self-contained. The public servants organize themselves into unions and seek more welfare measure from the Government of the day. Thus we find that science and Technology has a tremendous effect in the transformation of political culture of the subjugated people. In the case of India the people suffered for several centuries at the aliens rile and finally succeeded in the struggle for independence.

Another important dimension relates to the process of secularization of political culture. It implies increasing political awareness of the people, enabling them to have greater information about their political system and their role as a political actor in it. Almond and Powell maintain "it is through secularization of political culture that these rigid ascribed and diffused customs of social interaction come to be over-reddened by a set of codified, specially political and universalistic rules. By the same token, it is in the secularization process with bargaining and accommodative political
actions become a common feature of the society, and that the development of special structures such as interest groups and parties becomes meaningful. There are two attributes to secularization of political culture. They are:

1. Pragmatic and empirical orientations: and
2. Movements from diffusions to specificity of cultural orientations.

As time changes there would be changes in the beliefs and values of the people. This change, however, should be in a pragmatic and empirical projection and that too in a way from diffusion to specificity. The political beliefs and values of the people must change from parochial dimension to a mundane variety. The people must learn more and in regard to meaning of political participation, political recruitment and their knowledge of political involvement. All these cumulatively help in making the people aware of implications of the idea of political legitimacy.

**POLITICAL CULTURE: POLITICAL STABILITY AND CHANGE:**

The political culture plays an important role in the sphere of political stability and change. Studies of different political systems of the world invariably indicate that the political culture plays a very important role in the sphere of political stability and change. As is known, political culture denotes the pattern of knowledge, awareness, evaluation and communication relating to the political authority; it provides political orientation to the people towards authority. Such orientation is crucial enough either for stability, effectiveness and representativeness of democratic political system. Britain and France provide distinct instances in this regard. The former provides for political stability and orderly change from one era to the other, while the latter invariably indicates a different kind altogether. The British people have welcomed the system of parliamentary democracy, while France for a long time was held under authoritarian Government. Despotism as a form of Government is well suited to barbarians, while the representative Government is well suited for civilized society. We find a significant dichotomy between tradition and modernity on the cultural front which creates the problem of political bi-culturist. The newly independent states after Second World War have confronted with this problem. There are several instances among these newly independent states in regard to the breakdown of the new political system because the people were quite traditional with different political
culture, while the rulers made attempts to impose modernistic participant culture. The tradition-bound people tend to oppose the change introduced by the rulers and thereby contradictions develop in regard to the values of their conventional culture. In this process the stability was marred and orderly political changes could not be secured. Besides, there are problems even for attainment of a kind of political consciousness among the states. Pakistan may be held, as a best example, which quite often witnessed the introduction of democratic political order and very soon shifted towards military dictatorship. In the case of Egypt, Turkey and India, Kemal Ataturk, Gen. Nasser and Jawaharlal Nehru respectively had attempted to infuse political modernization in gradual degrees and thereby succeed in bringing about incremental change from time to time. Though the people were quite traditional and being under the spell of traditional culture, yet they had imbibed modern values and adopted themselves to the changing political culture. India presents the best picture of unity in diversity because of existence of different regions, religions, castes and sub-castes, linguistic groups and ethnic groups. Yet the national leaders as well as the statesmen have made efforts to secure unity among the diversified people, and also present a kind of national identity. Although problems are witnessed from time to time, yet the people have exhibited a strong resolve for a kind of national integration. Anglo-American political systems, in view of cultural homogeneity provided greater element of political stability. In this context, it is appropriate to suggest that the political culture of industrialized states appears quite different as compared to agriculturally predominant societies. In the case of the former, people tend to be progressive, participant and democratic in culture, while in the latter the people present conservative, subject and submissive culture. The reconstruction and transformation of political culture among third world countries/developing societies is quite strenuous. The state will have to undertake measure in bringing about suitable changes in the political culture of the people. In this process, the formal state structures and other voluntary bodies will have to play a vital role in moldings and transforming the political culture of the people. Further there is also a need to bring about changes, the value orientations of the people in strengthening the political authority and also providing political legitimacy to the system. It requires considerable effort on the part of the state to bring about such changes among the people.
IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL CULTURE

1. The ideology plays a pivotal role in the political culture of the people. Ideology speaks of people’s commitments towards certain political values. It is because cognitive aspect of the ideology connects fundamental beliefs to the political structures or internalized values that make up the mental attitudes of the people. David Apter\textsuperscript{18} observes that ideology is a pre-disposition for a long-term orientation of thought. The ideology and political culture are organically inter-related because of the subjective and objective aspects. A rigid ideology (Marxist or Fascist) takes the form of a dogma or a sort of ‘religious beliefs’ and thereby desires the pattern of uniformity among the people in respect of convictions and commitments. Political dissent is not all allowed. Rulers among the states use force to replace the old beliefs of the people by a set of new socialist values. Such a movement is also applauded as a form of Cultural Revolution. Community centres are either harassed or tortured, so that the people tend to change and imbibe with that of new values of social, economic and political system. In the case of flexible dimension of ideology, there is an element of rationalization and gradual transformation. Liberalization, for example, allows greater toleration towards dissent, making people to put up their opposition to the authority or the views of the Government etc. The ideology of liberalization does not emphasize for uniform political culture. It provides for liberty, equality, rule of law and justice, etc. It also allows for a free discussion among the people, and the leadership provides greater freedom and independence to the people by and large. Ideology, therefore, has its objective manifestation in the form of action. Thus ideology may be seen in the form of motivation or conversion of ideas into social levers. The civic culture is an objective manifestation of what each society teaches its members by way of certain convictions. Thus we find the role of political culture has a great significance for it maintains a balance between the power and responsibility.

2. Orientations towards politics:

Since its systematic use, political culture has been defined to be an overall distribution of citizen’s orientations to political objects. Orientations are
predispositions to political action and are determined by such factors as tradition, emotions, symbols, motive and norms. Orientations consist of people’s awareness of feeling about and judgments on the political system, its input and output process as well as their own roles in the political system. It is these orientations that condition the development of national identity and national character. These three orientations may have three distinct dimensions

a. **Cognitive Orientations:** implying knowledge, accurate or otherwise of the political system, its various functions and institutions and the concerned actors.

b. **Affective Orientations:** refers to the feeling of attachment, involvement, rejection and the like about political objects.

c. **Evaluative Orientations:** refers to judgments and opinions about political objectives, which usually involve applying values that are directly or indirectly involved in social relationships especially those which have been to a greater or lesser extent institutionalized.

An analysis of these orientations with regard to the political system and its objects gives an idea about the character and content of political culture.

3. **Political Beliefs:** The term refers to what people understand about how things are in the political world. They include certain notions of political life. Beliefs also refer to the ways which people perceive and interpret the nature of a political relationship. These beliefs can be of several kinds: they can be empirical beliefs about the actual state of political life and political events and institutions: they can be pursued in political life and these beliefs may also have emotional or expressive dimensions.

4. **Political Attitudes:** The popular attitudes that underlie and explain political behaviour occupy an important place in a nation’s political culture. According to Austin Ranney, the political attitudes of the mass membership of any political system are among the most powerful forces shaping its inputs, conversion processes and outputs. Taken together, these attitudes constitute what political scientists call political culture. These attitudes are towards the regime (the set of procedures and institutions) the inputs (the demands and support system),
the authorities (the leaders who occupy the important positions at a given
time), and towards the outputs (the policies or decisions). Such attitudes
determine the people’s trust in the system, the legitimacy of the authorities and
the degree of citizen’s identification with the nation and affect the kinds of
demands made, the way they are expressed, the responses of the elite and
popular support for the regime. The attitude to a great extent, determine the
nature of the political system. For example attitudes inherited from a past full of
struggle for a constitutional democracy, as in Britain may be conducive to the
democratic functioning of the system while a long authoritarian past may
impede the operation of a democratic system.

5. Political values: When Beer and Ulam defined political culture as those
aspects of the general culture that are especially concerned with how
government ought to be conducted and what it should try to do they certainly
referred to the political values of a given society. Political values refer to the
standards used to set the general goals of the political system. The ideals
regarding the functioning of the system and the standards used to evaluate the
performance of the political system. It is difficult to separate values from beliefs
and attitudes and the three often overlap one another but political values refers
to those values that are directly or indirectly involved in social and political
relationships and institutions. They also refer to beliefs about public goals that
should be sought and personal virtues that should be maximized by
governmental actions. The values of the people influence the goals they want
the state to purse. Some people, for example, place the highest values on law
and order ‘stability of the system’ and the like while others give preference to
’social justice’ keeping up with the times’ and the like. The values influence the
attitudes and beliefs of people about the political system as well as the
government output.

6. Political Symbols: In addition to orientations, beliefs, and values, the common
sharing of certain signs, symbols and virtues, in terms of which the participant
react to one-another, occupy an important place in the development of political
culture. The use of flags, anthems, historical monuments, old institutions,
public buildings, political and religious rituals and festivals all affect the public
attitudes towards the political system. In many new nations, the charismatic
leader also maintains his position more by being a symbol of the nation than by concrete achievements. Although symbols are ultimately dependent for their meaning on human interpretation, they also exist independently and are therefore capable of transmitting meaning to persons despite vast distances. A variety of symbols exist in society and they are used to express or communicate or represent logical relationships, intangible cosmic forces and represent drives and feelings. Political symbols constitute what Bagehot called a ‘theoretical part’ of the political order which symbolizes certain common traditions and ideals, strengthening the bonds that unite men.

Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell\textsuperscript{21} present a tripartite division of political culture.

(a) Parochial Political Culture
(b) Subject political culture; and
(c) Participant political culture.

**PAROCHIAL POLITICAL CULTURE**

It exists in simple traditional societies, in which the political actors fulfill a combination of political, economic and religious roles simultaneously. The rulers perform the role of arch administrator, arch princess, arch economist, while the subjects living under him do not show any the community as a whole.

**SUBJECT POLITICAL CULTURE**

It exists among dependent colonies where the people have a considerable orientation of the political system. The people either accept decisions of the rulers as legitimate or continuously struggle against them in the name of their right of self-determination. Almond, however, emphasize on the aspect of people’s blind acceptance of the political system as legitimate. Mention may be made of feudal culture among several states of India prior to independence, where the citizens exhibited subject political culture.

**PARTICIPATIONARY POLITICAL CULTURE**

It exists in highly developed societies, where people take active part in the political sphere. They consider themselves as active members of the
society/polity. They are very much conscious of their rights and duties and even evaluate and criticize the system quite frequently.

CIVIC CULTURE

The Civic Culture combines all the characteristics of the three ideal types. It is a mixed political culture based on dualistic orientation or political authority. This culture represents a balance of directive and acquiescent, participant and subject attitudes where the subject orientations allow the elites, the necessary initiative and freedom to take decisions and the participant orientations make the elites sensitive to popular preferences. This type of balance between passive and participate attitudes is best found in Britain and America and has contributed towards the stability of democratic structures in these countries though this finding has been subject to many criticisms.\textsuperscript{22}

Another attempt has been made by Prof. Finer who has applied the concept of political culture to study the problem of the role of the military in politics. He has related the levels of a nation’s political culture to the likelihood of its being subject to a military coup and also to the methodology by which the coup would come about. He has distinguished between countries of mature, developed, low, and minimal political culture with the corresponding ways in which military intervenes namely influence, pressures or blackmail, displacement, and supplement.

The level of political culture is high or mature when the beliefs by virtue of which the rulers claim the right to govern, is generally accepted, when the complex of civil procedures and organs which constitute the political system are recognized as authoritative by a wide-consensus and when public involvement in and attachment to these civil institutions is strong and widespread. In systems, having mature political culture, military intervention would be regarded as an intrusion which would never get public sanction. Britain, the U.S, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand, Holland and Canada come in this category it is notable here that this group coincides with Almond’s Anglo-American political system category.
The level of political culture is developed when civil institutions are highly developed, the public is well organized into powerful associations, civil procedures and public authorities are well rooted but the legitimacy of the procedures for transferring political power and the question of who or what should constitute the sovereign authority are under dispute. In systems, having developed political culture, the military would have to face strong public resistance to their intervention. Germany from the Empire to Hitler’s regime, Japan during the inter-war period, France from the Third Republic onwards and U.S.S.R are included in this category.

The level of political culture is low when the public is weakly organized and the institutions and procedures of the regime are also in dispute. In such systems military intervention would not have to face strong resistance since the public opinion is weak and divided. Turkey, Argentina, Spain, Egypt, Syria, Pakistan, Iran and South Korea come in this category.

Lastly the political culture is minimal where for all practical purpose any government can ignore public opinion because the politically active and articulate persons are very few and weakly organized Mexico and Argentina in the first fifty years of their existence, Haiti, Paraguay and the Congo are included in this category. Finer add one more type of political culture, the antediluvian political culture, found mostly in traditional monarchies where allegiance is owed to the dynasty and the public as an active and organized force does not exists.

While taking into account, the culture variations within nations, Brown has suggested some possible configuration of political culture namely

1. A unified political culture
2. A dominant political culture which coexists with various political sub-cultures
3. A dichotomous or divided political culture and
4. A fragmented political culture where no state wide political has emerged to dominate the numerous political culture or sub-culture.

Brown also distinguishes between the ‘official’ or goal cultures i.e. the actual culture and what it should be. He finds that usually in the communist’s states, the goal is to create the unified political culture while actually it may be the dominant
one. In multinational states or the culturally divided societies, political culture according to him, is likely to be fragmented one.

Besides Brown’s above configurations there are the Marxist interpretations of the culture variations within nations. First there are the well-known expressions of Marx and Pareto that the ideas of a society are those of its ruling class which functions as the legitimating of elite domination. Gramsci coined the term ‘hegemony’ to describe proves by which the elite manages to impose its own view of society and its own system of values on the rest of the society. The resulting hegemonic culture is thus not accidental but is the outcome of a manipulative process conducted through a multitude of agencies. After a critical study of capitalist societies and their working class parkins stated that such societies have a dominant culture or set of values shaped by the upper class and if the subordinate class rejects these values, it may develop a deviant culture. Thus, political culture assumes greater salience as an analytic and research perspective in Marxist interpretations. Keneth Jowitt, in an attempt to study the organizational approach to the study of political culture in Marxist-Leninist systems, refers to political culture as “the informal organization of the state” that emerges in response to the formal organization of the state and society. Jowitt gives a typology of political culture which is based on a perception of the different levels of society. It describes three types of political culture namely Elite, Regime and Community political culture.

Elite political culture refers to the set of informal adaptive postures both behavioural and attitudinal that emerge as a response to and consequence of a given elite’s identity forming experiences. For example, Jowitt\textsuperscript{25} refers to the Romanian elite political culture in terms of conspiratorial prison experience and to the Chinese in terms of guerrilla partisan experience. Regime political culture refers to the set of those informal adaptive postures that emerge in response to the institutional definition of social, economic and political life and Community political culture refers to the set of such informal adaptive postures that emerge in response to the historical relationships between regime and community.

An important aspect of the study of political culture is the degree of congruence which exists between it and the structures of political
system. A political culture and its structure may be said to be congruent when there is compatibility between the values and the institutions of a political society. For example generally the parochial culture fits best with a traditional political structure, the subject culture with a centralized authoritarian structure and the participant culture with democratic political structure. Since political culture is a part of the larger culture of a society, the congruence theory applies to the social structures as well. Whenever there is a notable discontinuity or incongruence between the political and social structures, the systems is bound to face tensions. Eckstein has come out with the proposition that the stability of a regime depends on the degree of congruence or similarity in authority relations found in the political and social spheres because congruence between governmental and other structures reduce strains and brings about appropriate expectations for future roles. Thus this aspect of congruence is useful as a cultural explanation as it links attitudes to the governmental and social spheres and utilizes relevant research from social psychology for the study of culture and government in a broad context.

The political culture of a nation is generally not evenly diffused among all its social and political groups. Its components are found in varying strength in different segment of the population who may hold views which are not shared by all the members of the system. When the views of a particular segment or group vary significantly in content or intensity from those of the nation as a whole the segment or group is said to have its own distinctive political subculture. Political sub culture may grow on the basis of religion, region, social class, language generation and occupation. But they are not necessarily divisive. Usually a sub culture does not question the basic structural arrangement of the system but different only on specific issues related to allocation of power and authority decisions. But when a political subculture challenges the basic arrangements, the stability of the political system in threatened and serious tensions are generated within the system. Thus subculture plays a very significant role and in case of some nations it is not possible to understand the content of political culture without a thorough knowledge of these subcultures. Only then homogeneity of political culture can be achieved which is desirable for the stability of the political system. So the subculture must be identified and
understood for full comprehension of the psychological bases of a nation’s politics.

Thus the political culture approach provides a valuable conceptual tool which can bridge the micro-macro gap in political theory because the political culture of a nation drives from among other things, the experience that individual have with the political process and is rooted equally in both public events and private experiences. The concept of political culture therefore represents an effort to study the total political system without disregarding the peculiarities of individual’s psychology. It is an attempt at a synthesis between psychology and sociology and also between micro analysis and macro analysis.

The culture approach to politics makes possible the consideration of political beliefs and values and their relation to continuity and change in the political system. Especially it helps to identify those features of political beliefs and behavior of a specific group which are historically derivable and likely to have a continuing influence upon its future political evolution. The study of political culture enhances our ability to describe and analyze the interactions between the political system and its culture and between the socio-economic changes and the polity. It enables the research to disclose the structure of the political life of a society fully and to identify the interaction and reciprocal influences of political economic and social spheres as well as the relationship between the socio-economic development and the prospects for political change.

The political culture approach is useful for mapping and describe political systems and in casual analysis of political phenomena. The concept enables us to explicate differences in performance across political systems and structures in terms of culture. By understanding the nature of the interaction between the performance of the political system and its political culture, we can discern the means by which political changes are brought about. Thus it makes possible to explain why broadly similar phenomena across nations produce dissimilar results and also why different political societies move in different directions of political development.
Political culture also plays a creative role in the establishment and developments of the political system as it encompass both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity. While reflecting the political consciousness of individuals and classes and the socio-economic life of a definite society in a definite period political culture also moulds that society. The nature of a political regime of political institutions and processes, the distribution of authority and the patterns of decision making are closely linked with a society’s political culture and the cultural factors can be used to understand broad system characteristic in terms of stability, democracy authoritarianism and level of economic or political development as well as to explain certain characteristics of political institutions in terms of formal statutory or constitutional creations and their actual operation.

The political culture also helps to explain individual attitudes and behaviour. It is an important part of individual action insofar as it provides the range of options available to him. So the concept of political culture can be instrumental in explaining the actions. It also helps in understanding the linkage between formal institutional arrangements and actual behaviour. It brings together various strands of thought about the basic relationships in a political system such as between the accepted rules or written documents and the reactions beliefs and sentiments of the people. The political culture approach thus points to the importance of this patterned way of thinking as the missing link between formal institutions and the way people actually relate to each other.

The concept of political culture has encouraged efforts to apply a behavioural from of analysis to the study of such classic concepts as political ideology’ legitimacy’ nationhood and sovereignty etc., In analyzing political behaviour the concept helps to present a balanced picture of the relative importance of rational choice and consciously learnt values and the hidden non-rational determinants of human behaviour.

In short political culture approach still lacks conceptual precision as an explanatory variable and also analytical tool to meet the complex requirements of operationalisation of concepts.
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Political Culture is the ability of an individual, social group, class, political party or organization to orient itself correctly that is to think and act, with respect to the main principles and laws of the political system in which it exists and functions. Political Culture is not a genetic or an innate characteristic of the individual. In other words people are not either politically oriented or disoriented. Society and social relations and particularly political system make them what they are. Political socialization is the basis of an individual’s Political Culture. Political Socialization begins in the family and at school and then continues virtually throughout one’s life within his work collective. According to Mshvenieradze, the individual gradually assimilates society’s political values and symbols, and come into contact with the activities of political parties institutions and the state as a whole needless to say this process is complicated and controversial it is affected by a number of internal and external national and international, psychological and social, material and spiritual factors.

The nature and type of contradictions and inconsistencies in the process of socialization and between the socialization process and the requirements of the political system are the root-causes of various kinds of tensions and instabilities in political culture. Lucian.W Pye says The most dramatic examples of such contradictions are to be found in revolutionary systems in which the elite political culture is either shaped by a highly explicit and uncultured –bound ideology or is the product of an exogenous historical experience such as colonialism”. The process of political socialization may develop an optimistic view or pessimistic view depending on the objective conditions of the social life and relations among the people. In other words trust and mistrust in political system or leaders is due to the nature of the process of socialization. Some of the important agencies of political socialization which shapes the Political Culture are the family the school the peer-group, employment, mass-media etc.

The problem of continuity and discontinuity reveals the complex relationships between socialization and political culture. Political systems, which are stable, pass through continuous socialization process. In a consistent and coherent socialization process the element influencing the individual do not seriously effect
and conflict either with each other or with his political expectations. In such social systems “the family authority patterns, the teacher pupil relationship in the school, the interaction of employer and employee, and direct contacts with the political system tend to establish and maintain a certain type of pattern of political orientation.

However, most of the societies undergo discontinuous socialization process. These discontinuous socialization processes creates an environment of dissatisfaction, conflict, dissent and a very high potential for system change. According to Lucian W.Pye\textsuperscript{28}, historical events within the political system may demand changes in the political culture which are inconsistent with either past or present socialization process. In all dynamic political systems tensions are possible because the socialization process cannot change as rapidly as political process. This is very much obvious in the countries which gains independence and move towards development. Such countries face instability primarily because “the differences between the emphases of the socialization process which produced the various strata of the contemporary society and the attitudes necessary for operating a national process.

The content of political culture differs from society to society. It is large measure unique to each particular society. Though societies differ in their political culture there are certain universal dimensions of political culture there are certain inherent qualities of both political systems and the process of personality formation. Comparison and analysis of different political culture of societies if possible on the basic of such generalized aspects of political culture.

For the present context if one looks at the political systems of the world, one will be bewildered at the varieties of political culture. Depending upon political culture, modern political systems of the world may broadly be classified into two categories such as mobilized modern systems, and pre-mobilized modern systems. Each of these two systems, of course, includes more than one sub-category differing in terms of the nature of their political infrastructure.

More specifically the concept of political culture was developed in response to the need to bridge a growing gap in the behavioural approach between the microanalysis, based on the psychological interpretations of the individual
political behaviour, and the level of macro analysis, based on the variables common to political sociology. Political Culture signals an effort to apply an essentially behavioural form of analysis to the study of such traditional problems as political ideology, legitimacy, sovereignty, nationhood, and the rule of law.

Although the Political Culture is often conceived at the macro level as referring to the national political culture thus consists of both an elite sub-culture and a mass sub-culture, and the relationship between the two is another critical factor determining the performance of the political system, while mass sub-culture are generally heterogeneous they are particularly more heterogeneous in the third world countries. A basic problem in the dynamic of political cultures relates to the uneven changes in the socialization patterns of the two sub-cultures wherein the elite culture has swiftly changes by the new patterns of elite socialization, whereas the mass culture has remained relatively unchanged.

Political Culture provides people with a sense of national identity and feeling of belonging to particular political systems. Basic to the problems of the integration of the political system is that of establishing a sense of national identity and the problem if national identity is in turn a function of the process by which individuals realize their own separate sense of identity. This basic relationship between national identity and personal identity provides a fundamental link between socialization process and the integration of the political process. Political Culture differs according to the extent to which they permit to preserve such separate identities of the minorities while meeting the expected standards of integration.

All political culture contains standards for evaluating the effectiveness and competence of those performing specialized roles in the political system. American political culture stresses the need to district institutions, to check their powers and to demand strict accountability of all public officials. In many transitional societies we find the opposite pattern. In that the socialization process installs deep district of human relation while at the same time people are asked to have complete and uncritical faith in their public institutions. The political culture is capable of evoking a quick and intuitive understanding so that people often feel that without further and explicit definition they can appreciate its meanings and freely use it. The theory of Political Culture is realizing its early premise.
Thus the focus on political culture represent a significant advance in the direction of integrating psychology and society the political society with political science to produce a richer and fuller understanding of politics.

POLITICAL CULTURE IN INDIA

Traditional activism and under-development have unfortunate but uniform connection in the Indian political system. The process of political modernization receives strains from traditional centres. The legacy of colonial rule is also rooted in our culture of politics. According to Raghuveer Singh, the idea of political culture and the gaps in the culture of politics in India is the output reaction of the sad state of the evolution of the concept of political culture. The contrast between traditional and Post-Gandhian Indian political culture is a contrast between political culture as such and culture of pure politics. There is a gap between professed and practiced political culture, between self-denying ascetic culture and self-indulgent acquisitive culture. The former is rooted in Indian tradition while the latter is the product of western rationalism, secularism, scientism and individualism. Singh said that the traditional Indian political culture provided stability with progress order with autonomy, unity in diversity and social cohesion with individual and communal freedom.

Instead of culture-oriented politics we have political oriented culture. The divorce between constitutional axiology the ideal of justice, liberty, and equality and political reality is complete. The sensational style and the indifference of the Indian Press have also made its own contribution for the emergence of this politics-oriented culture.

The Political Culture which is actually an off-shoot of the popular culture has guided the popular culture with the aid of electronic media and other sophisticated tools. Political culture accordingly does not snowball on its own but has a leading role from the sponsored sections. Political culture has reduced itself also to consumer culture challenging the liberal values and ideas of political system. The projection of future political culture can be made to some extent from these experiences. Perhaps the Indian case is unique for the Western analysis, but looked
from the realities of the third world it highlights the sociological challenges inhabited within.

A Culture oriented politics free from the inhibitions of unsound traditions and the proper synthesis between western and Indian values may helps us facilitate a positive environment. Elite-mass culture interaction, accordingly, will elevate the standard of our political culture. A vibrant common culture, with the aid of popular culture like literature, rituals, songs, art and philosophy would supplement the dynamic of political culture. Similarly the accord culture or a culture marked by accommodation as against confrontation can be suggested as a correct method in dealing politics and its issues rather than adopting a style of confrontation and confusion. It is against this background of the theoretical orientation, the present study attempts to examine the nature of the political culture orientations of the study community in a University setting.

Political Culture is a comprehensive concept which is widely used for the purpose of analysis and understanding of political processes and political system of late, political culture has become one of the respectable topics of the discipline, political science, since it has acquired the status of a heuristic device as a tool of analysis. The recent analysis of political culture sheds light and the unfold meaning inherent in the long-standing concept such as political ideology, national ethics and spirit, national political psychology, and the fundamental values of people.

There is no consensus among political scientist regarding the specific meaning and definition of the term ‘Political Culture’. Political scientists of 20th century are widely divided regarding the semantic of the term ‘Political Culture’. Broadly speaking political culture is social culture. In other words political culture is the political system what culture is to the social system. Social life is full of social relations among persons.

The working of a particular system depends on the kind of orientations which exist in a population. The common orientation towards politics shared by members of a political system determines and shapes the demand made upon the system, the responses to laws and to appeal for support, and also the conduct of
individuals in their political roles. Thus, the orientation patterns constitute the hidden political roles. Thus the orientation patterns constitute the hidden tendencies of political behaviour, and such they are of great importance in explaining and predicting political action. However, individual actions are sometimes so unpredictable and have an impact on the performance of political system.

Political Culture is a set of social phenomena. These social phenomena and events can be identified and measured. In order to study and understanding the political culture we can survey public opinion and attitudes. Public statements, speeches, writings can provide and insight into the political culture patterns. Various psychological techniques also throw light on understanding the individual cases. Myths and legends can also provide clues to understand political culture of a particular community. Political behaviour which is one of the important ingredients of political culture also explains the dynamics of political culture.

The concept of political culture tries to integrate psychology and sociology, to make it possible to apply to it by dynamic political analysis, psychological methods, and societies. As it is a collection of attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values concerning the political system and the various political issues it is of paramount importance in understanding the human behaviour in general. Political culture provides a means of linking micro-analysis and macro-analysis.

The concept of political culture differs from society to society. It is in large measure unique to each particular society. Through societies differs in their political culture, there are certain universal dimensions of political cultures in term of certain inherent qualities of both political system and the process of personality formation. Comparison and analysis of different political culture of societies is possible on the basis of such generalized aspects of political culture.

All societies and political culture set the norms or standards to evaluate the effectiveness and competence of people who perform specialized roles in the political sphere problem solving, policy making, decision making, deliberate socio-economic reforms or changes depends on these standards of judgment and in their underlying rationality which is a peculiar aspect of a particular society.
In recent times, the research in the area of political culture has taken a new direction on the basis of conceptual reorganization. Specific organizing concepts and also the broader conceptual schemes are giving it an entirely new direction. Variety of conceptual approaches like system analysis, group approach, decision-making analysis, communication models, power analysis and role analysis have provided conceptual tools for the analysis of political behaviour and political culture out of which more-formal theories of empirical relevance might be constructed. One can classify these approaches into two major types.

1. Those that build theoretical formulations around a single central concept, such as group, power decision or conflict.
2. Those that proceed from comprehensive formulations of high generality, such system, field, process or communication.

The research in the area of political culture has generated a lot of methodological controversies among the community of political scientist. These differences are centred on fundamental disagreements over the nature and functions of science of politics in society. Among these differences the disagreements related to the problem of strategy and tactics in theory and research are highly important. In the contemporary political science community, there are two important contrasting and opposing camps. One camp of political scientists starts its inquiry with the accumulation of raw facts and emphasize on the role of facts in the political culture inquiry. The other camp of political scientists believe that political culture analysis will not get off the ground unless it begins with rigorous deductive, logical, if not mathematical, models of political system and process. Today these two competing caps are in the process of establishing their tradition in the professional world of political science.

REFERENCES

29. Raghuveer Singh; An Adaptive Grid Security Architecture, University of North Dakota, 2005