CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL ECOLOGY
This chapter examines the political ecology of Cuddapah in relation to group structure, leadership and authority and socio-economic status. It shows how competition for resource use is common in urban groups and how it is expressed in terms of leadership patterns.

First, it describes the traditional and non-traditional types of leaders in Cuddapah and how leadership and authority varies with group structure, how status which is largely based upon hereditary membership in a particular caste, tribe or any other group influences accessibility to the resources available in the environment and how group structure, status, and authority and leadership are the important means of adaptation in the environment of Cuddapah.

Secondly, this chapter discusses how Cuddapah, partly as a legacy of previous rulers and partly as a result of the presence of traditional landed aristocracies came to have a leadership pattern in which the caste of Reddis, the caste of Balijas the caste of Kammans and the group of the Muslims have become the dominant investor classes competing for power within Cuddapah and its surroundings. The discussion also shows how change and increasing government regulations have created a situation in which the traditional group structure, and economic
power still function effectively in the field of politics in Cuddapah.

Thirdly, this chapter describes the factions, to show how the leaders counter other leaders by forming fruitful allegiances or shifting their alliances to rise in power or to achieve adequate support and protection, how the competition for power results in a constant substitution of one leader for another and how the power struggle represents a search for a suitable leader but never an attempt to overthrow the existing system. From the ecological point of view, these represent realignment or resilience of relationships within and between caste or other groups but such an arrangement of relationships represents an adaptive strategy for accessibility to resource-use and for suitable rewards in the urban environment of Cuddapah.

**TYPES OF LEADERS**

Categories of leaders

Any one who is able to influence the members of a group to act together is a leader. The leaders stand out in the political process. They may hold formal political positions or they may operate informally.

The leaders in Cuddapah may be classified into two categories: traditional and non-traditional. Traditional leaders are those who have formal positions on the basis of long standing
customs of society. They are leaders as they had been. The caste heads, religious priests, tribal elders and lineage heads and come under this category. They have authority as sanctioned by their respective social customs.

The non-traditional leaders are those whose power and authority is based on non-traditional, secular and democratic norms. They may be municipal councillors, municipal chairmen, members of legislature, members of parliament and party leaders.

Traditional leaders

Among the traditional leaders, the caste heads are prominent. The Balija, Golla, Mala and Madiga caste populations in Cuddapah have their own caste leaders. Their positions are hereditary. Their succession to office is by primogeniture. Each caste head is called by a specific name.

There are tribal leaders representing the tribes of Yerukala and Yanadi in Cuddapah. They are powerful formal hereditary leaders who decide disputes and other social affairs. Each headman commands his tribesmen whom the followers consider a guide and keeper of traditional values, and who has the betterment of his followers at heart. In everyday dealings with his fellow tribesmen he is not unlike them even though his position as a mediator between the tribesmen and the external
administration provides him with a source of prestige which he can manipulate to his advantage if he so desire.

Apart from the caste leaders and tribal leaders, there are lineage elders in every caste, tribe, and Muslim group who command respect among the members of their lineage for their age, seniority and for their knowledge of the lineage matters. Each lineage head serves as a spokesman of the lineage concerned. He is an informal leader settling the disputes and safeguarding the interests of the members of this lineage tries to give his decision when there is a case of quarrel or some other dispute. He holds a meeting of the lineage members in the house of the affected parties and discussions thread bare the issue brought before him. The parties concerned are bound to abide by the rulings of the lineage head. It is only when the verdict of the lineage head is not acceptable to the parties concerned, the latter go to a court of law to seek justice of course this is very rare. Usually the lineage head wields a great deal of power and influence the lineage by his decisions and actions.

In addition to caste, tribe and lineage leaders, there are religious leaders like priests. They are from among the Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Jain. The priests are religious specialists who intervene between the people and the supernatural often leading congregations at regular cyclical rites. In Cuddapah there are priests serving the temples, the mosques, the
churches and the shrines. The position of the temples priests, (poojari) and priests in charge of mosque (hakim) and shrine is hereditary. One of the sons or one of the brothers of a priests who is interested in officiating at the temple, mosque or shrine will learn the art of priest craft under the guidance of his father or brother and becomes a priest. The local population, seek the guidance of the respective priests in several matters viz, in fixing up an auspicious date for conducting life-cycle ceremonies, for starting agricultural operations, and for reading the horoscopes of the individuals. They are the people who propitiate or appease the deities who are believed to be the agencies for causing specific bad events in one's life. They are regarded as the able personalities to use their cultural knowledge of religious interaction to influence deities and to solicit their benevolence for the people who are in dire need of such help and favour from the divine beings.

The priests are also known for their knowledge and expertise in the art of dealing with the supernatural causes of specific illness and curing those illnesses. They cure several illnesses such as headache, stomachache, vomittings, loss of appetite, dullness and inactivity which are believed to be caused by evil-eye spirits.

The priests are also known for their knowledge about secular matters such as caste norms, legal norms and correct
decision-making. People take their help in seeking solutions to some of the domestic problems such as quarrels between two cousins, differences between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law in a family. Usually, the elders in the family formally request him to resolve the crisis. So, he tries to convince both the parties and gives advice to the parties to live in harmony. Since the leader is no other than a priest, the parties concerned naturally listen to him and try to patch up their differences.

The priests in the churches who are the pastors also are informal leaders. They also deal with cases brought before them. They hear the cases concerned in presence of the members who visit the church and advice the parties to have peace and harmony. They often quote passages from the Bible to convince the parties and solve the problems concerned.

Thus the traditional leaders are those who are operating in the traditional social structure, standing for the old traditional values and institutions satisfying various traditional needs of traditional-oriented society. They are mostly associated with institutions like caste, tribe, lineage and religion. They operate within the traditional social framework and satisfy the social, economic, political religious and other needs which are traditionally created and are of traditional impure importance.
The position of a traditional leader is largely dependent on the strength of his character, intelligence, and wealth. Persons of integrity, energy and wisdom represent their castes, religious faith and lineages. They are arbiters of caste law, tribal law and the traditions of specific lineages. They provide leadership in dealing with several intra-caste, intra-tribal, intra-lineage and intra-religious issues. These leaders worked efficiently and excellently and very few cases are ever brought to the law courts.

Non-traditional leaders

In Cuddapah there are several varieties of non-traditional leaders. The elected leaders such as the members of Municipal Council, Members of the Legislative Assembly and Member of the Parliament are non-traditional formal leaders. They belong to political parties like Congress, Communist Party and Telugu Desam. They have clearly recognised political authority derived from the existing law of the land and the relevant norms of the society. They enjoy the privilege of leadership because of their positions. They wield a great deal of power and influence in making many decisions and actions pertaining to Cuddapah and its surrounding villages and towns.

There are also informal leaders who belong to specific political parties. Some of them were former members of Municipal Council, State Legislative Assembly, and State Legislative Council.
and Parliament of India. They are no more members of these bodies at the city, state and country level. However, they have their own following even to this day. Most of them are still active in local and regional politics.

There are some informal lower cadre leaders who belong to specific political parties like congress, communist party of India, and Telugu Desam. They are active members of their respective political parties. They have some local following. They are important personalities in political arena. They are persuasive speakers and have ability to use their knowledge of political and social interaction to influence people and enable them to reach satisfactory public decisions. They do not hold any kind of formal designation, but they have influence over the people or people come to them as they possess leadership qualities.

In addition to these formal and informal non-traditional leaders, there are several formal non-traditional leaders such as the heads of different to coolies associations (coolie sanghams), youth clubs (yuvajana sanghams), Cultural associations (Sanskritika sanghams), literacy associations (sarswata sanghams), women welfare associations (mahila mandalis), teachers associations (upadhyaya sanghams), college teachers associations (kalasala adhyapaka sanghams) National Students Union, Student Federation, Yuva Janata, Telugu Yuvatha, Professional
organizations, Trade Unions, Occupational associations and several others. These leaders hold a position in the formal hierarchy or organization or hold some kind of formal designation and enjoy the privilege of leadership because of their positions.

There are leaders like Block Development Officers, Cooperative Bank Chairman, City Development Authority, Welfare Inspectors, Health Personnel, Village Development Officers, Revenue Officials, Lawyers and Clerks who are associated with modern institutions and who stand for new innovations within the framework of the traditional society.

Thus the non-traditional leaders operate in the new social structure in Cuddapah. They are associated with the newly introduced associations, institutions or organizations. They stand for new innovations and ideas in the society. Hence, they satisfy the needs of the modern wider and new social system. Therefore they are non-traditional leaders. They are not called modern leaders for the reason that they are not totally modern. Rather they are a combination of tradition and modernity. Actually they operate both in the traditional and modern social structure, satisfy the traditional and modern needs of the people. They satisfy the political needs of the people on caste or tribal lines and they also satisfy the needs of the people on non-caste or non-tribal lines. They operate both in the traditional and modern or emergent social structure. They
fulfill the traditional as well as the modern and emergent needs and so they may be designated as non-traditional leaders. They usually come from the traditional leadership set-up or are inspired by traditional leaders.

CASTE COUNCILS

Number of Caste Councils:

There are more than twenty caste groups in Cuddapah. These are Brahmins, Raju, Komati, Reddi, Balija, Kamma, Karnam, Thogata, Sale, Kummara, Golla, Ediga, Gandla, Muttaracha, Jangam, Satani, Mangali, Chakali, Pichichiguntla, Dasari, Mala, Madiga and a few others. Apart from these there are the tribes namely the Yanadis, Yerukalas and Sugalis. Different from these groups is the heterogeneous group of Muslims.

All these caste groups, tribal groups and Muslim groups have their own leaders but not all of them have their own political councils. The remembered history of caste in politics in Cuddapah shows that only the caste groups of Komati, Balija, Golla, Kummara, Kamsali, Dasari, Mangali, Chakali, Mala, and Madiga had caste councils and that only those of the Balijas, Gollas, Malas and Madigas persist even to this day. People say that the caste councils of Komatis, Kamsalis, Mangalis and Chakalis had become and extinct in the past two or three generations.
Structure of Caste Councils

Only the Balijas, the Gollas, the Malas and the Madigas have their caste councils. All these caste councils have a uniform structure. Each caste council (kulakattu or kula panchayati) is a permanent body of elders headed by a chairman (pinnapedda), as assistant chairman (chinna Pinnapedda), and heads of lineages (kula peddalu). Table-1 shows the specific designation of the head of each caste council.

The chairman of each caste council is most often looked for advice by the members of the caste. His office is hereditary. He is the spokesman of the caste group. He has coercive authority. He is the one that outsiders should talk to if they want to seek his help in matters pertaining to his caste fellows. His caste members look to him for advice, for seeking his help in crisis situations, for toering his line and for tending his plans for the good of the caste community. He is considered as a man of integrity, energy and wisdom. He is an arbiter of caste norms and provide leadership in dealing with other castes. After his death his sons gets the chairmanship.

The assistant to the chairman is also a hereditary official of the council. He assists the chairman in conducting the meetings of the council. Next to chairman, he is regarded as the most competent and able leader to lead the group through
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Name of the Caste</th>
<th>Name of the Caste council head of the Caste council</th>
<th>Name of the Caste council (in parentheses)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Balija</td>
<td>Katikam Venkatesh</td>
<td>Kula Panchayat Pedda Balija (Big Balija)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Golla</td>
<td>Masupalli Desaiah</td>
<td>Kula Panchayati Pedda Golla (Big Golla)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Caste council of five elders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mala</td>
<td>Pasala Siddaiah</td>
<td>Kulakattu Pedda Mala (Big Mala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(caste union)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Madiga</td>
<td>Tapeta Chesnchu</td>
<td>Kulakattu Pedda Madiga (Big Madiga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Caste union)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
different situations. When he dies, his son steps into his office.

The members of the council are the heads of different lineages. Their offices are not hereditary. They are the guides and representing of their respective lineages. Usually, a lineage head is a senior male who commands prestige and authority and a large following of his own kinsmen.

The size of the caste council depends upon the population size of the caste and the number of lineages the caste includes if the caste population is large with several lineages, then the caste council is large. Otherwise, it is small. The caste council of the Balijas is the largest one. It contains 39 officers of whom one is the chairman, another is vice-chairman, and the members are 37 in number representing the same number of lineages. Compared to the caste council of the Balijas, the caste council of the Gollas is small because the population of Golla is small and the lineages of the Gollas are only 23 in number. In the size, caste council of the Mala is almost equal to that of the Gollas. The caste council of the Madigas is small in size for the caste population of the Madigas is small and the lineages of the Madigas are only 7 number.

Function of the caste councils:

The caste councils wield great influence in social, economic and political life of the respective castes. Each castes council
treats the relevant caste population as a social, political and economic unit in all matters. The caste council controls the people concerned who comprise several families and lineages with extended kinship ties.

The main function of the caste council is to see that the social norms are followed by the caste members. The council silences dissidents, overrides a drunkard or controls a stubborn husband. It can settle quarrels between two parties asks debts to be paid off or postponed, or intervene in the unhappy marital life of any one of its caste fellows. It punishes the guilty by imposing fines on them.

The council decides the date for certain caste festivals and caste feasts. The council chairman attends marriage parleys and advises the caste members on their duties and rights. He exercises great caution and tract in securing the smooth working of the caste council and caste community.

The caste council also functions as an appropriate authority of the caste community to deal with outsiders and to make political decisions. Even though the caste members are normally integrated into a larger governmental system, they think of themselves as separate and independent to some extent. Their participation in national elections is regarded as a collective responsibility not an individual matter. In every election
year, the members of the caste groups of Balijas, Gollas, Malas and Madigas ready themselves to vote, not because they have a great interest in national politics, about which many of them know next to nothing, but because they hope to elect a state legislator and national parliament member who will protect their interest within the environment of Cuddapah and its surrounding villages and towns. And it is to this issue that various candidates who understand the Balijas, Gollas, Malas and Madigas direct their campaigns when they approach the electorate. To a caste council, voting is a caste-level matter, and deciding on a state initiates a political process. The council cannot operate in an arbitrary manner. Naturally it cannot make a decision unless a general consensus is reached. Thus, the issue of the election involves all caste members in an organized but informal system.

TRIBAL COUNCILS

Number of Tribal Councils

The tribal groupse namely the Yanadis, the Yerukala and the Sugali have their own councils in Cuddapah. Each tribal group is represented by hundreds of families organized into several lineages. Each tribal group has its own settlement. In the settlement itself there is a tendency in people related to one another, specially those related by blood, to build their houses to close to one another. The general atmosphere of a tribal
settlement is democratic, and all the members who constitute it participate on the basis of equality in working out their tribal destinies.

Neither the Yanadis nor the Yerukalas and Sugalis have any centralized tribal authority for the tribe as a whole. No powers have been placed in the hands of any tribal chief. However, powers are concentrated in the hands of a body like council of elders (kulakattu). Each tribal group in Cuddapah has a council of its own just as each tribal group residing in the neighbour towns and villages has its own council.

Structure of the tribal council

The Yanadis have a council headed by Pedda Manishi (big man) who is assisted by kulapeddalu (heads of the households). The office of the Pedda Manishi is not hereditary. He is chosen according to democratic methods once in five years. He is a person of some prominence in the settlement. He is the spokesman in dealing with outsiders. The Kula peddalu are elders who represent the individual households in the settlement.

Unlike the Yanadis, the Yerukula have a tribal council which is headed by Pedda Yerikili (Big Yerukala) which is a hereditary post. There is the Chinna yerikili (little Yerikala) who is an assistant to Pedda Yerikili (big Yerikala). The other people in the council are the Kula peddalu (clan heads) who
represent the clans in the settlement. Compared to the size of the Yanadi tribals council, the Yerukala tribal council is small because the former includes all the heads of households as its members whereas the latter includes only the clan heads as its members.

The tribal council of the Sugalis has a chairman (Pedda Manishi), the vice-chairman (pinna pedda) and a number of members (kula peddalu) who are clan elders. The size of the council is almost similar to that of the council of the Yerukalas. The office of the chairman, vice-chairman and the members are hereditary. The eldest son succeeds to the office of the chairman, vice-chairman and members.

Functions of the Tribal Councils

Each tribe considers its council as a supreme body guardian the tribal norms and dealing with outsiders. The council assembles and considers every breach of tribal law and custom. When a breach of any law of customary laws of the tribe has been committed the news passes around. Surprisingly, there is little effort on the part of the culprits to conceal the relevant facts. Even if any such efforts are made generally a rumour about itspreads. The council takes cognizance of the offence and temporarily ostracizes the person or persons responsible for the offence. Other numbers belonging to the family of the accused are also ostracized with him. This action is, however, purely
temporary. The final decision rests with the council.

The chairman or head of the tribal council goes round the settlement communicating to elders concerned the time of the meeting of the council and the purpose for which it is being convened. In the council, decisions are arrived at by a majority. Although votes for the people assembled are never taken, the elders present in the meeting freely express their opinions and the general sense of the meeting invariably decides the matter. The council hears both the sides, eye-witnesses are specially relied upon and the accused persons are allowed an opportunity to explain their position. An individual is punished for the consequences of his act; the motive is seldom taken into consideration. Generally no distinction is made between wrongs committed deliberately and those committed by accident or through carelessness. If the council agrees to expiate an offence by taking a penalty feast, it clearly expresses its view to the offender and dictates to him the items of the feast. In several cases it secures suitable compensations from the offenders for the aggrieved. Cases of adultery, breaches and annulment of marriage arrangement, elopement cases and divorce issues are considered as grave and solved immediately. Offences against person and property are not numerous and are rarely of a serious nature. Concealment of offences and suppression of evidence is rarely attempted. In fact, rather than being regarded as crime,
offences are regarded as sin, which can be expiated in most of the cases by giving a tribal feast and paying a fine. The elders of the tribe are the guardians of its law and order. They are both interpreters of the tribals code and adjudicators of disputes. Thus the main function of the tribal councils of the Yanadis, Yerukalas and Sugalis is to see that social norms are followed by their respective tribal populations.

Another function is similar to the one fulfilled by the caste councils. The system of voting adopted by these tribals is not like ours. We conceive of our vote as a sacred and private matter. Husbands and wives sometimes do not even tell one another how they voted, let alone outsiders. But in these tribes, voting is a tribe-level matter. The council decides whom the whole tribal groups has to vote en masse. Thus the issue of the election involves all the tribal members in an organized but informal system.

COUNCIL OF MUSLIMS

Number of Councils

The Muslims are distributed in different places in Cuddapah. However, they are concentrated in specific areas as described earlier. Serving these residential areas, there are four masjids namely Masjid-e-Azam located Nawab's palace near the Y.V.C. Street, Bahdur Khan Masjid locate in B.K.M.Street, Qutbi-Sah
Masjid situated in Y.V.C. Street, Jamua Masjid situated in peershaeb street.

Each masjid maintain a council of elders will resolve the disputes pertaining to the Muslims whom it serves. Thus there are five councils of elders, each serving the Muslims under its own jurisdiction.

Structure of the Council

Each masjid has a priest called imam and a manager known as kazi. Besides there are elderly persons representing the different lineage groups within the locality. The priest and the manager of the masjid and the lineage heads together form a council of elders. Each council assembles in the premises of the masjid, discusses civil issues of the people and gives its own verdict which is very much honoured by the parties concerned. Fines are imposed on the guilty and authority is exercised to see that the fines are paid as per the council’s decision within the stipulated period.

MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

Structure Based on Nominated Leaders

Cuddapah was declared a municipality in the year 1886. The municipality covered an area of 2.75 square miles and a population of 15,756 individuals.
Cuddapah municipal council in its formation stage had a structure that was quite different from its existing structure. To start with, the government nominated the members to the municipal council. Mr. M.W. Elliot was its first nominated chairman. This system continued for several years. In the year 1915, the government nominated 12 councillors, 3 officials and 9 non-officials to the municipal council.

Consequent up on the application of the District Municipality Act 1920 to Cuddapah on municipality was divided into eight wards 1st. of October 1920. The nominated member on the municipal council included 7 Muslims, 1 Indian Christian, 1 Adi-Dravida, and 1 Hindu (Mangala) representing the minority and backward community. For the first time, elections were held in Cuddapah municipality in the years 1923-24 and 1926-27. The election were keenly contested. The first woman member namely Kadapa Ramasubbamma, an educated rich young Reddi lady was nominated to the council during the year 1929-30. After nearly 22 years, in of wards in the municipality was raised to 21. The new council came to office in November, 1952. Structure based on elected leaders. The structure of the council has acquired new faces as the members who constituted it were elected leaders. An analysis of the socio-economic background and election strategies of the elected members from 1952 to 1989 reveals several interesting features with regard to their caste, occupation, economic status, educational status, age, and sex.
Besides the electioneering strategies they had adopted and the voting patterns that their electorate had adopted.

Between 1952 and 1989, more than two-thirds (67%) of the elected members belonged to the forward caste groups namely Brahmin (12%) Komati (15%) Balija (11%) Karnam (22%) and Kamma (7%). Those who belonged to the backward Class groups such as Thogata (6%) Nethara (2%) Voddi (1%) Gandla (10%) Kamsali (3%) and Chakali (1%) comprised a little more than two-thirds (23%). Those members who belonged to the Scheduled Castes of Malas and Madigas and the Scheduled Tribe of Yerukula (4%) Yanadi (3%) and Sugali (3%) had least representation (10%). Even among the members representing the Forward Caste groups, the Reddis and the Balijas besides the Muslims dominated over others in their number. This shows how the traditionally landed aristocrats and squireens have retained their power and authority in the changing urban environment of Cuddapah.

Further, among the elected members (55%) are agriculturists, three-tenths (30%) are business men, one-tenths (10%) are commission agents and the remaining ones (5%) have taken up social service as their occupation. Moreover, the present occupation of a vast majority of these elected leaders is the same as that of their father. That means most of them pursue their traditional occupations. In other words, most of the elected leaders have not rejected their traditional occupation.
for they still follow their traditional occupations as their primary means of livelihood and earning. Caste identity and occupational placement still go together. Each ward in the municipality tends to be dominated by one or two caste groups, so there is heavy involvement of caste in political affairs, and voting often follows caste lines. At the same time there is a strong correlation between caste identity and occupation placement, between the present and the parental occupation of the elected leaders.

More than three-fourths (76%) of the elected leaders each with a monthly income of Rs 2,000 to 5,000, belong to middle-income group. Those with a high monthly income of Rs 5,000 and above and those with a low monthly income of less than Rs 1,000 are equal (12%) in their numerical proportions. Thus in terms of economic status, an overwhelming proportion belong to middle-income group. This shows the dominance of middle-class in urban politics.

Most of the members elected to the municipal council in the past four decades are educated. More than three-tenths (31.02%) had primary education, less than three-tenths (26.22%) had high school education, less than two-tenths (17.82%) had collegiate education and only a small percentage (4.23%) were illiterates. Those without formal education and those with elementary education are mostly from the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes.
Table 2

Percentage Distribution of the Elected Members and their parents According to the Type of Education They had

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Type of Education</th>
<th>Percentage of elected</th>
<th>Percentage of the members parents of the elected members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>27.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>31.02</td>
<td>26.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Middle Education</td>
<td>20.71</td>
<td>19.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>High School Education</td>
<td>26.22</td>
<td>27.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Collegiate Education</td>
<td>17.92</td>
<td>9.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                                      100.00    100.00
and Backward Classes, and those with middle-school, high school and collegiate education are from the Forward Castes. All those who had collegiate education are from the Reddis, Balijas and a few other Forward Caste groups besides Muslims.

A comparison of the educational status of these elected members with that of their parents reveals a reduction in the percentage of illiteracy or an increase in the proportion of literacy in the generation of the elected members. Table-2 provides the percentage distribution of the elected members of their parents according to educational background.

Education promotes political awareness of an individual, helps him to acquire a status in the society and influences him to accept the political and social norms. Moreover individuals the more and more education acquire more political tolerance, more freedom of expression and more awareness about civil liberties. The members elected to the municipal council of Cuddapah are no exception to this fact. The increase in the educational status of the elected leaders as against that of their fathers reveals this fact within the environment of Cuddapah.

A characteristic feature of the members elected to municipal council was their entry into politics at a relatively young age. Nearly six tenths (57.23%) of them have contested the elections when they were aged between 25 and 35 years, one-third of them
have entered the politics when they were aged between 25 and 35 years and a little more than two-tenths (22.30%) joined politics in their middle-age between 46 and 55 years. The figures show that people retire from politics soon after they become 55 years old. Their entry into politics at a young age shows not only the degree of political awareness of the people but also the great interest evinced in decision-making.

An analysis of the elected members by their sex composition shows that males outnumber the females. One woman member in 1952, another in 1977 and a third one in 1982 and three women member in 1989 were elected to the council. Except the woman member elected in 1952 who is a Hindu, all others are Muslims. Though women, particularly those from the middle-income group, of the lower and middle classes, in the Indian society had almost equal participation in the labour force yet they were not expected the positions of power, authority and leadership which were the privileges of the menfolk. Accordingly men were considered as the natural incumbents of the political positions. Due to techno-social and politico-legal changes the boundaries between the male and female domains have been blurred. An increasing number of women equipped with modern education are not occupying positions in different fields. However, their ratio to men in different occupations still remains very low. The same is true with regard to political field. For this reason, only a
small number of women have entered the political scene of Cuddapah.

Elections and voting patterns

The first elections to the municipal council were held in all the 1952. There were 48 contestants in the field in all the 16 wards. There were straight contest in 12 wards. Triangular fight in one ward and multi-cornered contest in 3 wards. The contestants belonged to different political parties: Congress (I), Janasangh, Communist Party of India and Independents.

In 1957 altogether 161 candidates contested the elections. In every ward not less than 10 candidates were fielded. In 15 wards, the fight was mainly between congress candidates and communists but in one ward there was stiff fight between a Congress candidate and Independent candidate.

In 1962, more than 150 candidates contested the elections in 21 wards. Those who belonged to the Congress and the Independents were the main contenders for power. Similar distribution of contestants by political party contests continued in the next three elections. However, in the 1982 municipal elections as many as 287 candidates contested for the office of councillor in 32 wards. Of these 247 were Independents and 40 were on Congress and C.P.I and C.P.M. party tickets. Women candidates also were in the fray. The 1987 elections
witnessed similar pattern of contest on party tickets in all the wards.

Thus in 1952 elections there were almost straight contests in many wards but since 1962 multi-cornered contests became quite common in each ward. For all the 21 wards, 21 councillors were elected up to 1977. Certain wards between 1977 and 1982 had grown so big in population size that they included double their original numerical strength. Each such ward had to be represented by two councillors. For this reason all the 21 wards returned 32 candidates in 1982. As the municipal strength of the some other wards had also become doubled by 1989, each one of them had to return two councillors. Thus in 1989 all the 21 wards returned altogether 36 candidates. More number of women candidates were elected since 1989.
The election strategies also were very interesting. In all the elections between 1952 and 1989 there were a hectic campaign by the contestants in all the wards. The tempo of the election campaign gained momentum with the visit of the state and national leaders. Although the campaign was on the basis of party ideologies, the actual campaign was on the basis of caste lines. The fight was between the Reddis, the Balijas, the Kammas and the Muslims. All other castes simply followed their representative leaders. The rivalry between the castes resulted in alignment to specific parties. If the Reddis were in Congress, the Balijas and Kammas joined the Telugu Desam Party or chose another party and opposed the Reddis. The whole political activity was caste centered but not based on political ideology.

The election campaign also bore deep caste imprints. In all elections between 1952 and 1989, the campaign for municipal elections started always on the lines of political ideology and caste interests but ultimately turned out to be those buttressed by primordial attachments to caste, creed, religion, and common interests. Usually, the campaign began just before the last date of filing the nominations. Each one made flying visits to his ward and got the consent of the major leaders for his participation in the elections. If he felt that there was not much support for him, he withdrew his candidature. If another
person of his castes could muster the strength of the leaders in the ward, he simply joined them.

Meanwhile the returning officer scrutinized the nomination papers of the candidates and declared those eligible were valid. From that day onwards, there was hectic campaign in each ward. The contestant along with his supporters visited each household and used his strategy to influence the electorate. Pamphlets, placards, and other propagated material carrying out his manifesto besides the problems of the ward that he wanted to solve immediately were distributed among the residents of the ward.

In addition to this, the womenfolk in his house also visited the ward and influenced the women electorate. If necessary they distributed material items such as clothes of blouse piece and small caskets containing turmeric powder, vermillion and some dyes meant for daily use of women in order to catch the women voters. The unemployed youth attracted by such promises as government jobs, permanent positions and so on.

As the poll day draws near, the regional and statue leaders would make visits for a day or two to the city and canvass in favor of their respective local leaders. They usually would hold special meetings in the town hall, high school or college playgrounds or in some convenient vast open place and address the
gatherings. In their speeches they emphasized that their parties alone would deliver the goods stop the people. They may give promises to the extent that the city would be favoured by more funds for development if their candidates were returned to power.

Since 1982, the campaign strategies changed to a great extent. The Telugu Desam Party a threat as a strong opponent to the Congress Candidates. Ramarao who earned the reputation of lone crusader posed a challenge to the Congress for the first time in the municipal elections of Cuddapah. Putting on the new mantle the souvenir of the honour of Telugu speaking people, he toured Cuddapah in his van known as Chaitanya Ratham (chariot of awakening) fitted with floodlights and loud speakers. He released a number of cassettes containing his speeches which had great mass appeal. Since then every candidate for election used this kind of strategy for carrying out the poll campaigns in the ward.

As the election day drew near, each councilor had his own caste members who fully co-operated with him in election campaigning. All types of baits including money and installation of some facilities were used to curry the favour of the electorate. Caste played a dominant role in the municipal elections. In fact the politics in Cuddapah city had been nothing but a sort of cock-fighting between the castes. However,
it may be said that the election campaign was not uniform in all wards.

The election campaign of the contestants for councillorship was not so much interesting as that of the candidates contesting for the chairmanship of the municipal council. Each contestant for the office of chairmanship pitched a tent at a corner of every ward and had his men stationed there and carried out the campaign. Every day his men used record players to play on music, specific cassettes containing the speeches of regional and national leaders. The whole blaze went on from early morning till almost ten 'O clock in the night. They used to assess the mood of the electorate and passed on the information to their leader who in turn took appropriate measures to tackle the electorate concerned. He had his own analysts and advisers to suggest the possible solutions to the problems cropping up every day in different parts of the city.

The campaign ended before twenty-four hours of the election day. The voting pattern also followed the cast lines. As supporters of Reddis, the middle and upper and higher castes of people voted in favour of Congress. The Balijas were another party and obviously the supporters of a non-Congress Party were the supporters of Kammans and Balijas. Almost until 1977 elections, the poor farmers, and workers, the middle class land owners besides, the rich landlords and employees voted for
candidates. The poor thought that the Congress alone
would help them alleviate themselves from their poverty. The
rich and well to-do impressed the poor and the middle class
citizens that the Congress alone could deliver the goods. As a
result, the Congress candidates were emerging victorious over
others in the elections.

Although every election saw the return of the Congress to
power, its performance was not up to the expectations of the
electorate from the lower classes. Inflation, drought and more
evictions from the government lands between 1961 and 1971 had
made the poor and a selection of the middle and upper class
citizens more radical in outlook. Ironically, the populist slogans
by the erstwhile Central Government in power, which was not
radical enough to implement them, created further
uncertainties and accentuated the sense of deprivation among the
poor and the middle-upper class people. As a consequence in
1982, many poor, middle and upper class peoples voted for the
Telugu Desam Party founded by Ramarao a mating idol and cine
actor by profession. The populist programmes promised, of
course later implemented, were supply of rice, cloth and some
other provisions at government subsidized rates, distribution of
rickshaws to rickshaw pullers, and a few welfare schemes to
alleviate the poverty of the masses influenced the electorate to
cast their vote in favour of Telugu Desam Party.
With the formation of the Telugu Desam Party and the mass support that it secured, the Congress felt in secure as its popularity was eroded to a great extent. Since 1989 elections the caste composition of the Congress (I) has also slightly altered. Tickets were given to some members of the Kamma caste to contest the municipal elections. Some Reddis joined Telugu Desam Party and the Reddis in Congress Party were bitterly divided and faction ridden. To prevent dissidence and avoid difference in the Congress Party all the factions were given due importance while choosing the candidates. But the central leadership was very much worried as the councilors remained sharply divided. Personal animosities and political jealousies hindered them to act as a united team. Even though they did not undercut one another, they did co-operate in enhancing the party's prospects through collective efforts.

It is well known that the basis of electoral politics is manipulation of votes. As a result of the introduction of the universal adult franchise seven those social groups, who stand very low in social hierarchy and are economically backward, have come to realize that they wield enormous power. They have become conscious of their importance because various political parties compete to solicit their support. Even while distributing the election tickets and selection of the candidate for chairmanship, caste considerations do come in. It has been observed that generally people of the same caste group
voted en bloc for a candidate of their own caste. If such a candidate is not available, they voted for some other candidates in pursuance of the decision of their candidates, council or some such body. Hence, while selecting the candidates, the parties see whether a candidate will be able to get the support of his caste or not. When more than one person of the same caste contests from the same ward the members vote according to their conscience and caste considerations assume secondary position. This shows the caste ties have grown significant.

In 1989 municipal elections Kiran Pasha, a Muslim, stood as an independent candidate for chairmanship. The candidate of Telugu Desam Party was defeated. Also, the official Congress candidate could not win even though many of the Congress leaders promised to help him in the elections. What happened was that some of the Congress leaders who belonged to the caste of Reddis did not support the official candidate of the Congress, rather they supported Kiran Pasha, an independent candidate, because the Congress leader felt very much when the Congress High Command did not tip any one of their candidate as an official candidate. To prove their local political strength to the High Command, they not only supported the Independent candidate but also saw that the emerged with thumping majority over the candidate sponsored by the High Command.
Kiran Pasha won the election with great majority of votes in his favour. He was Muslim. All Muslims voted enmasse to him. On the other hand, among the Hindus eight candidates contested for the office of chairmanship. The Hindu votes got divided amongst these eight candidates. Therefore, it was a cake walk for Kiran Pasha in the elections. The official Congress candidate was Sanjanna, a barber by profession. Neither his caste members were too many to support him nor he had large number of following. As none of the Reddis were given ticket majority of the Reddi leaders did not support the official Congress candidate because of class consciousness.

Kiran Pasha, even though an independent by party, supported the Congress because his success in the election was due to the Congress leaders. On the one hand this was a blow to the Telugu Desam Party and on the other it was a lesson taught to the Congress High Command which did not take the role dominant caste in local politics, at the time of issuing the party ticket to the Candidates.

An important feature of the caste politics in the city of Cuddapah was thus its blending with the regional politics, its alignment on a mixture of political and caste ideologies, its competence and performance as the reflections of the competence and performance of similar bodies in the other towns and cities in different parts of Andhra Pradesh.
Achievements:

Alight was the first nominated chairman of the Municipality in 1892-1895. In his period, roads were improved by widening and metalling. He also constructed a slaughter house and a market building which yielded substantive income to the municipality. Sanitation and water supply were reported to have received much attention. The Konda Ramudu well in the heart of the city was reconstructed and the Bugga stream was deepened. A conservancy staff was maintained during his time. His contribution to the development of education in this city is well known. He got the management of the government High School at Cuddapah transferred to the Local Fund Board. Following this, the High School at Cuddapah passed through very difficult times. It has, however, survived and even made appreciable a headway in the next decade. He also helped the conversion of the London Mission Boys Schools which was a middle school into a High School. He also opened a primary school for children of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at Yerramukha Palli in Cuddapah city during the year 1894-1895.

All the other chairmen a of the municipality who succeeded Mr. Elliot, also has some record of development to their credit. In the year 1924 and 1927 one Municipal Muslim High School was established to impart secondary education in Urdu medium. The Government Multi-Purpose and Basic Training School for Women
was established to serve the needs of the local women populations. Cuddapah witnessed no improvement over and above this work almost upto 1950.

After independence, the city began to witness a number of developmental activities because the elected chairman and the councilors tried to improve the various facilities in the wards, they represented. A High Secondary School was opened with the public contribution in 1947. The M.G. Park in the city was opened in 1947. The Sarada Nilayam High School, a privately managed institutions was started to impart education to girls. Besides these, a Government School for the Blind and St. Joseph's High School were founded in 1949. The St. Antony Industrial Institute was started in 1957 in order to provide a five year course in carpentry and blacksmithy.

Another important development activity is the All India Radio Station established on 17th June 1963. The municipality also started two Maternity and Child Care and Welfare Centres. Water works were raised by means of noria (chains of buckets on a wheel) worked by bulls. Water works on comprehensives water supply scheme for improving the water supply position was undertaken in 1966.

Hussian, Ghouse Mohiddin, Mohammad Rahamatullah, Madhusudana Reddy, Raghunatha Reddy and Jagannadha Reddy had their meritorious services to the municipality. Even today, they
are all well remembered for their dedicated work to the cause of the development of Cuddapah. All were charismatic leaders. Kiran pasha also comes under this category of leaders. Their cosmopolitan outlook to help the city dwellers irrespective of caste, creed and religion and their actual performance upto that level have won them great name. They controlled coercion in the municipal staff. They made regular tours in each ward and assessed the felt needs of the ward members. During their tenure of office as many as 16 primary schools were opened, a number of roads were black tapped, new buildings for municipal office were constructed, a number of borewells were sunk in different slums and wards, health personnel were strengthened, payments to the staff were regularly made, the staff was made to work according to the schedule, and public meetings were held in different wards once in a fortnight and representations from the people were examined in detail with the help of the staff in the municipality.

REGIONAL LEADERS FROM CUDDAPAH

Reddi Leaders:

The city of Cuddapah and its environs have contributed a number of leaders of regional standing. Among them more number belong to the caste of Reddis. They are kadapa koti reddi,
Kandula Obula Reddi, Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy, Dr. D.L. Ravindra Reddy.

Ladapa Koti Reddi was born in 1883. He studied B.A. and B.L and became a lawyer. Influenced by the ideals of Gandhi in 1919-1920, he plunged into the satyagraha Movement and Quit India Movement. He was up to in jail twice in 1923 and 1942. He was a Member of the Legislative Council between 1928-35. Right from 1937 up to 1962 he was a Member of the Legislative assembly. He was president of Andhra Maha sabha (Great Assembly of Andhra) as was a Minister of Temples and Religious Endowment between 1946-47 as a Minister of Revenue between 1953-54. He trained a large number of local leaders, got constructed an anicut across the local river of Buggavanka to have an assured supply of drinking water to the city of Cuddapah and got opened more than half a dozen schools in Cuddapah in order to make the people literates and become good leaders. He was popular throughout the composite State of Madras and the State of Andhra Pradesh. He is even now remembered as a great regional leader.

Kandula Obula Reddi is another regional leader. Born in a hereditary aristocratic family with a rich political heritage, he had shown more interest in politics than in education right from his late teens. In 1972 State Assembly elections he was elected a member of legislative Assembly constituency. In 1977 and 1982
national elections, he was elected a member of parliament for the Cuddapah Parliament constituency. Apart from these positions, he played a key role in the politics of the District of Cuddapah. He got a water shed constructed near the bank of River Pennar for the supply of water to the citizens of Cuddapah. He established a number of industries in Cuddapah and its surroundings and provided employment opportunities to several inhabitants of Cuddapah District. Also he established a number of educational institutions including an engineering college at Cuddapah and worked for the cause of education in the city of Cuddapah. After his demise, his son Kandula Sivananda Reddy entered the political field. He is a graduate. He served as the President of the youth congress of Cuddapah city and the President of District congress of Cuddapah before he was elected to the state assembly from the Cuddapah have constituency. Thus this family continues to political at economic power over a long period of time and produces a line of leaders of regional importance.

Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy is another important regional leader. He is one of the six children of Y. S. Raja Reddy. Rajareddy's father was poor. He embraced christianity almost a century ago. He died in poverty. But Rajareddy, by his thrift and industry acquired wealth and became a well-to-do middle class farmer and the owner of barytes mine. From 1952, he continues to be the chairman of the statutory panchayat of his village namely Pulivendla. As a successful farmer and mine owner with his sons
and many supporters, he gradually rose to dominate his own and neighbouring villages. Unlike he, his son Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy rose to greater eminence during the past 30 years.

He is a doctor by profession. He started his political career as an elected member to the State Assembly in 1980. He even became a Minister in the State Cabinet of Andhra Pradesh. He had a relinquish his Ministership in favour of the Congress Party Presidentship of the State of Andhra Pradesh because he was considered by the Central High Command at Delhi as the right person to put the State Congress Party in order and as a match to the newly emerged Telugu Desam Party in 1982. Subsequently, twice he was chosen as a Member of Parliament from Cuddapah Parliamentary Constituency. He is now a Member of Parliament. He is one of the Key leaders in the State Politics and a strong rival to the present leadership of the State of Andhra Pradesh. Using his influence he helped many educated persons from different caste in his constituency to get employment in public and private organizations. His strong concern for education, public health, arbitration of disputes and improvement of the circumstances of life in Cuddapah city is well known.

Another regional leader hailing from Cuddapah is Dr. M.V. Mysoora Reddy. He is now the Minister of Home Affairs in the State Cabinet of Andhra Pradesh. Likewise Dr. D. L. Ravindra
Reddy, a leader from Cuddapah, is now the Minister for Revenue in the State Cabinet of Andhra Pradesh. As things stand today, Dr. D.L. Ravindra Reddy is a staunch supporter of Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy, while Dr. M. V. Mysoora Reddy is a staunch supporter of State Leadership of Andhra Pradesh.

All these regional leaders, have Kadapa Koti Reddy and Kandula Obula Reddy who are no more, are active in the present day regional politics. They have their own following. All of them are well educated, by strange coincidence all are doctors of medicine by training. All belong to the same age-group of 50-55 years. All are from the city of Cuddapah. All belong to wealthy families.

Balija Leaders:

Only one of the Balijas could become a regional leader from the city of Cuddapah. He is Ramachandraiah. He entered Telugu Desam Party in 1984. Before he joined politics, he was working as a chartered Accountant. In 1987 he won the Cuddapah Assembly seat and became a Member of the Legislative Assembly of the State. He had even become Finance Minister dealing with 20 Point Programme for development of the rural and urban areas in the state of Andhra Pradesh. He tried his bests to unite all leaders belonging to non--Reddi castes groups under the mantle of his leadership but in vain. As he was more devoted to this activity, he could not contribute anything to the development of his
constituency in the year 1990. Still he believes that the unity of non-Reddi caste leaders alone will be the answer to resist or oppose the rising power and authority of the Reddi leaders in the region in general and in the city of Cuddapah in particular.

Muslim leaders:

The Muslim group has not contributed many regional leaders though its contribution to the local leadership is more than that of the Reddis, the Balijas and the Kammas.

The lone Muslim leader of regional standing is Shaik Mohammed Rahamtullah. He comes from a well-to-do family that has retained political and economic power since many centuries representing a hereditary aristocracy. His family was regarded as a "great House" among the Muslims. After his graduation, he entered into politics and did a lot of service to Muslim poor and the city. For twice he was elected chairman of the city Municipality. In 1957 he was elected to the State Assembly from the city constituency. In 1967 the Cuddapah Parliamentary Constituency returned him to the Parliament. When he was a member of the Legislative Assembly, he got four Urdu Muslim Schools established in the city. Further, he founded the Minority Institute and became its chairman and started catering to the educational needs of Muslims through this institute.
POLITICAL FACTIONS

Nature of factions:

The city of Cuddapah and its hinterland are well known for the operation of their factions. Factions are political conflict groups. They are not corporate groups because they own no property jointly and the members are not responsible for one another. The relatively weak ties among fellow faction members are partly due to the groups not being corporate, but they also result from the fact that people may be in the faction members different reasons. A faction is recruited by a leader and members are recruited on the basis of diverse interests and desires. Recruited on the basis of diverse interests, they need have little in common beyond a wish to work together for each individual's own ends. One thing they always share beyond this is a willingness to work with the individual who recruited all of them. Because faction groups do not have means of recruiting members such as the common descent that brings people into kin groups or the common residence that is the basis for territorial groups, the role of the leader is obviously a crucial one in forming them. Having formed them, faction leaders ordinarily exercise a great deal of power in directing group's activities. The leader is free to use a wide range of maneuvers in pursuing his group's ends, and this, together with the manner in which factions are recruited, is
why factions are so well suited to politics in rapidly changing social situations in the city of Cuddapah and its hinterland.

In the city of Cuddapah, as in other parts of Cuddapah district, Reddis comprise the dominant caste. They compose nearly half of the population made up of several castes besides Muslims. They are the biggest landowners. They dominate all other castes economically and politically, as well as numerically. However, they have only middle rank ritually and are surpassed in purity by Brahmins and Vaisyas.

As a dominant caste, the Reddis dominate not only the city of Cuddapah but also numerous villages in the District of Cuddapah. In the countrysides, the Reddis dominate a set of contiguous or closely related villages. Usually a single surname group (intepuru) of the Reddis controls a number of villages. A branch of the surnames groups resides in each village, and the superiority of the head of the surname group over all people in the village is recognised. As is operates in most villages, the dominance of Reddis is an inheritance from a period when a marital caste protected other castes when there was a continual warfare between local rulers and alien invaders as they struggled for territory, tribute and supporters. In such a situation, a local social structure developed which centered
about the dominant caste or Reddi, or the dominant family or families of Reddis.

When the British came to power, the relationship between caste and politics took a new turn. The Brahmins responded earliest to the opportunities for Western education and became a powerfully politicised group. With some success on the part of the Brahmins, the members of the high castes, like the Reddis Kammans, and the Balijas in the area responded with resentment, felt about relative deprivation, and developed antagonism. Then these respectable cultivator castes involved themselves in the politicization and formed into powerful elite castes. Since the Reddis have been the numerically, economically and politically dominant group, they have become the decisively dominant group in all places over all other groups. This situation brought a scramble for power and authority between the cultivator castes in the rural as well as urban areas. The Reddis continued to dominate the scene even after 1947 when India gained Independence and declared itself a democracy.

In effect, the politics of the village, the city and the region have remained in the hands of the powerful dominant caste of Reddis capable of exerting control over the lives and dominant Reddi caste has become dependent on the support it has received from its followers. The leaders have gathered a host of followers and friendship to recruit their followers.
The leader provides money and grain on loan to his followers, lends support to his followers in the event of quarrels, and protects his followers persons and property from others. In the event of conflict among his followers, the leader plays the role of judge and law giver. The followers depend on their leader for loans of cash during times of hardship. With the help of the leader, the followers sons and relatives procure jobs. The leader helps his followers in getting bank loans, housing loans, and fertilizer loans and in procuring various benefits from the government welfare schemes meant for the alleviation of poverty in urban centres.

Factionalism and fragmentation have taken place within the dominant caste of Reddis and multi-castes and multi-factorial alignments have developed. Lower castes are often brought in to support the Reddi leaders and to strengthen the factions. Factions amongst the Reddi have arisen over public disputes such as rights to irrigation water and rights to share in the landed property. The rival factions contend with each other for power, property, influence and prestige. Once formed, the factions may outlive the original issue around which they have formed and go on to contend over other public decisions.

The rise of one factional leader is viewed with alarm by the other factional leaders, who may send their followers to rob his house, beat up his supporters or assassinate him in the
street when he is walking by or in the vehicle in which he is travelling. One factional leader forms alliances with other factional leaders, often by mutual understanding and reciprocal relations in the event of conflicts and support. The factional leaders receive the adulation and support accorded to a benevolent ruler.

The faction leaders remain outside the bureaucratic government but control it through their economic and political influence. Government officials are expected to come to carry out their assigned tasks usually depends on the good will of the factional leaders. The factional leaders are progressive in outlook. They promote urban facilities like good electrification, black topped roads, slum improvements supply of adequate drinking water, starting required number of schools and colleges, government hospitals, cinema houses, shops and markets.

Many factional leaders supplement their income by obtaining government contracts for the construction of roads, projects, and buildings. Supervisors, engineers and other officials are bribed to certify the completion of projects which are not according to standards, which are never finished. Resources use or scrambling competition for contracting major loans from nationalized banks and cooperative banks is common place among the factional leaders. A factional leader
gets loans sanctioned in the name of his large number of followers and uses that money for his own works. What his followers get is only a little of what he gets as loan in the name of his followers get is only a little of repayment he pays what he is due from him to the bank and the remaining amount will repaid by his followers. Likewise each factional leader has his own work and the work of his supporters done. Jobs, small contracts, loans from banks, seed and fertilizers from government depots, and free housing loans from government are usually the interests of the follower for the fulfillment of which they approach their factional leaders. The factional leaders sincerely try to fulfill the interests of their followers. They have so much influences with the state and national governments that they place some of their allies as local a representatives for the shops that distributes rations to the inhabitants in Cuddapah and through them they are able to gain considerable power and many followers.

Working of factions:

The events in the 1989 elections for the chairmanship of the municipality of Cuddapah show how factions work in an urban setting. In this stance, the factions formed because of the intervention of the national government. The 1989 election did not bring about totally new political groupings, but it produced some new alignments and brought into public view
other coalitions and divisions that had existed for a long time. The leaders of the various factions in the city affairs in 1960s. The leaders of the two major factions, one headed by Y. Eswara Reddy the other headed by Kandula Obula Reddy were divided by events and conflicting interests that began in 1960s with a quarrel between their fathers over real estates in the city.

Through their kinsmen and clients and with the help of each fathers enemies both men built fairly large followings. The two groups had been forming and changing over the whole period since the original quarrel about 30 years before, and each court decision or public disputes brought changes in their memberships. Y. Eswara Reddy had influence with officials in the State and National governments. He owns barytes mines He is an industrialist also. He is a great factional leader who controls many villages, feeds many people and receives support from thousands and thousands of followers. Another faction, less powerful but still important, was jointly led by Sivananda Reddy and his sister's husband. A different faction was headed by Mysoora Reddy. There were four mere factions for a total of seven in the city of Cuddapah.

In the light of the above case studies pertaining to the city of Cuddapah, a several characteristics can be identified with the political factions. First, it should be noted that
although each of the factions was recruited by a leader, sometimes the leader was not a single individual. One faction was led by a man and his sisters husband, and another was led by two or more close relatives. This type of joint, or collective leadership is sometimes called "clique leadership" and it is frequently important in factional politics in all parts of the world.

Second, each faction brought its supporters into action for a particular election; many of the supporters had no lasting commitment to the particular faction they voted with. The leaders used all their ties with other people to get the maximum number of supporters for the specific events. Kinsmen and employees were conditional generosity of creditors, and tenants were reminded of that they lived and farmed at their landlord's pleasure.

Third, the factions combine with each other in much the same way individuals came together temporarily to form a faction. The coalitions of factions formed and acted together because the specific interests each of them represented were momentarily served by joint, instead of conflicting activity. They stayed together for the common goal of winning the elections, but soon after the election ended, they had no reason to work together and opposed each other as circumstances warranted. This sorts of temporary formation of
coalitions is found wherever factions are part of the political process.

Fourth, each individual faction in the city election was made up of different people seeking quite different things. When questioned the members of the seven factions about why they were supporting and voting with the factions leaders, 23% were despondent on the faction leaders for their livelihood while 37% were giving their support on the basis of caste and only 10% were hoping to defeat the enemy at any cost. Each faction, then had members who were there for different reasons. Not every single members had a reason for membership different from every other because whole families and even caste groups belonged to the same factions for belonging. This sort of diverse basis for faction membership is found in every part of the world where there is factionalism.

The leaders of the factions were supported by the general expectations of some of their members so that, a particular leaders relatives had the broad idea that he would help them or be generally available whenever they helped him. Many other members of factions supported their leaders on the basis of highly specific expectations such as not being pressed for the payment of debt, being allowed to continue working for the leader, or getting a government job. Most individuals, however, supported the leaders of their factions because of highly
specific expectations of the sorts called coercives. This fact helps explain the shifting membership of factions. Once a specific expectation is met, there is no further basis for staying in the faction. A person who belongs to a faction because the leader is expected to help him with a court case may well leave the faction once the case is over unless he develops a further expectations of the leader. Because of this, faction leaders are continually instill expectations and bestow benefits on their members.

Much of what had happened in the Cuddapah election is characteristic of factions everywhere. Factions are particularly well suited to new and rapidly developing situations because they are so flexible both in membership and in their ability to work for different goals as these become available. Factions are common sorts of groupings in local or urban politics in much of the world, especially where new problems and opportunities constantly arise as they do in what we call "modern." and "modernizing" societies.

Modern politics as in the case of Cuddapah, are most distinctive in the rapidity with which new goals, rules, resources, and expectations emerge, but they are not qualitatively different from the most traditional sorts of politics. As FOG. Bailey says "People have systems of rules which regulate their interactions with one another and the ways
in which they make use of resources in their environment. Innovations occur when they come to realize that they are no longer or may soon not be getting what will satisfy them out of the environment: they are then ready to experiment with new rules for their mutual interactions or for coping with the environment or both. Alan R. Beals also draws similar conclusion with reference to the changing political ecology in some of the South Indian Villages.

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