CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
This chapter is devoted to summarise the findings of the study with a view to highlight the salient ecological features of the city of Cuddapah. Some concluding remarks are also incorporated within the scope of the study. The overall objective of the study is to describe, analyse, and interpret the empirical, historical, and other data pertaining to the ecological structure of Cuddapah. In accordance with this end in view, the preceding chapters tried an analysis of the spatial patterns of people and institutions, the inter-relations of social, economic, political, and religious ecologies, and the ecological inter-dependence of the city, the religion, and the wider society.

The city of Cuddapah is chosen as the field of study because it satisfies the desired pre-requisites for such a study, and also because of certain other practical conveniences. Regarding field procedures, a combination of techniques has been found more fruitful in collecting data on different aspects of ecology. Interview schedules were used to obtain information on certain social, economic, political, and religious aspects. Interviews, observation, case histories, and life histories were used either independently or in collaboration to explore various other aspects of life. Genealogies of selected families representing different social strata have been collected in order to supplement data on marriage, kinship, and ecology. For the purpose of
determining the main lines of variation, the baseline was constructed on the basis historical data reflecting the formation of the city of Cuddapah and reference materials as to the city populations recorded in the census publications. The baseline data reveal the growth and development of the ecological structure from simplicity to complexity in five distinctly discernible phases, namely a small farming village, a large agricultural village, a fort town, municipal town and pre-industrial city. The empirical structure of the city of Cuddapah. The total data highlight how the city as an ecological community came to be what it is and how its present ecology is working.

The approach adopted in this context is an ecological-historical one. It has links with the historical as well as the ecological approaches in anthropology. It shares an interest in the processes of change, especially basic, long-term, developmental and adaptive change, and in the related processes of competition and conflict. With the ecological approach it shares an interest in the ties of interdependence within and between populations and in the relation between populations and their environmental conditions. Structural and functional relations are studied within the larger and more inclusive frame work provided by the ecological and historical perspectives. Thus the approach can legitimately be labeled as
structural-functional-ecological-historical, since it incorporates all the essential elements of both. For the sake of convenience, however, it is referred to as ecological-historical approach.

The ecology of Cuddapah had its humble beginning before 200 A.D. To start with it was a peasant village called Krupa. It was a small farming community, a cluster of mud, stone and thatched structures. Reddis, a caste of agriculturists, were its founders. Artisans, and service specialists were serving the Reddis.

Between the second and sixteenth centuries A.D, Krupa had grown in size and become a big reputed agricultural community. The ecosystem of the village was greatly affected by the special kinds of people who came to constitute its membership. The environment influenced the selection of castes that ultimately formed into a big rural community and the kinds of castes that formed of relationships between the community and environment.

In the sixteenth century A.D, krupa transformed into a town. The starting point for this development was the beginning of Hindu empires. The Hindu rulers appointed the Reddis as their local representatives or pretty chiefs to look after the administration, law and order. In effect, the government was in the hands of a powerful aristocratic class capable of
exerting absolute control over the lives and fortunes of ordinary villages around Krupa.

The geo-political location of Krupa was always advantageous to the Muslims. Since Krupa was located on the invasion route followed by the Muslim armies, the expansion of Krupa was considered important for the very expansion of the Muslim rule. The fertility of the soil, the location of a river, the structure of the valley, the strategical importance of the valley, and the inevitability of keeping the local marital caste of Reddis under their submission, have influenced Neenam Khan, an army officer of Golconda Muslim rulers, to establish a township for Muslims. Neenam Khan founded a township very adjacent to Krupa and called it Neenamabad. Staying at Neenamabad, Neenamabad started ruling the land around Neenamabad. After his death his descendant carved a petty kingdom. Neenamabad became the capital of a small Muslim state. Consistent with this development, Neenamabad was designed for creating the human activity that represented the basic plan as it was modified to take specific local circumstances into account. In this regard, Neenamabad expanded so much that it merged with Krupa. Both Krupa and Neenamabad presented a contiguous settlement. Neenamabad came to be recognized as new site of Krupa. The name Krupa became corrupted to Cuddapah. All this happened by the middle of the eighteenth century.
Cuddapah, thus came into being, had an ecosystem in the 18th century in which several natural areas existed on the basis of caste, class, religion, language, occupation and value system. Muslim royal palaces were at the most strategic and secure site of the town. Residences of the ruling elite of Muslims had greater access to political power and property were in the immediate vicinity of the royal buildings. Adjacent to the Muslim elite residences there was the cluster of houses whose inmates belonged to the faith of the ruling family and elite groups. Within this cluster and adjacent to it there were four mosques. The fringes of this cluster merged into the borders of the old villages. The spatial distribution of population was thus mostly in terms of ethnic enclaves. The castes and religious groups resided in clearly demarcated areas. High degree of residential segregation with limits to economic segregation was clearly discernible. Each residential cluster had its own communal life. Economic position within the ethnic group was not important to secure a place to live in the community since what brought them together was their ritual status. Therefore the dominant value system became a fundamental principle of organization of space and as a result, the economic factors in the organization of space remained largely unimportant. The ecosystem of Cuddapah reflected not only ethnic solidarity among the social groups but of a spatial manifestation of the prevailing social and cultural inequalities also.
The ecosystem had to provide certain goods and services to other villages just as it had to draw some goods and services from other villages for its own maintenance and for the management of its hinterland. Pilgrimage, marriage and trade besides common political and administrative controls united the people of Cuddapah with those from other places. The ecosystem of Cuddapah was thus a product of interaction of cultural traditions, sets of people and an environment that was dominated by a fort, a temple, four mosques, a small bazaar, caste system of Hindus, class stratification of Muslims and the related institutions.

In its fourth phase, Cuddapah became a municipal town after undergoing some changes in its ecosystem between 1800 and 1868 A.D. However, the ecosystem of Cuddapah displayed many of the traditional residential arrangements although it experienced striking changes in the political and administrative realms and acquired many urban features for about seven decades between 1800 and 1868. Those who accepted Christianity formed separate residential area. New residential areas for accommodating the revenue, police, excise and other officials were formed between 1866 and 1926. A number of office buildings for running the revenue administration, law and order, municipal affairs, public works, forest areas, collection of taxes and so on were established some distance from the bazaar between 1868 and 1946.
The bazaar area expanded territorially. It was characterized by limited land use specialization.

Residential segregation in terms of caste, religion, language, income and occupation continued to be a marked feature of the town. In the bazaar area and in the residential areas inhabited by the potters, smiths, carpenters, weavers, basket-makers and cobblers, people worked and lived in the same area. On the contrary in the other areas, people lived in one place and worked in the neighbourhood. The agriculturists worked in their farms situated adjacent to the town. The caste of priests worked for their own and other castes in different residential areas. The untouchable labourers toiled in the estates of the landlords. The shepherds grazed their cattle in the neighbourhood but penned them at their houses. All the officers lived in their own residential quarters but worked in their office buildings located in different strategic sites in the town. Within the framework of British bureaucracy and political authority contacts between the neighbouring villages and the town increased because the town had become a nerve centre of commerce, trade, administration elite classes, caste leaders, law courts, literary activity and religious authority for the people living in the countryside. At the same time transportation networks created by railways and buses helped easy travel and increased interaction between the town and its hinterland. The ecosystem of Cuddapah thus depicted a picture of greater complexity and heavy flow of goods
and services into it from the hinterland and out of it into the neighbouring villages, distant towns and far away cities like Madras, Bombay and Hyderabad.

In its next phase beginning from 1947 when India became Independent, Cuddapah began to acquire more and more urban characters in terms of business, industry, administration, education, transport and communication, house building and other spheres of human activity. As a result, Cuddapah came to have its present ecology.

The present ecological patterning of bazaar has a distinct composition and quality. First, the bazaar highlights the ecological concentration of business. Secondly, the bazaar is a business-cum-residential area. Thirdly, though bazaar is a nucleus of commercial enterprise, the latter is the weak concentration of commercial activities. Mostly retail and to some extent wholesale business is carried. Single room and single family enterprises dominate the shops, stores and stalls. A few shops employ one or two clerks to do paper work and one or two servants for such tasks as packing and unpacking. Fourthly, the bazaar is characterized by a mixed nature of business. This is because the shops carrying the same type of merchandise are not clustered together. Closely related to the complex of business services are the branch offices of several banks, money-lending institutions, pawn brokers' establishments and offices of public
administration, and the professionals who serve them such as lawyers, accountants, and organizations engaged in public relations. Also there are supporting establishments like eating and drinking places, boarding and lodging hotels, government departments dealing with various co-operative enterprises, photographers' establishments, bus station, railway station, cinema halls, and insurance firms. The residents interact closely with the countryside. At the market place where the farmers sell their farm products, the housewives or their servants bargain with farmers. The vendors who sell different farm products encompass the whole system of production and distribution from the planting of the seed to the selling of the fruit at the door of the consumer. This pattern representing the countryside in an urban centre is common in Cuddapah.

The present ecological patterning of industry shows certain characteristics that totally do not exemplify an industrial city. First, the industries are widely scattered. In the bazaar and its vicinity considerable manufacturing is carried on as an adjunct to the wholesale and retail establishments. In many an instance, manufacturing and selling is combined under one roof. Most of the cottage industries come under this category. Merchants of silverware and gold jewelry perform dual functions of manufacture and distributor, fabricating and selling commodities in the same building. Similarly weavers make the
cloth and sell the cloth in the same building or sell them to the cloth merchants in the bazaar. There is the cluster of basket-weavers’ families who make baskets and sell them to the local merchants in betel leaves, flowers and garlands. Also there are a number of welding, forging, brick manufacturing, and granite quarrying establishments. All these small scale cottage industries are scattered in Cuddapah.

Industrial establishments since 1961 are located on the northern and southern peripheries of Cuddapah. Except the cable manufacturing medium scale industry, all other industries are small scale ones. The retail and wholesale merchants receive the products directly from the small scale industries located in the industrial area. The cables manufactured in the medium size factory are transported to the nearby towns and cities. The ecology of industry is thus dominated by small independent type industries.

The ecology of public institutions reveals the location of several offices and schools at appropriate places taking into consideration the needs of the population. Most of the public buildings like Collector’s office, fire station, post-office, telephone and telegraphic office, sub-jail, guest houses, sessions court, municipal office, zilla parishad office, the public library, municipal stadium, government hospital and office of the superintendent of police are located near the bazaar, the
nucleus of commercial activity. The remaining public buildings like bus station, railway station, traveler's bungalow, munsif court, colleges and radio station are far removed from the bazaar. They are located in the area which has witnessed the role of municipal planning in the past three decades. A number of cultural, religious, and educational institutions besides a few clinics and dispensaries are widely scattered in different parts of the city. There are public schools and private schools, just as there are private colleges and government colleges. In primary as well as secondary education besides higher education, the private sector is now growing in relative size. All the schools are neighbourhood schools. Especially in elementary education, educators and parents maintain that the school should be close to the home and serve a neighborhood. This has given to the elementary school a territorial base and a relatively homogeneous student body. The High Schools include mostly those students who come from the residential and business areas situated close to them. A small percentage of the students are from some distance from their homes and some of them are even from nearby villages.

The ecological patterning of the residential areas reveals the features of ethnic enclaves. Cuddapah contains two contiguous parts: the Old Cuddapah and the New Cuddapah. The Old Cuddapah is a product of feudal past besides non-feudal pre-literate past. On the other hand, New Cuddapah is a product of municipal
displays a pattern which is still based on the traditional values without striking changes.

The population ecology of Cuddapah reveals that Cuddapah has acquired substantial population size. There is a relation between the importance of the city and its population figure. Yet, the city stands out as an uncontested urban centre over whole of the District. Almost one-fifth of the total population of the city is still dependent on farming and the remaining population supports itself by a variety of occupations, mostly urban. The feudal elements still persist in terms of wealthy and dominant families among both the Hindus and Muslims. Migration into and out of Cuddapah shows how a vast majority of the dominant agricultural castes display more spatial mobility than other castes. The reasons for in-migration mostly are mostly economic, educational, and political security but the reasons for out-migration are mostly economic and educational.

Within the city itself, the abundance of population shows wide variability. This variability demonstrates a measure of success in the city environment, social complexity, kinship organization, caste affiliation and political organization are the principal factors influencing the relative size of the population by differing wards. Variations in population density of the city as a whole are dramatic since 1951. The general patterns of population density across the past one century shows
the maintenance of an appropriate distribution of types and varieties of people with a variety of skills and resources in response to an expansion of the area of habitation in the city.

The age and sex structure of the city's population shows interesting features. The age structure is much biased in favour of the young. The birth rate of this city shows a constant increase across the past hundred years. The city had more females than males between the first decade of the present century there were more number of males than females. Since the middle of the present century the sex ratio shows fluctuations. At present the sex ratio is lower in the city; it is lower than that in the District, State and Country.

The very low sex-ratio in the city in recent decades is due to several factors. Firstly, nature's balance is slightly more favourable to males at birth. Second, there is a negative relationship between the age of the mother and sex-ratio at birth. Third, education and age are positively related. The Muslims population comprising more than two-fifths of the city's population show very low levels of literacy and age. Even Hindus marry at a very young age. On account of this women give birth to male children in the first and second birth order. Fourth, there is higher mortality of females because many cultural, educational dietary and health factors inhibit the growth and development of females. Maternal mortality rates are shockingly high. Fifth,
the migration of individuals from the city to distant foreign lands on account of employment there, has also influenced the sex structure. The migrants do not take their wives and children along with them. They maintain close ties with their home and support it economically by sending back home a large part of their earnings. Sixth, factional politics, murders and riots do take a heavy toll of males in all villages and urban areas and the victims' relatives often take shelter in the city where security for life is more.

Mortality satisfies reveal that the toll taken disease is high. Respiratory diseases are more common among males than females. Majority of the children are very prone to dysentery and diarrhea and it is one of the important factors for high infant and child mortality rate in India. Deaths occurring due to wounds and accidents are almost equal among men and women since three deaths. Death rates are higher in the lower social strata who are poor than the higher social strata. The higher social strata have a greater survival potential and their progeny are also generally more numerous.

The results of the enquiry thus reveal not only the segmentation of population by caste, class, creed, age, sex, kinship, and resource maintenance but also integration of that population into a breeding local community within the limits of advantages and disadvantages of the environment of Cuddapah.
The social ecology of the city of Cuddapah revolves around an all-pervasive system of stratification in which each stratum, in the form of caste or caste-like group, maintains its own specialized adaptation to local environment.

The social hierarchy based on both attributional and interactional rank shows close relation to occupation, purity and pollution, dietary habits and food-transactions. In the traditional context, occupational hierarchy corresponding with social hierarchy enabled each caste or caste-like group to exploit a different aspect of the environment. Even in the changed situations, there is a strong correlation between caste identity, occupational placement and social hierarchy. Every social group has chosen only those occupations which are almost equal to or higher than their traditional callings. All social groups have selected to their occupations which are suitable to their social status in the city surroundings.

The ranking pattern most directly reflects adaptation to environmental conditions. Food habits and preferences are adapted to a wide variety of resources rather than limiting them to those which are not so readily available. As they utilize enormous varieties of plant and animal foods in their environment, they are unlikely to be severely affected if some of these foods become unavailable. Each group has structured its
diet so that although it uses a wide variety of resources, it has one that is dependable and in constant supply.

They very hierarchy of different caste and caste-like groups brings to light the differential accessibility of the social groups to environmental resources and their adaptive strategies for their survival. The environment has provided possibilities and placed limits for human adaptation to the physical and social-cultural patterns are adjusted to the presence of different groups in the physical surroundings. The social hierarchy thus reveals the basic patterns of utilization of the environment to support human populations in the form of castes, caste-like groups and their sub-groups of varying degrees of complexity.

Before recent laws establishing legal equality, marriage and sexual relations between castes was forbidden. The ideal of social equality among all classes is widely accepted in urban areas including Cuddapah. But this ideal is considerably in advance of actual behaviour which only rarely involves social interaction between individuals of the highest and lowest castes and caste-like groups on a basis of equality.

The basic plan of every caste among the Hindus and non-Hindus is almost the same. The family, lineage, clan, sub-caste comprise the building units of caste where as the family, lineage, and sub-group comprise the fundamental units of caste-
like groups among the Muslims. The family is patrilineal and patrilocal. Sporadic cases of matrilocality occur in all groups when a family without sons bring in a daughter's husband to care for the family property. Nuclear families outnumber the other types of families. Extended families in higher frequencies occur in higher castes including the farmer and merchant classes a means of adaptation to the changing conditions in the city. The lower castes are unable to maintain large extended families. Lineage is a corporate group. Lineage is the maximal group of cooperation. Surname groups and clans of a sub-caste merely regulate marriages. They are spread over the city and many other places. This has created a large pool of population to seek mates.

Marriage technology highlights both traditional and non-traditional elements. Generally caste lines and sub-caste lines are not crossed. The family background and character of a potential mate are all important. Virginity and chastity are emphasized by the all clean castes. Virginity is not considered important. Virginity is not considered important by the unclean and untouchable castes. Close relative marriages in the form of uncle-niece, matrilineal and patrilineal cross-cousin marriages among the Hindus and parallel cousin marriages among the Muslims considered as the most ideal strategies for mate selection and perpetuation of family. Circulation of resources
between the kin units and surety about the girl's character outweigh all other considerations in contracting the close relative marriages. Matrimonial alliances with strangers or distant relatives are contracted for more economic and political gain.

The sub-castes among the Hindus and sub-caste like groups among the Muslims and Christians are inter-village networks. The members of one sub-caste or sub-caste like group in marry other villages and towns. Since each sub-caste or sub-castes like locals composed of sets of patrilineages plus the adhering marital kin of the partilineage, the sub-caste or sub-caste like group then becomes endogamous group of intermarrying patrilineages. The sub-castes or sub-caste like groups in the city tend to maximize the number of village and urban chapters with which each is allied.

A vast majority of the marriages are isogamous in which the status of the spouses is equal. Such marriages create thick bonds of alliance i.e., many marriages are taken place between a pair of village and urban chapters of a sub-caste or sub-caste like group. Furthermore, preferential marriages in the form of close relative marriages also create thick bonds of alliance. As they are repeated generation after generation in a kind of perpetual alliance between lineages, thick bonds of alliance come into existence.
The non-kinship associations in the form of caste associations and migrants' association have become significant groups of city social structure. They have adopted collective decision-making and common effort as the most useful adaptive strategies with reference to the dynamic socio-economic conditions within the city and outside the city.

The social ecology clearly draws attention to the fact of the diverse groups interacting in a focused network of relationships even though they have numerous contacts with the members and groups of other villages, towns and cities. The centrally focused relationships are not random but patterned and ordered according to variable rules of culture for maximizing their use of the environment. Social ecology is continually adjusting to the changing circumstances.

The economic ecology and social ecology are inextricably intertwined with each other. Agricultural technology still survives in the city. Some of the upper class households still pursue it as a profitable activity. The improved farm technology has deprived many lower class households from farm labour as means of livelihood. The patron-client relationships (jajimani system) in their pure form still exist only between the feudal type farmers and the artisan and service caste households. In a form suitable to the changed circumstances they exist between the middle-class farmers and non-farmers and the artisan
populations. The artisan and service groups, whose occupations depend upon population density are distributed roughly proportionate to the city size. When many of its households have shifted their occupations, they too have adjusted their occupations in terms of cabinet making, furniture making, laundering, and hair cutting salons.

Manufacturing technology is still the domain of traditional artisan groups. Business technology, service technology and industrial technology have become monopolies of the upper caste groups. Upper classes have become associated with white-collar jobs but the lower classes have became associated with blue collar jobs. Lower classes are concentrated in industries and occupations in which unemployment occurs most often, and they tend to be the last hired during periods of economic expansion and the first fired during recessions. The lower classes are over-represented in most of the poorly rewarded occupations and are under represented in all the more highly rewards ones. Where some members of lower class have obtained white-collar jobs on account of reservations or concessions, they are concentrated in the lower paid occupations. Although lower caste representation is increasing in both the upper and intermediate white-collar jobs the greatest gains are at the middle levels, in skilled manual and lower white-collar work. There has been a modest gain in the profession and technical
category but lower class representation as managers, officials and proprietors has hardly changed in the past two decades. The decline in farm work, in other labour, and in private household service is significant because it indicates a shift of lower classes not jobs where advancement can be achieved more readily.

Occupational mobility is in accordance with the caste norms. There is positive relation between traditional caste identity and modern occupational placement. Despite the dilution of caste as an occupational factor in the urban division of labour, it cannot be simply asserted that caste no role to play in the life of the city inhabitants. The achievement oriented stratification systems rooted in modern technology and occupation succeeded in detaching work from is caste context without necessarily altering the extent to which other features of caste continue to operate. The same is true with regard to the caste-like groups and occupational activity among the Muslims.

The daily markets and the distribution of consumer goods reveal the existence of countryside in the city. In the city, the distribution systems for food studds are not highly organized. For this reason, city dwellers closely interact with farmers. Vegetables, milk, and milk products are sold by vendors who encompass the whole system of production and distribution from the planting of the seed to the selling of the fruit at the
door of the consumer. A touch of the countryside is common in the city streets. The growth of the it but the absence of good rationalized distribution system have made this kind of vending easy and economically sound. The bureaucracy does not allow the vendors to keep their products near the vegetable markets because the city and state bureaus hedge the distribution system with licenses and regulations. Small vendors who find licensing too costly and are not sophisticated enough to cope with the red tape of the city bureaucracy go as vegetable hawkers and sell their products to the housewives. Housewives and servants bargain with vendors.

Credit is not easily obtainable in the city. Rich landlords, merchant castes and businessmen still function as money-lenders. They charge exorbitant rates of interest. Banks and government agencies have not yet assumed an effective and adequate role in the supply of capital to many needy city dwellers. Chitfund is very popular among the workers and middle-class families. Much of the surplus cash is invested in chit funds, money at collected from a number of individuals and loaned at a monthly auction to whatever person will pay the highest rate of interest to use it for one month. Chit funds are one way of adapting to the economic crisis of modernity.

The city and the hinterland are connected by economic links. The large number of money-lenders in the city find the rural
folk as more reliable than the urbanites, hence, lend money to many villagers. Few villagers get loans from the banks after completing circuitous and tedious procedures. The city and the villages are related through vertical system of relationships in which money and many urban commodities more downward from the city to the village store while farm produce more upward from the villages to the city often passing through wealthy landlords and patrons on its way. ecological there is interdependence between the city and the countryside. One can find the countryside the city and the city in the countryside.

The political ecology shows the variation of leadership and authority to group structure. Status is largely based upon hereditary membership in a particular caste, tribe or any other group and the resultant accessibility to the resources available in the environment. Partly as legacy of previous rulers and partly as a result of the presence of traditional aristocracies, the city came to have a leadership pattern in which the caste of Reddis, the caste of Balijas and a group of Shias among the Muslims have become the dominant investor class competing for power within Cuddapah and its surrounding. 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 the city.
The leader counter other leaders by forming fruitful alliances or shifting their allegiances to rise in power or to achieve adequate sport and protection. The completion for power results in a constant substitution of one leader for another. The power struggle represents a search for a suitable leader but never an attempt to overthrow the existing systems. The elections and voting patterns are along caste lines. The fight is actually between the Caste leaders. The traditionally dominant castes and caste-like groups continue to be dominant in modern politics because they alone have their adequate numbers, economic resources, and political following. The caste politics in the city is blending with the regional politics and alignments on a mixture of political and caste ideologies.

Modern politics in the city of Cuddapah are most distinctive in the rapidity with which new goals, rules, resources, and expectations have emerged but they are not qualitatively different from the most traditional sorts of politics. People both the traditional and modern politics are specific mechanisms for regulating human interaction with one another and for making use of resources in their environment. People have realised that they are no longer getting what will satisfy them out of the environment. Therefore, they have modified the traditional system to suit the present conditions. The resultant modern system resembles the old
system and more or less works on the lines of old system. From the ecological point of view, this change represents an adaptive strategy for suitable rewards in the environment of the city of Cuddapah.

The religious ecology shows the cultural patterning of space in the city. Culturally patterned perceptions of space have become adaptive in terms of the environment. Space in public and private places is connected with the concepts of superiority and inferiority. In the city and even within the home, certain spaces are designated as sacred and certain others as profane because of the activities that take place there and segregated so that high caste and low caste, high group and low group, male and female, sacred and secular activities are kept apart. The temples, mosques and other sacred structures besides huge demonstrate this in the city of Cuddapah.

Among the sacred structures, those of great tradition dominate those of little tradition in terms of art, architecture, size and functioning, even though the latter show a great multiplicity in numbers. The temple of the city god holds a place of primary over other structures. The priests of the great traditional structures are from the upper groups and those of the little traditional structures from the lower groups. The outcastes have their own small shrines just as the clean castes have their own imposing temples. Likewise the
Sunnis and Shias have their own great mosques and shrines in contrast with those of the Labbas adn Dudekulas.

The key-men in rituals comprise temple priests, domestic priests, religious preceptors and personal teachers, astrologers, specialists in palmistry, futurologists, water divinators, geomancers, celibates a few more besides a number of cultural specialists like religious story-tellers, signers, dancers, street-corner play artists, bards, puppet show performers, and story-tellers. There is a diversity of all these specialists on the basis of caste, creed, and religion. The priests of higher casts and groups interpret the sacred texts, recite the scriptures, deliver sermons to worshippers, officiate at the special rites for families at various ceremonies like birth, naming, puberty, marriage and death. As a contrast, the priests of lower unclean castes and untouchable castes are illiterate. They gain the little knowledge they have through the informal channels, mostly working along with their superiors as assistants and apprentices. They have a vague understanding of the ideal norms in contradistinction with the clear understanding of the ideal norms by the higher casts priests. Priesthoods of temples and households are hereditary. Each religious structure has its own hereditary priest.

Most groups have their own religious instructors who define correct behaviour, establish membership in the group,
Most groups have their own religious instructors who define correct behaviour, establish membership in the group, regulate marriage and ceremonial life and settle dispute among members. These religious preceptors hold their position through inheritance or appointment by their predecessors. Apart from these are the personal teachers. All problems, from crop failure to marital quarrels are resolved through consultations with personal teachers whose familiarity with the scriptures or direct and saintly religious experience guaranteed their knowledge of proper behaviour. The astrologers, divinators, geomancers and sorcerers play magico-religious functions. The cultural specialists have a special role to play at the time of every major ritual activity.

The level of religious activities by class include three among the Hindus and two among Muslims. Among the Hindus, the upper class consists of the Brahmins and Vaisyaas. All other clean castes comprise the lower upper class. The unclean and untouchable castes constitute the lower class. There is progressive diminish and sometimes absence of ideal norms, intellectual traditions, great traditional divinities, lifecycle rituals, number of festivals and intensity of direct interaction between the literate priests and the literate and illiterate priests social status, food habits ritual beliefs, and practices are correlated. The higher the status, the higher are the traditions.
The ceremonial activities in terms of festivals show a relationship between social status, economic activity and other considerations. There is a year round panorama of festivals. The festivals in honour of the patron god of the city has first rate importance to the city dwellers. Human fertility, womanhood, disease, famine, soil fertility, rain and success of farming, business and any other activity are the major concerns of the festivals. The festivals validate and reinforce the religious norms and values of the city dwellers. They highlight the significance of religious organization and remind the people of the role of gods. Authority of the leader is reinforced through his association with religious festivals. Festivals provide entertainment to the people. They create social solidarity of the city by enabling the people to join in city-wide activities and by lowering the traditional classes and sex barriers. Special hospitality to guests and relatives free feeding activities, and charities made available during festivals serve economic as well as religious purposes.

The magico-religious activities flourish in all classes of city dwellers. The prevalence of magico-religious activities in the city is attested by the wide range of special functionaries such as astrologers, geomancers, water-diviners, futurologists and priest astrologers. People utilize protective magic to avert or ward off evil and to keep the social or natural order in equilibrium, productive magic to solve the problems of
human reproduction, crop production and cattle multiplication predictive magic to foresee the future or more usually to determine the proper course of future action and destructive magic to overcome the hostile environment. All classes of people, the priests, the farmers, merchants, business men, industrialists, labourers and those inservices regardless of their social, economic, political status rely upon magical practices in adjusting themselves to the social and physical world. Science and technology, education and literacy, politics and world view have not yet supplemented all the traditional religious beliefs. The traditional religious beliefs magical practices and spiritual norms have still their hold on all classes in the city.

The religious activities of the city dwellers have important effects in regulating relationships between the city and the other places. People from other villages and towns visit the city to see or even participate in the festivals. The city dwellers also visit other villages to see the festivals, worship the divinities or take a holy bath there. Pilgrims going to Tirupati via Cuddapah visit the shrine of Lord Venkateswara at Cuddapah. The city dwellers make pilgrims to holy places which are either as close as the next village or as far away as Kanyakumari, Badari, Ajmer, Mecca, Goa, Kerala. Many
preconversion customs persist among the Christians and lower classes of Muslims.

The religious ecology shows how the problems that cannot be solved by economic or political means, can be solved by recourse to the abundances of religious and magical devices made available by the cultural traditions of different social categories of population within the environment of Cuddapah.

The present study reveals that Cuddapah has the following features despite its rapid growth.

(i) The ecology of Cuddapah is formed around a political institution of feudal past, rather than commercial, economic or religious activity.

(ii) It exhibits a minimum of specialization in land use; each site serves multiple purpose, often residence, production and sale on same premises.

(iii) Land use reflects occupational and ethnic distinctions with often ethnic satisfaction, segregated quarters with streets and lanes named for specific occupations castes and other groups.

(iv) Many of the occupational groups are organized into voluntary groups such as cloth merchants association, vegetable merchant association, gold and silver
jewelers association and so on. Likewise 'the association, many of which are organized along occupational lines, have assumed numerous functions of voluntary groups. Thus, there are association of priestly castes, trader castes, agricultural castes, leather workers' castes, begger castes and many more.

(v) Social ecology is characterized by an environment which is characterized by its rigidity and lack of mobility and by its bifurcated classes namely the elite or the urbanized privileged group that commands the local community, and the mass populace or the less urbanized privileged considered defiling beyond the bounds of the respectability.

(vi) As part of social ecology there is a distinctive familial organization which performs marriages when children are quite young, exercises control over the marriage process, selects mates in accordance with the highly restrictive caste or ethnic rules, assigns humbler position to women, prefers to have male children, acts as a key socializing agency, allows the older family members to dominate the younger, both as between generations and between siblings, isolates elite class women from most of the aspects of community life and permits lower class women to take up roles
similar to those of rural women in the community life.

(vii) Social ecology is closely interwoven with economic ecology. The production of goods and services is accomplished through a division of labour which is complex when compared to that in a folk order but simple when compared to that in an industrial city. Even though little specialization exists in process, specialization according to product is widespread. There are meagre facilities for credit and capital formation. Political ecology includes a political apparatus which is highly centralized and a monopoly of the elite class over the key governmental positions. The traditional leaders continue to be the societal leaders in general. The dominant caste plays its key role in political bureaucracy.

(ix) Religious ecology highlights the dominance of the elite in all matters of religion viz., religious functionaries, the pervasive influences of magico-religious beliefs and practices specified by caste, creed and sex differences, participation of a part of the community in periodic festivals and ceremonies, and access to formal education and sacred texts.
The ecology of Cuddapah reveals the following types of recruitment in the economic, educational and demographic realms of the City-dwellers.

(i) Absence of functional interdependence of rural jajimani system.

(ii) Absence of agriculture as a main source of livelihood for a vast majority of the inhabitants.

(iii) Opportunities for education beyond the elementary level

(iv) In-migration of persons seeking work in Cuddapah.

(v) Growth of absolute size and density of population i.e., urbanism.

A comparison of these results with those relating to Sjoberg's study of the pre-industrial cities has shows that the features of Cuddapah correspond to those of a pre-industrial city (Sjoberg 1960: 321-334). Further, the present inquiry reveals how Cuddapah displays many of the characteristics of not only the pre-industrial cities like Varanasi and Lashkar but also transitional cities like Bangalore and Hyderabad (Gist 1958: 17-25; Viswanadham 1979; Raju 1982).

Further, comparison of the distinctive ecological features of Cuddapah with those of American cities reveals several
patterns of semblance and difference. First, ecological centralization of business is much more marked in the average American city than in Cuddapah. Second, commercial areas of comparable size in an American city tend to be strikingly similar in their institutional characteristics in contrast with those in Cuddapah. Third, in Cuddapah unlike in an American city, almost all industrial output is still from small, independent industries many of the cottage type. Fourth, in Cuddapah buildings are located in or near the central business area. Fifth, the tendencies of residential segregation in Cuddapah and in American cities are similar except the caste preference or prejudices from additional bases for residential segregation in Cuddapah. Sixth, in Cuddapah the residential areas of highest prestige are not on the outskirts as is usually the case in American cities, but are somewhat centrally located. Seventh, like other cities in India, the present day Cuddapah is a city in transition. It not only still retains characteristics of the pre-industrial city but also exhibits those of cities in the United States of America (Tunnard and Read 1956; Sjoberg 1960; Schnore 1967: 347-398; Thomlinson 1969). Eighth, in the Cuddapah city, the traditional elite is promoting industrialization in large part of overcome its own and its nation's colonial status, although this process has encouraged class fluidity and threatened elite's authority. Even the nation's ideological pressure upon these systems to industrialize, have come from
their efforts to emulate their more highly industrialized neighbours. The present study has its own academic significance. The above conclusions pertaining to the ecology of Cuddapah may be equally applicable in understanding the ecology of other Indian Cities which might be passing through the processes of urbanization and industrialization and where the traditional ecosystems might be adapting themselves or undergoing some alternations in their life styles to the changing environmental resources and conditions.

Apart from its academic significance this study has its applied value also. It would be helpful to the planner and policy makers involved in the task of urban development. It would provide an ecological approach to the examination of urban life. It indicates both the consistencies and variations in the urban life, shows structural and functional effectiveness of the traditional and modern institutions, demonstrates their adaptive flexibilities and rigidities, and reveals the relationships, involvements and community bonds under changing environmental pressures. As a matter of fact, plans should have an expression of the aspirations of the people concerned. This study would undoubtedly help the planners in giving a touch of realism to their plans which sometimes when formulated at a higher level of administrative hierarchy tend to be utopian.
The change agent engaged in the development programme of various strata in the city would also be immensely benefited by this study. He would learn much about the basic parameters to environmental variation, the application of human effort to resource use, the various effects of political power, economic involvement or religious kinship and non-kinship influence the fabric of human activity, and an ecological understanding of the urban world. He would learn much about the channels of communication and decision making which are important for him for community mobilization. He will have all chances of success in his mission by working with the existing and emergent leadership and small groups which serve as effective channels of communication and decision making even in an urban community. Moreover the leaders are trying to bring about many improvements in the ecology of the city through the process of industrialization, education and resource manipulation. The change may utilize this force by adjusting the programme with it. The study will also help him in giving a clear picture of the life-ways and levels of aspiration of different upper and lower groups which save him from approaching the city with his pre-conceived notions of the urban community.

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