

POLITICS OF FACTIONALISM
A STUDY OF KURNOOL DISTRICT
IN ANDHRA PRADESH

*A thesis submitted to the
University of Hyderabad
for the Degree of*

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Political Science

by

Karanam Venugopala Rao



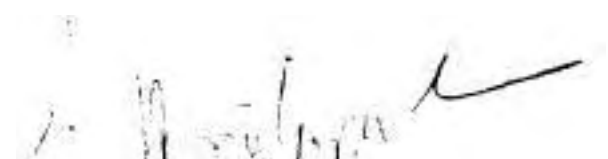
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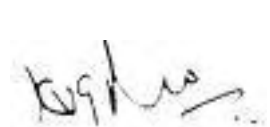
DEDICATED
TO THE POOR AND ALSO TO ALL THOSE
WHO ARE INNOCENTLY GETTING
KILLED IN
FACTION VIOLENCE

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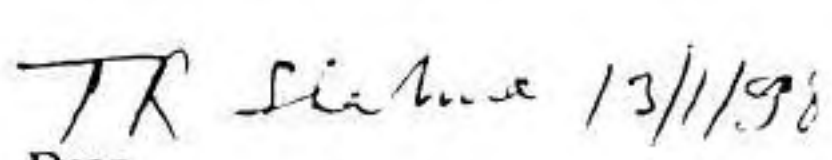
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This is to certify that I, Karanam Venugopala Rao, have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis entitled "*POLITICS OF FACTIONALISM - A STUDY OF KURNOOL DISTRICT IN ANDHRA PRADESH*" for the full period prescribed under Ph.D. ordinances of the University.


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PREFACE

The present study is a modest attempt on "Politics of factionalism - A Study of Kurnool District in Andhra Pradesh". This study is slightly different from the earlier studies on factionalism in the discipline of Political Science. It is different because it has not dealt with the factions in political parties as has been done by conventional political scientists. This deals with the village grass-root factions and their linkages with political parties so as to analyse their impact on politics in the district. In the process it has attempted to analyse the politics of entire district in the framework of factionalism, and thereby attempted to arrive at macro-level generalizations on the politics of the district. Thus it is the study on Micro-level phenomenon (Village factions) to understand the macro-level politics. It is also different from other studies in the sense that it attempts to analyse the linkages between faction, violence, and elections, which is the product of particular culture, known as feudal-patriarchal dominant violent culture having historical roots. Hence the factions or factionalism in the study has to be viewed as armed factions or violent factionalism. In other words landlords armed gangs, or armed gangsterism unlike the studies done on factions by sociologists, constitute the reference point. The main concern has been how this violent factional politics continue to enjoy legitimacy in the liberal-democratic political system based on electoral politics which are supposed to be not only channelising the contending interests into normal political channels but also continuously democratise and secularise the over all processes of power.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The study of such a nature could not have been completed without the help, cooperation, well-wishes of many individuals and the institutions.

My acknowledgements first go to my supervisor, Prof. Haragopal who not only as a teacher but as a humanist understood my personal as well as academic problems that I faced during the course of this research and supported me to overcome them so as to complete this study.

I also acknowledge, other faculty members of the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, Prof. Shanta Sinha (Head of the Department), Prof. Rajan Harshe, Prof. Bhattacharya, Dr. Sudhir Jacob George, Dr. Sudharshanam, Dr. Manikyamba, Dr. Maujam Ali, Mr. Chandrasekhar, Dr. Sanjay Palsikhar, Dr. Eswaraiah, Dr. Prakash Sarangi, Dr. Prithvi Ram for their concerns to complete my Ph.D.

I am thankful to Professor T.R. Sharma, Dean, School of Social Sciences for his good wishes, which has helped me in completing this study.

I am also especially thankful to Vice-Chancellor, Prof.. Goverdhan Mehta, for his support to complete this study. I should acknowledge the Ex-Vice-Chancellor Prof. Bh. Krishnamurthi, for having helped me in the course of this study.

I am thankful to other faculty members of the University, Dr. Seshagiri Rao, who was the Warden of the NRS Hostel, Prof. Radhakrishnamurthy, and Prof. A.K. Kapoor, Ex-Chief Wardens of the University, Prof. Narasimha Reddy (Economics Department),

Prof. Ramakrishna (History Department), Prof. Chandra Sekhar Bhat (Sociology Department), Prof. A.R. Reddy (Life Sciences), Prof. A.K. Bhatnagar (Physics Department), Dr. Panchanan Mohanty (Dean, Students' Welfare), and other administrative personnel of the University like Mr. P. Murali Krishna (Former Registrar), Mr. T.R. Vig (Controller of Examinations), Mr. Moinuddin (Dy. Registrar), Mr. Suryanarayana (PRO), Mr. Ch. Venkateshwara Rao (Dy. Registrar), who have been enquiring about my work which itself has indirectly helped me to complete my work.

My thanks should also go to all those who helped me in collecting the data in the field and also for developing this thesis, especially to Dr. Balagopal and other A.P.C.L.C. team of Kurnool district. My acknowledgements are due to Police personnel of the Kurnool district.

I should acknowledge Dr. Parakala Prabhakar, Director, Centre for Public Policy Study, Hyderabad, Nirmala Seetharaman, Dy. Director, J. Vidyasagar Reddy, Research Associate and its other staff Prasad, Ashok and Murali etc. for having helped me in many ways.

My friends are always with me to do this research. Special mention must be made of them. They are R. Subrahmanyam, IAS, Ajay Mishra, IAS, L.V. Subrahmanyam, IAS, Sriram, Ramu & Mukesh Aggarwal.

My acknowledgements to my Uncle Sri K.V. Chalapathi Rao, who helped me in this academic enterprise. I draw my inspiration from my parents, my brothers, my sisters, my brothers-in-law, who always had confidence in my abilities to complete this degree inspite of adverse circumstances that I faced in the life.

Finally my acknowledgements to my University friends, E. Venkatesh (who helped me in data collection and in discussions), Sukumar (who helped me in many ways), Anand Mahanand, D. Srinivasa Rao, Sudhakar, Mustafa, G. Anil Kumar, Rambo, Srinivas Reddy, Thimma Reddy, Sudha, Davuluri, Sandeep, Jayakar, Kantha Rao, Ram Kumar, Mohammad, RK, Mohan Rao (Office Asst. Dept. of Pol. Science, Univ. of Hyderabad), Saidulu, K.V.N.Raju, Anand, Hemant Kumar, Taha, Taragan, Bharadwaj, Rama Rao, Hyma, Radha Rani, Leela, Meera, Avinash, for having typed and giving final touch to the thesis nicely and all those whom I might have forgotten to mention here, but still can be remembered any day.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Factionalism is the competition between factions for scarce resources or power. It manifests in many forms and is noticed in all parts of the world. In the context of villages, it is an important social process connected with the power structure (Dube, 1968). In the context of political parties factionalism refers to the conflict or competition between or among several groups to capture the party organization. The objective of such conflict is always power. Thus factionalism refers to antagonism between groups. Factionalism is an intrinsic part of political life. In many societies factions have become endemic with a range of cultural and symbolic trappings. Since factionalism is the conflict between factions, there is a need to understand what is a faction? A faction is a coalition of individuals personally recruited by a leader who has ties with followers which are usually personal, although followers sometimes recruit others on behalf of their leader.

The earliest interest of factions came from political scientists (Laswell, 1931). Firth (1957) was the first to set out systematically some of their structural characteristics. He treated them as informal counter parts of more formal political groupings. He noted that members are recruited according to structurally diverse principles. This approach was elaborated by Nicholas a decade later (1965) who viewed factions as essentially symmetrically organized conflict. Seigal and Beals (1966) considered factionalism as a product of rapid social change and a socio political adjustment of dynamic equilibrium. During the following decades, the studies on factionalism largely used structural - functional mode of analysis and viewed faction as a part of dynamic equilibrium of a balanced opposition.

The other set of studies viewed factionalism as a part of change. They maintain that "balanced" opposition for a greater access to the resources invariably create disequilibrium leading to significant changes.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Literature existing on factions and factionalism can be categorized into mainly three categories: 1) village studies 2) studies on factions within political parties 3) attempts at generalisations of politics of factionalism in Indian political system.

I. Village Studies:

Village studies (mainly by Social-Anthropologists) are done by scholars like Lewis (1958), Dhillon (1955), Yoginder Singh (1959), F.G.Bailey (1960), Yadav (1968), Beals (1959), McCormack (1960), A.K. Lal, (1973), D.F.Miller (1965), Rastogi(1975), M.N. Srinivas (1961), Firth (1957), Mayer (1957), Epstein (1962) etc.

Lewis, Dhillon, Y.Singh and Bailey have studied caste and factions. These are early studies (field-work in early 50s and published in mid-fifties to early 60s) of village-level factions. They count the number of factions in a given village and trace their origins. Functionalist-equilibrium model of society guided the modus operandi of these studies. Their primary concern was however the cohesion in the village. Oscar Lewis's, "Village life in Northern India",¹ is a pioneering study of factions in a Jat dominated village namely Rampura, to the south of Delhi. The objectives of this study are to

find out what the factions are and how they take birth in the village, and who are the faction leaders? The main findings of his study are :

(1) Factions are vertical groups within castes ; (2) Such groups are formed on the issues like wealth, women or land; (3) They are not political groupings or temporary alliances of individuals though some of them do involve in power politics. They are primarily kinship groupings which carry on important social economic and ceremonial functions besides their factional struggles against one another. These activities provide stability to them ; (4) The main factions of the village are the factions of dominant castes who provide leaders to faction; (5) Faction leaders are wealthy and influential men within the village who act as patron by renting out land and lending money to the poorer members of the faction; (6) Factions also sometimes do good to the village.

Yogender Singh's, "Group-Status of factions in rural community",² is a study of six villages in east of U.P. in which he analyses as many as 97 factions. He took most of the conclusions reported by Lewis in his study of Rampura as working hypotheses and observes by and large the same attributes that are observed by Lewis. Yogendra Singh noted the following characteristics of Factions.

One. Factions constitute a group of households within a caste or sub-caste rallying together for rites, rituals, ceremonies, community activities and who stand together in relation of social conflict. Such a phenomenon is characterised as party-bandhi or Goot-bandhi, which in fact refers to the process of clique formation.

Two. Although factions are not political groups or power groups per se they play an important role in the power structure of the village.

Three. Each faction is represented by one or more than one leader. Role of the faction leader emerges clearly only at the time of inter-faction tensions. The faction leadership otherwise is relatively less visible.

Four. The broad characteristics of the faction leader are (a) he enjoys a better economic status in comparison with other member households of his faction (b) the image of a faction-leader in each faction group is that of an honest person with character, age and has experience in social, economic and political spheres but not necessarily wealthy and rich (c) age is an important factor for becoming and sustaining as a factional leader.

Five. Though faction group and its formation are on the basis of quarrels, feuds and social tensions, factions are embedded in the rural social system. Factions operate not only in relation to conflict but also to work in union for benefit of the group.

J.S.Yadav³ studied factionalism in a Haryana village, near Delhi, namely Kultana. In this he discusses (a) the operation and emergence of factions over a period of about 25 years; (b) the cause of the mushrooming of faction and (c) the nature, scope and functions of these factions. He presents the following findings.

One. Factions are quasi groups who interact with each other, and only in conflict situations become active. The person who is centre to the conflict or leading quasi group is the leader of the faction.

Two. The faction leaders recruit the members cutting across the boundaries of kin and caste groups and thereby factions usually pose challenge to the established institutionalised structure.

Three. Faction leaders make coalitions and alliances with other faction having similar or identical interest in order to oppose another factions who have dissimilar interest on specific issues.

Four. Faction is essentially ephemeral in character lasting as long as the immediate goal of the members is achieved. The faction emerges and crystallizes only when an advantage is to be gained. Thus the membership of the faction does not always remain the same. However the individual decision with one faction or another based on the calculation of not only the past tradition of cooperation and conflict between the persons in question but also in the calculation of present and future gain or losses likely to be rejected as a result of their choice.

Five. Faction not only operates at the political level but at other levels. It emerges due to failure of institutionalized mechanisms to resolve conflicts arising out of cultural and social change in the village society.

A.K.Lai in his study of 'Dynamics of village factionalism: A study of conflict between traditional and emerging leader-

ship',⁴ analyses the origin and internal structuring of factions, their social inclusiveness at different points of time, leadership pattern, principles of recruitment and expression of hostilities. The study analyses pattern of factional politics in the village Mohanpur in Bihar between 1954 and 1967. It approaches village power-structure in terms of operation of factional politics. The study comes to the following conclusions.

One. Introduction of democratic and socialistic measures like Zamindari abolition by the Government had upset the old established rural elite and led to mounting social tensions in the villages which in turn gave birth to clashes between the traditional leadership, characterised by exploitation and repression on the one hand and new groups asserting for status on the other. All this resulted into bitter factional fights in the villages.

Two. Given the changing structures and composition of factions over a period of time in the village, it is noticed that factions are distinct from basic social units such as kinship and family in the matter of stability and hence they are not corporate groups.

Three. Factions are likely to evolve into federation of small factions with an increase in the social inclusiveness in them. Once there is federation of small factions, they tend to assume a new form. In this process, leadership may slip into the hands of individuals who are out to exploit the power and resources giving rise to a new breed of leaders.

Four. Recruitment of membership to factions is made through different routes. The process of recruitment assumes both situational as well as structural specificities. Initially existing social boundaries (like lineages) in the village may work as the boundaries of warring factions. As the conflict escalates it takes the form of acute kinship, craze for power. And personal animosity may become the basis of recruitment of members to different factions.

Five. Changes in the village-leadership pattern shows that leadership of a faction, may not always lie in the hands of any single individual, it might be constellation of leaders each of whom has a following, but none of whom is capable of mobilising adequate support.

Six. The role played by upper caste persons in the operation of factional politics reveal that upper castes continue to have an advantageous position, because relatively they possess more land and influence than others, and command army of supporters and sub-ordinates in inferior castes. Numerically strong and resourcefully weak lower castes are to a large extent, a tool in the hands of upper castes.

Seven. Factionalism is though an evil resulting into constant litigations, still the collection of funds for school-building in the village shows the solidarity and cohesiveness among faction-members and hence factionalism contains within itself some adaptive and functional traits also.

Nityananda Patnaik and H.K. Lakshmi Narayana made a comparative study of factionalism in six villages - three in Mysore and three in Orissa.⁵ For them, factionalism is a kind of

political activity, which in turn means organised conflict over public power. Faction is generally a group of larger unit which works for the advancement of particular persons or policies. Factional groups become political parties when they start for putting candidates in the elections. Factional politics have their roots in villages as the ties between leaders and followers tend to be personal, when arenas grow larger, leader-follower ties dissolve into quasi-group networks. The recruitment of followers is diverse and based on kinship groups, friendships, patron-client, master-servant, borrower-lender relationships. They are localised cliques and are ascriptive in character. Faction leaders compete with the opposite faction leaders to bag resources and support from the people in the villages. In the peasant communities, factional conflict occur as a result of limited goods. Local politics link up with external politics through political patron-client relationship. The patron may be a political leader at the taluk, district, state or national levels and the client is village political leader. The village leader (client) distributes favors among his followers in the village and act as a brain-trust to the leaders above.

The impact of external politics on villages may be either positive or negative. Positive effect could be creation of awareness among the villagers about national problems and negative effect would be division of villagers into narrow groups. These divisions are created by Political elites for their political advantages. These divisions give rise to dissensions among villagers and perpetuate rivalry in the villages. The rivalries expressed through factions act as barrier to development. On the basis of his study of six villages (out of which there were three faction villages) the scholar observes that factionalism has occurred due to changes which have occurred in the villages

like competition over economic resources and political power, whatever is the nature of cleavages like vertical or horizontal in the respective villages, they arise for political power, and get sharpened by franchise.

D.K.Samantha, in his study of political factions in a Deccan village, Navegaon in Maharashtra⁶ discusses the determinants of political factions in the village. He writes "factional politics emerges mainly out of conflict and competition for acquiring access over power." Political factions are those groupings which come out of conflict over the control of local public institutions. The study also observes, "for factional politics, man to man relationships guided by various socio-economic reasons is of great relevance."

The study notes: One. The Panchayat elections has brought to the fore two factions within the Maratha caste itself. Over a period of time, old leaders of two factions have given place to new leaders. The election of panchayat influences elections of other public bodies. The spirit of rivalry between the factions is restricted to the village level. Factions compete even in spheres like ritual observations. Rivalry of factions at the village-level has an external influence also. Two different factions support two different political parties not on any ideological basis, but on the logic of mutual enmities. Further, the villages affiliation to either of the faction is dependent on various other factors like patron-client, lender-borrower and employer-employee relationships. The poor Mahar farm labourers get employment and credit from rich and medium Maratha farmers in the village and these in turn become leader-follower relationships in the village. Due to the ignorance of villagers about the government programmes, it is the

faction leaders who help the villagers in securing the benefits of the schemes. This also strengthens faction-linkages in the villages. Withdrawal of support to a particular faction results in withdrawal of economic help from that faction.

Two. Kin relationships are also an important determinant for faction linkages. Families tied by the matrimonial relations always support the same faction.

Three. Family feuds also play an important role in one's decision making towards affiliation with either of the faction. Feuds which arise due to ownership claims on ancestral property between two uterine brothers make them go to rival faction groups.

Four. Gossip groups also have influence on the individuals decision of favouring a particular faction. These groups are based on age and neighbourhood. The leaders of the respective faction spend their leisure at the house of one of the factions concerned. One gossip group supports one particular faction.

Five. Childhood friendship and friendships in the schools also contribute to factional polarisation.

Six. Occupational groups also sometimes become basis for factional alliances like school teachers supporting different factions in the village.

Thus the factional affiliations in village are determined by various factors on wide area of human relations such as "quarrels over ancestral land, loyalty to particular type of

kin, childhood friendship and also gossip groups". They have direct bearing on factional politics. Family feuds and economic factors play an important role in determining one's political support and aspiration. While factional alignment is mainly guided by economic relationship between the leader and supporter with varied caste affiliations, it is however the kin obligation that reinforces the caste factor.

A.B.Hiramani, in his study, "Dynamics of factions in Maharashtra Village",⁷ examined factions and their dynamics in village Golatgaon in Aurangabad taluq of Maharashtra. The main objectives of the study are to find out: a) the factors that are attributed for growth of factions? b) leadership and membership of factions c) the affiliations of factions with outside political parties and d) the effect of factionalism on the village.

Following are findings of the study. One. In this village the growth of factions are attributed to either sexual relations with a woman or disputes between two landlords in the village. The economic interests also account for the growth of factions. For instance, economic transactions around the co-operative society has led to two clear-cut factions in the village. The issue of loans and its distribution by the elected person and also its misappropriation led to faction formations. The study also observes that economic independence of the leaders of the factions is an important factor in perpetuating the factions. Even educational institutions namely Sarvodaya Educational Society in the village was affected by factional rivalries.

In fact it has led to a dispute between individual and institution. A land dispute over the boundary line involving

a faction leader widened the factional cleavage. This land dispute led to violent outburst and criminal charges against each other.

Two. Factions are led by landlords. The membership of and loyalty to faction is dependent on the economic power of the faction leaders. They provide jobs on their farms to the backward groups in the village and ensure their continued support.

Three. The factions arising due to local reasons struck affiliations with outside political parties. If one factional leader joined congress, the other joined the then Jan Sangh party. This creates a situation where the village leadership is ready to be guided by external political forces.

Four. Factions influence village social-life by disrupting a traditional norm like celebration of a village festival (Hanuman Jayanti). There is no cohesion in the social, cultural, economic and political life of the village due to factionalism. Organizations like village panchayats, co-operative society are used and manipulated for factional ends. And factionalism is found to be undermining the traditional conflict-resolving agencies and mechanism of the village on the one hand and hampering the effective working of modern and developmental organizations on the other.

B.S. Bhargava and V.N. Torgal, in their study, "Factionalism : A study of a Panchayat in Karnataka",⁸ analysed the role of factions in a Panchayat in Karnataka. They have emphasised the analysis of political conflict: in the study of factionalism in the political organization like Panchayat. It is also discussed in the light of five propositions propounded by Nicho-

las (1965) and located the factional conflict in the typology of factions as enunciated by Jones (1974). They agree with Nicholas that factions in Mallampalli village panchayat are conflict groups, they are political groups, that they are corporate groups, and faction members are recruited by a leader on diverse principles. So also with Jones typology that Mallampalli village panchayat factions are primordial, machine type and have personal followings. And they are both functional and dysfunctional in the village. They are functional in the sense that they serve as source of checks and balances in the panchayat administration. They are dysfunctional in the sense that they stand as blocks in the smooth functioning of the panchayat. Deadlock is created by dividing the units and causing tensions among the Panchayat members. Factional politics have minimised the consensus decisions and thereby hindered the development of the village.

R.S. Khara in his study of "Groups and process of Political change in North-India Gopalpur",⁹ have analysed the formation of political groups and factions in the village over a period of time. In doing so, he investigates different organisational forms existing in a village such as factions, pressure groups, political parties, regional cliques and how are they related to each other as effective communicative structures of 'power management system'. The concept of faction, in this study, is also examined in relation to and as a part of wider political system.

The study points the changes in the villages at three points of time. In the pre-Independence period (1935-1947), all the factional fights in the village were led and decided by the Zamindars or by some of their influential kin. In Post-

Independence period (1958-60) , power-pyramids of the village are reflected by Kurmi-Kayasta alliance as against erstwhile Zamindari group. It was in 1962, two different factions came under the influence of party politics. During 1960-63, there were three changes in the organization of factions. (1) high caste groups (Kayastha and Brahmins) changing affiliations with other castes in the village (2)by striking extra-village contacts by all the factions and (3)the untouchable caste groups reorganising themselves. All these changes were to capture the power in the village. The study observes that factions are organisational dimension of multi-factional, stable, broad based and better differentiated power-management system, created out of and developing over a period of time in the village due to complexity of democratic politics.

Mariam Sharma, in her study, "The Politics of inequality, Competition and Control in an Indian Village"¹⁰ maintains that the key to village political activity is in the hands of key leaders of the village who operate as leaders of factions and control the resources and their distribution. The disputes between the faction leaders become the political conflict of the village. The faction politics in the village revolve around the dominant caste politics. The faction leaders are also entrepreneur middle-men who exploit the resources and shift them from one area to another.

Power in the village gets fragmented due to many leaders in all castes and these big men play a zero - sum game in a struggle for power to acquire distributive prerogatives over scarce resources. Village factions are essentially composed of coalitions of village big men which are temporarily goal - oriented alliances. The more diffuse the power base in village is, the

greater will be scope for factions based on coalitions of leaders as opposed to single - leader centred factions. In the village conflicts, faction leaders (big men) participate as down to the earth entrepreneurs engaged in political competition to gain power.

In the wake of increasing competition for resources and an absence of any other effective decision-making bodies or widely accepted rules to determine their allocation, factions occupy the void. Factions ensure benefits to their members. The study points out that factionalism in no way inhibits agricultural advances or innovation. On the contrary it enhances competition for material gains.

The study observes that factionalism is the most efficient way to organise political activity and ensure effective decision making despite the fact that it leads to the escalation of conflicts which hinders co-operative venture. The study also observes that factional conflicts cut across classes. Factions do not reflect the cleavage between dominant landed Bhumis and their landless labourers nor do they represent the interests of the dominant against the dominated. Factional politics are nothing but traditional politics. Factions fuse together if need be to oppose any changes in the class positions of sub-ordinates as it affects the cleavages among dominant Bhumis.

Alan R. Beals in his study "Pervasive Factionalism in a South India Village",¹¹ has used the term factionalism in a general sense to describe conflict within an organisation. The village Namahalli is studied. The study deals with three varieties of factionalism viz., disruptive, schismatic and pervasive. Disruptive factionalism relates to internal conflicts

which tend to disrupt the normal or traditional activities of the group and interfere with policy process. Within disruptive factionalism, clear-cut distinction can be made between Schismatic factionalism and pervasive factionalism. In the former, conflict is between well-organised sub-groups and in the latter conflict tends to be within and between the sub-groups of the organisation. He holds that disruptive factionalism leads to abandonment of organisation goals and of the organisation itself. The factional conflict sustains even under circumstances requiring rapid change.

In this study, an exploratory attempt is made to find out an explanation to the phenomenon that some organisations respond to crises by engaging in apparently pointless bickering, while other organisations dissolve or make prudent or imprudent attacks upon the source of the crisis. In this case study, it is noted that factionalism arose due to failure of the village to meet the crisis resulting from the loss of war time prosperity and hence there was break-down of harmonious relations within the village. The main source of conflict involved traditionally defined authority relationships. Mainly there were two factions in the village. Between July 1952 to August 1953, there were series of disputes between the two factions which continued intermittently.

Two principal factions consisted of loose alliances of small groups of people, each assembled under the leadership of a particular influential individual. These sub-groups were either nuclear/extended families; or they were many conjures of families held together by ties of caste, neighbourhood, occupation or education. The stability of the sub-groups within factions appeared to depend largely upon the success within

which a particular leader could control and direct those who were tied to him by economic and kinship bonds.

One of the faction (Faction A) leaders was village Headman whose followers consisted most of his caste and family. The Lingayat caste was divided into four or five sub-groups which allied with Faction A and the Smith caste was affiliated to Faction B. The weavers and Madiga labourers-a sub-caste of the scheduled caste- were economically handicapped and did not show their interest to join in factions. It appeared that they divided equally between two factions. The Muslims aligned with Faction B. Though a fair number of neutrals were there among shepherds, weavers and Madigas and smaller castes, but they were not politically influential. The young educated were in Faction B. There were also some connection between faction-membership and neighbourhood groupings.

The shifting and indeterminate nature of faction-membership is consistent with the nature of factional disputes. In factional conflicts power seem to be an end in itself. Factional conflicts do not have clear victories nor total defeats. On the whole factions result in substantial losses to both factions. The factionalism in this village did not lead to endemic division as it got urbanised and became more pragmatic in solving the economic difficulties. As a result factionalism remained restrained.

F.G. Bailey in his article, "Para-Political Systems",¹² deals with villages, universities or professional associations. He described these as para-political activities. He suggests a model for all kinds of politics in Village India and for politics in all para political situations. While doing so he

discusses three kinds of conflict situations in a village namely Bisipara in Orissa. They are (1) factions (2) caste-climbing (3) conflict between castes. He observes that the Oriya word for 'faction' is dolo, which means a flock or a hand or a political party. For faction, the English word 'party' is also in usage which has pejorative connotation. Conflict between factions is called 'doladoli'. In that village dolo formed around two prominent men in the warrior caste. Since warriors belonged to one agnatic lineage, factions are formed around descent divisions within that lineage. Each faction includes some lower caste members. The factional membership performed the ritual duties of agnatic kinship like weddings and funerals. The faction leader performed the 'brokerage' tasks alike for his dependents of other castes and also his caste followers and protect them when attacked by other faction members. Confrontations take place among the faction in the Panchayat in the form of passionate verbal attacks and defenses of honour. There would be accusations among them concerning embezzlement of village funds, failure to contribute to village development and so forth. Since the consensus can not be reached in such a situation, the confrontations end with gossip, back-biting. Except such trivialities there involves no great battles or decisive encounters. This game of doladoli is played very much within the rules. They do not waste resources in the course of conflict nor they materially damage the other man's resources. They get united when a common or urgent task is to be completed. And they do not take the quarrels outside the village by bringing suits against one another in government courts. Bailey in this study brings in some new concepts. He explains faction or dolo as a conflict group made up of two relationships or three roles., viz. Leader, follower and dependent. Follower and dependent differ

in the sense that follower cannot and the dependent can change the sides. He refers to the collectivity of followers as a core (the hard core) and collectivity of dependents as support. Thus the structure of a conflict group can be expressed as a variable derived from the core/support ratio. The process of conflict consists of confrontations and encounters. Since politics entails a notion of competition for the pursuit of certain valued ends, factionalism in Bisipara involve agnatic kinship allegiances in political competition. Thus in Doladoli (a)core/support variable which concerns the structure of teams (b) confrontations/encounter process (c) a political structure defines political activity through the idea of ordered competition. It (doladoli) is a single integrated political structure i.e., as a set of rules which regulate competition by agreement about prizes and about permissible tactics to be used in seeking those prizes.

Bailey discusses two other conflicts in the village, as stated earlier i.e., caste-climbing and caste-conflict. In caste-climbing the same competition operates under the given normative and pragmatic rules but in caste-conflict, while there is normative agreement about the goals, there is no agreement about permissible tactics either at the normative or at the pragmatic level.

Baljit Singh in his study entitled, "Next Step in Village India",¹³ observes that village community is complex and basically faction-ridden. Singh holds that factions are created largely because of individual land rights and conflicting claims over land-ownership. He thinks that village life and its economy should ran along the co-operative lines ana replace individual family cultivation by joint family holdings in view of

the grave social dangers inherent in the tensions and conflict over land-ownership. Such conflicts lead to perpetuation of a stagnant agricultural economy with little or no respect for meeting the demands of a growing population. Singh feels that "in the economic field large capitalistic farmers of State farming may be an alternative, although a poor one, to a joint cultivation by peasant families. But these offer no solution to the problem of the faction-ridden society for which equality of land-rights and co-operative organisation are the only answer". Thus lack of cohesiveness and a 'we-feeling' in the village community is responsible for the creation of factional society. Singh has studied 64 factional splits of the village over the time. Twenty four splits, out of sixty four emanated from disputes over land, nine from marriage or marriage ceremonies, caste taboos and rites, seven on account of a sense of injury or denial of weight to caste or community three from rivalry among share-cropping households and resentment on issues, such as Jajmani rights. Since the main role of a faction is to support its members in litigation, disputes and fights, it gives rise to endemic litigations and acts of violence against persons and property.

II

The commonalities in these studies are that they dealt mainly with a) What are factions and how are they formed and sustained, b) What are their functions c) Who are the faction leaders and how do they recruit members to the factions

With regard to what are factions there are different view points. For Lewis and Yoginder Singh they are vertical groups within caste. For Yadav, they are quasi groups which become

active in conflict situations. For A.K. Lal they are other than caste groups. For Nityanand Patnaik and H.K. Lakshmi Narayana factions are not only caste groups but are a group of larger units which work, for the advancement of particular persons or policies. For D.K. Samanta they are more than caste affiliations and for A.B. Hirmani, they are not caste groups but they are political conflict groups. For R.S. Khara they are affiliations of many castes. For Mariam Sharma they are coalitions of village big men. For Allan. R. Beals they are loose alliances of small groups of people. For F.G. Bailey they are descent divisions within the lineages. For M.S. Mashreque and M.R. Ameen they are groups among the peasants within the village. For Baljit Singh they are conflict groups whose membership depends on the conflicts.

With regard to functions of Factions while Lewis think that they perform social, economic and ceremonial functions. Yogendar Singh thinks that in addition to these functions they play very important role in the power structure of the village. J.S. Yadav, A.K. Lal, Nityanand Patnayak, D.K. Samanta, A.B. Hirmani, B.S. Bhargava, V.N. Targal, R.S. Khara, and F.G. Bailey view that factions perform political functions. For Marian Sharma, and Alan. R. Beals they are conflict groups for gaining power in the village. For Baljit Singh they basically perform economic functions.

For Lewis Factional leaders are wealthy and respected men in the village and poor are the members of the factions. Same is the case with Yogender Singh. For J.S. Yadav leader is one who leads the conflict and members cut across the boundaries of kinship and caste groups. Membership, of course, does not always remain the same. For A.K. Lal leadership does not lie in a

single leader but is a constellation of leaders capable of exploiting the power resources with a membership changing over the time and going beyond the caste and lineage. To him leaders come from upper caste and the members from subordinate castes. For R.S. Khara leaders and members constitute the caste groups. For Marian Sharma they are dominant caste leaders and members are landless labourers. For F. G. Bailey faction leaders are caste leaders who recruited lower caste members. For Patnaik, Lakshminarayana, and D.K. Samanta faction leader is a village leader who recruits followers from diverse sources such as kinship, friendship, master-servant, borrower lender and patron-client relationship.

On factionalism, most of the scholars view it as a kind of political activity and a conflict for economic resources and for political power. Some of these scholars think that it is a conflict for controlling organizations like panchayats. Some other scholars think that it is a conflict for getting village power. A few scholars think that factionalism is a socio-economic activity among kinship groups.

III

II. Studies on Factions within Political Parties:

Myron Weiner in his study, "Party-Building in a New Nation, the Indian National Congress",¹⁴ has examined the process of how factional relationship rather than simply caste or class-conflict shape the outcome of an election. He studied Ponnur Constituency in Krishna district in Andhra Pradesh in relation to the pattern of voting for 1962 Assembly and Parliamentary

elections. In these elections, Congress candidate contested for Assembly and Communist candidate for Parliament. Communists did not put up a candidate for Assembly elections. It appears as if both the parties supported each other. The common or usual explanations for the victory of the candidates are not satisfactory. An examination of occupation and voting satisfactorily explain the voting behaviour. The study observes that in those villages where agricultural labourers were highest, the communist candidate did not secure many votes. Nor in the villages where owner cultivators were more, the Swatantra candidate secured many votes. Thus class factor does not explain the voting behaviour in these elections. Hence dynamics of voting in this constituency calls for explanation from some other angle. He examines voting pattern through factions in six villages. The following are the findings:

One. Factional loyalties within Congress proved to be more intense than party loyalties in the elections.

Two. Party's associations with each faction is determined by kinship ties, personal interaction and caste affinities.

Three. Assembly candidates approached the villagers for votes through multi-caste village factions.

Four. Village factions saw the general elections as an opportunity to consolidate their followers and have affiliations with party bosses to obtain more wells, roads, fertilizers, seeds, loans and other amenities from the Government.

Five. For voting in the village, party-affiliations of the panchayat president or his association with the leader of the

Congress faction in the district is an important factor, though he is not a village leader, but only a factional leader.

Six. Party politicians and village factions play the game of politics in the same way for power, because factions within the villages bargained with party candidates and even split their vote from Assembly to Parliamentary candidates as their goal was to improve their own power position within the village and at the same time maintaining access to sources of power outside the village.

B.S. Baviskar in "Factional conflict and the Congress Dilemma in Rural Maharashtra (1952-1975)",¹⁵ presents an analysis of factional politics in Kopergaon Taluk of rural Maharashtra, which has two factions known as gats locally for the past 35 years have become factions of the Congress party. The study raises the following questions: (a) How and why factions emerge? (b) whether they arise due to struggle to control local co-operatives and Panchayat Raj Institutions? (c) or due to the Maratha dominance in the region. He feels that factions are organised by rival local leaders who have supporters and followers in the villages and patrons at the state level and they function like political parties. Faction like political parties use very often party symbols and idioms. Factions perform the functions of political recruitment and conflict management.

Describing the history of factional conflict, the study observes that factions are comparable to local units of political parties. They are known as gats and each gat takes the name of its leader or leaders. Unlike the political parties, gats do not have a formal organisation, constitution or office-

bearers. They are loosely structured and function mainly as contenders for power. There are coalitions between various leaders and followers and hence ultimately only two gats are left out in the field to compete for power. For example during elections to co-operatives and union, there are to be only two rival panel of candidates. The affiliation of main leaders and core supporters remain stable and loyal, whereas minor leaders and their followers shift from one gat to another. The cleavages based on loyalty to different faction run through all levels of local politics-village, Taluk and district. Each faction has its patrons among the state-level leaders, ministers and party-bosses. Factional following cuts across caste especially during the elections time. Opposition parties tend to join hands with one or the other rival faction. They function like political parties in local context. Each of them select a 'panel' of candidates for elections to village Panchayats, Z.P., Village co-operative, co-operatives, co-operative sugar factories and other such institutions. They use the idiom of party politics to discuss policies and strategies in the sense that they appoint their 'Committees/Boards' to elect candidates for particular elections and speak of 'party discipline' in dealing with errant members. Gats are referred as parties and factional rivalries are known as gatbaji. Though gatbaji is persistent and appear as reality, it is regarded as something bad and each rival leader accuses the other of indulging in it.

In Kopergaon, two factions functioned as rivals for at least past thirty five years. They are known as Rohmaregat and Kalegat. These are dominant Marathas and well-educated and old aged. Out of the two, one (Rohare) is a congress member and the other PWP. These two worked together for two and half years

and as long as they worked together, elections to the important co-operatives and other institutions were unopposed. These differences between the two faction started in 1962 when Rohare got elected to Assembly and claimed for Cabinet Post and Kale to Z.P., by joining Cong-I. The open rift took place between them when elections to DCC bank were held in 1962 and Rohare got elected as chairman of the bank. Rohare tried to oust Kalhe from the chairmanship of a co-operative sugar factory and also for Taluk congress committee misled to open rift. The period 1963-66, saw an intense conflict between the two at all levels up to district in all elections. During this period Rohmare's influence declined and Kalhe gat managed to get support of new 'congress men' in important positions of party and government. The factions between these two become party-factions in Congress in Kopergoan Taluk and their rivalries continued till 1975.

Three elections are analysed to highlight the factionalism viz., 1967 Assembly elections, 1971 Mid-term Lok-Sabha elections and 1972 Assembly elections. By analysing these elections, the author maintains that district politics remained largely factional politics through out.

Baviskar concludes that factionalism is inherent given the dominant position of Congress in the district and the State as a whole. As opposition parties were weak, they were content with exploiting the divisions within the congress by supporting one of its factions. The party allows factional divisions within its ranks to organise and resolve internal conflict. It is clear from the fact that it re-admits to its ranks its suspended party members. Readmission to political party becomes easy because factionalism has no political ideolo-

gy, policies or programmes. Factions exist due to disputes over the control of local co-operatives which provide significant power, prestige and patronage to local leaders. Contests to co-operatives and legislatures was to consolidate the power in the local arena. The elections to co-operatives has become 'elite arena' as it was restricted to only handful of powerful leaders. Main rivals in the faction are from dominant caste and this checked them from becoming tyrannical in exercising power against other castes. Since each tries to enlist the support of other castes, caste does not become a major issue in factional conflicts and caste become important issue if Marathas are opposed by equally powerful castes and thus factions function like political parties by recruiting new members and by organising and resolving conflict at local level.

Mary C, Carras in her book, "The Dynamics of Indian Political Faction. A study of District Councils in the State of Maharashtra",¹⁶ studied party factionalism of Congress in Akola Z.P. of Maharashtra, and traced their linkages to the State Level. It focuses on the members of two groups, constituting the rival political factions within the Congress party. These two groups were formed due to the differences over the nomination of party candidates for the posts of Presidents and Vice-President of Z.P. in 1962 elections. The two groups were categorised as "Loyalists" and "Rebels". Loyalists are those who support the nominations of Congress Party officially and the others are those who oppose their. This calls for two explanations. One is that dynamics of political alignments and other manifestations of political life in India are to be understood primarily in terms of personal loyalties - sometimes called primordial loyalties, which are guided by feelings of caste solidarity or community solidarity or attachments to ascriptive groups.

This attunes a sort of an irrational bond between social unity and political action between leader and follower. This explanation is not sufficient to explain the deeper dynamics. The second explanation deals with the dynamics of hostility. It means all the ministers whether in the State Government or Central Government harbor feelings of hostility towards those who hold office in the Congress Party, particularly at higher levels and suggests that factional aspect of Indian political behaviour of political actors is 'rational'. This is to say that the behaviour is not determined by 'irrational' (that is emotional) and often unpredictable personal loyalties based on the charisma of a leader on feelings of loyalty evoked by caste or community ties or by family links but rational or calculable economic interests.

The study admits that ideological preferences do play a certain role in political behaviour, together with personal considerations. And it is difficult to say which is the 'prime mover' in a politician's behaviour. Both of them compliment each other. Economic (material) interests combine in an interactive pattern to influence behaviour. It is not the drive for power which is the prime motivation for political action.

Factionalism is traced to economic origins whether ideological or material. The competition is due to economic interests in the sense that there were differences of opinion with regard to ownership of economic enterprises. One group within the political party prefers private individual control of economic enterprise and the other prefers collective form of economic enterprises such as co-operatives. At the district level this led to political division consisting of forces

associated with cooperative structures on one side and the other forces divorced from co-operatives, apparently linked with interests in the private economic community at another level. Rebel groups generally associate with co-operatives which usually go hand in hand with cultivation of commercial crops and of the loyalties with economic interests. With these assumptions, the study analyses the conditions of factional alignments in Akola Z.P., to focus on the competition for economic interests.

Three cornered conflict involving State-level leaders against certain regional interests and powerful rival groups at the district level provides the background for political factions in Akola in 1962. Marwari community replaced Brahmins in wielding political influence in the area by 1947. It controlled Akola District Congress Committee by 1962. It is this committee which distributed party-tickets to contest in Z.P. Elections. The rebel leaders are closely associated with Akola co-operative power-structure, who were against the officially elected Z.P. members because of their support to private individual entrepreneurship.

B.D. Graham in his study of "The succession of Factional systems in U.P. Congress Party 1937-66"¹⁷ analyses factional structures and factional competition within the congress party in U.P. from 1937-66. Factional structure in the party is studied to understand how leadership roles grow more specialised when the problem of maintaining the cohesion of the party becomes acute. The study holds that factions within the party are informal and impermanent, not legitimate as they do not adhere to the norms of corporate group. They have both primary followers and secondary followers. The factional systems are of various types such

as bi-factional, dominant factional and multi-factional system. There is a link between resources of the organisation and recruitment of members in the faction by their factional leaders. Leadership roles in faction conflict are of four categories: 1) command 2) arbitration, 3) mediation and 4) management. An authoritative leader exercises command when he issues decree without consulting the factions concerned that a certain role must be observed, does arbitration when he issues decree after hearing the faction leaders stating their uses, mediates by persuading faction leaders to find a common ground to reach a mutually satisfactory decisions after negotiations. He plays role of a manager when he insures that there is sufficient power to enforce a decision and enforce normative and pragmatic rules for the internal politics of the group so that factional competition is either prevented or strictly regulated. In political parties, some or all of these leadership roles may be allotted to separate persons depending on the seriousness of the disputes within the group.

The intense factionalism in U.P. congress party from 1937-66 was due to lack of threat by opposition parties. Before 1957, the dominant faction system was in force. During this period (1948 and 1957) organizational elections took place which were marked by intense factional fights and even an attempt by radical factions to form left-wing opposition. During 1958-60, bi-factional system emerged from dominant faction with Gupta's successful fight for political survival. During this period, factions became more stable and specialised. In 1963, under the Kamaraj plan, AICC continued to arbitrate between the two factions and all the mediation was done in Delhi, reflecting the authoritative institutions of the state party. There was emergence of third faction to balance the two old factions. Due to

factionalism, party had to concentrate on internal affairs and hence had to neglect the socio - economic problems of the State.

Paul Brass's study/ "Factional politics in an Indian state, the congress party in U.P.",¹⁸ is a study on party factions. The major concerns of the study are: 1) How factions get formed within the party? 2) What conditions have contributed to the development of factional system in U.P. Congress? 3) The nature of factional conflicts in the districts; 4) How factions of the party reflect factions in Indian society? 5) What are the factors on which the strength and cohesiveness of factions depend? 6) What are the functions of factions? and 7) How factions contribute to political development? The main findings of this study are that factions in congress are a collection of local, district and State factions forming alliances and developing hostilities in constant struggles for positions of power and status in congress-controlled institutions of state and local government. Due to absence of powerful opposition parties, lack of internal consensus on ideological issues and absence of authoritative leadership led to the factional system in U.P congress. At the district level factional conflict declines as leaders are concerned with more pragmatic questions of how to get things done for followers. Factions and factional conflict whether within the party or village society is part of indigenous, social and political order as leader-follower relationship is a typical trait of social and political organisation in India. Factions in the party constitute vertical structure of power which cuts across caste and class divisions. The study points out that the strength and cohesiveness of factions depend on (a) the ability of a leader to distribute material benefits to his followers (b) lawyer-client relationship (c) controlling local institution of self-government or co-operation (d) access to

State Government patronage, and linkages with friendship with State Minister (e) community's support and also cross-caste alliances.

Factions have both disintegrative as well as integrative role. Factional conflicts which have extra political ramifications (Business and social life) and which are not amenable to ordinary political solutions have disintegrative role on the party itself in the sense that they affect the electoral strength of the congress in the state. Among the integrative functions, mostly factions perform the functions of political recruitment for the congress organization. The main functions that factions perform for the society are that they politicise social and religious groups. Hence especially in U.P., caste association have little importance to politics. Thus the analysis suggests that factions are alternative forms of political organisations. They are based on conflicting principles. They are vertical structures of power oriented towards influence, that is, towards the establishment of links facilitating distribution of favours and services. Interest groups are associations oriented towards the promotion of the long-term interests of a generalized category in population. Factions inhibit the organisation of interests, because they are based upon ties which unite opposed interests. The members of faction come from different social and economic groups in the society united by a desire for personal privileges. Finally, while strength of U.P. Congress lies in its willingness and its proven ability to manage diversity, yet it does not necessarily foster the goals of long-term political development. For, it gives no encouragement to auxiliary organisations.

B.K. Nagla in his study, " Factionalism, Politics and Social Structure"¹⁹ seeks to understand faction-formation at the district level in Rajashtan. The main objective of the study is to find out how do factions spring up at the district level from village factions? In what way do they get transformed from their nativistic structure to more diffused and diverse antagonistic party alliances and class relations? In what way do the district level factions get integrated with State-level politics, particularly in the case of Congress Party from 1947 to 1997. He has selected one panchyat samithi and two of its villages in Udayapur District of Rajasthan in order to relate factions found at village level with the panchyat samithi and then with the district so as to link the district level factions with the factions at state level. It also tries to understand the invisible factionalism, i.e., the suppression of factional rivalries by extending patronage and by opening new vistas of development satisfying the aspirations of the entire region.

Factionalism in Rajashtan is rooted in homogeneity of interests, which cut across the lines of caste and region. The guiding force of factionalism in this State is commonality of interests, but this interest remains confined mostly to the leaders belonging to the same caste and same region. This does not mean that all the leaders of a region or all the leaders belonging to a particular caste form a faction. All the members of a caste do not necessarily belong to the same faction. Intra-caste status distributions would not permit such a homogeneity of interests.

Factionalism in Udaipur district was determined by the social structure of the region and the ideological determinant as

seen in the state level politics. Within the congress party, it was non-antagonistic in nature. It means there was sharing of certain privileges and benefits by groups within the party depending on the position they have got, while maintaining at the same time an over all unity of the constituents as system. From 1954 to 1971, it was controlled by Sukhadia's conscious policy towards other leaders of either accommodation or isolation and dependence. Thus congress party's factionalism was determined by the forces of regionalism, self-interest and other interest- configuration.

At the panchayath samithi level, two factors which account for factionalism are common interest over-riding any consideration of party affiliation or ideology and continued dominance of feudal elements in power politics. Factionalism, at this level is not a class, but an elite conflict. Panchayath samithi is considered an important arena of politics and therefore factionalism as it commands financial and administrative resources and provides power position. In this panchayath samithi, the two factions have supporters in various village panchayath as well as zilla parishad. Leaders of these two factions come from congress and jansangh parties. State leaders kept themselves in touch with leaders of panchayat samithi.

In the two villages studied by Nagla, factions have different social bases. In one village, factions are caused by interest groupings rather than structural divisions. In other village, factions arose from structural divisions rather than interest-groupings. In the first village, factions emerged due to the impact of political parties, elections, developmental schemes and the sharing of power in the village panchayat and cooperative society etc. In the second village, factions

emerged due to differences over violations of conjugal and connubial rules and regulations and other such factors. In the first case, factions cut across caste lines, whereas in the second case, ethnocentrism dominates inter caste relations. In the first case, factions had political links with the factions at Panchayat Samithi and district levels while in the second, such linkages were weak. In the two villages, factionalism follows the trends of discord and conflict. The two sectors of conflict-politics and social issues are kept apart. For example, there was often unanimity in caste matters but they voted for different persons nevertheless. However, factions in the two villages are not class-based, they only represent an elite conflict rather than a social and economic conflict between rich and poor. The villagers talk of political parties but, in reality, the political parties do not function or operate as political parties. It is the so called followers of political parties, who form factional camps and influence the nature of political processes.

The above studies focus on mainly three aspects i.e., 1) Role of party factions within Congress in the elections like District Councils, cooperatives and Assembly elections? 2) What role party factions in general within Congress performs? 3) The linkages between village factions and party factions at various levels like Samithi, District and State.

Regarding first aspect while Myron Weiner views that factional loyalties proved to be more intense than party loyalties in the elections and in villages, in turn, the village factions consider the general elections as an opportunity to consolidate their strength. B.S. Baviskar thinks that local factional leaders become a base for party factions within congress and these play a

role in all the elections like cooperatives, village Panchayats and Zilla Parishads. Marry C. Carras considers economic interests play dominant role for party factions within the Congress and these party factions oppose each other in Zilla Parishad elections.

Regarding second aspect B.D. Graham thinks that leadership roles grow more specialised when the problem of maintaining the function of the party becomes acute due to intense factionalism within U.P. Congress party. Paul Brass views that factions within Congress are a collection of local, district and state factions forming alliances and developing hostilities in constant struggle for positions of power and status in Congress controlled institution of State and Local Government.

Regarding third aspect B.K. Nagla maintained that factionalism within Congress party was non-antagonistic in nature and was determined by regionalism and self-interest. Factionalism is more a result of an elite conflict and not a class conflict. They are largely guided by power considerations.

IV

III. Generic Studies on Factions:

Ralph Nicholas in his study, "Factions : A Comparative Analysis",²⁰ by comparing reported instances of factions from five different kinds of society and social institutions, suggests two approaches to the study of factions. One approach focussed on the analysis of political conflict and the other on the analysis of political organisations. He describes the characteristics of factions in the form of five propositions.

One. factions are conflict groups. It is during social conflict that factions emerge out of a sociologically undefined background to give observer a view of their members.

Two. factions are political groups. If politics is 'organised conflict about the use of public power' (Curtis, 1902, p. 23), Nicholas holds, then it is factions which organise this conflict in certain kinds of society and institutions.

Three. factions are not corporate groups, in the sense that though they are impermanent, but may persist for a long period of time.

Four. faction members are recruited by a leader. Members can be connected to a faction only through the activity of a leader, since the unit has no corporate existence or clear single principle of recruitment. The leader who is responsible for organising the members or a faction is ordinarily a man with more political power than any of his followers. Leadership may be provided not only by a politically powerful individual, but also a 'clique' based on an influential family.

Five. faction members are recruited on diverse principles. A faction leader ordinarily has different kinds of connections with his followers, and makes use of all possibilities to draw supporters into his faction.

David K. French in his study, "Ambiguity and irrelevancy in factional conflict",²¹ has focussed on factionalism as a form of conflict and on the problems which are involved in the area of such conflict. He has explained it through using the

data on American Indian population. He argues that (a) position of participants are not relevant to each other (b) there is relationship between factionalism and ambiguity in behavioral pattern among participants (c) factional contenders frequently charge each other with having illegitimate means or ends. He has maintained that there are differences in observing this phenomenon in terms of ideological and non-ideological behaviour.

Siegel and Beals differentiate factionalism from inter groups conflict, party conflict and the application of social sanctions. According to them, factionalism is only one type of solution to such group problems. French has taken the same position in analysing the factionalism, but differed in interpretation. He refers to factionalism as those forms of conflict which occurs within a system i.e., group and which can not be settled by traditional means. He thinks for employing traditional means to resolve the conflict, that conflict must persist long enough. It is added that though all factional disputes be regarded as forms of conflict, not all instances of conflict are to be classified as factional. The study considers those disputes which occur between systems and not within the system and those which are resolved by traditional mechanisms which do not persist for a longer duration as non-factional conflicts on the other hand, they are to be considered as 'war' or 'party conflicts'. Since he considers factionalism as a form of inner conflict, factional participants constitute sub-systems rather than autonomous systems. The study points out that there occurs many conflicts at traditional sub-systems, but they can be settled by traditional means, but those who create new sub-system within traditional sub-system have low-probability of resolutions. As against

Laswell's position (1965). French holds that principles as well as application would be involved in intra-systemic factional conflict. He also disagrees with Siegel and Seals that actors in factional disputes preserve the system in which they are participating. He cites an example of American Indians who believe like non American Indians in the factional disputes. By citing this example, he brings out the relationship between reference groups and factions. They build up orientation towards a system called Klamath and thus participants in a system become active members of factions. This ambiguous behavioral pattern persists among the participants of factionalism and the forms of participation in non-ideological socio-cultural activities by parties in conflict is not congruent with each other. In other words participation of faction in the system is different according to their own understanding as well as ideology towards the system. Further when factions as opposed to political parties are in conflict there is not only high probability of ambiguity and irrelevance but also charges of illegitimacy of actions of opponents. The study holds that it is unlikely that it would be useful to regard factional conflict as peculiar to systems undergoing rapid change.

Thus French concludes that differences in forms of organisations among socio-cultural systems create problems of understanding in factional divisions. And it becomes necessary to differentiate between ideological and non-ideological behaviour. It is pointed out that below the ideological level, there is often 'structural or organisational irrelevancy' in factional conflicts.

David Hardiman in his study, "The Indian faction: A political theory examined"²² has critically examined the theory of faction-

alism and highlights usefulness of applying this theory to understand Indian politics. He holds that for many scholars, the concept of faction provided a key to the understanding of Indian politics. Because Factional Net-Works are supposed to encompass the nation, linking the peasant masses to rulers. For Paul Brass, factional loyalties provide the link between parochial units of society such as family, village and caste and the political parties. Factional loyalty is transitional and intermediate form of politics. It is more than the parochial parties and something less than the party politics in European and American sense.

Hardiman reviewed the works of many scholars who include historians like B.R.Tomlinson, S.N.Mukherjee, David Washbrook, Social- Anthropologists like Osker Lewis, F.G.Bailey, Ralph Nicholas, Adrian Mayer, and political scientists like Paul Brass and Carter to examine the theory that factional networks encompass the nation linking peasant mass to the rulers. By reviewing these scholars' works, author says, there are two usage of factional conflicts in their literature on factions. 1) Factions as vertical political cliques. In this factions are seen as vertical political alliances, in contrast to class which be seen as horizontal type of political alliance. 2) Faction is not a small clique, but vast patron-client network. But he says these theoretical interpretations about factions have no empirical basis. He also says that much analysis of factionalism in rural India has been carried out in terms of election studies. In these elections the majority of villages are seen to be voting according to the wishes of the patron or their caste leaders. But still from such studies one cannot draw any profound conclusions about the nature of political alliances and solidarities in rural India.

Hardiman views that great Indian faction which means factional network encompass the nation linking peasant masses to the rulers is more of a myth than reality. Because much of political conflict described as factional at both district and village level is in fact conflict with in the oligarchy and in such conflict vertical mobilization is a necessary process. He also maintains that there is short disjuncture between district conflicts and village level conflicts. He does not agree with the distinction between factionalism as traditional and class conflicts as modern. He says it is issue or event which creates particular political alliances and networks rather than modernity and tradition. He says structural-functional and behavioral explanations about factions share a common assumption that Indian politics are factional because India is by tradition a factional society. It also means that Indian politics have autocratic ruling class in which masses only participate as clients of elite politicians and hence while dealing with mass politics we are to deal with patron- client network. He says the concept of faction is valuable to study Indian politics only when factions are understood as political cliques which struggle among themselves for power and whose members hold similar class interests. However there is no structural identity between such political cliques at the all Indian provincial levels and conflict groups at the village level.

Elliott Carolyn, in her study, "Caste and Factions in dominant Caste in Andhra Pradesh"²³ held that vertical mobilisation is a key to power in A. P. politics, more so in the areas where dominant caste exist. Villagers look vertically to political and economic leaders for the authority and village leaders use both caste and class to maintain their dominance. Leadership of

village factions depends on skill and application of the faction leaders. When leadership roles are concentrated in one dominant caste, factional disputes occur between their brother or kinsmen over issues of land or prestige. And these divisions among dominant caste, give a way to factions, which is mobilised by opposing parties for their cause. The factional organisations are built on the relationships between master and servant, patron and client. The intensity and depth of factional organisation varies with the history in the village, but in most cases, the organisation is strikingly causal. During quiet periods, the factions exist only as social circles which may gather for gossip in the evenings. Carolyn says modern politics have intensified the vertical process of mobilisation in the village. Though still based on the traditional ties between patron and client, this intensity at election time gives factional alignments a modern face. She says there are certain dominant villages which assume the functions of arbitration and representation for the other villages in the same way that dominant caste do for lower castes in single village. The villages which are not clustered around such dominant villages get political support through regional elites. Given the legendary history of peasant castes the equality of peasant castes, caste status sustains the culture of dominance of Reddies and Kammas and they accept each other's right to rule. This becomes an important issue when persons of lower traditional status rise to positions of dominance. Such persons are accepted on the basis of their power, but grudgingly as nouveau riche.

Factions are unified at the top by caste and kinship interactions and sustained at the bottom by the vertical ties of village factions. It also explains how one dominant family becomes successful in district politics of Andhra.

There is little possibility for dominant caste leaders to organise coalitions for political support where political leaders emerged from the lower castes. In the places where backward castes have more support within a particular district, dominant caste do not include their representatives in district factions nor otherwise seek their support. Carolyn says, the culture of dominance is such that conflict between/among Reddies or between Reddies and Kammas is perceived as honorable and understandable within the system, but conflict between Reddies and other BCs, for example weavers, upsets the system and hence is feared.

In the modern factions, caste acquires a new secular meaning and factions are usually very careful to include members belonging to all the important caste groups. Caste is important as a symbol of cohesion, but more a network of groups which are activated by faction leaders through giving benefits to prominent members of caste groups in the villages. The power structure in the Andhra depends on how existing dominant caste factions make them as multi-caste factions by accommodating lower caste and whether lower-caste leaders raise to the position of leadership in multi - caste factions.

Hamza Alvi, in his study, "Village Factions"²⁴ applies the concept of faction to analyse political activity at levels of local peasant community. For him, faction is the most pervasive form of peasant political interactions in peasant societies. Factional alignments cut across class alignments. Political cleavages are often vertical cleavages of class conflict. An important aspect of factional conflict is that rival factions are in general structurally similar in the sense that they represent similar configurations of

social group, though not necessarily always. Wherever rival factions belong to similar social groups, the factional model describes a segmental rather than class conflict. Such conflict does not have ideological expressions because rival factions or faction leaders fight for control over resources, power and status as available within the existing framework of society rather than for changes in the social structure. Through factional model one can identify actual political alignments in peasant societies. By this alignments one can identify the precise locus and operation of relationship of power. He says factional model of politics which manifest in vertical cleavages excludes class solidarity and class conflict. Factional model is specific to certain societies being inherent in the culture or social structure. The factional mode of politics is guided by the principle of diversity of factional recruitment which is based on certain structural factors. He mainly cites four factors which become basis for factional recruitment in the villages of erstwhile Punjab.

One. Economic structure and the pattern of alignments are determined by the distribution of ownership of land and the mode of its utilisation. The relationship between landlords and share croppers and labourers are guided by patron-client relationships and signify a relationship of reciprocity from which each party gains some benefit. The relationship of dependence in the case of landlords and share croppers and labourers and autonomy on the part of middle peasants.

Two. The second institutionalised structure which underlies the bases of alignments is kinship. The kinship structure in Punjab is known as biradaries based on endogamous patrilineages. Biradari solidarities bring in corporate groups and

political alignments. The degree of kinship solidarity is more in the case of independent peasant proprietors, which constitutes them into corporate groups and weak in the case of share-croppers and labourers. Biradari organisation is also weak in the case of landlords who are in competition with each other for power and status in local political arenas. In informal political gathering, they consult each other either to act in concert or to part in disagreement.

Three. The third structure which establishes ties between members of peasant communities is the 'political structure' primarily by the administrative structure of Government. Influential landlords set themselves up as political middlemen and mediate between members of the village individually as well as collectively and the Government. They establish a wide-network of links with government officials, rely on landlords and link up with local power structure. This structure includes links with political parties or urban political movements. Factional villages above the level of village are institutionalised as political parties and the latter induct faction-leaders, the local power-holders to establish local bosses.

Four. In Punjab villages there is also another element of powerful landlords known as Rassagira(patrons) who employ mafia, local bandits (goondas; to terrorise peasants, particularly by stealing their cattle and abducting women. The independent peasant proprietors (small peasants) get protection from them in return for their political support. The Independent Peasant Proprietors' alliances with factional leaders are based on variety of factors. It may be a relationship of protector and protege, the 'protector' being

Rassagir who terrorise them into faction or the faction leader may gain support by acting as an intermediary between them and bureaucracy. Biradaries of independent proprietors may unite against landlords by radical political parties or peasant unions.

In the village politics, the conflict of rival faction leaders is an elite-conflict and hence their class positions is not threatened. To mobilise political support they enter into alliances with their peers. The horizontal solidarity of kinship is a resource for landlord to exploit for political support. The biradari factional leader and their economic dependents constitute the core of the faction. Finally Hamza Alvi says the primary loyalties and structures of kinship do not themselves exist in 'functional' isolation. They are moulded by class relationships. The functional separation of structures and analyses of primordial loyalties themselves, outside the matrix of class structures, vitiates the rules of political sociology and social Anthropology.

Keeping the above frame-work for analysis, Hamza Alvi, select a village namely Tekwala which has two or more big-landlords plus a mixed population of lineage of small-holders.

It has two biggest landowners, who contend for power in the villages. One was Pir Sher Shah who has 300 acres of land. He dominates in 43 households in the village. The other half was dominated by other landlord namely Mian Osman Farookhi, who has 500 acres in the village and 300 acres in other district. He dominates 68 households. Each tries to wean away the support of different lineages in the village for the purposes of power. Thus the mode of politics in Punjab vil-

lages of Pakistan is between factions, as in India where share-croppers and labourers have succeeded in organising on class lines, challenging the land-owners, the mode of politics ceases to be factional. There are two types of factional recruitment, between those who have a choice and those who do not, with economically dependent persons come on the latter category. That means, the relationship with leader is either contractual or moral. Those who have economic dependence and get patronage constitute the 'core' in the factions. Further, there is principle of diversity of recruitment in the factions. One must also distinguish between vertical and horizontal alignments. Vertical alignments include ties of economic dependence and the relationship between a protector and protege. Subversion of proteges increases resources of power of the rival faction leaders. Horizontal alignments in the form of lineage solidarity is strongest amongst those who are economically dependent and it is weak among economic dependents. Class solidarity is different. It constitutes a challenge to vertical alignments and such a challenge is not easily mounted.

E.H. Carter's study, "Elite politics in Rural India, Political stratification and alliances in Western Maharashtra", is more important for understanding political stratifications rather than faction-formation. He uses the term alliance instead of faction. He defines "alliances", as a kind of exchange of transaction involving decision to extend or withhold support or patronage and hence have transactional and decision making aspects. Carter refers to the concept of constraints, which includes kinship, caste, class and administrative and Governmental institutions. The political alliances are made in the arenas of administrative and Governmental

institutions. He says politics of Maharashtra is dominated by a political class, consisting of land-owning Vetendar Marathas, the Brahmins and the Jains. Carter also refers to vertical alliances based on economic dependence which are seen prominently during the time of elections. The vertical alliance refers to the relationship between political leaders and the non-political voters. He also refers to Horizontal alliances which are found within political class between the leaders and these alliances continue to change as they are generally based on expediency of strategies.

The main feature of the pattern of political alliances in rural western Maharashtra is the instability of coalitions and it is due to the result of the discontinuity in the distribution of power and the dominance of a small, privileged political class. The formation of vertical alliances have little influence on the formation of horizontal alliances within the political class. The dominant position of the political class also reduces the influence of its internal caste and kinship structure on the formation of horizontal alliances. It is the political strategy which is important for elite leaders, but not the ideology, nor personal loyalty, nor rights and obligations arising from caste or kinship. There are shifts in horizontal alliances because alliances are shaped primarily by strategic and personal advancement. As against the findings of existing literature on factions in local level politics, which consider caste and kinship as important determinants of political action. Carter says caste and kinship are often extrinsic pretexts for alliance than they are intrinsic transactional content of alliances. There are very few direct connections between caste and kinship on one hand and political interests on the other. That is why, according to Carter, the

elite politics of India is not completely caste-oriented and tend to be static. Though political alliances are not permanent and they keep on changing, but political class is not itself internally stratified and there is with it no distinct sub-class with privileged access to positions of power at the district or state level. Political class of Maharashtra is homogeneous. The composition of Maharashtra Cabinet was roughly same as that of Phaltan Panchayat Samithi of Satra Z.P., which he has taken for the study. Even in India, political class seems to be becoming increasingly undifferentiated.

Thus the literature on factions shows that (a) there are quite a number of studies on factions mainly to understand the reasons for formation of factions in the village, their characteristics, the leadership pattern of factions, principles of recruitment to factions, expression of hostilities by factions, their role in village politics, etc. (b) There are also studies on factions within political parties - mainly factions within Congress - {I} Party and how this factions within the party shape the outcome of elections (c) There are few studies on linkages of factions i.e., how factions spring up at district level from village factions and district level factions get integrated with state level politics, (d) Some more studies on role of factions within political institutions such as panchayats and zilla parishads (e) Very limited studies are on examining the theory of factionalism in Indian politics and also suggest approaches to study factions.

The data suggests that there is no comprehensive study in the discipline of political science covering village factions their political as well as non-political functions, their

linkage with political parties as well as their role in district politics, mainly in elections, and the violent means they resort to, their role in development / non-development of rural areas, their historical background, the socio economic dominance they maintain in the region. There is a need for such a study in the region of states where faction phenomena has been existing. Hence this study of factions in Rayalaseema region of Andhra Pradesh which is known for intense and violent factions. We have restricted our study to one district i.e., Kurnool for analysing the faction politics in detail.

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The scope of the study covers the nature, structure, composition, leadership and functions of village factions and their historical origins. It also examines role of factions in modern electoral politics. It seeks to examine how politics in village India reflect group factional politics. Most of the studies on factions in the discipline of sociology focus on nature, origin and structure of factions in a single village or group of villages. Many of those studies have not analysed the political functions of factions and have not gone beyond village. Studies by political scientists dealt with only the factions in political parties. There are studies of factionalism in states like U.P., Rajasthan, Haryana etc.

They have not examined the linkages between the grass-root factions with political parties or to regional politics. There are very few studies on factionalism as far as the state of Andhra Pradesh is concerned. It is striking to note that this phenomenon which is so widely prevalent should escape the attention of the political science community in Andhra.

Studies on village factions, their linkages with political parties, their interconnections with local, regional and state politics is necessary. There is a greater need to explain the phenomenon of Violence caused by factional groups in Rayalaseema region. It is also necessary to examine whether electoral politics have the potential to democratize the factional politics or the factional politics shape the nature of electoral politics.

The study has focussed on why factions are formed in villages, what is the socio-economic background of factional leaders and faction followers, basis of recruitment of followers by the faction leaders, the links between faction leaders and political parties, the support of faction leaders in the elections, violent means that they resort to in their politics, exploring the roots of factions overtime, and its role in hindering the development of the villages, the changes in the nature of factions from pre-independence period till the recent times, in one of the districts - Kurnool in Rayalseema region of Andhra Pradesh.

Aims and Objectives of the Study:

This study mainly focuses on historical roots of the factionalism in the study region. It analyses socio-economic character of the village factions and the perceptions of the people about the phenomenon of factions. It also analyses linkages of factions to electoral politics.

Chapterisation:

The study is divided into seven chapters. They are,

- i) Introduction chapter covers the review of literature on factions and factionalism.
- ii) The second chapter deals with the scope and methodology of the study and Profile of Kurnool district - the site of the study. It presents the socio-economic features of the district.

- iii) The third chapter traces historical origins and roots of faction formations.
- iv) The fourth chapter looks into Socio-economic character of factions. It analyses the socio-economic background of both faction leaders as well as followers. It also present perceptions of faction followers as well as elites on factionalism.
- v) The fifth chapter analyses the linkages between the electoral results and pattern of support of factions in Panchayat Raj elections.
- vi) The sixth chapter analyses the linkages between the electoral results and pattern of support of factions in Assembly and Parliamentary elections.
- vii) The last chapter presents the findings.

This chapter includes profile of the Kurnool district-the study region. The profile includes location, composition, geographical and topographical details with infrastructural facilities classified broadly into communication and productive uses of land and industry. It also presents the areas of social organisation like demographic features, occupational patterns, and social stratification system like caste. This profile is examined in order to see how specific features of the district shape factionalism or vice-versa.

Scope and Methodology

As the study mainly deals with factionalism in Kurnool district, the profile of the district as well as historical roots of factionalism as a backdrop is included in the study. For this purpose the study relied on primary and secondary sources¹. As study seeks to analyse the socio, economic character of village factions, primary field survey is undertaken. We have taken 13 faction villages, One from each constituency of Kurnool district based on the criterion of 1) villages having longest history of factions 2) caste based faction villages 3) faction villages with high degree of violence 4) faction formed to gain control over industrial resources. With the help of a questionnaire 26 faction leaders and 260 followers were interviewed. The police records such as village bandobust scheme and part IV of the state police records were also consulted. For a wider understanding perceptions of cross section of people such as journalists, lawyers, teachers, freedom fighters, students, political party leaders, doctors and women activists have also been interviewed .

The study also deals with linkages of factions to electoral politics. For this purpose the study relied on the secondary as well as primary data. We have collected the list of elected sarpanchas of Kurnool district in 1994 panchayat elections from records of Election Commission and cross checked with police records to identify faction villages so as to assess the pattern of support of factions and also their role in the elections of panchayats. In addition, the political as well as non-political leaders were interviewed for a wider understanding of operation and support structure of factions in the panchayat elections.

The same methodology has been applied for the mandal as well as Zilla Parishad elections. While only the 1995 elections were taken into consideration to analyse factions to panchayat, mandal and Zilla Parishad elections, for Assembly as well as Parliamentary elections the electoral data right from 1955 to 1994/96 was used to analyse the changing social as well as political bases of factionalism and the linkages between factionalism and electoral politics. To understand these linkages formal and informal interviews of political leaders, factional leaders and knowledgeable persons were done.

Hypotheses:

1. Although factionalism is a historical product, it is sustained by the existing socio-economic structure.
- 2, It is factionalism that has shaped the electoral politics and the political violence more than the electoral politics as they lacked the potential to broaden the democratic base of the political processes.

Justification for the selection of Kurnool district for the Study

Kurnool district is selected mainly because as it is a part of Rayalaseema which has had the polegar² institution providing the historical background for factionalism in the post-Independent India. Many polegar families lived in this district when it was a part of Madras presidency. This provides the appropriate backdrop to understand factionalism in a longer time frame. Secondly, there are many factional villages which experience intense factionalism. Thirdly, this district for many years as per records, is on the top in the number of murders in the state.

The factions in general are armed factions. Fourthly, this district has also many type of factions between different caste groups like Reddies vs Reddies, BCs vs Reddies, SCs vs SCs, BCs vs SCs. Fifthly, it is politically a significant district as it has thrown up a Chief Minister and many Ministers who have been beneficiaries of factionalism. This provides an opportunity to understand linkages between violent politics, caste and elections and their interaction with factionalism.

II

The district derives its name from its chief town Kurnool, the capital of former Nawabs and the capital of Andhra State from October 1953 to 1st November, 1956 and at present the headquarters of the district. The name is said to have been derived from 'Kandenavolu'³. The word 'Kandena' in Telugu means lubricant and 'volu' means place. This is the place where people in older days were getting their bullock-carts lubricated during their long journeys. This is how the district derived its name. Kandenavolu became Kurnool under the Britishers.

Kurnool district lies between the northern latitudes of 14 54' and 16 11' and eastern longitudes of 76 58' and 78 25'. The altitude of the district is above 1000 ft. the mean sea level. The district is bounded on north by Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers as well as Mahaboobnagar district, . It is surrounded on the south by Cuddapah and Anantapur districts, on the west by Karnataka state and on the east by Prakasham district.⁴ The area of the Kurnool district is 17,5658 Sq.KMs. It has the population of 29,73,024 as per 1991 census, with a density of 168 persons per sq. kilometer.

II. SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The scope of the study covers the nature, structure, composition, leadership and functions of village factions and their historical origins. It also examines role of factions in modern electoral politics. It seeks to examine how politics in village India reflect group factional politics. Most of the studies on factions in the discipline of sociology focus on nature, origin and structure of factions in a single village or group of villages. Many of those studies have not analysed the political functions of factions and have not gone beyond village. Studies by political scientists dealt with only the factions in political parties. There are studies of factionalism in states like U.P., Rajasthan, Haryana etc.

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Studies on village factions, their linkages with political parties, their interconnections with local, regional and state politics is necessary. There is a greater need to explain the phenomenon of Violence caused by factional groups in Rayalaseema region. It is also necessary to examine whether electoral politics have the potential to democratize the factional politics or the factional politics shape the nature of electoral politics.

maximum and minimum temperatures during 1994 in 'O' Centigrade in the district:

Table - 2.1
Mean maximum and minimum temperature - 1994 (in 'o' centigrades)

S. NO.	Month	Year 1994 Mean Max.	Mean Min.
1.	January	31.5	18.4
2.	February	34.3	21.4
3.	March	38.9	24.1
4.	April	39.5	26.4
5.	May	41.4	28.5
6.	June	35.6	36.1
7.	July	33.3	24.3
8.	August	32.6	24.1
9.	September	34.6	24.3
10.	October	31.9	23.1
11.	November	29.4	19.8
12.	December	29.6	16.2

Source : Meteorological Centre, Hyderabad

During the succeeding four months, from May the wind blows from western side in major parts of the district. By the end of September the wind is light and pleasant forecasting the onset of north east monsoon. In November and December the weather is fine. Rainfall is rare and wind is light with heavy dew. District normal rainfall of the year is 630mm. This low level of rain fall leads to less production which in turn makes the region backward. This situation also provides "fertile" ground for factionalism. Following table (2.2) give the average rainfall of the district during 1993-94.

Table - 2.2
District Average Rainfall-season-wise and Month wise

S	No	Year	SOUTH- WEST MONSOON NORTH-EAST MANSOON							
			June	July	Aug.	Sept	Total	Oct.	Nov.	Dec. Total
		1993-94	24.0	137.5	144.4	110.9	416.8	150.0.	19.4	43 .1 .212.5

Source: Chief Planning Officer. Kurnool

The principal rivers flowing in the district are Tungabha dra (and its tributary, Hundri) Krishna and Kunderu. Tungab hadra rises in the western ghats and after forming a part of the northern boundary for some distance separates Kurnool from the Telangana area. Then it flows towards east: and is joined by

Hundri river. Then it joins the Krishna river at Kudali Sangam after winding northwards. The Hundri, a tributary of Tungabhadra rises in the fields of Maddikera, receives a stream from Erramallas at Laddagiri in Kodumur Mandal and joins Tungabhadra at Kurnool. It drains much of Maddikera, Pathikonda, Devanakonda, Gonegandla, Kodumur and Kallur Mandals. This is the turbid stream with sudden rise and fall, The Kunderu (also called Kumudvatri) rises on the western side, winds its way through Erramallas in Kunderu valley and flows in a southern direction collecting drainage all along its course. It flows through Orvakal, Midthur, Gadivemula, Nandyal, Gospadu, Koilkuntla, Dornipadu and Chagalamarri Mandals and then enters Cuddapah District.

The forest coverage of the district shows that the total area under forests is 7,86,412 acres, which accounts for about 18% of total geographical area of the district. The major parts of the forest area is confined mainly to the Nallamallas (including its extensions) the Erramallas and a part of the Velikondas. Timber species of inferior variety grows over extensive areas in the district covering the Erramallas and Velikondas. Important minor forest produce of the district are Tamarind and Beedi leaves.

Broadly speaking Eastern portion of the district bears better vegetation comprising Atmakur, Kandikotkur, Panyam, Nandyal mandals, while the western half especially the north western portion comprising Adoni, Peddakadubur, Alur, Aspari, Chippagiri, Holagunda, Koilkuntla, Sanjamala, Owk, Pathikonda, Devanakonda, Krishnagiri, Veldurthy, Kodumur and Kallur mandals present a desolate appearance and the

Vegetation that exists here is confined mostly to small pockets of reserved forests.

The total area under teak in 1993-94 in the district is 112.92, Sq.km. Under Bamboo it is 1160.32 Sq.km. other vegetation works out to 2020.92 Sq.km. It is the Bamboo which brings maximum revenue to the district. Following Table (2.3) shows the details of Revenue from different forest products in the district.

Table - 2.3
Forest Revenue Product Wise Division Wise 93-94 (Rs.in Lakhs)

S.No.	Item	Kurnool	Nandyal	Atmakur	Nandyal Logging Division	Total
1.	Timber	0.01	0.12	18.85	21.23	40.21
2.	Fuel	—	0.01	8.48	8.97	17.46
3.	Bamboo	—	87.39	266.94	223.91	578.24
4.	Other Minor Forest Products	9.78	3.91	11.76	—	25.45
	Total	9.79	91.43	306.03	354.11	661.36

Source : Divisional Forest Officer, Kurnool, Nandyal and Atmakur

This forest coverage of the district also forms the basis for certain activities of faction leaders. The district has sufficient mineral resources. It possesses enormous deposits of lime-stone for cement manufacture, other valuable minerals in the district include baryets, yellow shale, white shale, steatite etc. Following table 12.4) shows the availability of mineral resources Mandal-wise in the district. Quite a bit of factionalism revolves around these mines.

Table - 2.4

Mineral Resources - Mandal Wise

Sl.No.	Mandal	Minerals
1.	Kurnool	Silica Sand road metal
2.	Kallur	Lime Stone Slabs, Barytes
3.	Orvakal	Lime Stone Slabs, Silica Sand
4.	Gudur	Felster
5.	Dhone	Lime Stone, Mosaic Chips, Dolomite, Serpentine
6.	Peapully	White Shale, White Clay and Steatite
7.	Bethamcherla	Lime Stone Slabs, Steatite, Barytes and Yellow Ochres
8.	Krishnagiri	Steatite, Granite
9.	Veldurthy	Iron Ore, Lime Stone slabs Steatites.
10.	Nandikotkur	Lime Stone Slabs
11.	Gadivemula	Lime Stone, Barytes, White Shale
12.	Panyam	Lime Stone
13.	Koilakuntla	Lime Stone Slabs
14.	Kolimigundla	Lime Stone Slabs, Lime Stone
15.	Banaganapalli	Lime Stone Slabs
16.	Owk	Lime Stone Slabs
17.	Adoni	Pink Granite, Road Metal
18.	Alur	Granite, Road Metal and Quartz
19.	Peddakadubur	Granite
20.	Yemmiganur	Granite

Source : Asst. Director of Mines and Geology - Kurnool

Among the principal minerals, the production of lime-stone is highest and Barytes is the least. The following table (2.5) gives the production of principal minerals in the district.

Table - 2 . 5
Production of Principal Minerals in the District

S.No.	Minerals	1993-94
1.	Lime stone	626759
2.	Stalite	26675
3.	White sale	12685
4.	Iron Ore	17010
5.	Yellow Ocher	5429
6.	Barytes	785
7.	Serpentine	46908
8.	Quartz	
9.	Silica sand	8263
10.	Lime stone chips useful for mosaic flooring	38405 (M.T.)
11.	Lime stone slabs	3152501 (Sq. Mtrs .)
12.	Granite	1399 (Cu.M)
13.	Road metal	3917

Source : Asst. Director of Mines and Geology, Kurnool

It is the minor minerals which are the sources of higher revenues than major minerals. Following table (2.6) gives the revenues that come to the district from the minerals.

Table - 2.6
Minerals Revenue for 1993-94 (Rs. in lakhs)

S.No.	Mineral	Demand	Collection	Balance
1.	Major Minerals	353	105	248
2.	Minor minerals	233	221	12
	Total	586	326	260

Source: Asst. Director of Mines and Geology.

Land and land alone use data in the district shows that the geographical area of the district is 17.60 lakh hectares. While the forest covers 3.18 lakh hectares consisting 18 per cent of the area. The net area sown is 9.07 lakh hectares, forming 52% of the total geographical area. The

total cropped (cultivable) area in the district is about 10.10 lakh hectares.

Mandal wise (1993-94) land-utilisation data shows that in Adoni Mandal land is put to maximum agricultural use in terms of net-area sown followed by Alur, Devanakonda and Dhone Mandals. It is in Pagidyala, Atmakur and Velgode Mandals land is put to least agricultural use in terms of net area sown.

Data on number and area of operational holdings (as per Agricultural Census 1990-91) shows that maximum number of holdings are that of Medium, followed by large, semi-medium, small and marginal holdings. Maximum land holdings lie, in between 24.71 to 49.41 acres and least holdings fall below 0.05 acres. A number of individual land-holdings shows that marginal land-holders are larger in number followed by small, semi-medium, medium and large. This is shown in table (2.7)

Caste - wise operational holdings show that SCs and STs, by and large, have semi-medium land-holdings. Other castes have more of medium individual land-holdings. It is the other castes (other than SCs and STs) who own maximum land-holdings as compared to the SCs and STs. But SCs possess more land holdings than STs. As far as number of cultivators having different categories of land-holdings are concerned, marginal cultivators number is higher than the other cultivators in all the castes. These land-holding patterns have a bearing on factionalism in the district. (See Table 2.8, 2.9 & 2.10,

Table 2.7

Number and Area of Operational Holdings
All Categories - Total (Area in Acres)

Size Class (HA)		Individual Holdings		Joint Holdings		Sub Total (Individual Joint Holdings)		Institutional Holdings		Total Holdings	
		No	Area	No	Area	No	Area	No	Area	No	Area
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<hr/>											
Marginal											
1.	Below 0.05	623	10			623	10			624	10
2.	0.05 - 1.23	61722	47330			61722	47330	2	1	61724	47331
3.	1.24 - 2.46	71733	135463	1	2	71734	135463	2	4	71736	135469
Total		134078	182803	1	2	134079	182805	4	5	134084	182810
<hr/>											
Small											
	2.47 - 4.93	98207	352451			98207	352451	-		98207	352451
Total		98207	352451			98207	352451			98207	352451
<hr/>											
Semi-Medium											
	4.94 - 7.40	57341	340871			57341	340871	4	24	57345	340895
	7.41 - 9.87	31761	270053			31761	270053	3	28	31764	270081
Total		89102	610924			89102	610924	7	52	89109	610976
<hr/>											
Medium											
7.	9.88 - 12.35	20968	231383			20968	231383	1	11	20969	231394
8.	12.36 - 18.52	26491	400171			26491	400171	7	110	26498	400281
9.	18.53 - 24.70	12610	269123			12610	269123	2	39	12612	269162
Total		60069	900677			60069	900677	10	160	60079	900837
<hr/>											
Large											
10.	24.71 - 49.41	13638	447298	1	33	13639	447331	8	284	13647	447615
11.	49.42 & above	2532	174809	6	517	2538	175326	20	2982	2558	178308
Total		16170	622107	7	550	16177	622657	28	3266	16205	625923
<hr/>											
All Size Classes		397626	2668962	8	552	397634	2669514	49	3483	397684	2672997

Kurnool District
Source : Agriculture Census _____ 1990-91

Table 2.8
Scheduled Castes - NO. & area Operational Land-holdings
(Area in Acres)

S. No.	Size Class (HA)	Individual Holdings		Joint Holdings		Sub Total (Individual Joint Holdings)		Institutional Holdings		Total Holdings	
		No	Area	No	Area	No	Area	No	Area	No	Area
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Marginal											
1.	Below 0.05	162	1			162	1			162	1
2.	0.05 - 1.23	12646	9731			12646	9731			12646	9731
3.	1.24 - 2.46	14422	26854	1	2	14422	26854			14422	26854
	Total	27230	36586	1	2	27230	36586			27230	36586
Small											
4.	2.47 - 4.93	14672	51122			14672	51122			14672	51122
	Total	14672	51122			14672	51122			14672	51122
Semi-Medium											
5.	4.94 - 7.40	6480	37527			6480	37527			6480	37527
6.	7.41 - 9.87	2530	21434			2530	21434			2530	21434
	Total	9010	58961			9010	58961			9010	58961
Medium											
7.	9.88 - 12.35	1370	14960			1370	14960			1370	14960
8.	12.36 - 18.52	1203	17752			1203	17752			1203	17752
9.	18.53 - 24.70	379	8006			379	8006			379	8006
	Total	2952	40718			2952	40718			2952	40718
Large											
10.	24.71 - 49.41	242	7616			242	7616			242	7616
11.	49.42 & above	19	1216			19	1216			19	1216
	Total	261	8832			261	8832			261	8832
All	Size Classes	54125	196219	1	2	54125	196219			54126	196219

Kurnool District

Source : Agriculture Census—1990-91

Table 2.9
Scheduled Tribes - No, & area Operational Holdings
(Area in Acres)

S. No.	Size Class (HA)	Individual Holdings		Joint Holdings		Sub Total (Individual Joint Holdings)		Institutional Holdings		Total Holdings	
		No	Area	No	Area	No	Area	No	Area	No	Area
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.	Marginal										
	Below 0.05	6	-			6		-		6	-
	0.05 - 1.23	686	561			686	561			686	561
	1.24 - 2.46	1054	1977			1054	1977			1054	1977
	Total	1746	2538			1746	2538			1746	2538
4.	Small										
	2.47 - 4.93	1286	4632			1286	4632			1286	4632
	Total	1286	4632			1286	4632			1286	4632
5.	Semi -Medium										
	4.94 - 7.40	715	4225			715	4225			715	4225
	7.41 - 9.87	268	2283			268	2283			268	2283
	Total	983	6508			983	6508			983	6508
7.	Medium										
	9.88 - 12.35	179	1974			179	1974			179	1974
	12.36 - 18.52	180	2713			180	2713			180	2713
	18.53 - 24.70	75	1586			75	1586			75	1586
	Total	434	6273			434	6273			434	6273
10	Large										
	24.71 - 49.41	71	2177			71	2177			71	2177
	49.42 & above	2	165			2	165			2	165
	Total	73	2342			73	2342			73	2342
All	Size Classes	4522	22293			4522	22293			4522	22293

Kurnool District
Source : Agriculture Census——1990-91

Table 2.10
Other Castes - No. & area Operational Holdings
(Area in Acres)

S. No.	Size Class (HA)	Individual Holdings		Joint Holdings		Sub Total (Individual Joint Holdings)		Institutional Holdings		Total Holdings	
		No	Area	No	Area	No	Area	No	Area	No	Area
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Marginal											
1.	Below 0.05	455	9			455	9			455	9
2.	0.05 - 1.23	48390	37038			48390	37038	2	1	48392	37039
3.	1.24 - 2.46	56257	106634			56257	106634	2	4	56259	106638
	Total	105102	143681			105102	143681	4	5	105106	143686
Small											
4.	2.47 - 4.93	82249	296697			82249	296697	-	-	82249	296697
	Total	82249	296697			82249	296697			82249	296697
Semi -Medium											
5.	4.94 - 7.40	50146	299119			50146	299119	4	24	50150	299143
6.	7.41 - 9.87	28963	246336			28963	246336	3	28	28966	246364
	Total	79109	545455			79109	545455	7	52	79116	545507
Medium											
7.	9.88 - 12.35	19419	214449			19419	214449	1	11	19420	214460
8.	12.36 - 18.52	25108	379706			25108	379706	7	110	25115	379816
9.	18.53 - 24.70	12156	259531			12156	259531	2	39	12158	259570
	Total	56683	853686			56683	853686	10	160	56693	853846
Large											
10.	24.71 - 49.41	13325	437505	1	33	13326	437538	8	284	13334	437822
11.	49.42 & above	2511	173428	6	517	2517	173945	20	2982	2537	176927
	Total	15836	610933	7	550	15843	611483	28	3266	15871	614749
All	Size Classes	338979	2450452	7	550	338986	2451002	49	3483	339035	2454485

Kumool District
Source : Agriculture Census—1990-91

Irrigation Sources:

If we analyse the area irrigated through various sources in the district, we find that out of total area irrigated, the maximum land i.e., 207142 acres is irrigated through canals followed by wells covering 111174 acres. 28842 acres are irrigated through tanks and 70097 acres under Tube-wells.

In the district as a whole out of the total gross cropped area of 10.10 lakh hectares only 1.79 lakh hectares (16.7%) is irrigated through all sources such as canals, tanks, wells and other sources, net area irrigated is 374981 acres and gross area irrigated is 441170 acres. It is noticed that only 66189 (17.65%) acres are irrigated more than once a year.

Thus irrigation sources are scanty in the district and most of the crops depend on rainfall. The economic backwardness along with economic inequalities is probably one of the major reasons for continuation of factionalism in the district,

Power:

The district receives its power from Tungabhadra and Hampi Hydro-electric Power Stations. Srisailem Hydro-electric power project is constructed across the river Krishna at a distance of 2 Kms from famous Srisailem Temple. There are seven hydro-generators of 110 MW capacity each and electricity produced during 1993-94 was 3798 M.V. Though the district benefits from these projects, it is not sufficient to meet the power requirements of agriculture, industry and household purposes which is evident from the power crisis in the district.

Crops:

Major Crops which are grown in the district are chillies, Groundnut, sun-flower, jowar, rice, cotton, bajra, korra etc. The following table (2.11) gives the area under the principal crops in the district:

Table - 2.11

Area Under Principal crops (in acres)

S.No.	Crop	1993-94
1.	Rice	180689
2.	Jowar	350420
3.	Bajra	47827
4.	Korra	102293
5.	Sunflower	397120
6.	Red gram	50882
7.	Cotton	190989
8.	Groundnut	815086
9.	Tobacco	38305
10.	Chillies	21994
11.	Fruits (vegetables)	78364
12.	Other crops	220894
	Total	2494863

Source: Chief Planning Officer, Kurnool.

With regard to the yield of principal crops during the agricultural year 1993-94 rice has highest yielding per acre followed by groundnut and jowar. Yields of other principal crops are shown in the following table (2.12).

Table - 2.12

Average yield of principal crops (Yield per acres in Kgs.)

S.No.	Crop	Season	1993-94
1.	Rice	Kharif Rabi	1104 807
2.	Jowar	Kharif Rabi	459 429
3.	Bajra	Kharif	399
4.	Korra	Kharif	394
5.	Redgram	Kharif	132
6.	Groundnut	Kharif Rabi	434 809
7.	Cotton		116
8.	Tobacco	—	350
9.	Sunflower	Kharif Rabi	97 323

Source: Asst. Director of Agriculture, Kurnool.

As per the production of principal crops, groundnut is the largest crop followed by paddy, Jowar and cotton. Following table (2.13) shows the principal crops and their production in tonnes.

Table - 2.13

Principal crops and their production in '000' tonnes

S.No.	Crop	Season	1993-94
1.	Paddy	Kharif Rabi	180 12
2.	Jowar	Kharif Rabi	27 125
3.	Bajra	Kharif	19
4.	Korra		40
5.	Redgram		7
6.	Groundnut	Kharif Rabi	316 70
7.	Cotton		131
8.	Tobacco		13
9.	Sunflower	Kharif	32

Source: Asst. Director of Agriculture, Kurnool.

Chillies, cotton, red gram and paddy have highest prices per quintal among major commodities. The following table (2.14) gives the details of prices of major commodities in the district.

Table - 2.14

Farm harvest prices of major commodities
(Prices per Quintal in Rupees)

S.NO.	1993-94	
	Kharif	Rabi
1.	Paddy	400
2.	Jowar	421
3.	Bajra	284
4.	Korra	--
5.	Redgram	--
6.	Chillies	921
7.	Cotton	1667
8.	Groundnut	1344
9.	Corriander	1018
10.	Bengal gram	--
		825

Source: Asst. Director of Agriculture, Kurnool.

Most of the agricultural activities in the district are carried out through traditional implements like ploughs. Sprayers and dusters, water pumps are the other agricultural implements which are used in a limited way. The following table (2.15) represents the number of agricultural implements that are used in agricultural activities in the district in a year.

Table - 2.15
Type of agricultural implements

S.NO.	Name of the agricultural implement	Number
1.	Ploughs	1,03,012
2.	Water Pumps	25,968
3.	Tractors	2,389
4.	Sugarcane crushers	18
5.	Sprayers & dusters	36,396

Source: Chief Planning Officer, Kurnool.

Irrigation Projects:

In the district, there are only three major irrigation projects namely K.C. Canal, Tungabhadra Project Low Level Canal, and Tungabhadra Project High Level Canal. There is only one medium irrigated project i.e., Gajuladinne project. Other than these irrigation projects, sources of irrigation in the district are tanks, wells, tubewells etc.

It is through KC canal that maximum land is irrigated, followed by Tungabhadra PLLC and Gajuladinne project. The following table - 2.16 shows the irrigation details of major/medium irrigation projects.

Table - 2.16

Major/medium Irrigation 1993-94 (in acres)

S.No .	Major/Medium	Name of the Project	Registered area	Actual Net	Area. Irrigation Gross
1.	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Major irrigation	1 KC canal	196121	147929	147929
		2 TBPLLC	152509	97022	97022
		3 TBPHELLC	14850	10035	10035
2.	Medium irrigation	1 .Gajuladinne project.	25320	15393	15393
	Total		388800	270379	270379

Source : Executive Engineer, KCC, TBP and GDP

Industries:

There are 13 major industries in the district. They include Rayalaseema Alkalies and Allied Chemicals Limited, Yemmiganur Spinning Mills limited, Yemmiganur, G.N. Oil Limited, Rayalaseema Mills Limited, Adoni Vanaspati Manufactures, Tunga

Bhadra Machinery and Tools Limited, Kurnool, S.V. Cements Kanakadripalli, A.P. Dairy Development Corporation, Nandyal. The Nandyal Cooperative Sugar Limited, Ponnapuram, Nandyal, M/s. Annapurna Industries Limited, Gajulapalli, Nandyal, Panyam Cements and Minerals Industries Limited, Cement Nagar. The following table shows the products they manufacture, their out put levels in M.Ts and Value in lakhs.

TABLE - 2.17
Production of Selected Industries in the District 1993-94

S.No.	Name of the Unit	Line of Manu- facture	Output M.Ts.	Value (App- rox .) Rs. in lakhs
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Sree Rayalaseema Alkalies & Allied Chemicals Ltd.,	1. Caustic soda 2. Liquid chlorine 3 .Hydrochloric Acid	29688.97 23986.81 6679.23	3422.00 1447.00 121.00
2.	The Yemmiganur Spinning Mills Ltd., Yemmiganur.	Cotton Yarn	28899.31	1718.00
3.	Name not given	G.N. Oil S.F. Oil Cake and Energy Food	2994.00 10.70	877.00 2.64
4.	The Rayalaseema Mills Ltd., Adoni.	Cotton yarn	2517.60	15511.13
5.	Adoni Vanaspathi Mfg. Adoni.	Vanaspathi	nil	nil
6.	Adoni Oxygen Bottlers, Adoni	Oxygen Gas	nil	nil
7.	Tunga Bhadra Machinery and tools Ltd. Kurnool	LPG cylinders	1764	10.93
8.	S.V. Cements Kanakadripalli	Portland Cement	9779.40	1466.91
9.	A.P.Dairy Development Corporation, Nandyal.	Milk products	1146.00	545.13

1	2	3	4	5
10.	Nandyal Cooperative Spinning Mills, Vaddugandla, Nandyal.	Cotton Yarn	1369.48	968.15
11.	The Nandyal Cooperative Sugar Ltd., Ponnapuram, Nandyal	Sugar	Nil	Nil
12.	M s .Annapurna Inds . Ltd., Ganjulapalli, Nandyal	Soft drinks cases	394919	170.38
13.	Panyam Cements & Portland cement Cement Nagar	Portland cement	405742.00	3519.93

Source: Chief Planning Officer, Kurnool.

Apart from the above major industries, 889 factories have been registered under Factories Act in Kurnool district.

There are quite a number of rice mills (95) in the district. There are also 228 small scale industries in the district. Following table - 2.18 gives the category, number of units, total investment, working capital of small scale industries etc.

Table - 2. 18
Small Scale Industries 1993-94
(Rs. in Lakhs)

S.No.	Category of the industry	No.of Units	Total invest-ment	Working capital	No.of workers	Annual production
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Agro Based	28	125.30	248.60	224	620.90
2.	Mineralbased	16	73.66	101.00	164	245.80
3.	Engineering based	24	7.55	29.50	124	760.70
4.	Food Based	3	3.86	7.00	15	17.50
5.	Chemical based	10	39.03	39.20	74	98.10
6.	Forest based	4	7.85	11.50	18	28.30
7.	Leather based	Nil	--	--	--	--
8.	Textiles based	Nil	--	--	--	--
9.	Miscellaneous	143	15.21	38.90	202	105.30
Total		228	272.19	475.70	821	1192.60

Source: Hand Book of Statistics 1993-94. Kurnool

Mandal-wise break up of factories shows highest number of industries are in Bethamcharla (165) followed by Nandyal (131), Dhone (104), Kurnool (92) Adoni (90), Kallur (58), Owk (53), Yemmiganur (23) etc.

There are 14 categories of household industries. Following table (2.19) gives the name of trade, number of persons engaged and per capita income of a person.

Table - 2.19
INDUSTRIES
Household Industries 1993-94

S.No.	Name of the Trade	No.of persons engaged	Average daily earnings per persons Rs.
1.	Carpentry	368	20.00
2.	Black smithy	185	15.00
3.	Basket making	329	15.00
4.	Broom Making	5	10.00
5.	Ada Leaf	152	10.00
6.	Pottery	232	12.00
7.	Handloom weaving	83	15.00
8.	Mat weaving	54	12.00
9.	Rope making	60	10.00
10.	Tanning	123	12.00
11.	Cumle weaving	91	15.00
12.	Tailoring	292	20.00
13.	Agarbathi	1	10.00
14.	Bekary	3	15.00

Source : Hand-Book of Statistics 1993-94

Demographic Features:

Kurnool district has the population of 29.73 lakhs as per 1991 census. Out of which 7.68 lakhs are urban populace and 22.05 lakhs rural. It has the density of 168 people per Sq.km. The decennial growth rate during 1981-91 is 23.50 plus. Urban growth rate is more than rural, while rural growth rate constitutes 21.07 and urban growth rate is 30.12. Sex ratio indicates that there are 953 females per 1000 males; in rural areas female ratio is more (955) than in the case of

urban areae (951). SC and ST population in the district is 5.18 lakhs and 0.56 lakhs respectively. Out of total SCs, 4.15 lakh live in rural and 1.02 lakh in urban areas. Even among STs, rural population (45,453) is more than urban population (11002). The district has 9.67 lakh literates which is 33% as against 44.09 per cent state average. From among the literates in the district, 5.90 lakh are in rural areas and 3.7 lakhs in urban areas. While sex ratio between males and females is almost equal, there are less female literates compared to male literates. There are 3.3 lakh cultivators in the district, out of which 3.2 lakh cultivators are in rural areas. There are 6.6 lakh agricultural labourers, maximum of whom are landless and live in rural Kurnool. There are more female agricultural labourers than males in the district. There are 13.41 lakh total workers in the district. This includes 31,491 in household industry, 3.1 lakh the main workers, and 41,857 the marginal workers. There are 15.9 lakh non-workers in the district. Even among the marginal workers females out number the males. The data is presented in the following table-2.20.

Table - 2.20
Demographic composition: Kurnool District

S.No.	Item		Total	Males	Females
1.	Population	Rural	2204924	1128618	1076306
		Urban	768100	394000	374100
		Total	2973024	1522618	1450406
2.	SC's population	Rural	415736	213812	201924
		Urban	102372	52106	50266
		Total	518108	265918	252190
3.	ST's population	Rural	45453	23258	22195
		Urban	11002	5943	5059
		Total	56455	29201	27254
4.	Literates	Rural	591883	428765	163118
		Urban	375091	231029	144042
		Total	966974	659794	307160
5.	Total Workers	Rural	1098446	642565	455881
		Urban	242534	187608	54926
		Total	1340980	830173	510807

S.No	Item		Total	Males	Females
6.	Cultivators	Rural	321875	238056	83819
		Urban	9946	8468	1478
		Total	331821	246524	85297
7.	Agri.labour	Rural	6155448	279674	335774
		Urban	48901	26549	22352
		Total	620439	306223	358126
8.	House hold Industry	Rural	18146	11577	6569
		Urban	13349	5907	7442
		Total	31495	17484	14011
9.	Other main workers				
		Rural	142977	113258	22719
		Urban	170338	146684	23654
		Total	313315	259942	46373
10.	Marginal workers				
		Rural	38892	2215	36677
		Urban	2965	356	2609
		Total	41857	2571	39286
11.	Non workers	Rural	1067586	483838	583748
		Urban	522601	206036	316565
		Total	1590187	689874	900313

Source : Hand-Book of Statistics, Kurnool District, 1993-94 P.VI

Social Composition:

The principal religious groups in the district, as already mentioned, are numerically speaking the Hindus, Muslims and Christians. There are also the Scheduled Tribes, there are also the Lingayats or Virasaivas who are exclusive worshipers of Siva and wear the Sivalingam. They are the followers of the great religious reformer Basavesvara who rejected all Brahminical practices including caste.

The traditional distribution of occupations, which constitute the *raison d'etra* for the four principal castes, must be regarded to have been greatly altered. In this respect, it may be stated that the Varnasramadharm has yielded place to the Yugadharma. The Brahmin has no more a monopoly of learning and priesthood than the Vaisya of trade, the Kshatriya of governance or the Sudra of tilling the soil. Nevertheless, we can even now broadly identify certain castes or groups with specific occupations. The Vaisyas of the district are, for example, largely

engaged in trade and some in money-lending. The Kapus (Reddis), Kammas and Balijas, distributed all over the district, are largely land-owning and cultivating. The Madigas (1,17,870) and the Malas (61,286), who form the two principal sub-castes under the Harijans, are largely laborers, both agricultural and non-agricultural. Some of them also hold land as tenants. Tanning and shoemaking are also pursued by many of the Harijans. The Malas also take to weaving of coarse white cotton cloth. These classes also perform services pertaining to the public needs of the village as a whole.

There are also some other groups associated with distinct professions or trades. For instance, the Edigas, who were engaged in the tapping and sale of arrack in the district before prohibition, have been rehabilitated as agricultural workers. The recent relaxation by the Government in permitting the tapping and selling of sweet toddy (Neera) has revived for these people their professional opportunities to some extent. The Yadavas, who seriously object to being called Gollas, are primarily a caste of graziers and cowherds and have a distinctly agricultural background. The Togatas and padmasalees are the chief weaver castes. The Viswabrahmins also called Kamsalas constitute primarily a community of goldsmiths, blacksmiths, coppersmiths and brasssmiths. The Vadrangis are carpenters. There are also the Kurubas (traditional shepherds), Bestas (fishermen), Boyas (also called Valmikis - the Talaris or village servants), Chakalas (washermen), Mangalas (barbers), Kummaras (potters), Oddes (earth diggers and stone-cutters), Upparas (labourers both agricultural and non-agricultural) and Pitchiguntas (bards of Kapus).

Tribes:

Sugalis or Lambadas also called Banjaras are in a good number in Kurnool district. They are a well-built and sturdy race. They speak the Lambadi language. Mostly they live in colonies called 'Tandas' which are located quite away from the villages. In the past, they occupied themselves in the transportation of food grains by using pack animals. Due to the advent of modern transportation methods, they lost that occupation. They do not generally mix with the local population. Most of them are

engaged as labourers. Polygamy and widow marriage are in practice. Lambada widows generally marry the brothers of their deceased husbands. It is usual for divorced women to marry again. The Lambadas worship the Lords Krishna and Venkateswara.

Yerukalas speak a dialect of their own. They live in huts on the outskirts of villages. They possess pigs, cattle and horses. They make bamboo and date mats and baskets of all sizes. Some women are fortune tellers. Many of these families have also settled in villages and carry on cultivation. They also make 'Yepi' ropes for cots.

Chencus are an aboriginal tribe and are perhaps the oldest inhabitants of the Nallamalais of this district. Legend traces their origin to God Narasimha of Ahobilam who, it is believed, obtained for his bride Chenchita and the result of the union was the creation of numerous progeny. Their existence in this part even in A.D. 1694, when Aurangzeb's son Muazzam passed through this district, is recorded. Once a plundering and menacing tribe, they have been gradually settling down as agriculturists. Some others engaged themselves in non-agricultural pursuits as laborers also. They live in small communities called Gudems which are generally placed near the plains the villages and are never shifted from place to place. Their huts are either in the shape of beehives or along with sloping roof. They speak Telugu in a peculiar tone.⁷

Transport and Communications:

The District is connected by 3926,986 kms. of road. Most of which is under the district administration. Of this road length cement road constitute 9040 kms and black top roads 2055,998 kms. The metal roads constitute 939,043 kms and non metal roads 920,840 kms, as shown in the following table 2.21.

There are in all 47,713 vehicles out of which 47,133 vehicles are on the road. As far as communications are concerned there are 739 post offices, 254 telegraph offices, 880 community radio sets and 43 government TV sets in the district.

Table - 2.21

Length of Roads in the District as on 31st March 93-94
Kurnool District (in Kms.)

S.No.	Item	Total	Cement	Black	Metalled	Unmetalled
1.	National Highways Public Works Dept.	91.000	--	91.000		
2.	State Highways	585.770	5. 771	580.189		
3.	Major District Roads.	1868.091	--	1351.704	369.674	166.713
4.	Zilla Praja Parishad Roads.	752.045	2.206	31.065	425.294	293.030
5.	Mandal Praja Parishad	630.080	1.063	2.040	164.080	461.097
Total		3926.986	9.040	2055.998	939.048	920.840

Source: Regional Transport Officer, Kurnool.

Education:

Total number of schools in the district is 2,273. This includes primary, upper primary and High Schools. The total number of colleges is 84 that includes professional and Jr. Colleges. There are three Primary Schools under Central Government Management, 34 under the State Government, 108 under Municipal administration.

There are 1522 primary schools under Mandal Praja Parishad and one Upper Primary School under State Government, 15 Upper Primary Schools under Municipalities. There are 17 Aided Primary

Schools and 54 Unaided Primary Schools under Mandal Praja Parisads, There are 133 Upper Primary Schools in the district. There are 8 Secondary Schools under the management of State Government for the Boys and six for Girls. There are 11 Secondary Schools under Municipalities. There are 36 Aided Schools under State Government and 24 Unaided Secondary Schools. There are 7 Residential Schools and 5 Social Welfare Residential Schools. There are 163 schools under Zilla Parishad. In addition to this there are 5 Aided Oriental Secondary Schools. There are in all 84 unaided schools in the district⁸. But these educational institutions are not sufficient to provide education to all in the district. A.P. Govt. in 1994 proposed to establish more number of schools as a specific policy towards faction-prone districts in order to provide more education to the people in the district with a view that there is linkage between educational backwardness of the district and factionalism.

Employment / Unemployment

As per the unemployment in the district is concerned, 1,53,666 applicants are registered in the employment exchanges. Out of them highest number of educated unemployed are matriculates followed by Intermediate and Engineering students. Following Table - 2.22 shows the educated unemployed as per the enrollment at employment exchanges .

Table - 2.22
Registration and placement by the employment exchange in
respect of educated applicants

S.No. Educational	No. of applicants on the live register		
	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
i] Matriculation	75926	60956	79630
ii] Intermediate	28639	42946	8608
iii] Diploma holders	1875	1972	2085
iv] Graduates			
a] Engineering	--	--	6547
b] Medical			
c] Other subjects	4203	5201	
Total	110643	111075	96870

Source; District Employment Officer, Kurnool.

As far as employment by occupational divisions are concerned, highest unemployed are freshers and unskilled, the details of unemployed as per occupation divisions are given in table - 2.23. This unemployment also provides basis for factionalism in the district in terms of unemployed youth becoming followers to the faction leaders in the villages.

Table - 2.23
No. of Applicants on L.R. Classified by
occupational divisions - 1993-94

S.No.	Occupational divisions of Unemployed	Number
1.	Professional Executive and Medical persons	17960
2.	Administrative Executive and managerial work	6547
3.	Clerical Sales and allied worker	3785
4.	Farmers	2132
5.	Mines Carrying and related workers	8621
6.	Workers in transport and occupation	260
7.	Crafts and production process workers	
8.	Service and sports	10260
9.	Others (Freshers who could not have either vocational training or work experience)	65216
10.	Un-skilled	44728
Total		159509

Source: Dist. Employment Officer, Kurnool.

Judiciary:

In the district, 4924 original suits are pending till 31.3.1994. This includes 1628 small causes suits, 622 regular appeals, 190 civil miscellaneous, 2825 execution petitions, 101 insolvency petitions. Following table - 2.24 gives details about the nature of cases pending in the district courts.

Table - 2.24

Nature of cases pending in the District Courts

S.No.	Nature of the cases	Pending at the beginning as on 4/93	Institutions during the year	Total for disposal	Disposals during the year	Pending at the end of the 3/94
1.	Original suits	4340	3543	7883	2959	4924
2.	Small causes suits	1329	4273	5602	3974	1628
3.	Regular appeals	615	220	835	173	662
4.	Civil Miscellaneous - ous	163	93	256	66	190
5.	Execution petitions	2273	2233	4506	1681	2825
6.	Insolvency Petitions	77	59	136	35	101

Source: Hand Book of Statistics. 1993-94, Kurnool.

Police and Crime:

There are 92 police stations and 10 outposts. 12 police stations are located at Mandal headquarters. Other details regarding police are given in table-2.25.

Table - 2.25

Police Stations and Police Force during 1993-94

S.No.	Item	1992-93	1993-94
1.	Police Stations	87	92
2.	Out posts	10	10
3.	Mandals:	12	12
4.	Police Force		
	i) Ordinary (Civil)		
	a] Officers	147	148
	b] Men	1643	1643
	ii] Armed Reserve		
	a] Officers	27	27
	b] Men	520	520

Source: District Superintendent of Police, Kurnool.

The chart on incidence of crime during the year 1993-94 shows that there were 190 murders, 26 dacoities, 37 robberies, 155 house breaking, 20 cattle thefts and 251 other crimes in the district.⁹

Co-operative Sector:

In the District there are 737 co-operative societies during the year 1993-94. The membership in these societies is 6,91,000. They are running with the working capital of Rs.31,24,95,000. As per the Mandal wise data, it is the Kurnool Mandal which has the highest number of cooperative societies and Kottapalli and Kosigi Mandals have the lowest. There are also 55 fisheries co-operative societies and 245 Cooperative Milk Collection Centres with a membership of 28430 with a share capital of Rs.161880.00. The share capital of Fisheries Co-operative Societies and their working capital amounts to Rs.6,15,000. There are 553 other type of Cooperative Societies in the district with 102765 members running with the working capital of Rs.7,80,98,000. There is one District

Co-operative Central Bank limited with 19 banks in its jurisdiction. There are 184 Primary Agriculture Credit and Multipurpose Co-operative Societies in the district. There is one District Co-operative Society Marketing Limited, under which Rs.1,71,164 lakhs are distributed under short term loans and Rs. 695.85 lakhs under long term during 1993-94¹⁰. When the elections to the co-operative societies takes place, there is a direct intervention of factions and this also accentuates factionalism in the district.

Panchayat Raj:

There are 821 Panchayats, 54 Mandal Prajaparishads and one Zilla Parishad. Since 1955, a three-tier system consisting of Gram Panchayats, Samithies, and Zillaparishads form the administrative structure of the Panchayat Raj system. When TDP came to power the same three-tier system has been continued but samithies were changed into Mandals. In the place of one Panchayat Samithi, 3 or 4 Mandal Praja Parishads were set up. There are 54 mandals in the district with each mandal covering 20 to 25 villages for the population of 35,000 to 55,000 and its own Praja Parishad. The election system and the election procedures to ZPs and MPPs were further modified when the TDP came to power for the second time in 1994.¹¹

Faction villages in the district:

The main feature of the district is prevalence of intense factionalism. This is evident from the fact that faction villages have been increasing every year. This can be known from the police records, because police categorise them as faction villages each year in order to arrange bandobust in these villages.

In all there are totally 918 Revenue Villages in the district. Out of them , the number of faction villages from 1987 till 1995 are shown in the following table - 2.26.

Table -2.26
No. of factions villages in the district

Sl.No.	Year	No. of Faction villages in the district	% to the total revenue villages
1.	1987	134	14.59
2.	1988	125	13.61
3.	1989	data not available	
4.	1990	114	12.41
5.	1991	118	12.85
6.	1992	108	11.76
7.	1993	113	12.30
8.	1994	136	14.81
9.	1995	111	12.09

Source:Computed from Records of Police Research Centre, Hyderabad

Factional Violence in Kurnool District:

Like Mafia killings in Italy or day-to-day killings in Bihar, the rival factions in Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh attack each other daily with bombs under some pretext or the other. The bomb culture in the district can be traced back to 1972 when a man called Eashwara Reddy exploded the first bomb in Allagadda. Until then factions had fought with each other with sickles. Though certain leaders carried rifles, they were only used for intimidating hostile-factions. The using of bombs is most common and there is constant demand for them. About 30 to 40 families in each constituency are involved in

'bomb-making'¹². The police records show that during the year 1995, in all 2436 bombs were seized by the police in the faction affected areas.¹³

Two indicators are taken to analyse the trend of violence in the district. They are: (a) total number of murders: (b) total number of faction murders.

The trend of violence has been increasing over the years in the district. In the total murders committed in the State for forty years from 1956-1995, Kurnool district occupies first place for thirty years, and second place for 9 years, and third rank for one year. This data is shown in the following table-2.27.

Table - 2.27

Murders-Rankwise-Kurnool District
From 1956-1995
(40 years)

Ranks	No. of Years
First rank	30
Second rank	9
Third rank	1
Total	40

Source: Computed from the records of Police Research Centre, Hyderabad.

From 1986 onwards number of murders are increasing in the district. It is discernable that for the last seven years (1989-95) the trend of violence has been increasing rapidly in terms of number of murders in Kurnool District. This data is shown in the following table-2.28.

Table - 2.28
No. of murders in Kurnool district and A.P. State

S.No.	Year	Total No. of murders in the state	No. of murders in the district	%
1.	1986	1568	114	7.2
2.	1987	1771	119	6.7
3.	1988	1981	123	6.2
4.	1989	2231	146	6.5
5.	1990	2539	159	6.2
6.	1991	2730	145	5.3
7.	1992	2720	169	6.2
8.	1993	2454	177	7.2
9.	1994	2338	204	8.7
10.	1995	2405	210	8.7

Source: Police Research Centre, Hyderabad.

With regard to faction murders during 1971-1995 (the last 23 years), the district Kurnool occupied first rank for 13 years, and second rank for remaining 10 years. This data is presented in the following table-2.29.

Table 2.29
Factional murders - Rankwise - Kurnool District from 1971-1995

Sl.No.	Rank	No. of years
1.	First Rank	13 (1971-1984)
2.	Second Rank	10 (1985-1995)
	Total	23

Source: Computed from the records of Police Research Centre

There is a need to give the justification of our sample villages in addition to the macro profile of the district as this gives us sufficient idea about the nature of villages that we have chosen for our study. Data about these villages is collected from 13 police stations as well as by primary survey in the villages.

Justification of Bangle villages:

As stated earlier 13 villages, one village from each constituency have been taken up for analysing village factions.

Case - 1:

Nallagatla Village:

In Allagadda constituency, Nallagatla the oldest faction village is studied as the faction between Reddies and backward caste Baliyas started in 1947. The disputes later on increased and factions got intensified on many issues which included claiming the right over Government lands. Totally 24 murders took place in the factional violence so far. The faction leaders are middle level farmers and the followers come from Scheduled Castes. This village is chosen because of its violent nature, long lasting factions and castist nature of factions and political patronage it receives from higher level factional leaders of two political parties.

Case - 2 :

Yerakalacheruvu village:

This village in Dhone constituency is taken for the study as it has a long history of factions between backward caste Baliyas and Backward caste Edigas, typical of Southern part of the district. The factions began in two caste groups in 1938 in the wake of zilla board elections, wherein they supported two leaders in the taluk - Late K.E. Madanna and Sri Chinnapa Reddy, - paternal uncle of Kotla Vijaya Bhasker Reddy. The faction per-

siste till now around toddy and liquor contracts and also elections. In all 15 murders were committed in this village so far. Faction leaders have medium land holdings and the followers are agricultural labourers from both backward and schedule castes. This case assumes importance as the factions get patronage from two important political leaders, K.E. Krishna Murthy and Kotla Vijaya Bhasker Reddy.

Case - 3:

P. Kotakonda Village :

This village in Pattikonda constituency is violent. It also has a long history. The factions are within the same backward caste i.e., Boyas. They began in the year 1940 for maintaining supremacy and dominance in the village. Factions got intensified since 1996. So far 80 murders took place due to the factional violence. Presently the faction is led by a backward caste Kuruva woman with Boyas as followers against Reddy faction leader. While the small farmers are the faction leaders the illiterate agricultural labourers are members in the faction.

Case - 4 :

Koitaku Kanala Village:

This village in Kovelakuntla constituency is known for factions for quite some years. The factions started in 1957 between two Reddy leaders for gaining power in the village in the Panchayat elections. The faction got intensified in the late 80's. The earlier factions were dormant for about 20 years. The present factions took a shape due to support that they extended

to two different factional leaders in 1983 Assembly elections. It is not a very violent faction village as there were three murders. While the leaders are the factional leaders with medium land holdings the followers are dependent on agricultural labour. The followers joined the factions cutting across the caste lines.

Case - 5:

Parla Village:

This village is in Kurnool Assembly constituency. It has a factional history of 20 years. Initially it lasted from 1960 to 1980 and with a gap of 10 years once again it raised its ugly head from 1990 onwards. The total number of murders is 20. This faction is between Forward Caste Reddies and Scheduled Castes. Initially Reddies and Scheduled Castes were supporting two different political parties Congress-I & CPM respectively, and they restricted their activities only to political groups. Later these groups developed as factions encouraged by high level factional leaders. The membership is based on the caste lines, while Reddy followers support Reddy faction leader and scheduled castes support SC factional leader. The effect of the patronage of higher level faction leaders to the village leaders is high.

Case - 6:

Polakal Village:

This village is in Kodumur constituency. The factions in this village started from 1956, with Panchayat elections. The factions are between BCs and SCs. It is a less violent faction village with two murders. The caste rivalry is the main cause

for the factions in the village. The faction leaders are small farmers whereas followers, who are poor and illiterates, belong to different caste groups.

Case - 7:

Ramapuram Village:

This village is in Panyam constituency. The faction started in 1970s. This was primarily for supremacy in the village. This has changed now for gaining control over the slab industries in the village. The faction leaders are medium farmers with ownership of slab industries whereas followers are the Scheduled Castes labourers in the slab industry. This village is prone to violence though only three murders occurred so far. Always tensions keep occurring and hence this village is chosen as a sample village.

Case - 8:

Velpanur Village:

This village is in Atmakur constituency. It is chosen as it had factions in the late 50s but subdued for a long time. They rose again in 1980 due to competition for arrack trade and canal project work. This makes it possible to compare between the old and new factions. The leaders of the factions are Reddies and the followers come from the Scheduled Castes. There have been four murders in this village. The village faction leaders themselves are noted faction leaders who graduated themselves into important political leaders under the patronage of different political parties.

Case - 9:

Nannur Village:

This village is in Nandikotkur Assembly constituency. In this village faction between Muslims and Boyas started in 1992 due to enraging the incident involving woman's modesty resulting in a murder. This village is chosen to analyse the nature of factions when they were patronised by two political leaders in the constituency and their nature particularly when both the factions come under the patronage of one dominant faction leader in the constituency. It is a less violent faction village with two murders but tensions keep on taking place.

Case - 10:

Kotekal Village:

This village is in Yemmiganur Assembly constituency. They were old faction of 1970, between the two backward castes - Boyas and Lingayats. The present factions in the village originated due to the dealership for a fair price shop. These groups have direct political patronage. This village is chosen because faction tension is a regular phenomenon from 1992. The leaders as well as followers belong to backward caste. There have been two murders.

Case - 11:**Halvi Village:**

This village is in Adoni constituency. The factions are between the same community i.e., Gowdas. The faction began among the Gowdas in late 80s due to political differences and support to two different political parties i.e., Congress-I and TDP. The leaders belong to small farmers and followers to agricultural labourers. This village is chosen mainly to analyse intracaste factions which are patronised by the political parties.

Case - 12:**Pedda Hothur Village :**

This village is in Alur Assembly constituency. The faction is between two dominate castes - Reddies and Kammas. This started in 1980s. It is supported by two different political parties. This village is chosen mainly to analyse how the factions among the dominant castes operate. The faction leaders are medium farmers and followers constitute the poor scheduled castes. Although two murders took place in the village, the electoral tensions are found to be quite high.

Case - 13:**Narayanapuram Village:**

This village is in Nandyal Assembly constituency. It had factions during 1960s and 1970s but the present factions began in late 80s due to a murder in the elections. This village is

chosen mainly to analyse how the factions functioned under the patronage of congress party till the emergence of TDP and how the dynamics changed with the patronage of two different political parties i.e., Congress-I and TDP. The factions are between two different backward castes. While the leaders are medium farmers, the followers are agricultural labour. It is a less violent faction village with two murders so far but electoral tensions are quite high.

Problems faced in the field-work

The study faced many problems in carrying out the primary survey in the villages where there is intense factionalism. First of all, it was difficult to enter the faction villages as the faction leaders do not allow any stranger without their permission. Hence in the case study villages, with the help of Journalists, Bank-official, Police Constable, APCLC activists, kins of erstwhile village Karanams, and an old friend it was possible to establish the credentials and necessary rapport. Several of these persons accompanied the researcher as they had the familiarity both with the people and more so with the faction leaders. In spite of such an effort some of the faction leaders suspected the researcher as an agent of police/CBI. The Identity card from the university had to be produced to convince them that the research was undertaken with an intention to write a book on them. The study, in a way, commenced in an intimidating climate. It needed time and tact to strike some rapport with the faction leaders. Yet there were difficulties in gathering sensitive information relating to violence and the processes associated with it. As far as followers are concerned open interviews could be conducted only with the specific followers who were permitted by the leaders. Stay in the village also posed problems

as staying with any family can lead to suspicion and every family belong to one faction or the other. Researcher had relatives in the district through whom he could cross check or secure the information about the faction leaders and followers. There were also problems in interviewing the widows of the faction victims as they were reluctant to share information about their killed husbands. Even after the rapport was struck it was difficult as the interview led to emotional breakdowns as they recounted the ghastly incidents. The top faction leaders were playing hide and seek as they were not inclined to share their experiences. In spite of several attempts some of the leaders could not be contacted. The Data about their role could be collected only from higher police officers and intellegentia in the towns.

Limitations of the study

The study of such a complex nature is beset with many limitations. But for this, the study would have become much more richer. The major limitation is while dealing with village factions, given the nature of violent faction leaders, the researcher had to interview only particular faction followers who are allowed to be interviewed by the faction leaders and the researcher had to interview only them. Nevertheless the study obtained useful and relevant information through as many sources as possible. Secondly, to map the network and structure of factions from village to district, the higher level faction leaders were inaccessible. This was partly because of their deep involvement in political and other activities but partly due to their frequent and quick movements from district to the state headquarters. Thirdly, the study could not cover some of the Polegar family members as their addresses and whereabouts were

not known. Fourthly, the researcher was not allowed to directly observe the elections as they indulge in several unhealthy practices that they do not want an outsider to observe and more so record them. Researcher also faced another problem in getting reliable data on how the developmental schemes are processed and the role played by the faction leaders. The beneficiaries on whose names the schemes were sanctioned did not divulge the names due to their dependence on factional leaders. The researcher had difficulty in collecting the data on court cases, on faction murderers as there are several individuals who get implicated willingly or unwillingly. Some of them undergo punishment for murders which they might not have committed.

Notwithstanding the limitations, every effort was made to collect the data from all the available sources. It may be stated that under the given conditions the study could not be better than the present one. There is scope for further enquiry and it is hoped that some of the questions that it throws up would be studied.

References:

- 1) For the profile of the district, the secondary sources like the census of India 1991, Hand-book of Statistics, Kurnool District, published by Chief Planning Officer, Kurnool and Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteer, Kurnool District, published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad are used.
2. Polegar is an armed chieftain over group of villages, a few or hundred in extent. Rule of Polegars started after the decline of the 'war state' of the Rayas of Vijayanagara, which amounted to little more than plain plunder by the Chieftain and his violent gangmen of castemen and followers.

3. A. P. District Gazetteer, Kurnool district, Hyderabad, 1997, p.1.
4. Hand-book of Statistics, 1953-94, Kurnool District.
5. Nandikotkur, Pagidyala, Kothapalli, Pamulapadu, Atmakur, Velugodu, Jupadu Bungalow, Midthur, Bandi Atmakur, Gadivemula, Nandyala, Mahanandi, Panyam, Banaganapally, Owk, Koilkuntla, Sanjamala, Kolimigundla, Uyyalawada, Dornipadu, Allagadda, Sirvella, Gospadu, Rudravaram and Chagalamarri, mandals.
6. Pathikonda, Tuggali, Maddikera, Devanakonda, Gonegandla, Dhone, Peapully, Veldurthy, Bethamcherla, Krishnagiri, Kurnool, Orvakal, Kallur, Kodumur, C.Belagal, Gudur, Yemmiganur, Nandavaram, Mantralayam, Adoni, Peddakadubur, Kosigi, Kowthalam, Alur, Aspari, Holagunda, Halaharvi and Chippagiri Mandals.
7. Andhra Pradesh District Gazeteer, Kurnool, Govt. of A. P., pp.61-63.
8. Hand Book of Statistics, Ibid. p. 156-166.
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10. Hand Book of Statistics, Ibid, p. 171-184.
11. C.V. Raghuram and E.A. Narayana: "Reforms in Panchayat Raj: A Comparative analysis of A.P. Karnataka, and west Bengal", the Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 38, No.1, Jan-March, 1991, pp. 34-46.
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III. FACTIONALISM: HISTORICAL AND SOCIO ECONOMIC ORIGINS

I

This chapter attempts to analyse the nature of factionalism and the reasons as to why it is fraught with culture of violence in the Rayalaseema region and also to trace the growth of factions in Kurnool district from pre-independence to post-independence period.

The present scenario indicates that the armed factional culture is prevailing in the three districts, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Anantapur of Rayalaseema. While landed disputes, conflicts for personal prestige and dominance characterise the politics in the state, it is in Rayalaseema that they lead to murders and counter murders as the factions are armed factions. To this issue people mythically remark that the 'soil' of Rayalaseema is known for such behaviour and its water nourishes it. They also attribute it to the "water" of rivers like Kundu and Handri'. The other question as to why in Rayalaseema in general and specifically in Kurnool district, the culture of acquiring power and property through terror or using arms, prevails? This is because, to quote Dr. Balagopal, "What prevails in Rayalaseema is a culture in which the human traits of loyalty and faith are tied to the feudal-patriarchal mode of society, so that the liberty we are speaking of may well be seen as an illegitimate disloyalty to the natural leaders and elders of society, and would be recognised as legitimate only if there is an opposition faction within the dominant class to whom the loyalty can be transferred. Existing conjointly as this trait does with a proneness to violent expression of anger, which is again sharper in Rayalaseema than elsewhere, it can mean that the desire for

individual liberty may attract violent hostility from one's own fellow creatures, persons of one's own class, caste and family. Even in factional conflicts among followers of different Reddy landlords, the violent anger and hatred that can and does divide close kith and kin is starting to an observer unfamiliar with the specific mode of feudal culture dominant in Rayalaseema. Further Village Factions (armed gangs) have evidently outgrown their origins in Village Factions) Village factions born of conflict between Reddy landlords (but also a few non-Reddy landlords and elders of close-knit castes as the Boyas, too) over property and power (and some times women) have a long history in the Rayalaseema districts. Every slight, imagined or real, had to be avenged as viciously as every substantial challenge to one's power, property or prestige. Assault, murder and burning of houses and cornstalks was the principal means of the assertion of one's strength and 'manhood'. And, of course, each such attack had to be avenged with equal 'manliness' from the other side. This meant the creation of hereditary enmity that went on from generation to generation, often until one family was either exterminated or driven out of the village. It also meant the creation of loyal gangs from out of poorer castemen and lower castes by each warring side, and as the gangs indulged in mutual violence, subsidiary enmity between fresh families lower down the social scale would be created. These gangs (even today) are different from urban mafias in two respects: one is that they are made up not of professional criminals but peasants (though they do involve themselves in illicit activity such as smuggling forest produce, growing opium or making liquor illegally), and the second is that what binds the gang to the master is not only pecuniary or other material benefits (though there is often plenty of it) but also an intense feudal loyalty, the loyalty owed as a matter of traditional 'dharma', to the 'elders' of the

village, which means either uppercaste landlords or the hereditary elders of each caste, especially the tight-knit castes such as the very militant and clannish Boyas. Over this factionalism was super-imposed another trait that Rayalaseema inherited from the anarchy that followed the demise of the 'war state' of the Rayas of Vijayanagar: the rule of armed chieftains (sometimes called 'polegars') over groups of villages, a few or hundreds in extent, a rule that amounted to little more than plain plunder by the chieftain and his violent gang of casteman and followers."¹

Rayalaseema - the land of the Rayas (of Vijayanagar) - has always been a land of predators. The word raya - like Raja, Rana, etc - indicate feudatory status, but the Rayas of Vijayanagar were nobody's feudatories when they could help it. At the height of their prowess they ruled over substantial part of the Deccan, and of the Tamil plains. To Nilakantha Sastry, the arch-brahmanical historian of South India, theirs was the warrior Hindu State par excellence. It was after their decline that their feudatories, the nayakas and the polegars, took over, the latter of the two being the closest Indian approximation to Chinese war lords². These armed gang of predators were known as Polegars. These Polegars dictated and maintained dominance with high handedness through armed strength. During 1880 when British acquired control over the ceded districts (Kurnool, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Bellari) from Hyderabad Nizam, there were 80 Polegars having under their exclusive command about 30,000 armed peons, subsisted by rapine and committed everywhere the greatest excesses³. It was a herculean task for Thomas Munroe, the first collector of ceded districts to control them. Out of 80 Polegars, 22 belonged to Kurnool district [not the present Kurnool district but erstwhile Kurnool which was in Markapur division) . Polegars centers at that time were the villages

like, Kotakonda, Devanakonda, Kapatralla, Owk and Kovellakuntla. This indicates that during 1800 AD., these Polegars known as military chieftains by the British were present in these villages. All these villages are notorious even now for armed factions. As per the records available Kovelakuntla taluk was famous for factional vengeance since the beginning of the 20th Century. It means, though Thomas Munroe suppressed these Polegars in Kovelakuntla by the beginning of the 19th century, this culture of maintaining dominance through armed violence continued.⁴

Owk mandal which was in erstwhile Kovelakuntla taluk in Kurnool district is a centre for armed factions even now. Together with some villages in Owk, factionists are ruling this place as a parallel state with bombs and guns. In the same way villages like Kotakonda and Kapatralla in the mandal of Devanakonda of Pattikonda taluk are affected with factional rivalries⁵.

Though one can link present day factional culture to Polegar culture, but one cannot entirely cite the polegar culture as a sole reason for present day faction because the other places in Chittoor district like Kalahasti, Pakala, Karvetrinagaram, Thunganur which were once Polegar centres do not have armed factional dominance of the kind that we find in Kurnool, although these places still continue to be feudal. Further in Chittoor district there were 30 Polegars as compared to Kurnool District which had 22 polegars. There is no armed factional culture in Chittoor district. In the same way the villages like Pullachuruvu, Tripuranthakam, Yerragondapalem which are at present in Prakasham district [earlier in Kurnool district) were notorious for factional conflicts since the days

of Kondaviti Reddies; and even during the Vijayanagara period. But presently in these places there are no armed factions or factional rivalries as that of present day Allagadda and Kovellakuntla. Further, during Vijayanagara period, Rayalaseema Polegars wielded more dominance in Tamil Nadu compared to Rayalaseema. This happened because when Vijayanagara rulers wanted to attack Tamil Desam, some Telugu military chieftains were deployed. After the war they did not return to Andhra but settled in the Borders of Tamil Nadu and Andhra. These military chieftains established small kingdom by plundering the wealth of Tamil villages. Madurai rulers who were under the suzerainty of Vijayanagara Rayalus had established small territories with some villages and appointed military chieftains as their rulers.⁶ Yet there is no armed dominant factional violent culture in Tamil Nadu.

Let us see if we can find a link between the economic backwardness of the districts with the armed factional violent culture? In backward regions there is a possibility of prevalence of crude feudalism and violence in the villages. Kurnool district has been backward in terms of rainfall and irrigation facilities. In British period Kurnool district had been declared as drought prone region. Though KC canal was dug 125 years ago still it is a drought district. While Kovelakuntla receives higher rain fall among all the other Taluks, owk of Kovelakuntal taluk receives the least rainfall. Thus one can infer the causes for dominance and exploitation through arms due to the backwardness, poverty, illiteracy and political apathy. But one cannot immediately come to the conclusion that backwardness trigger of factionalism because Allagadda Taluk of Kurnool district which is highly developed because of large area under KC canal is also known for armed

factions at present. Further, Nandikotkur and Atmakur with good irrigation sources under KC canal also have armed factions.⁷

So how to explain this phenomena, particularly when we find no direct link between Polegar system and backwardness of the region and the armed factions? The explanation has to be sought from somewhere in the historical origins. It is a historical fact that since the vijayanagara days, Rayalaseema had the culture of local rulers as well as rule by military chieftains apart from the central rule by Vijayanagara kings. Though Vijayanagara kingdom was characterised as war state, Vijayanagara Rulers had never succeeded in centralising the armed forces. Vijayanagara rulers had given powers to rule small territories to those rulers who had military forces. These military rulers used to pay the taxes to the king and supply military services to the kings whenever needed. The small rulers enjoyed autonomy. It is estimated that during the Krishnadevaraya time there were 200 local rulers. Decentralisation of power was not restricted to establishment of local rule but was also for maintaining law and order through the local landlords in the borders of the state. It was these oppressors who were known as polegars. It seems the polegars rose to the status of armed landlords subsequently and started dominating the villages without helping the state in any way. These armed landlords maintained armed dominance through their military. Kings used to give hundreds of acres as jageer to the appointed polegars. After the decline of the Vijayanagara empire these polegars in Rayalaseema established independent territories by suppressing the people with high handedness without any rule or norm. At the higher level, power however changed from one nawab to another. By 1755 A.D. Kurnool dis-

trict had gone under the control of Nawab Hyder Ali of Mysore. His son Tippu Sultan was deputed by the Nizam of Hyderabad through British help. As a part of Srirangapatnam agreement, Nizam of Hyderabad got Kurnool, Cuddapah and Bellari districts. By 1800 AD these districts were ceded to British and that is how Rayalaseema districts had become ceded districts. There were 80 polegars in Rayalaseema as mentioned earlier and in the Kurnool districts they were in the villages of Kotakonda, Kapatralla, Dudekonda, Pandikona, Devanakonda, Basavapur, Pullalachervu, Bollupalle, Syayapanyani, Marrivemula, Chapalamadugu, Venkatadripalem, Wurlagunta, Owk, Nallagatla, Kovelakuntla, Singapatnam, Kaluvadda, Mutialpadu (Mytyalapadu), Wuhurapur (Virupapuram) Pyapali (Peapully) and Maddikera. Some of them were recognised as Zamindars and some were suppressed and disarmed of their powers.⁸ And pensions were given to some of them as compensation. Thus these were part of the Rayalaseema plegar culture. Given the political changes that occurred, this culture had undergone some changes over the period. Nevertheless the present day armed dominant factions reflect the inheritance of plegar's political culture.

II

Nature and growth of factions in Kurnool district

The history of factions in Kurnool district is the history of power politics predominantly for supremacy in the village. Factions in the district before the independence were mainly formed due to property disputes, illicit contacts with women, and forcible marriages of children. The factions formed for these reasons escalated into serious conflicts giving rise. Those who commit murders maintain a faction for safety

and the rivals maintain a group to avenge the murder. For every murder invariably there would be a counter murder. For every attack there was counter attack, crop for crop, stray for stray, burning house for house used. Thus both the factional groups were engaged in destroying themselves. According to Imperial Gazetteer 1908, 'murders occur frequently in Kurnool district. Reasons for these murders were either personal vengences or disputes relating to land. Mostly land disputes lead to serious lootings. Kovellakuntla is famous for these types of tensions.'¹⁰ During the pre-independence period those who were indulging in endemic factional conflicts were looked upon as totally unwise. For those who were maintaining factions had to spend a lot of money and in the process they were loosing property.¹¹

The Elections for District Boards and Taluk Boards, before independence were sources for factional activities. These elections were fought on non-party basis being supported by the Congress and the non congress parties. For instance, in 1938 elections for taluk boards, there was a contest between K.E. Madanna from congress party and Chinna Subba Reddy, paternal uncle of Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy from Justice Party. This led to political rivalry between Laddagiri Nagi Reddy, father of Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy and K.E. Madanna as Chinna Subba Reddy lost the elections. Since Madanna belonged to Krishnagiri Firka in Dhone taluk and Nagi Reddy of Laddagiri belonged to Kodumur, the political rivalry got centered in these areas.¹² These political rivalries continue to prevail in the form of factions between K.E.'s family and Kotla's family in some areas of Kurnool District till this day.

After the independence factions have been nourished to acquire and maintain dominance in the villages. The advent of Panchayati Raj institutions provided one more cause for the continuation of factions on a non party basis between individual and individual to get elected for panchayats. In the process of acquiring dominance through electoral fights, the policy of physical elimination is resorted to by the faction leaders. Once a factionist is murdered it would trigger the cycle of murdering. That is how electoral politics acquire murderous character.¹³

Later on the elections to the Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad also led to increased factionalism as they were non party based and fought on individual basis. The struggle for political power at Samithi level intensified factionalism in the villages. The power struggle from above percolated down to the villages through their henchmen, Panchayati Presidents. For instance Madduri Subba Reddy and Chinna Reddy patronised groups in the villages as a part of their power struggle. During this phase property disputes were lessened due to land ceilings and the factions operated mainly for power. During this phase the political leaders mostly depended on factionists for votes without they becoming factionists per se. They encouraged one factionist in the village against the other.¹⁴ However, over a period factionists themselves became Sarpanchas, Presidents of Agricultural and Marketing Societies and also Samithi Presidents. They managed to get elected through their armed strength. That is how the linkage between the armed conflict and the electoral politics was struck.¹⁵

Subsequently, arrack business played a crucial role in the increase of factions in Kurnool district. For many years, arrack and toddy business were under the sole control of K.E. Madanna. But after TDP came to power in 1983, the Government streamlined arrack business which made it even more profitable. Over a period of time all faction leaders entered arrack business and cornered contracts with the help of their money and muscle power. Rivals in the business were intimidated to see that they are prevented from entering the business. Faction leaders with an understanding among themselves formed a syndicate to get contracts at cheaper rates¹⁶. Even the rival faction leaders arrived at an understanding and compromises on arrack zones. For example in Allagadda, Bhooma Nagi Reddy and Gangula Pratap Reddy families distributed among themselves the areas of influence into two regions. Each took control of some mandals for this arrack business. After securing the contract, they earned a lot of money by mixing illicit arrack to Government arrack. They successfully obstructed the Government to get due revenue from arrack by using all manipulative methods. Thus arrack kept factional politics alive in the district. After the banning of arrack, faction leaders set up their own illicit arrack hearths to earn money. They started making money through the importing of arrack from Karnataka. No official could dare obstruct their illicit arrack business. The factions from mid 80s can be characterised as Neo-cultural factions having the following characteristics.

Present day factions, after the emergence of TDP, enjoy the direct patronage of the ruling parties whichever is the party in power. The ruling party and the opposition patronise the faction leaders. Earlier they used to

be encouraged by two leaders within Congress Party in each constituency. Patronage of oppositional parties to Congress, when it was a single dominant party, was nominal. Faction leaders prevent free voting: they terrorise the voters and prevent them from going to polling booths to exercise the franchise. The factionists interfere in the mandal and district level administration through intimidation and terror.¹⁷ They carry out these activities in pursuit of wealth and power.

a) Civil Contracts:

All the structures and systems which are related to development, progress and modernisation have come under the hold of factionists. This extends to roads, canals, banks, co-operative societies, development programmes and welfare schemes. Those activities which yield more income are handled directly by factionists and those yielding smaller incomes are left to the followers. The followers perpetuate domination in the name of their leaders. Followers pay loyalty for these works. The bank loans, house pattas and government schemes are to be given only to factionists. This is an unwritten rule to be followed by revenue administration and all governmental departments while sanctioning or allotting the schemes to factionists or to their followers. In the event of a conflict between the two factionists for contracts, one factionist would see to it that the contract secured by other factionists is canceled. If the officers oppose them they put pressure from the capital of state, Hyderabad which is the seat of the Government and subject them to threats. They however, physically prevent others from submitting tenders. If anybody dares take contracts they obstruct their work. Hence non factionists have to either sell their tenders to factionists or to pay

'rowdy' mamools. Factionists follow any method or any means to get all the tenders in their favour. First when the tenders are called for, they neither allow anybody to submit tenders nor they do it forcing government to hike-up the rate till they are satisfied. Once the tender rate is hiked-up, they themselves submit fake tenders and manipulate the contracts. These contract works are taken up either directly by them or sub-contract them with some commission to others. It is striking that two factionists would fight with each other on any issue but not on the issue of contracts. Notwithstanding their rivalry, they arrive at compromise on contract and form syndicate to share profits or divide the areas with such an understanding that one would not enter or encroach the others area or jurisdiction so far as the contracts are concerned. This is how they make profits and wealth on contracts.¹⁸ In K.C. Canal, L.L.C. Canal contracts, S.R.B.C. contracts, Telugu Ganga tenders, the rates are hiked up by the factionists. Cement and iron materials to be used in their construction works are sold in black markets. This is also one of the lucrative sources of money.¹⁹

b) Industrial resources:

The semi-arid region has little potential for growth based on agricultural prosperity. It is on the other hand rich in minerals and commercially valuable slab stone, and hence quarrying and processing is a major rough culture of the region, and it was soon enough discovered that whoever controls the gun and the bomb also controls the quarry-based industry and trade. The guns and the gangs that had first come into being in village factional fights turned their attention - just as they turned their attention to electoral politics - to the quarrying and polishing of stone. The units are allowed to be owned and operated by harmless

entrepreneurs (it is too much of a bother looking after the economics of running the enterprise) and the armed warlord gangs step in as 'protectors' and collect tolls on every piece of material quarried or shifted out.²⁰ There are Slab-stone mines in the outskirts of Charlapally and Ramapuram villages in Owk mandal of Kurnool district. These slab stones stretch covers about six hundred acres of government land. Normally, only those who get lease from government could enter these mines. This permission is reduced into a mere formality. Only a few acres are taken on lease but large chunks of land are occupied and the profits made run from these sources into millions of rupees. For instance the faction leaders - Challa Ramakrishna Reddy and Fakir Reddy - compete with each other ruthlessly to earn undue profits from this lucrative business.²¹

c) Forest wealth:

Factionists also indulge in smuggling of forest produce - red sandal, teak, teakwood, maddi and jittegi - by violating all the forest laws by using their muscle power. These products are illegally exported from Nallamala forests to Mucchumarry, Atmakur, Allagadda and Velgode. The faction leaders enjoy the support of local faction leaders in carrying on these illegal and illicit profit making activities. Gajulapalli and Mahadevapuram villages in Mahanandi mandal of Allagadda area and many villages in Kottavaram and Sirivella mandals have become centres for illegal teakwood business. In the forest adjacent to the Krishna river, large scale of teak trees are felled and transported through boats. This is how the natural and public resources are illegally exploited by the factionists.²²

d) Elections:

At the time of elections all the leaders, irrespective of the political party, approach the local faction leaders to seek support in securing the votes. The faction leaders decide to whom the votes would be cast. The citizens do not exercise the so called franchise. Nobody dare question the faction leaders in this regard. If any body does it, the possibility of his physical survival is doubtful. The faction leaders engage muscle men in order to rise in the political ladder. They enter each village under the pretext of settling disputes and also encourage conflicts between one another so as to consolidate their strength in the villages. Factionists command money and muscle power not only to win the elections but to terrorise the people.²³ The elections in these areas are no elections in the strict sense of the term. Even 'seshan effect' could not make any significant difference to the electoral culture in this region. To quote Dr. Balagopal, "The people in Kurnool district in the Rayalseema region of Andhra Pradesh have had election after election forced upon them, while the discerning among them know better than anybody else that their society and culture are least ready for electoral democracy of any kind. First, the parliament member from Nandyal resigned and the people were directed to elect the nation's prime minister to parliament, and with a record lead to boot. And then Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy, the member of parliament from Kurnool and union law minister, was made chief minister of the state, which meant that he too had to be elected to the State Assembly. Panyam was vacated for him and the people were directed to elect the chief minister ("otherwise there will be no development for Kurnool") . They did their best and did elect him, but the 'big man' was not happy with the votes

he got. He said in public meeting after public meeting, that he knew who had campaigned against him and would 'take care of them, whether they are high or low' , And then, of course, the parliament seat of Kurnool vacated by him had to be filled, and who should be Congress candidate but his son? It was his seat that he had vacated, the better to serve the people, and who should the inheritance go to but his dear son. Whether according to the Hindu or any other property law? And so the people of Kurnool were directed to elect the son to parliament on May 26 this year, and they have dutifully done so, except that he scraped through with a rather small lead. So base is the people's ingratitude, even of men that have served them for decades and are bent on serving them for ever, from father to son, from father to son, from father to son". . .²⁴

e) Faction leaders and followers:

In the event of a faction leader's murder, the mantle of leadership of that faction is inherited either by his son, brother or nephew. "Word for word and attack for attack" is a ruling principle in faction villages. Unleashing of terror is the only instrument adopted to dominate the people. Unemployed and lumpens join the faction to make easy money. People join the faction in spite of knowing the chain of events that follow like quarrels, attacks, robberies, police cases, courts, and so on. Faction leaders mainly belong to high castes, but it is the low castes like Boyas, Yerukalas, Baliyas and Scheduled castes constitute the following and they also happen to be victims of the faction feuds. Followers of faction leaders at village or mandal level have their own territories of dominance. They collect money from the people through hired goondas who

get protection from the factionists. The gundas indulge in all forms of excesses in the village. The so called hired soldiers (known as pilots) are covered by life insurance schemes by their leaders.²⁵

f) Faction and Crime Culture:

Crime culture exists in this region due to faction culture. The followers in the name of 'service' to their faction leaders, commit crime, robberies in broad day-light and thefts during the nights. These activities enjoy protection of faction leaders in the district.²⁶

g) Increase of weapons:

The guns at one time used to be mostly illegal weapons acquired or made at home. The people themselves joke that bombs are as cheaply available as putrefied vegetables. But in the last five years or so guns have also multiplied in number and gun licenses are easier to obtain now because a quite a few of the warlords has risen to important positions in the state government. Gun licenses are therefore much easier to obtain with their own men at the top. 'You commit a murder and apply for a gun license as you fear retaliation. For the police have 'falsely' implicated you in the case'; the kith and kin of the deceased apply for a gun license exhibiting the corpse of the man you have slain as proof of a bonafide threat of life. As both of you have your own men as MLAs and ministers at Hyderabad, both get gun licenses in due course. The gaining of such licenses is supposed to be preceded by a local police enquiry concerning the applicant's criminal proclivities, but such inconveniences are easily avoided. As policemen bemoan these days, "these fellows do not

even give their home address in the application. They give a Hyderabad address and get hold of some MLA or minister who ensures that the local police dutifully certify that the man has no criminal record locally and get the license and it only when we see the fellow going around with a gun back home that we realise he has gone back home that we realise he has gone and got a gun license". The point is that this weaponry increases the terror they exercise. The terror is a means of property acquisition; it is a means of political power and patronage. All manner of petty local bullies gather around these armed lords, and constitute a formidable obstacle to any democratic assertion, whether electoral or otherwise.²⁷

h) Structure of factionalism

As a result, warlordism, delicately called as factionalism in the Rayalaseema in general and Kurnool in particular has constituted itself into a structure that has MLAs and minister at the top, civil and excise contractors, smugglers and less disreputable businessmen at the middle, and village landlords at the base. It determines and dominates all spheres of political as well as civil society.

III

Origin and growth of factions in each constituency in Kurnool District: -

The above account shows the nature of factions. Here an attempt is made to analyse the structure of factions in each constituency of the district. This is attempted in terms of the leaders who are providing leadership and patronage to the lower

rung faction leaders. The constituency wise analysis is necessary as the armed factions are tied up with the political power. Geographically Kurnool District can be divided into two regions. Northern part of the district consisting Kovelakuntla, Allagadda, Nandyala, Panyam, Nandikotkur and Atmakur constituencies. The western part consists of Pattikonda, Dhone, Adoni, Kurnool, Kodumur, Allur and Yemmiganur.

All the constituencies in the Southern part of the district are infected by the factions whereas in the western part only Dhone, Pattikonda, Kurnool, Kodumur and Alur are infected with factions.²⁸ In these constituencies the faction leaders graduated themselves to the status of MLAs, and it is these leaders from the above who give protection and maintain affiliations with the mandal and village level faction leaders. For instance; in the Dhone constituency the main faction leaders who have followers at the mandal and village level include Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy (Ex-Chief Minister and at present Member of Parliament and All India Congress Committee Member) and K.E. Krishna Murty (Ex-Cabinet Minister during NTR period). The same is true of Pattikonda Constituency. Of late, it is S.V. Subba Reddy (Minister in present Chandrababu Naidu's cabinet) who is competing with K. Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy in Pattikonda. In Kodumur constituency it is K.E Krishna Murthy and Kotla Vijay Bhasker Reddy who provide patronage to the mandal level and village level faction leaders. In Alur constituency the Reddy and Kamma communities have faction on caste lines. In Allagadda constituency it is Gangula Prathapa Reddy (Ex-M.P. and AICC Member) and Bhooma Nagi Reddy (At present Member of Parliament) who provide patronage to lower level faction leaders. In Panyam it is Katasani Ram Bhupal Reddy (MLA in the present Assembly), Bijjam Satyanara-

yana Reddy (TOP Leader), Challa Rama Krishna Reddy (Ex-M.L.A. and Congress Leader) who patronise lower level faction leaders. In the Nandikotkur constituency it is Byreddy Rajasekhara Reddy (MLA in the present Assembly) and Madduri Subba Reddy (Ex-M.P. & Congress Leader) who maintain factions at the constituency level and support the lower level faction leaders. In Kovelakuntla it is Karra Subba Reddy (Present M.L.A.) who supports the lower level faction leaders. In Atmakur constituency it is Budda Vengala Reddy (Ex-MLA & Z.P.T.C. Member) and Kedar-nath Reddy (Congress Leader) who support lower level faction leaders. At present it is these faction leaders who have control over power, property and other resources.²⁹

In the Eastern part of the district the factions are between the Reddies themselves, whereas in western part the factions exist between backward castes at the village level and at the higher level the factions are between Reddies and Backward Castes.³⁰ This is because of the fact that in the southern part the Reddies domination is high. For supremacy and dominance over the villages, all the faction feuds are among the Reddies. In the Eastern part in most of the constituencies, given the concentration of backward caste population in the villages and also rise of BCs after the TDPs rise, the factions are formed among the BCs themselves. These factions in the villages are patronised by either BC leaders or Reddy leaders having the political status as that of MLA/MP.

Nature of factionalism after the rise of Telugu Desam

In Kurnool district since 1950s till 1983, as elsewhere in the State, Congress was a ruling party. It was dominated by dominant caste Reddies. Groupism among the Reddies mainly in the

eastern part of the constituency was the only dominant feature of electoral politics. At the micro level, in the villages, factions formed out of various reasons such as land disputes, for village supremacy, caste conflicts, used to approach the Congress party leaders for legal and political protection and these factions worked as the vote banks for Congress party. "There used to be uneasy alliance between Congress party and village faction" leaders³¹.

But the scenario changed once, the TDP emerged in the state and consequently in the district. The Reddies who used to be out of power and who used to contest against Congress party, got opportunity to oppose Congress party and thereby wield power through Telugu Desam Party. Hence the fight among the Reddy themselves intensified and this led to violent factionalism. In the process both leaders in the Congress as well as in TDP themselves had to become factionists at the micro level also. This necessitated them to have huge followers at the village, mandal and district levels. The factionists at the micro level who became MLAs/MPs had to patronise the village, mandal, district level faction leaders. In the process village level and mandal level faction leaders who were giving support to macro level faction leaders themselves aspired for power and hence faction leaders themselves started contesting elections and became political leaders. As a result, the elected representatives at all levels, whether Panchayats, Mandal Parishads, Zilla Parishads, MLAs and MPs have to maintain faction and thereby show dominance by adopting to violent culture. Since faction leaders themselves became political leaders, the electoral competition increased and consequently violent factional culture prevailed. At socio-level while factionalism among Reddies intensified at the eastern part of the district, in south-western part of the district, given the

awakening among the BCs and their support to their Telugu Desam Party, the emergence of TDP gave opportunity to Backward Castes to challenge Reddies domination politically. With the challenge of Backward castes, Reddy community resorted to violent factionalism in more offensive way. This led to Backward castes who mostly support TDP and given its ruling in the state, also to adopt violent factionalism. In turn factional culture intensified among Reddies and BCs. Thus in entire district politics of factionalism has become a predominant feature.

Factionalism in the district which is fraught with culture of violence is a complex problem. The problem can be answered by locating it in Rayalseema history though this historical reason might not fully explain the phenomenon. This problem has roots in the polegars or armed chieftains culture going back to days of decline of Vijayanagara empire in South India. But polegar culture as sole source of present day factions may not be an adequate explanation. For the polegars did not persist in the same form in Chittoor district. There is no direct link between the economic backwardness of the district and armed factional violent culture as there are armed factions in some of the developed parts in the district. Though there is no direct link between historical polegar system and backwardness of the region with armed factions, yet this phenomenon in some way has to be traced to the 'legacy' of polegar system. This culture did undergo changes. About the nature and growth of the factions in Kurnool district, prior to independence, the data suggests that they were mainly formed due to property disputes and for a few other social reasons. The elections during pre-independence period had also become the basis for factions at that time.

After independence the factions gained new momentum with the advent of Panchayat Raj Institutions. Arrack business gave totally a different twist to the factions in the district. They have a hold over industrial resources as well as forest wealth. Factions from mid 80s have had specific feature of patronage of the ruling party whichever is the party in power. All the structures and systems related to development are in the total fold of factionists. They have hold over industrial resources as well as forest wealth. The polegar culture and the property nourish the factions. The power struggle give rise to violence and patronage sustain, if not legitimises it.

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IV. FACTIONALISM: THE TRENDS AND PERCEPTIONS

In this chapter historical, socio-economic, political character of rival factions are discussed. It includes reasons for the formation of rival faction in the villages as well as the role of factions in the development of the villages. It also discusses the phenomenon of violence that occurs due to the conflicts between the rival faction leaders. It also analyses the nature of the factional leadership and followers in all the surveyed villages. It covers the perception of followers as well as elites on factionalism.

Rival Factions at Village Level in Kurnool District:

a) Historical origins of factions in the villages:

It is attempted to analyse the duration and continuity as well as the status of factions in the villages. In three villages factions existed prior to India's independence. In four villages factions had fluctuations in the sense that they were dominant and dormant for some time and again came to life. In five villages, factions were formed during the late 80s. In the villages where old factions existed, they came to life mainly for supremacy without much of violence. In the old factions personal considerations such as prestige, influenced the formation of factions more than other factors. Unlike the new factions the leaders who led the old factions had to spend a lot of money to maintain the factions whereas factions which have been formed from the late 80s have some new features predominantly of earning money, acquiring power positions and indulging in terror and violence.

Socio-Economic Character of factions :

1) Causes for formation of factions:

There are different causes which give rise to factions in the village. While a single factor led to the formation of factions in some villages, multiple causes gave rise to the factions in some other villages. In the study, out of 13 villages, in five villages a single factor led to the formation of factions. In these five villages murder at the time of elections, enraging womens modesty resulting into murder, fair price dealership issue, maintaining village supremacy and 1993 assembly elections became the causes for the rise of factions. In six villages two causes together led to formation of factions. They are, caste rivalries resulted into factions in three villages, elections and arrack & toddy contracts in one village, village supremacy and competition for arrack trade and canal project works in one village and in another village, village supremacy and murder in the elections became causes for the rise of factions in the villages. There are two villages in our study in which four different reasons became cause for faction formation. In one village while the competition for village supremacy was going on, three other reasons like Illicit contacts with women, the conflict in panchayat elections. Sugar dealership issue accentuated rivalries among them. In another village, amidst background of maintaining village supremacy, land-issue, panchayat and Assembly elections deepened the factional rivalries and led to clear-cut faction groups. These causes are presented in the following table 4.1.

Table - 4.1
for formation of factions in the villages

No. of Causes	Name of Cause	No, of of villages
One	Murder at the time of elections	
	Enraging womens modesty resulting into murder	1
	Fairprice shop dealer issue	1
	For maintaining village supremacy	1
	1983 assembly elections	1
	Total	5
Two	Elections and arrack & toddy contracts	
	Village Supremacy and competition for arrack, trade canal works.	1
	Village Supremacy and Murder in the elections	1
	Caste rivalaries resulting into political differences	3
	Total	6
Four	Village Supremacy, Elections	
	Illicit contacts, Sugar dealership issue	
	Village Supremacy, land issue	
	Panchayat and Assembly elections	1
	Total	2

Source: Interview with faction leaders and local people

Since the factions consist of rival faction leaders in each village there is a need to find out the socio-economic composition of these faction leaders.

2. The Caste profile of the rival faction leaders:

The caste background of faction leaders is detailed. It is the dominant caste i.e., Reddies who lead factions in eight villages against the other castes. Reddies have factions within themselves in three villages and with the Scheduled

Castes, and Balijs, backward caste Boyas and with Muslims in each of the other villages. It shows that the dominant Reddy caste does not allow rise of any other caste particularly the lower castes. In four villages, we find factions between backward castes themselves. It shows BCs are also competing for dominance. In only one village, we find that SCs and BCs have factions with each other and in another village there is faction between two dominant castes i.e., Reddies and Kammas. To sum up, Reddies have factions with their own castes and with other lower castes. There are also factions among the BCs. This data is presented in the following table - 4.2.

Table - 4.2

The caste origins of rival faction leaders

S.No.	Name of the village	Caste of rival faction leaders	Category
1.	Nallagatla	Reddy vs Balijs	FC vs BC
2.	Yerakalacheruvu	Ediga vs Balijs	BC vs BC
3.	P.Kotakonda	Reddy vs Boya	FC vs BC
4.	Koitalu Kanala	Reddy vs Reddy	FC vs FC
5.	Parla	Reddy vs Madiga	FC vs SC
6.	Polakal	Madiga vs Boya	SC vs BC
7.	Ramapuram	Reddy vs Reddy	FC vs FC
8.	Velpanpur	Reddy vs Reddy	FC vs FC
9.	Nannur	Reddy vs Muslim	FC vs FC
10.	Kotikal	Boya vs Lingayat	BC vs BC
11.	Halvi	Goud vs Goud	FC vs FC
12.	Pedda Hottur	Reddy vs Kamma	FC vs FC
13.	Narayanapuram	Boya vs Boya	BC vs BC

Source: Interview with faction leaders.

The land-holdings of rival faction leaders:

The land-holdings of rival faction leaders in the sample villages, as shown in the following table (4.3), reveals that in a majority of the villages (7/13), they have medium land-holdings i.e., between 20 to 40 acres. In three villages rich farmers having 100 acres and above indulge in factions.

There are factions between rich farmers and small farmers in three villages. Those villages which have factions among the rich peasants belong to the dominant Reddy caste. Thus the land pattern of the leaders shows that except in two villages, faction leaders belong to the landed gentry.

Table - 4.3
The land-holding composition of rival faction leaders
in the sample villages

S. No.	Land-holdings of faction leaders	Number of villages
1.	20 Acres vs 40 Acres	7
2.	100 Acres vs above	3
3.	75 Acres vs 20 acres	3
	Total	13

Source: Interviews with faction leaders.

4. Income-level of rival faction leaders

If we analyse the income pattern of rival faction leaders, in two villages rich income groups have faction with middle income groups and in one village, leader of rich income has faction with high middle income group. In eight villages, we find factions among the middle income groups. In two villages, middle income groups have factions with low middle income groups. This is shown in the following table - 4.4.

Table - 4.4
Income position of the Rival faction leaders

5. No.	Income of Rival faction leaders	No. of Villages
1.	Rich vs middle income group	2
2.	Rich vs high middle income group	1
3.	Middle vs middle income group	8
4.	Middle vs lower-middle income group	2
	Total	13

Source: Interviews with faction leaders.

5. Occupations of rival faction leaders

The study looked into occupations of rival faction leaders. The following table-4.5 shows that in all the villages the main occupation of the faction leaders is agriculture. In four villages the faction leaders are engaged in business and toddy contract.

Table - 4.5
The occupations of Rival Faction leaders

S. No.	Occupation	No. of Villages
1.	Agriculture vs agriculture	9
2.	Agriculture plus Toddy vs Agriculture	1
3.	Agriculture plus Business vs Agriculture plus Business	1
4.	Agriculture plus Contract works vs . Agriculture plus Contract works	1
5.	Agriculture plus Toddy vs Agriculture plus Toddy	1
	Total	13

Source: Interviews with faction leaders.

6. Education of rival faction leaders:

The study shows that in a majority of the villages, rival faction leaders are just literates, followed by those who have studied up to 10th class. Only in one village, there is faction leader with Engineering background. In two villages, we find faction are between illiterate leaders and those who completed primary school education. This data is presented in Table - 4.6.

Table - 4.6
The educational status of rival faction leaders

S. No.	Educational qualifications	Nono.ofvillages
1.	Literate vs literate	6
2.	Illiterates vs Primary school educated	2
3.	High school educated vs High School educated	4
4.	High School education vs Engineering graduate	1
	Total	13

Source: Interviews with faction leaders

7. Age of rival faction leaders:

The study finds that in five out of 13 villages, factions are formed between the middle aged leaders, followed by those who are between the middle aged and the old. In other two villages factions are between old and old and in other village it is young and middle aged. This data is presented in the following table - 4.7.

Table - 4.7
The Age of rival faction leaders

S. No.	The age groups	Number of villages
1.	Middle vs old	4
2.	Middle vs Middle	5
3.	Old vs old	2
4.	Young vs middle	2
	Total	13

Source: Interviews with faction leaders.

c) Activities of the rival faction leaders:

The study analysed the activities of faction leaders in order to know how they maintain dominance over men and resources in the village? How they acquired wealth? and How they run parallel governments?

Table - 4.8

S.No.	Type of Activities	No. of villages
1.	Contract works like canals, roads toddy and arrack	3
2.	Interference in private disputes of villages	8
3.	Violent activities	13
4.	Dealing with court cases and police and middle men and other leaders	13
5.	Asking the followers to commit crimes	1
6.	Employment in agricultural fields and slab industries	12
7.	Dividing the followers on caste lines	4

Source: Interviews with faction leaders.

The data indicates that the faction leaders make money through general contracts, toddy and arrack contracts, and also through settling family disputes their political activities include coercing the people to vote to a particular candidate or political party. Thus social, economic and political life of the people is determined by the faction leaders in the villages. The study also notices that the leaders help the followers in dealing with the court cases and the police. They also assume role of middleman or pyraveekar in transacting the work with Government officials or political leaders in securing patronage.

d) Political character of village factions

Nature of factions during the Congress-I period:

The study analysed the nature of factions in the villages during the Congress regime when it was a single dominant party (1956-1983). Those factions leaders who had support of Congress party exercised dominance. The factions of the same village got the patronage of two different leaders from within the Congress party itself. During this period, the local faction leaders did not grow to the status of political leaders. They were taking shelter under the umbrella of the Congress leaders to carry out their activities.

The factions during 50s and 60s had different character compared to the factions of the late 70s and early 80s. The main features of factions were that factional leaders spent all their earnings to maintain factions. These leaders never entered politics, but took shelter under the Congress leaders

to maintain factions. Personal considerations such as prestige were the considerations for faction formation. They indulged in violence but violence was carried out with traditional weapons such as sticks, sickles and spear-heads.

Mature of factions during TDP period:

The emergence of TDP accelerated faction violence in the villages. The Neo-gun culture as well as bomb culture started in the villages. Arrack trade also intensified faction rivalries. The village faction leaders helped the higher level leadership in amassing wealth and power. Those factions having affiliations to ruling political parties enjoyed support of police, government officials and even the courts. The change of party in power now makes a considerable difference to the followers at the ground level.

The situation till the emergence of TDP was that Congress-I supported two factions in 10 out of 13 villages. The rival faction leaders in these 10 villages approached TDP for protection. TDP party started encouraging them. But in three villages, the emergence of TDP led to new factions.

Factions and Elections:

The study analysed role of factions in elections, in terms of their linkages, role of political parties in striking alignments with factions, the horizontal and vertical linkages of the district and regional leaders with factions.

The study shows that voting in elections are determined by factional leaders of the villages who in turn decide

their support as per the dictates of their political leaders who patronise them. Elections are nothing but political manipulations of the leaders. Factions act as vote banks of higher level politicians. While some factional leaders try to become political leaders themselves, a majority act as tools in the hands of the political leaders of the region. Independent political choice based on political awareness of the people in the faction villages is uncommon.

e) Aspect of Violence:

Violence is yet another important feature in factional politics. In order to carry out their factional activities, factional leaders resort to violence. Some factions are born out of violence itself. When a murder takes place a series of murders are triggered. Physical elimination of the rival faction leaders becomes obsession to those who are leading the factional conflicts. In the process of conflict between the faction leaders they resort to violence for power through elections or to overall dominance or gaining control over the economic resources.

The study shows that there is a not even single faction village which was murder free. In the village P. Kotakonda in Pattikonda Constituency the number of murders due to factionalism was as high as 80. The second highest number of murders (20) occurred in village Parla in Kodumur constituency. The third highest number of murders i.e., (15) took place in Yerakalacheruvu in Dhone constituency. In other village namely Nallagatla in Allagadda constituency, 10 were murdered. In other villages 1 to 3 murders were there in each village, (see the table - 4-9}.

In addition to murders burning of the houses, damaging to properties, burning of grass heaps, destroying the fruit trees, theft of crops, physical fist fighting, rioting, arson and hurling of bombs take place.

Table - 4.9
The number of murders in the faction Villages

S. NO.	Village	No. of faction murders
1.	Nallagatla	10
2.	Yerakalacheruvu	15
3.	P. Kotakonda	80
4.	Koitaku Kanala	03
5.	Parla	20
6.	Polakal	02
7.	Ramapuram	03
8.	Velpanur	03
9.	Nannur	02
10.	Kotekal	02
11.	Halvi	02
12.	Pedda Hottur	02
13.	Narayanapuram	01
	Total	145

Source: Field notes.

At the time of elections violence is also resorted to by the factions. The electoral tensions get generated as the factions indulge in attacks and counter attacks. They hurl bombs at each other during the elections. Terror and violence are common in the villages of Panyam, Allagadda, Dhone, Atmakur, Nandikot-tur and Pattikonda Assembly Constituencies.

All the factional leaders possessed licensed as well as unlicensed weapons. There is a constant change in the type of weapons that are used for violence starting with sticks to the country made bombs to lethal weapons. The following table 4.10 indicates the type of instruments used during attacks in the faction villages.

Table - 4.10
Type of instruments used during attacks

When factional violence take place, it is only the followers of factional leaders who become victims. For the faction leaders deploy their followers for attacks and counter attacks. This has become chronic and endemic.

The study shows that in most of the villages it is the followers belonging to Madiga, Mala, Boya, Kuruva, Ediga castes who have become victims of violence. They are poor and belong to agricultural labour class. The following table 4.11 gives the caste-wise data on victims of faction violence.

Table - 4.11
Caste Profile of those killed in Factional Violence

S. No.	Caste	No. of persons killed
1.	Madiga	43
2.	Mala	5
3.	Boyas	63
4.	BCs	12
5.	Reddies	20
6.	Not known	2
	Total	145

Source: Interview with followers.

These murderers who throw bombs are a few among the faction followers. They are trained to kill rivals. Usually only two to three persons in each faction are skilled in throwing bombs. The people who hurl bombs belong to Madiga, Mala, Boya and Ediga Castes, (see table - 4.13)

Table - 4.12
Caste Profile of those who indulged in Violence

S. No.	Caste	No . of Bomb throwers
1.	Madiga	10
2.	Mala	2
3.	Boyas	8
4.	Ediga	1
	Total	21

Source: Interview with followers. .

F) Development Aspect:

Rural Development and Factions:

The nature of development in faction villages is also enquired into. It is important to know whether factions hinder or help in development of the villages. Nine out of 13 factions villages are adversely affected. Only in four villages there is some development.

The indicators of development included infrastructural facilities like electricity, schools, roads, water, medical facilities and transport etc. After interviewing the villages who are not direct parties in the factions, it is revealed that in nine villages the competing factional leaders oppose each other for undertaking any development programmes such as laying of new roads, water tanks, starting of new buses. In four villages the elders of the village who are not party to any faction could prevail upon the faction leaders and saw that a development is not hampered, (see the table - 4.13)

Table - 4.13

Number of faction villages where in
development affected due to factionalism

S.No.	No. of villages in which development affected due to factions	No. of villages in which development not affected due to factions	Total
1.	9 (69.23%)	4 (30.76)	13 (100)

Source: Field Notes.

6. Efforts for Factional Compromise:

We have enquired into whether faction leaders would like to continue the factions or willing for a compromise.

The study indicates that only two faction leaders are inclined to put an end to their factional activity if compensation in terms of money is paid to them by the rival faction leaders. Compensation is mainly demanded by those who are physically injured in bombing. In three villages faction leaders are not inclined to give up factional activity as the factions are rooted in caste conflicts, and in three other villages factions are rooted in power politics and dominance. In two villages factions are linked with the directives from above. In one village factions continue as they want supremacy over industrial resources. In one village factions are a part of a chain of murders. In another village factions are entangled with court cases.

II

Factionalism: Leaders and followers and their perceptions

In this part, the nature of the factional leadership and composition of followers in villages of Kurnool district is discussed. The study presents social background of faction leaders as well as followers. This includes the economic position, occupations as well as educational background of the faction leaders and the followers. There is an attempt to reason out dependence of followers on leaders. The study also covers perceptions of followers as well as people mainly of elites on various facets of phenomenon of factionalism.

The study of nature of leadership and composition of followers in the faction is analysed, based on 26 village faction leaders in 13 villages and in all 260 followers. This includes 10 followers from each faction in the sample villages.

i. Caste :

The study shows that out of 26 Faction leaders, 11 are Reddies, 11 are DCs belonging to different castes. From the other villages two belong to Scheduled Castes, one Kamma and the other is a Muslim. Regarding caste composition of the followers, the study reveals that out of 260 followers, a majority of the followers i.e., 79 belong to the Scheduled Castes (Madigas), and 72 are Boyas (Closely knit warrior backward caste) . It shows that Madigas and Boyas are the main support base for factions in Kurnool district. It is striking to note the dominance of higher castes and also backward caste Boyas among the leaders,

while the followers are from poor dalit and Muslim background. This indicates the dependency of the lower castes on the upper caste leaders. The caste details are shown in the following Table - 4.14.

Table -4.14
The caste profile of faction leaders & followers

Leaders			Followers		
S.No.	Caste	Number & Percentage	Income Category		Number & Percentage
1.	FCs Reddy	13 (42.30)	Reddies		32 (12.30)
2.	Karma	1 (03.84)	Kasmmas		3 (1.15)
	Muslim	1 (03.84)	Muslim		6 (2.30)
	BCs Baliyas	1 (03.84)	Boyas		72 (27.69)
	Ediga (Goud)	3 (11.53)	Baliyas		12 (4.61)
	Kuruva	1 (3.84)	Pinjahs		4 (1.53)
	Boyas	5 (19.23)	Lingayats		7 (2 69)
	Lingayat	1 (3.84)	Golla		5 (1.92)
			Mangalli		5 (1 9 2)
			Gouds (Edigas)		13 (5.00)
			Chakali		2 (10.76)
			Kuruva		10 (3 9 4)
			Besta		2 (0 7 6)
3	SCs Madiga	2 (07.69)	Madigas		79 (30 38)
			Malas		8 (3 0 7)
Total		26	Total		260 (100)

Source: Interviews with faction leaders & followers

The study in order to find out the economic status of leaders as well as the followers, presents the land ownership as well as income position of leaders and followers.

The details show that sixteen out of 26 leaders own land between 10 to 40 acres. Four of them are rich farmers having more than 41 acres. One faction leader possesses more than 150 acres. This shows that those who have medium land-holdings or

Some of the big landlords are in the forefront of the factions. An analysis of the land holdings of followers shows that most of them (79/260) are landless followed by those who have land-holdings between 1 to 2 Acres and 3 to 5 Acres. This shows that followers either have no land or own only marginal land-holding. It is these email people who provide structural base for rural factions in the villages of Kurnool district. The data is shown in the following Table - 4.15.

Table - 4.15
The land holding particulars of faction leaders & followers

Leaders				Followers		
S.No.	Extent of of land	Num- ber	Percen- tage	Extent of land	Num- ber	Percen- tage
1.	10-20 Acres	8	30.76	Landless	79	30.38
2.	21-40 Acres	8	30.76	1-2 Acres	39	15.00
3.	41-50 Acres	3	11.53	3-5 Acres	63	24.23
4.	51-100 Acres	4	5.38	6-10 Acres	38	14.61
5.	101-150 Acres	2	7.69	11-20 Acres	25	9.61
6.	151-Acres and above	1	3.84	21-30 Acres	10	3.84
				31-50 Acres	6	2.30
Total		26	(100)	Total	260	(100)

Source: Interviews with faction leaders and followers

iii. Income :

A majority of the faction leaders i.e., 16/26 are from middle class back-ground. Only a few are either from lower middle or richer backgrounds. Thus factions are formed among the middle peasant groups in rural areas in Kurnool district. When we analyse the income background of the followers, a majority of them are poor, followed by lower-middle class. Only a few followers are from middle and rich economic categories. Thus it is the poor who are the faction followers in the villages of Kurnool district. This data is presented in table - 4.16.

Table 4.16
The income particulars of faction leaders and followers

leaders					followers			
S.No	Income	Category	Number	& Percentage	Income	Category	Number	& Percentage
1	low-middle	(2500-3500)	3	(11.53)	Poor (Below 1000/-)		172	(66.5)
2.	Middle	(3501-5000)	16	(61.53)	Low-Middle (2500-3500)		62	(23.8)
3.	High-Middle	(5001-7000)	1	(3.84)	Middle (3501-5000)		15	(5.7)
4.	Rich	(7000 and above)	6	(23.07)	Rich (7000 and above)		11	(4.2)
	Total		26		Total		260	(100)

Source: Interviews with faction leaders & followers

iv. Occupation:

The study also enquired about occupation of faction leaders as well as the followers. As the following table (12) shows that occupation of a majority i.e., 19/26 leaders is exclusively agriculture. Only a few leaders in addition to agriculture are engaged in toddy, contract-works as well as own industries. With regard to occupational structure of followers, study shows that a majority of them (140 / 260) are either cultivators or agricultural labour. Only a few are Industrial labour in toddy tapping. This data is presented in table - 4.16.

Table - 4.16
The occupation of the leaders & faction followers

Leaders		Followers	
Occupation	Number & Percentage	Occupation	Number & Percentage
Agriculture	19 (73.07)	Agriculture	140 (53.84)
Agriculture plus Toddy	3 (11.53)	Agriculture Labour	104 (40.00)
Agriculture plus Industry	2 (7.69)	Industrial Labour	11 (4.23)
Agriculture plus Contract workers	2 (7.69)	Industrial plus Toddy	5 (1.92)
Total	26 (100)	Total	260

Source: Interviews with faction leaders and followers

(v) Age :

The data on the age-group shows that a majority of the faction leaders (15/26) are middle-aged. Only a few are old aged. There is hardly any young person. The Age-group of the followers indicate that it is the young who are the followers. The data on age-groups of followers is shown in table - 4.17.

Table - 4.17

The age particulars of faction leaders & followers

Leaders			Followers	
S.No.	Age Groups	Number & Percentage	Age Group	Number & Percentage
1.	18-35 years	2 (7 .69)	18 to 28	139 (53.46)
2.	36-50 years	15 (57 .69)	29 to 39	70 (53.46)
3.	51-70 years	9 (34 .61)	40 to 50	47 (53.46)
			51 to 61	4 (1.53)
Total		26 (100)	Total	260 (100)

Source: Interviews with faction leaders and followers

vi. Education:

The study also analysed the educational background of leaders and followers. A Majority of the leaders (14/26) are just literates; 8 have the qualifications up to 10th class, one is an engineering graduate and three are illiterates. As far as educational background of the followers is concerned, a majority (146/260) are illiterates. About 70 followers have studied up to 5th class. A few completed higher secondary school education. Thus it is the illiterates who are followers. This data is shown in table - 4.18.

Table - 4.18
The educational qualifications of faction leaders & followers

Leders			Followers		
S.No.	Educational Qualifications	Number & Percentage	Educational Qualifications	Number & Percentage	
1.	Illiterates	3 (11.53)	Intermediate	2 (0.76)	
2.	Literates	14 (53.84)	Illiterates	146 (56.15)	
3.	Upto 10th class	8 (30.76)	Upto 5th class	70 (26.72)	
4.	Engineering	1 (3.84)	6th-10th class	40 (15.38)	
			Degree	2 (0.76)	
	Total	26 (100)	Total	260 (100)	

Source: Interviews with faction leaders and followers.

vii. Political status of faction leaders:

The study presents the formal political status of faction leaders to know whether they held formal positions of power by getting elected to the institutions such as village Panchayat, Mandal Praja Parishads, Zilla Parishads. The study, shows that only 10 out of 26 held some positions of power. Out of them 5 are sarpanchas, one is ex-sarpanch, one is MLA, one is Z.P.T.C. member, one is Ex-Samiti President, one is ex-Srisaila Devasthanam Board Member, rest do not hold any power positions but still lead factions. This data is presented in the following table - 4.19

Table - 4.19
The formal political status of faction leaders

S. No.	Positions held	Number
1.	Sarpanchas	5
2.	MLA	1
3.	Z.P.T.C. Members	1
4.	Ex-Sarpanchs	1
5.	Ex-Samithi President	1
6.	Ex-Srisailam Devasthanam Board Member	1
7.	No position	16
	Total	26

Source: Interviews with faction leaders.

III

Perceptions of followers:

The study also attempted analysis on the followers perceptions. This includes (a) the reasons for becoming followers, (b) their changing affiliations (c) their support to political parties, (d) their attitude towards police and courts (e) their perceptions on government schemes (f) accessibility to bank loans (g) assessment of present day factions ; (h) forms and nature of violence, migration, drinking habits, illicit contacts with women and so on.

Out of 260 followers 190 are secondary followers and 70 are main followers. The main (core) followers have direct access to the factional leaders and latter make decisions in consultation with the former. The secondary followers are meant for enforcing the decisions taken by their respective factional leaders. An overwhelming majority of the followers (219 out of 260) have not changed their factional affiliations, and hence the lasting nature of factions.

The table - 4.20 indicates that helplessness, dependence, Poverty, Kinship and Caste ties are the major causes for becoming members of a faction.

Table - 4.20
The reasons for becoming followers

S. No.	Reasons	Number
1.	Kinship	51
2.	Dependence	83
3.	Caste	29
4.	Poverty	64
5.	Other factors	33
	Total	260

Source: Interviews with faction followers.

With regard to the political party affiliations the data suggests that out of 260 followers, one hundred supported TDP, 99 the Congress-I Party. A section of the followers kept on changing their support to political parties as the affiliations of their faction leaders changed. The factional affiliation in this case is more enduring than the political party. These details are presented in table - 4.21.

Table - 4.21
Political Party Affiliation of faction followers

S. No.	Political Party	Number
1.	Congress - I	99
2.	Telugu Desam Party	107
3.	Affiliation keeps changing	47
4.	No response	7
	Total	260

Source: Interviews with factional followers.

We have collected perceptions of followers on Police as well as of courts as these two institutions play a vital role in containing as well as settling factional strife. A majority of the followers complain of police harassment and feel that the Police machinery is corrupt. The followers held that the police act according to the instruction of the ruling party and not rule of law. (see, table-4.22).

Table 4.22
The followers perceptions on police

S. No.	Views on police	Number
1.	Favors Ruling party	56
2.	Harassment	91
3.	Corrupt and ineffective	75
4.	Neutral	5
5.	Acts according to dictates of faction leader	5
6.	No comment	28
	Total	260

Source: Interviews with faction followers.

With regard to courts, a majority of the respondents feel that legal process is very expensive. Several of them stated that once the litigation begins, the faction leaders start working out compromises outside the formal legal structure. Quite a number of followers do not even have an idea of the working of the courts. Only a few felt that courts are autonomous and that they worked independently. The table 4.23 presents the details.

Table - 4.23
Perceptions of followers on courts

S. No.	Perceptions on courts	Numbers
1.	Autonomous	17
2.	Expensive	108
3.	Compromises out of courts	46
4.	No Idea	89
	Total	260

Source: Interviews with factional followers

About present day factions a large number of them feel that factions are essentially political. There is also a feeling expressed by about one third that the factions are fraught with violence. A section of them view that factions are a means for making money (see the table - 4.24) .

Table 4.24
Perceptions of the followers on present day factions

S. No.	Present day factions	Number
1.	Violent	78
2.	Money earning sources	42
3.	Political	104
4.	No comments	36
	Total	260

Source: Interviews with factional followers

About indulging in violent activities, the study indicates that out of 260 followers, 124 followers hurled bombs on rival faction members. About 65 of them manufacture bombs. The data also indicates that 121 members are working as pilots (Pilots are those who act as bodyguards to faction leaders, carrying weapons and move in the jeeps). In all 140 members are booked under different cases and court cases are pending against them.

Leaving the village temporarily after the conflicts is a normal practice that faction members resort to. This study shows that 92 out of 260 faction members left their villages during or after the attacks.

About the personal habits and practices of the followers, the study reveals that 230 members out of 260 are habituated to drinking and 47 members admitted illicit contacts with women.

A section of faction members hail from the same families. The study indicates that 125 out of 260 members admitted that their fathers were also a part of the factional activities. It shows that membership of factions in these cases is almost hereditary. It is noticed that the dependency on factions continues from generations to generation in the villages of Kurnool district.

III

H) Elite perceptions of factions and violence :

The study elicited perceptions of a cross section of seventy five respondents about factions. The sample includes teachers, lecturers, journalists, freedom fighters, farmers, students, political leaders, lawyers, businessmen, women, political activists, government employees particularly revenue officials, police officers of the Kurnool district. The sample is uneven because researcher had selected only people knowledgeable about the phenomenon, (see the table - 4.25).

Table - 4.25
Sample of Respondents

S.No.	Category	No.
1.	Teachers	10
2.	Journalists	10
3.	Political Leaders	10
4.	Govt. Officials	10
5.	Farmers	5
6.	Students	5
7.	Lawyers	5
8.	Business man	5
9.	Women & Political activists	5
10.	Freedom Fighters	2
11.	Lecturers	8
	Total	75

Reasons for factionalism

Table - 4.26

Reasons for factionalism - perceptions	
Teachers	Historical roots, Arrack contracts, Poverty, Illiteracy
Lecturers	Lack of Public Policy, Inequal land-holdings, poverty, Illiteracy
Journalists	To earn money, TDP rise, Arrack & local contracts, improper functioning of police, Elections
Farmers	Inequal land holdings, poverty, illiteracy
Students	Improper functioning of police
Political Leaders	Elections, Support of Political Parties
Lawyers	To earn money, Improper functioning of police
Businessmen	Arrack contracts, Elections to acquire power
Women & Politicalactivists	TDP rise, elections, lack of democratic movements to earn money, large scale licensing of arms.
Freedom fighters	Historical roots, Inequal land holdings
Govt. officials	To earn money & Elections

The table 4.26 about the reasons for factionalism indicates *shows that* teachers and freedom fighters think that factionalism in Kurnool district has historical roots. They consider it as the polegar system in a modern form. Poverty and illiteracy are the factors which are attributed for the rise of factionalism by teachers, lecturers and farmers. There is also an opinion that arrack and local contracts increased factionalism. Unequal land holdings are cited as reasons by farmers and freedom fighters by journalists, students and lawyers. Faulty functioning of the police is yet another factor cited as the cause for factionalism Rise of TDP is also considered as one of the causes for the growth of factionalism by journalists and political activists. In general elections are viewed as one of the major sources of sustenance of factionalism in the district. This is the view held by political leaders, journalists, businessmen and political activists. Factional leaders designs to make money is cited as another reasons for factionalism by lawyers, government offi-

cials and political activists. Support of political party and lack of democratic movement and large scale licensing of arms are cited as reasons for factionalism by the political activists.

Reasons for Violence :

Table - 4.27

Reasons for violence

Teachers	<p>Resorting to violent means to eliminate enemies.</p> <p>Very support of democratic institutions such as political parties, administration and police.</p> <p>Opting for terror as the means of dominance over people.</p> <p>Polegar History</p> <p>Manufacturing of Bombs</p> <p>The linkages between faction violence and electoral violence.</p>
Lecturers	<p>Resorting to violent means to eliminate enemies.</p> <p>Opting for terror as the means of dominance over people.</p> <p>Polegar History</p> <p>Manufacturing of Bombs.</p> <p>The linkages between faction violence and electoral violence.</p>
Journalists	<p>Resorting to violent means to eliminate enemies.</p> <p>Very support of democratic institutions such as political parties, administration and police.</p> <p>Opting for terror as the means of dominance over people.</p> <p>Unusual licensing of arms to faction leaders.</p> <p>Manufacturing of Bombs.</p> <p>The heavy deplendency of faction followers - unemployed and underemployed.</p> <p>The linkages between faction violence and electoral violence.</p> <p>The linkages between factions, crime and politics.</p>

Farmers	<p>Opting for terror as the means of dominance over people.</p> <p>Manufacturing of Bombs.</p> <p>The heavy dependency of faction followers - unemployed and underemployed.</p>
Students	<p>Very support of democratic institutions institutions such as political parties, administration and police.</p> <p>Opting for terror as the means of dominance over people. Manufacturing of Bombs.</p>
Political Leaders	<p>Resorting to violent means to eliminate enemies.</p> <p>Very support of democratic institutions such as political parties, administration and police. Polegar History.</p> <p>Unusual licensing of arms to faction leaders.</p> <p>Manufacturing of Bombs.</p> <p>The heavy dependency of faction followers - unemployed and underemployed.</p> <p>Half-hearted attempts to establish faction zone.</p>
Lawyers	<p>Resorting to violent means to eliminate enemies.</p> <p>Opting for terror as the means of dominance over people.</p> <p>Unusual licensing of arms to faction leaders.</p> <p>Manufacturing of Bombs.</p> <p>The heavy dependency of faction followers - unemployed and underemployed.</p> <p>Neo-gun culture.</p>
Businessmen	<p>Opting for terror as the means of dominance over people.</p> <p>Manufacturing of Bombs.</p>
Women & Activists	<p>Resorting to violent means to eliminate enemies.</p> <p>Very support of democratic institutions such as political parties, administration and police.</p> <p>Opting for terror as the means of dominance over people.</p> <p>Manufacturing of Bombs.</p> <p>The heavy dependency of faction followers - unemployed and underemployed.</p>

	<p>The linkages between faction violence and electoral violence.</p> <p>Lack of Democratic Movements in the region.</p>
Govt. Employees (Police/Revenue)	<p>Resorting to violent means to eliminate enemies.</p> <p>Very support of democratic institutions such as political parties, administration and police.</p> <p>Opting for terror as the means of dominance over people.</p> <p>Unusual licensing of arms to faction leaders.</p> <p>Manufacturing of Bombs.</p> <p>The heavy dependency of faction followers - unemployed and underemployed.</p> <p>The linkages between faction violence and electoral violence.</p> <p>The linkages between factions, crime and politics.</p> <p>Neo-gun culture.</p> <p>Lack of autonomy to police from political executive.</p>
Freedom fighters	<p>Opting for terror as the means of dominance over people.</p> <p>Polegar History.</p> <p>Manufacturing of Bombs</p> <p>The heavy dependency of faction followers - unemployed and underemployed.</p> <p>Neo-gun culture.</p>

The table - 4.27 shows the reasons perceived by different categories about the culture of violence. Teachers perceive that resorting to violence indicates power struggle and pursuit of wealth. They also consider that the so called democratic institutions such as political parties and police officials helped in perpetuation of violence in the region. They also perceive that opting for terror as the means of dominance led to the phenomenon of violence. Another reason stated by them was the culture of bombs, the manufacturing of which has become almost like cottage industry. Neo-Gun culture in the wake of emergence of a rival

political party like TDP led to an increase in violence. Lecturers, Journalists endorse the same causes but feel that heavy dependence of poor, unemployed and under-employed on factionalists also contribute to incidence of violence. In addition, the journalists think that faction politics and crime have linkages.

The students feel that failure of democratic institutions, opting for terror as the means by the factionists and growth of manufacturing of the bombs has led to the increase of violence in the region. Political leaders also cite the same reasons as perceived by journalists but they view that improper functioning of faction zone police to capture arms lead to the violence in the region. Lawyers endorse the view held by the journalists. They also feel that the Neo-gun culture after the rise of TDP has led to the increasing violence. This is the view of Businessmen also. Political activists agree with the journalists but feel that lack of a democratic movement led to the culture of violence in the region. The employees think that lack of autonomy to police from political executive has handicapped the police to control crime and violence. Freedom fighters think that past historical culture, the very emotional temperament of the people partly accounts for violence.

Suggestions offered to tackle the problem

When asked for suggestions to factionalism, the suggestions include (1) compromise between the factionists either through the initiative of neutral political leaders "or the initiative of police", (2) Seizure of illegal properties of factionists, (3) impartial and non-partisan approach on the part of the Police machinery in particular (4) strict enforcement of procedures by all the government departments (5) reduction of the

role of the factionists in deciding welfare schemes (6) imparting education to villagers about various welfare measures with the help of public relations department and mass media. (7) introducing identity cards to voters to avoid undemocratic means (8) Employment to the poor restraining them from becoming faction followers (9) Delicensing of weapons. (10) Factional zone formation (11) increasing involvement of Voluntary organisations (12) educating the factional leaders

Table - 4.28

Suggestions of various categories of people

Teachers	<p>Illegal properties of factionist are to be seized. Police machinery to be educated. To educate the rural people. Employment to low caste people. Overall education about the regional backwardness.</p>
Lecturers	<p>Illegal properties of factionist are to be seized. Police machinery to be educated. A Govt. machinery to act according to Act and Rules. To educate the rural people. Employment to low caste people. Overall education about the regional backwardness.</p>
Journalists	<p>Need for compromise between factionists. Police machinery to be educated. To educate the rural people. To plug loop holes in the criminal law. Introducing Identity cards to electorate in elections.</p>
	<p>Delicensing of arms. Need for Democratic Movements.</p>
Farmers	<p>Illegal properties of factionists are to be seized. To educate the rural people.</p>
Students	<p>Illegal properties of factionists are to be seized. To educate the rural people. Introducing Identity cards to electorate in elections.</p>

Political Leaders	Need for compromise between factionists. A Govt. machinery to act according to Acts and Pules. Loop holes in the criminal law. Delicensing of arms. Need for NGOs to work in the region.
Lawyers	Police machinery to be educated. A Govt. machinery to act according to Acts and Rules. Delicensing of arms.
Businessmen	To educate the rural people.
Women & Activists	Police machinery to be educated. A Govt. machinery to act according to Acts and Rules. To educate the rural people. To plug the loop holes in the criminal law. Need for Democratic Movements.
Govt. Employees	Need for compromise between factionists. To educate the rural people. To plug the loop holes in the criminal law. Delicensing of arms. Autonomy of police from political executive. Faction zone formation.
Freedom fighters	Need for compromise between factionists. To plug the loop holes in the criminal law.

Summingup:

This chapter also indicates that, a majority of the faction leaders are Reddies followed by BCs and SCs . While faction leaders own medium land-holdings belong to middle class back-grounds and adopt agriculture as their main occupation, followers are landless, belong to poor income background with agriculture labour as their main occupation. While the leaders are from forward caste, followers are from the Scheduled Castes mainly Madiga - sub-caste and Boyas from among the BCs. The faction leaders are middle aged and just literates, followers are young and illiterates. Dependence, poverty, kinship ties and caste are the major compulsions which make the followers to become members of the factions. The activities of the leaders include doing

canal work, roads constructing, toddy contracts for maintaining the factions. Interfering in personal affairs of the villagers, dealing with court cases, acting as middle men are also the factors contributing to the consolidation of the faction leaders.

Regarding political dimensions, the factions which are formed in pre-80s period had the patronage of Congress party. Congress leaders always encouraged one faction against another and used it for political manipulations. After its emergence, TDP started supporting or deriving the support from one faction or the other. The emergence of TDP has not only accentuated faction violence in the villages with neo gun and bomb culture but provided institutional articulation. The faction leaders rose in position and became political leaders. They became a major source for earning money for their political leaders who patronised them. Elections are operated by faction leaders. They manipulated the votes through all undemocratic means in favour of their political faction. Independent political choice of the villagers in elections is unusual and rare.

With regard to violence which is inherent in factionalism, all the faction leaders without exception indulge in violence to achieve their goals. In all the villages electoral politics are fraught with attacks, group fights and bomb throwing incidents. There is a shift in the type of instruments that are used for inflicting violence. In 70s they used sticks and sickles to intimidate their opponents. They were also using guns and cartridges. In 80s bombs have become the major weapons. During the factional violence the target is the followers. Most of the time it is they who get killed. In most of the case they come from poor background and dalit bahujan castes.

Perceptions of the followers indicate that they changed their support to political parties when their leaders change their affiliation to political parties, They feel that police harass them and act according to the instruction of the ruling party and not rule of law. They do feel that legal process is very expensive and their faction leaders start working out compromises outside the formal legal structure. They perceive that faction are political as well as violent.

Perceptions of elites broadly indicate that reasons for factionalism in the district is due to its historical antecedents. Poverty, illiteracy, arrack and local contracts, unequal land-holdings, faulty functioning of the police, elections in general and rise of Telugu Desam Party in particular, the designs of faction leaders to make money, support of political party, lack of democratic movements and large scale licensing of arms are cited as reasons for factionalism.

Elite perceptions with regard to culture of violence indicate that violence is manifestation of power-struggle and pursuit of wealth. It is due to the dominance of the faction leaders through terror. Support of political parties and police officials aid and abett violence in the region. Heavy dependence of poor, unemployed and underemployed on factionalists contribute to the incidence of violence. Neo-gun culture in the wake of emergence of a rival political party like TDP lack of autonomy to police from political executive, controlling crime and violence, lack of democratic movement, past historic culture added with aggressive temperament of the people are accounted for violence in the region.

Elites suggests that problems of factionalism can be tackled by compromises between the factionists, seizure of illegal properties of the factionists, impartial and non-partisan approach on the part of police. They also suggested that employment to the poor to prevent them from becoming blind followers, involvement of voluntary organisation to educate the leaders as well as followers about the anti-development nature of factionalism, delicensing of arms and strict enforcement of electoral laws so as to avoid undemocratic means in the elections. These suggestions may not be the workable solutions under the given conditions, but they do provide an insight into the nature and magnitude of the problem.

V. FACTIONALISM AND ELECTORAL POLITICS: PANCHAYAT ELECTIONS

In this chapter an attempt is made to analyse, how the electoral politics in Rayalaseema region in general and Kurnool district in particular are influenced by the faction culture, that prevails in the region, which negates the very democratic process. This chapter deals with the support of factions and their dynamics in panchayat elections. This includes support of factions in village panchayats (1995), Mandal Parishads (1995) and Zilla Parishad elections. While doing so the caste and party background of these elected representatives are analysed in order to see the linkages between caste, factions and political parties in the elections.

Faction Culture and Elections

Following is an account of electoral methods, the mechanisms of factionists and the violent means that are adopted at the time of elections, which gives an insight into factional culture that prevails in the region.

"Open ballot method" is a factional mechanism where people in large number go to the polling booths and show the ballot paper to all and put it in the ballot box by stamping to the candidate favoured by the faction leader. In these villages polling officials become mere spectators. The police totally avoid such incidents by being absent from the scene¹.

In faction villages the dominance of persons is more visible than the political parties. The factional leaders start mobilis-

ing their groups the minute elections are declared. People do not respond to either political parties or the ideologies or the national or international happenings. People vote as per the dictates of their faction leaders. The candidates who are contesting in the election instead of talking of their party policies or programmes expend their energies in winning over the faction leaders .

The faction leaders barter their support for official patronage particularly in police cases. Hence the faction leaders see to it that not even a single vote goes to the rival leader. This not only establishes their supremacy but enhances the helpless dependence of the political leaders. As a part of the strategy, they adopt rigging and adopt "open" ballot method in those villages where they had already established supremacy. The faction leaders openly announce that they have "thousands" of vote in their control. This is what makes the contesting candidates to draw upon the support of these faction leaders.

Rigging is another feature in the faction villages. Faction leaders sometimes manage to complete the polling process so early that polling gets over in the morning itself. Then they go to the other villages in groups or as gangs where they have opposition and through "cycling" method² they indulge in rigging. This leads to massive voting.

In the villages where there is a tug of war between the faction groups, their followers gather in big numbers and create a war like atmosphere near the polling booths. This leads to big tension and quite often to hurling of bombs. If a group apprehends that their rival has an edge they try to create terror either at the polling booth or a little away from the polling

booths. They also pour water in the ballot boxes or run away with the ballot boxes. They somehow see to it that polling gets postponed requiring repolling so as to gain time to mobilise more forces by the time repolling is done. But in those villages where one group enjoys dominance they see that polling goes on peacefully.³

If there are two faction groups equally powerful, one faction supports a political party, the other faction invariably supports another political party. They play many tricks to see that more votes are cast in favour of their candidate. Such trends intensify tensions. As a consequence fear grips the people at the time of elections. On the polling day two faction groups make a forceful exhibition of their strength rendering it difficult for Polling officials to perform their duties. Even on a small pretext they indulge in counter attacks.

In some villages old disputes get a fresh lease of life because of elections. Although both the groups observe some restraint till the polling is over, soon after the polling attacks and counter attacks start with bombs and sickles.

Faction leaders fetch people from distant places to manufacture bombs in large numbers. Manufacturing of bombs is done in the fields far away from the villages. The police attempt to keep a watch on those who make bombs without any significant impact.

Factionists, whether they like it or not prefer to be on the side of the ruling party because of pressures from the police particularly to secure police protection and support in handling the criminal cases. It is precisely for this reason factionists

keep on changing parties. The fluctuations in loyalties have to be thus accounted for .

In Rayalaseema in general and in Kurnool district in particular the factions are confined to a very few families. As a result, the political parties give ticket to family members in the event of death or resignation or any such contingencies. In the constituencies where the direct fighting is between the families, there are two clear cut groups within the villages. In such villages people are allowed to vote according to the political party. Entire village, wardwise vote to that party to which their faction leader belongs. It is very difficult for the faction leaders to go for campaign where other faction leaders enjoy dominance. Since the power conflict is between the families, it perpetually reproduces itself.

There is heavy use of liquor at the time of elections . This is evident the way the district administration makes arrangements to control liquor by establishing check posts and also mobile cheque posts/ flying squads involving entire excise officials . Some of the faction leaders get their village votes cast to that candidates who provide them money. That is how politics of money enter the electoral process even in faction prone areas⁵.

In faction villages where one faction group is in an advantageous position, the other group gets polling agents from other villages⁶. There are instances where only one vote was cast in favour of a candidate in Parliamentary election and two votes to a candidate in Assembly elections. In both the cases the candidates were in adversarial position with the faction leader. This shows how faction leaders manage or manipulate votes. The voting

pattern follows the affiliations of faction leader with the political parties.⁷

In Rayalaseema irrespective of political party, all the major political party leaders happen to be faction leaders. There is no exception to this. Small or big leaders and leaders at mandal state and national level play the role of faction leaders. The leaders are increasingly not seeing the distinction between the faction leadership and political leadership. It was from 1983, the faction leaders and political leaders became almost one and the same. Since then the dependence on factions and bombs increased. Consequently the Police is not able to contain bomb manufacturers. It has now grown like a cottage industry. There is no punishment to any offender as most of them are political leaders. If police files any case, arrests any body, political leaders interfere and they get them released on bail and the cases are withdrawn. The police is put under heavy pressure. In fact the police for a long time has been totally marginalised. It is the factions that occupy a large space.⁸

II

The way the factions operate at the time of elections turn democratic politics undemocratic. In spite of its undemocratic nature, factionalism operates at all levels of elections to political institutions. Hence we have analysed the interaction between factionalism and electoral politics at various levels - Panchayats, Mandals, and Zilla Parishads.

Factionalisation of Panchayat Elections

First an attempt at factionalisation of Panchayat elections is made. Factionalisation of Panchayat politics is a process wherein the candidates contesting for Sarpanch post have to necessarily depend on the support of factions to get elected. The support of faction means, the support gained through the faction leaders in the villages, or they themselves maintaining factions or support of the higher level faction leaders.⁹

The Caste background and faction support of Panchayat Sarpanchas indicates that out of 829 sarpanchas, there are 339 sarpanchas from forward castes. Out of 241 OC male sarpanchas, 138 (more than 50%) are Reddies. Thus it is Reddies who exercise power in the villages of Kurnool district among OCs. Out of 339 OC Sarpanchas, 212 (62.53%) had to take the support of factions to get elected. There are 318 (38.3%) backward caste and 156 Scheduled Caste and 16 Scheduled Tribe sarpanchas (20 percent) in the district. From all these castes, 255 women were elected as Sarpanchas. Out of 318 BCs, 160 had to take the support of factions. Out of 156 SCs Sarpanchas, 75 had to take the support of factions. Only 5 out of 16 STs took the support of factions. This data is shown in the following table-5.1

Table - 5.1
Caste background and faction support to panchayat Sarpanchas

S.No	Caste	Number	Faction support	Percentage
1.	Forward Caste	339	212	62.50
2.	Backward Caste	318	160	50.31
3.	Scheduled Caste	156	75	48.07
4.	Scheduled Tribe	16	5	31.25
	Total	829		52.00

Source : Records of Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad, Police Records, Kurnool district and interviews with local elites.

The data indicates that out of the total 829 sarpanchas elected to the panchayats in the district, 452 sarpanchas (52%) "enjoyed" the support of the factions and used them in order to get elected to the panchayats.

Table - 5.2
Number and percentage of faction support needed to
Panchayat Sarpanchas¹¹

Total Sarpanchas	Support of factions to Sarpanchas	Percentage
829	452	52%

Regarding the Sarpanchas who did not get elect out of faction support, it is to be noted that these villages were according to the police reports not faction prone villages. Still there is a possibility that elections in these villages might have had the effect of factions. As these villages have not been surveyed the influence of faction is not known.

An analysis of spread of factionalism in the 52 mandals in terms of faction affected villages, the data suggests that in Kodumur mandal 100% villages are under factional influence. Second place is occupied by the Pagidyala mandal. Allagadda and Devanakonda mandals occupy the third place. It is the Peddakadubur mandal which is at the bottom. (for details see the Appendix-1).

If we analyse factional intensity among all the Assembly Constituencies, it is the Kodumur Assembly Constituency that gets the top place and the second place goes to Allagadda Assembly constituency followed by Panyam Assembly constituency. It is the Kurnool Assembly constituency which gets the last place

in terms of factionalisation of panchayat politics. (We assigned these ranks by computing the percentage of total number of sarpanchas who had to have the support of factions to the total number of panchayats in the entire assembly.)

The position of other sarpanchas and factionalism under all the other constituencies is shown in the following table.

Table No. 5.3
Support of factions to Panchayat Sarpanchas Assembly-wise Details

S. No.	Name of the Assembly	% of Panchayats	Rank
1.	Allagadda	66.27	I
2.	Kodumur	64.08	II
3.	Panyam	62.05	III
4.	Dhone	58.62	IV
5.	Pattikonda	57.37	V
6.	Alur	56.89	VI
7.	Nandikotkur	51.00	VII
8.	Kovelakuntla	49.05	VIII
9.	Yemmiganur	49.20	IX
10.	Nandyal	43.05	X
11.	Adoni	40.42	XI
12.	Atmakur	25.53	XII
13.	Kurnool	12.00	XIII

Source : Police records and field notes

Factionalisation of Mandal Parishad Elections (1995 Elections) :

Mandal Parishad is the middle tier in the Panchayat Raj set up in Andhra Pradesh. In 1986, the TDP party introduced mandal setup. It constitutes Territorial Constituency members and a President. MPTC members are directly elected by the people and the members in turn elect the mandal President. Generally 2000 to 4000 voters elect each MPTC member. These members are elected on the party labels. There are in all 683 MPTC members in Kurnool district covering 53 mandals. The seats reserved are 33%, 15% and 7.5% for women, SCs and STs respectively. Depending on the

composition of population the posts of members as well as Mandal President are reserved,

Caste Background and faction support of MPTCs:

Out of 683 MPTCs, 258 (39.23 percent) are Backward Castes, 285 (41.72 percent) forward caste, 131 (19.18 percent) Scheduled Castes and 9 (1.31 percent) Scheduled Tribes. From 194 male DCs, 96 are Reddies. Out of 285 Forward castes 215 had to take the support of factions. So also out of 258 Backward castes MPTCs, 200 required support of factions. Out of 131 SC MPTCs 90 took the support of factions. Only 5 out of 9 required faction support among ST MPTCs. This data is shown in the following table:

Table - 5.4
Caste background of MPTCs and faction support

S. No.	Caste of the MPTCs	Nos elected/ total No. of MPTCs	Faction support
1.	Backward Castes	258 / 683	200 / 258
2.	Forward Castes	285 / 683	215 / 285
3.	Scheduled Castes	131 / 683	90 / 131
4.	Scheduled Tribes	9 / 683	5 / 9

Source : Records of the Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

In all the 53 mandals, out of the total 681 MPTCs, 548 MPTCs (80.46%) had to have the support of factions to get elected as MPTCs indicating the faction support or its importance at the mandal level. The percentage of Sarpanchas elected with the support of factions is lesser than the number of MPTC members. This is because of the fact that MPTCs are elected on the party basis. Once party label is given to factional leaders, factionalization becomes intense.

NPTCs party affiliations and faction support:

In 1995 mandal elections, out of the total 681 MPTCs, 394 members belonged to TDP, 212 to Congress- (I) , 19 to CPI and 12 to CPM and 44 were independents. It is obvious that the TDP was in an influential position. Out of 394 MPTCs who got elected from TDP, 240 MPTCs had to take the support of factions. Out of 212 Congress-I MPTCs, 165 took the support of the factions. Eight out of 19 CPI MPTCs, 6 out of 12 CPM MPTCs and 5 out of 44 independents required factional leaders support. The data is shown in the following table.

Table - 5.5
Political party background of MPTCs and faction support

S. No.	Party of the MPTCs	Nos elected/	Faction support
1.	TDP	394	240
2.	Congress	212	165
3.	CPI	19	8
4.	CPM	12	6
5.	Independents	44	5

Source: Police records and interviews with people.

If we go by their affiliations with political parties, out of 258 total MPTCs of Backward Caste, 147 got elected from Telugu Desam Party(TDP). Same was the case with forward castes. Out of 285 OC MPTCs, 172 OC MPTCs belonged to TDP. Only 80 OC MPTCs got elected on Congress (I) ticket. It shows both majority of BCs and OCs at mandal level in Kurnool district got elected from TDP. 23 OC MPTCs happen to be independents. Only 9 MPTCs belonged to CPI and CPM. There were totally 131 SC MPTCs(both male and female together). Out of this majority ie., 78 got elected from TDP, 45 from Congress(I), 5 from CPI, and two as independents and one from CPM. Thus TDP has its base in all castes in Kurnool district.

Factions and Mandal Presidents:

Out of 53 Mandal Presidents in 1995 elections, 41 Mandal Presidents (77.35) had to either maintain the factions or to secure the support of higher level faction leaders to get elected as mandal presidents. It shows middle-tier politics under Panchayat Raj Institutions are more factionalised than panchayat politics at the lower level in the villages. Because the percentage of Mandal Presidents elected through the support of faction is higher than the percentage of Sarpanchas elected through the support of factions. Further, at the mandal level the elections are based on the political party support. Once the political party support begins, the elections become more factionalised as factions are patronised by the political parties.

Caste Background and factional linkages of Mandal Presidents:

About the caste-background of mandal presidents, 18 are OCs, 25 are BCs, 8 are SCs. Thus it is BCs who constitute majority at the mandal level. Out of the 18 OC mandal presidents, 15 are Reddies. Out of 18 OC mandal presidents 25 BC mandal presidents 8 SC Mandal Presidents, 14, 20, and 8 are factional leaders respectively.

Political origins of Mandal Presidents who have linkages with Factions:

Out of the 51 mandal presidents elected with faction support, 36 mandal presidents belong to TDP and 10 to Congress party. Though at the mandal level it is the TDP that is supposed to be in power, these presidents did depend on factions to get elected. Out of 36 Mandal Presidents from TDP, 30 had

factional background, 10 out of 10 from Congress I had factional background. It shows that political parties are depending on these faction leaders to capture power. That is how faction leaders metamorphosise into political leaders.

Factionalisation of Zilla Parishads (1995):

Zilla Parishad is the upper tier in Panchayat Raj setup in Andhra Pradesh. Zilla Parishad constitutes ZPTC members and one ZP Chairman. From each mandal one ZPTC member is directly elected by the people and they in turn elect the ZP Chairman. There are 53 ZPTC members and a Chairman to the Zilla Parishad in Kurnool district. This mode of election to Zilla Parishad has been introduced in the year 1995. This includes reservations to different social categories. There is 33% reservation for Women, 15% for SCs and 7.5 % for STs. The posts are reserved to a caste group according to the population.

ZPTC Members and Factions:

Out of 53 Zilla Parishad Territorial Constituency Members, 41 members had either maintained the factions or took the support of higher level faction leaders to get elected. This shows that both the middle and higher tiers are equally factionalised. It also suggests that it is difficult to become elected representatives without an understanding and support of factional groups.

Table - 5.6
Number and percentage of faction support needed to
ZPTC members

Total ZPTC members	Support of Factions Required to become ZPTC members	Percentage
53	41	77.35

Source: Police records, Kurnool District and interviews with local elites.

Caste and Faction Background of ZPTC Members:

Out of 53 ZPTCs, 13 are BC males, 8 BC females, 15 OC males, 6 OC females, 7 SC males, 3 SC females and 1 ST male. Out of 15 OC males as many as 12 are Reddies. Although Reddies do not constitute a majority, yet a Reddy got elected as Chairman. Although the reservations made a difference in social composition of the membership, yet it did not change the situation to the point of throwing up its own leadership. The factional groups do contribute to the perpetuation of the leadership of the dominant community.

Out of 21 BC ZPTC members 18 had the factional background, 15 out of 21 OC ZPTCs had the factional background, 7 out of 10 SCs have the factional background and 1 ST has factional background. This shows the importance of factionalism to get elected as ZPTCs among all the castes.

Table - 5.7
Faction support to the ZPTC members by caste

Sr.No.	Caste	Total No.	Faction support needed	Percentage
1	OC	21	15	71.42
2	BC	21	18	85.71
3	SC	10	07	70.0
4	ST	01	01	100.0
		53	41	77.35

SUMMING UP

The analysis shows that rigging, open-ballot method, fake-voting through cycling method, bomb-throwing to create terror, use of money, liquor and muscle power, rigging through election

agents, pouring of water in the ballot boxes to conduct re-polls, kidnapping, beating up of rival candidate supporters are the means that the factionists use in the elections.

In 1995 Panchayat elections in the district 52% of elected surpanchas had to rely on faction leaders to win the election. Among all the panchayats, all surpanchas from Kodumur mandal had to take the support of either of the existing factions in the villages. It means there are factions in all the villages in this mandal. As compared to surpanchas of other mandals, least of the Sarpanchas from Pedda Kadubur mandal took the support of factions to win the elections. It is because there are less faction villages in this mandal. If the selected surpanchas are to be categorised under each assembly, it is the surpanchas from the Allagadda constituency, who had relied maximum on factions. Surpanches under Kurnool Assembly relied less on factions. Among all the mandals in Allagadda Assembly constituency, Panchayats of Allagadda mandal had maximum effect on factions. In Kodumur Assembly it is the Kodumur mandal, in Panyam Assembly it is Panyam mandal, in Dhone constituency it is Devanakonda mandal, in Pattikonda Assembly it is Maddikera mandal in Allur Assembly it is Halharva mandal, in Nandikotkur Assembly, it is Pagidyala mandal, Yemmiganur constituency it is Kosigi mandal, in Nandyala Assembly constituency it is Mahanandi mandal, in Adoni Assembly constituency it is Kowthalam mandal, in Kurnool Assembly it is Kurnool mandal which is highly affected with factions as many of the elected surpanchas had to take the support of factions to win the elections.

In MPP elections, 80% of the elected MPTCS had to take the support of factions to win the elections. 77% of mandal president had to either maintain the factions or to have support of

higher level faction leaders to get elected as mandal presidents. 77% of ZPTC members had to either maintain the faction or to take the support of the higher level faction leaders to get elected as ZPTC members. This shows that middle tier and upper tier institutions are more factionalised than lower level institutions. It is because elections are party-based at these levels and linkage of factions and political parties are strong.

Caste and political party background of these elected representative shows that forward castes mainly Reddies are the majority elected members in all these institutions. Majority of forward castes as well as backward castes had aligned with TDP. Thus the castist political parties and factions have linkages with each other and have their influence in the elections on the democratic institutions.

References

1. Enadu, 26th April 1996, District Edition, Kurnool, Page 5
2. A group of fake voters do fake voting by forming groups at certain interval of time. Since the group forms like cycle and the same voters do fake voting, it is known as cycling method.
3. Enadu, ibid
4. Enadu, 4th April 1996, District Edition, Kurnool, page 5
5. Enadu, 24th April 1993, District Edition, Kurnool, page 9
6. Enadu, 21st April 1996, District Edition, Kurnool, page
7. Enadu, 22nd April 1996, District Edition, Kurnool, page 4
8. Andhra Bhoomi, Editorial, 20th April 1996, Hyderabad.
9. This data is based on Police Records as well as informal enquiries through local elites.

VI. FACTIONALISM AND ELECTORAL POLITICS: ASSEMBLY AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

This chapter attempts to analyse the role of factions in Assembly and Parliamentary elections. While doing so it has attempted to explain the changing trends of support - caste - wise, party -wise and candidate - wise and examined whether there is any change in the social base of factionalism due to these electoral processes. In this entire exercise the attempt is to examine the mutual interaction between the factional politics and electoral politics and the emerging trends in this interaction.

Assembly Elections - Factionalisation:

There are 13 Assembly Constituencies in Kurnool district¹. Here an attempt is made to analyse the electoral results to these assembly elections under the backdrop of factionalism in each constituency. In order to do so we have presented the names of political leaders who are leading and supporting the factions at constituency level. Further the caste and political party linkages are also analysed.

1. Nandikotkur Constituency : Factional Background

In 1970s Madduri Subba Reddy, and Chinna Siva Reddy, father of Seshasayana Reddy, led two groups in the taluk. As the group leaders they started building their own groups at the village

level. In order to graduate themselves into taluk leaders, they either had drawn or coerced the leaders at the village level into the group or factional politics. Neither Seshayana Reddy nor Madduri Subba Reddy in their political factional feuds used their power for getting government or forest contracts. Nor did they go for arrack auctions to personally enrich themselves. They never adopted gun culture. Rajasekhara Reddy, son of Seshayana Reddy (present MLA of the constituency) adopts what perhaps can be described as neo-factionalism. It means more violence and dominance mostly of a single factional leader in the constituency.

Electoral Analysis:

In this constituency, out of 9 elections from 1955 till 1994 elections, Congress Party won five elections (out of which one was unanimous), TDP two elections, two elections were won by Independents. After the emergence of TDP, the electoral politics centered around TDP and Congress Party. Earlier the fight was between the Congress and Independents, except in the first election (1955), when there was a fight between the Congress Party and Communist Party of India (CPI). All the elections were between Congress and Independents till TDP emerged. The electoral data on Assembly elections of this Constituency from 1955 till 1994 is presented in the following table.

Table No. 6 .1
Electoral data of Nandikotkur Assembly Constituency - 1955-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1955	Ayyapa Reddy	INC	55.3
	N.K.Lingam	INC	25.3
	N.Thimmappa	CPI	20.0
1962	PV . Reddy	IND	53.9
	CR Reddy	INC	46.0
1967	CR Reddy	INC	50.8
	VR Atmakuru	IND	46.3
1972	M.S.Reddy	INC	Uncontested
1978	B.S.Reddy	INC (I)	55.1
	MS . Reddy	IND	41.0
1983	BS Reddy	IND	43.5
	I.T.Reddy	TDP	38.2
1985	I .T . Reddy	TDP	51.1
	BS Reddy	INC	48.9
1989	Byreddy Seshasayana Reddy	INC	51.7
	Ippala Thimma Reddy	TDP	49.7
1994	Byreddy Rajsekhar Reddy	TDP	60.8
	Gidda Reddy	INC	34.9

Source : State Election Commision, A.P., Hyderabad

All the elected representatives in this Constituency are Reddies. The elections were party based. Communists had their influence in 1950s when there was CPI candidate in the elections. The influence of CPI declined over a period of time. Erasu Ayyappa Reddy, who was once M.P. in Kurnool district, started political career as MLA from this Constituency. The politics gave in to factionalism throwing up certain personalities. The main personalities in this Constituency have been Late Ippala Thimma Reddy, Late Madduri Subba Reddy, Byreddy Seshasayana Reddy and his son Byreddy Rajasekhara Reddy, etc. These are the important faction leaders. The main political rivalry and factional fight has been between Madduri and Byreddy families.

Electoral Trends and Factionalism:

An analysis of electoral data shows that in the three elections - 1978, 1983 and 1989 - Byreddy Seshasyana Reddy from

Congress 1 won the elections. In two elections (1985 and 1994) TDP won the election. In 1985 Ippala Thimma Reddy and in 1989 Byreddy Rajaseekhar Reddy won the elections on TDP ticket. Thus party wise, there was a change twice in 1985 and 1994. In real terms there was no change as Byreddy Rajasekhar Reddy is the son of Byreddy Seshasayana Reddy. This was a shift but in the same family. In all these elections, the contest is confined mainly to Madduri and Byreddy families. Although the contesting candidates against B. Seshasayana Reddy or B. Rajasekhar Reddy may look different they were supported by Madduri family only. The fight thus is reduced to Madduri and ByReddy families. The support base of factionalism has not changed much because it is these two reddy families who are the leaders at the constituency level. They maintain factions at the ground level through reddy faction leaders at the village level. The followers, of course come from the lower castes. The victory of the candidates in the elections depended not only on party image at the time of elections coupled with resources but also support of the local level faction leaders and their domination or terror. In 1994 elections domination assumed very violent forms. This violence culminated into murdering of Madduri Subba Reddy who was killed in the faction feuds.

2. Panyam Assembly Constituency:

This constituency is a major battle field for the factional fights. These feuds are essentially between the followers of Challa Ramakrishna Reddy, Bijjam Satyanarayana Reddy and Katasani Rambhupal Reddy. Satyanarayana Reddy is opposed to Challa Ramakrishna Reddy and Katasani Rambhupal Reddy. Faction leader Fakir Reddy has rivalry with Challa Ramakrishna Reddy. Muralidhar Reddy leads rival factional groups against Katasani

Rambhupal Reddy. The factions in Owk, Banaganipally and Koli-migundla mandal of this constituency are inter related and an incident in any of this mandale will have multiplier effect on law and order of most of the villages of this constituency. These faction leaders keep changing political parties in order to continue in power.

In this Constituency, so far 7 elections took place from 1967 to 1994. Before 1967, the constituency was part of Kovela-kuntla constituency and became separate constituency from 1967 onwards. The main political parties which were in competition before the emergence of TDP were the Indian National Congress and Independents and later it is between TDP and Congress. Out of 7 elections, INC has won 4 times (in which one time INC won uncontested) , TDP one time, Janata Party one time and once an Independent. The detailed electoral data is shown in the following Table:

Table No. 6.2
Electoral Data of Panyam Assembly Constituency 1967-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1967	V.Reddy	IND	49.4
	E .A . Reddy	INC	46.4
1972	E .A .Reddy	INC	(Uncontested)
1978	E .A .Reddy	JNP	50.3
	M.B. Reddy	INC (I)	38.0
1983	CR Reddy	TDP	51.4
	M.B. Reddy	INC	43.0
1985	K.R. Reddy	IND	51.9
	BS Reddy	TDP	46.4
1989	K.Ramabhupal Reddy	INC	54.1
	Bijjam Satyanarayana Reddy	TDP	39.5
1994	Katasani Ram Bhoopal Reddy	INC	65.4
	K. Chandra Sekhar Reddy	TDP	31.8

Source : State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

All the elected representatives so far in this constituency are Reddies. The power struggle within the Reddy caste is

between the families of Katasani Rambhupal Reddy, Bijjam Satyanarayana Reddy and Muralidhar Reddy.

Electoral Trends and Factionalism:

In this constituency the role of factions has been significant. The direct patronage of political parties started from 1983. Since 1983 TDP won one time (1983) and Congress-I won three times (1985, 1989 and 1994). The candidate who won from TDP is Challa Ramakrishna Reddy who later shifted to Congress-I. It was Katasani Rambhupal Reddy from Congress-I who has been opposing Bijjam Satyanarayana Reddy of TDP. But Challa and Bijjam have also factions of their own. Katasani maintains faction against Challa and Bijjam as well. In other segment, Katasani's faction is opposed to Muralidhar Reddy. Thus Reddies maintain factions against each other by extending support to faction leaders at the village level who are drawn from lower castes. The victory of Congress-I (Katasani's) is more due to factional strength which includes domination and money power. No change in the factional network occurred. But some of the followers of Challa and Bijjam shifted their loyalties to Katasani Rambhupal Reddy. All the means of factional violence like bomb throwing, money power, terror, domination, threats and rigging are resorted to in this constituency at the time of elections.

3. Allagadda Assembly Constituency:

During late 70s There were factions between late G.Thimma Reddy, father of G. Pratap Reddy versus late Kothapalli Bali Reddy, father of Bhooma Nagi Reddy. Kothapalli Balireddy was killed by followers of G. Pratap Reddy. This led to taking over of factional leadership by his sons Bhooma Sekhara

Reddy and Bhoomanagi Reddy once G. Thimma Reddy died, his sons G. Pratap Reddy and G. Prabhakara Reddy took over the leadership of factions. Hence Bhooma Sekhera Reddy and Bhooma Nagi Reddy maintained factions against Gangula Pratap Reddy and Gangula Prabhakara Reddy. In an atmosphere of revenge, Neo-factionist culture and Murderous politics are triggered by Bhooma Nagi Reddy. Factions at present persist between Gangula Prabhaker Reddy - brother of Gangula Pratapa Reddy - and Bhooma Nagi Reddy. Bhooma started terrorising the business community and collecting the mammools (Regular collection of money through illicit means) and illegally occupying the houses of innocent business people and getting people evicted forcefully from their houses and their lands at Allagadda town.

In this Constituency so far 7 elections took place. Out of 7 elections, Congress won 3 times, TDP three times and once an Independent candidate won. Till the emergence of TDP, the electoral contest took place between INC and Independents except in 1962, wherein the contest was between INC and CPI. The detailed electoral data is presented in the following table.

Table No. 6.3
Electoral Data of Allagadda Constituency - 1962-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1962	S. Jaya Raju	INC	46.7
	NS Raju	CPI	31.1
1978	G.T. Reddy	IND	53.2
	SVS Reddy	INC	44.1
By-elections :			
1978-83	G.P.Reddy	INC (I)	56.5
	SVS Reddy	IND	38.2
1983	SVS Reddy	TDP	57.3
	GP.Reddy	INC	41.3
1985	G.P.Reddy	INC	49.1
	B.S.Reddy	TDP	47.6
1989	Bhuma Sessa Reddy	TDP	48.7
	G. Pratapa Reddy	IMC	46.1
1994	Bhuma Nagi Reddy	TDP	54.7
	G. Pratap Reddy	INC	41.2

Source : State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

Electoral Trends and Factionalism:

Faction politico came into existence in this constituency from 1978 onwards. The direct patronage of political parties to the factions started from 1983. The contest was between the members of two political families namely Gangula and Bhooma. From 1983, TDP won four times (1983,1989,1994, 1996 bye-elections) and Congress-I won only one time (1985). The victorious candidates from TDP were; S.V. Subba Reddy (Father-in-law of Bhooma Nagi Reddy), Late Bhooma Sekhara Reddy, (Brother of Bhooma Nagi Reddy), Bhooma Nagi Reddy and Sobha Nagi Reddy (wife of Bhooma Nagi Reddy). From Congress-1 Gangula Pratap Reddy won the elections. This shows that Congress got delinked with powerful factional group due to the rise of TDP. The domination of violent factional politics of Bhooma Nagi Reddy accounts for the decline of congress. The social bases of factionalism constitute Reddy factional leaders at the village level and also poor belonging to lower castes. The villages are sharply divided into two groups extending support to these faction leaders. The social base of factionalism does not change. Reddies continue to wield power although the formal power may shift from one factional family to another. The violent factionalism at the time of elections in the form of throwing bombs, rigging, creating terror and threats occur in this constituency.

4. Kovelakuntla Assembly Constituency:

In Kovelakuntla at present Sri Karra Subba Reddy, MLA, though is not a factionist by himself, supports faction groups of TDP in Uyyalawada, Kolimigundla and Owk mandals. This Constituency which was under the erstwhile Kovelakuntla taluk is

known for age old factions. Late B.V.Subba Reddy Ex-Dy.Chief Minister wielded dominance in this constituency but never indulged in violent faction politics.

Electoral Analysis:

In this Constituency, out of 10 elections so far, from 1955 to 1994, Congress won 5 elections (two times uncontested), one time an independent, one time Janata Party candidate and three times TDP candidate. Before the emergence of TDP, the fight was mainly between INC and Independents. The detailed electoral data is shown in the following Table.

Table No. 6.4
Electoral Data of Kovelakuntla Assembly Constituency 1955-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1955	BVS. Reddy	IND	46.2
	PVS. Subbaiah	INC	34.9
1962	BVS. Reddy	IND	(Uncontested)
1967	BVS. Reddy	INC	54.5
	KR.Reddy	IND	45.5
1972	BVS Reddy	INC	(Uncontested)
Bye-elections Between 1972-78			
	MV.Subba Reddy	INC	47.4
	BRS.Reddy	IND	35.3
1978	K. A. Reddy	JNP	56.4
	BVN Reddy	INC (I)	38.0
Bye-elections (1978-1983)			
	MKV. Reddy	INC (I)	77.3
	AL. Narayana	IND	22.7
1983	BN. Reddy	TDP	59.5
	BVN.Reddy	INC	39.0
1985	KS. Reddy	TDP	56.5
	B.R.Reddy	INC	41.7
1989	K. Subba Reddy	TDP	51.6
	S.V. Subba Reddy	INC	44.1
1994	Karra Subba Reddy	TDP	48.6
	Challa Ramakrishna Reddy	INC	47.0

Source : State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

Electoral Trends and Factionalism:

This constituency is known for factions in 1960s and 1970s. In 1983, 1985, 1989 and 1994 elections, incidence of factionalism has been marginal. Yet factionists of other constituency like Bhooma Nagi Reddy of Allagadda, Chella Ramakrishna Reddy of Panyam wielded influence in this constituency. There are factions at the village level and as usual, Reddies are faction leaders and lower castes constitute their followers. TDP has been winning this constituency since 1983, although there is an instance of two candidates shifting their loyalties from one party to another. Karra Subba Reddy who has the image of that of a non-factionist took the support of existing factions in winning the elections. No changes have taken place in the nature of factional structures or factionalism due to elections. But wherever there are factions in the constituency, mobilization of voters at the time of elections is done on the factional lines. This includes exercise of franchise by the lower caste on the directives of their leaders and use of money power, muscle power, and domination.

5. Nandyal Assembly constituency:

Nandyal Constituency is relatively less faction-ridden. Yet there have been always two groups within the Congress-I reflecting the elections but not violent proportions unlike the factionists of neighbouring Allagadda Assembly Constituency who indulge in the lucrative business of mediating between the local business community of Nandyal town and neighbouring villages and extract money.

In this Constituency, out of 9 elections held BO far, INC has won two times, TDP three times, Independents three times, Janata Party one time. The detailed electoral data is shown in the following table.

Table No. 6.5
Electoral Data of Nandyal Assembly Constituency 1955-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1955	C.G.Reddy	IND	56.5
	M.S.Reddy	INC	24.5
1962	M.S.Reddy	IND	39.0
	PA. Reddy	IND	34.9
1967	SEN Saheb	INC	49.9
	C.Eswaraiah	IND	30.3
1972	B.V.Reddy	IND	53.5
	SEN.Saheb	INC	45.4
1978	B.Venkata Reddy	JNP	49.3
	S.B.Nabi	INC	47.6
1983	N. Sanjeeva Reddy	TDP	63.0
	B.V.Reddy	INC	34.7
1985	N. Farooq	TDP	53.8
	G.P.Reddy	INC	43.8
1989	V. Ramnath Reddy	INC	51.3
	Md. Farooq	TDP	44.8
1994	Md. Farooq	TDP	57.9
	K. M. Hussain	INC	22.3

Source : State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

In this Constituency, from 1955 to 1994, except in three elections, Reddies got elected as representatives. In 1967, 1985 and 1989, Muslim candidate won the elections. The main political personalities in this constituency are Bojja Venkata Reddy, V.Ramnath Reddy, and N.Farooq etc.

Electoral Trends and factionalism :

In this constituency effect of factions commenced from 1983. Since 1983, TDP has won thrice (1983,1985 and 1994) and congress I once (1989) . Elected candidates from TDP include Sanjeeva

Reddy and N Farooq, and from congress it was Ramanath Reddy. These elected candidates do not maintain factions. The factional network in the villages indicate that BCs have factions within BCs, Reddies have factions within Reddies. Mostly BCs seem to have aligned with TDP along with minorities. Reddies align with Congress-I. The social basis of factionalism does not change with the changes in the electoral preferences. However, at the time of election the factional leaders give directives to their followers and use undemocratic means like threats and dominations. The voting behaviour in the urban areas is based on the choice of individual voter.

6. Atmakur constituency:

In the erstwhile Atmakur taluk the village kararnams belonging to Brahmin community which wielded power but not as leaders of other factions. They owned extensive properties which they lost over a period of time to Reddy community. As a result Reddies became powerful at the village level. Reddies won over the lower caste people in a phased manner and captured power at the village level. The beginning of dominance of Reddy's marks the beginning of factionalism.

In this constituency Budda Vengala Reddy got elected twice as MLA once on congress ticket and once on TDP ticket. Though he comes from a middle class Reddy family, it was TDP wave which helped him in becoming a MLA and later he grew in power and riches. He grew rich through forest, arrack contracts and government contracts. As a legislator he used muscle power exceedingly and consolidated himself. But the power was used to such an extent that the villagers became quite hostile to his methods.

Electoral Analysis:

In this Constituency, out of 10 elections from 1957 to 1994, congress won in six elections, TDP won two elections, Swantantra Party won one election, and independent won in one election. The detailed electoral data is shown in the following Table.

Table No. 6.6
Electoral data of Atmakur Assembly Constituency - 1957-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1957	Muralidhar Reddy	INC	65.9
	PR Krishna	PSP	34.9
Bye-elections :			
1957-62			
	A.S.Reddy	INC	49.5
	GC Kondaiah	PSP	49.4
1962	Sombhopal	IND	59.7
	JL Devamma	INC	40.3
1967	RR Pella Khru	SWA	54.2
	SR Anam	INC	45.8
1972	KS Naidu	INC	53.9
	GC Kondaiah	IND	44.4
1978	A.V.Reddy	INC	60.5
	T.Rangasai	JNP	28.2
1983	Vengala Reddy	TDP	57.4
	BJ Reddy	INC	35.8
1985	BV Reddy	TDP	52.4
	GPN Reddy	INC	43.7
1989	Budda vengal Reddy	INC	58.6
	Siva Rami Reddy	TDP	34.6
1994	E . Pratap Reddy	INC	48.0
	Budda Vengal Reddy	TDP	42.0

Source : State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

Electoral Trends and factionalism:

In this constituency, faction politics started from 1980s. An analysis of the electoral data from 1983 and the role of factions shows that it is the Reddies' who won the elections four times continuously. But defeated candidates were also Reddies'. Since 1983 TDP won two times (1983 & 1985) and Congress - I, two times (1989 & 1994). Budda Vengal Reddy won three times and Erasu Pratap Reddy one time. Both of them maintained factions at the village level. The faction followers from Reddy caste were the faction leaders at the village level. Their following has always been drawn from the poorer communities. The changes in the electoral trends have not altered social basis of factionalism as Reddies continue as faction leaders and the lower castes remain the followers in spite of several elections taking place. It is to be noted that for faction leaders membership or leadership in political parties is incidental. They join one party and shift to another party. Budda Vengal Reddy who won twice on TDP ticket and shifted to Congress-I and yet won the election. However, he lost the election at the time when he shifted from Congress to Telugu Desam. The other faction leader Erasu Pratap Reddy son of Erasu Ayyapa Reddy, (Ex-MP) has also huge following and won the election as the rival faction leader Budda Vengal Reddy lost the sympathy of people. It is believed that he made a lot of wealth through objectionable means. It is believed that he got his rival Kedarnath Reddy killed recently. Money power, muscle power and murder politics play a major role in the elections in this constituency.

7. Pattikonda Constituency:

After the advent of TDP as was the case with other constituencies, the murderous politics dominate this constituency. In this constituency one faction is represented by Reddies supported by Congress I, and the other by BCs with the "support" of TDP. Initially the CPI elected MLA was killed by the support of Congress-I followers. Later the violent factionalism has started once when the TDP elected MLA Mahabaleshwar Gupta was got killed supposed to be by Ramakrishna Reddy who contested against him from Congress-I. Later Ramakrishna Reddy also got killed by Mahabaleshwar Gupta's followers. Thus violent factionalism marks the elections of this constituency. Late Ramakrishna Reddy who was the Samithi President and late T. Thimma Reddy, Venkatappa Naidu, Late Seshi Reddy represents the factionalism in Pattikonda constituency. The influence of K.E.Krishnamurthy is wide on this constituency. He patronises BCs factions. The present MLA S.V. Subba Reddy from TDP took the support of K.E.Krishnamurthy to win the elections. The power conflict between Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy and K.E. Krishna Murthy gets reflected in this constituency also. That is why K.E. Krishnamurthy supported S.V. Subba Reddy because Kotla supported Seshi Reddy of Congress-I.

Electoral analysis:

In this Constituency, from 1955 to 1994, out of 10 elections, Congress has won six times, TDP two times, CPI one time, an Independent one time. Out of 10 representatives, six were Reddies, three were BCs and one was Vysya. One candidate namely KB Narasappa, belonging to Backward Caste won three times from this constituency. In the 1955 election, CPI and in 1967 and 1972 CPM contested the election. Power

Struggle mainly revolves around S.V.Subba Reddy and Seshi Reddy families. The detailed electoral data from 1955 to 1994 is shown in the following Table.

Table No. 6.7
Electoral data of Pattikonda Assembly Constituency - 1955-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1955	H.Reddy	INC	57.3
	K.E.Reddy	CPI	39.5
1962	KB Narasappa	INC	55.9
	LN. Reddy	IND	44.0
Bye-elections :			
	L.N.Reddy	IND	57.8
	B.Reddy	INC	47.2
1967	K.E.Reddy	CPM	51.6
	K.B.Narasappa	INC	48.4
1972	BK.Varesappa	INC	61.4
	E.Reddy	CPM	33.5
1978	B.K.Narasappa	INC (I)	47.0
	P.R.Reddy	IND	30.1
1983	M.T.Reddy	INC	51.8
	KM Gupta	TDP	48.2
1985	K.M.Gupta	TDP	52.6
	TR.Reddy	INC	47.4
1989	P.S.Reddy	INC	40.9
	T.Huchappa	TDP	39.8
1994	S. V. Subba Reddy	TDP	57.5
	Pateel Sashi Reddy	INC	38.4

Source: State Election Commission, A.P. Hyderabad.

Electoral Trends and Factionalism:

Factional politics in this segment also started in the year 1983. If we analyse the data from 1983, Congress-I won two times, TDP two times. Out of four elected candidates, three belonged to Reddy community and one to Business community (Vysya). While from Congress-I, Thimma Reddy won the elections in 1983, P. Seshi Reddy won in 1989, from TDP in 1985 K. Mahabaleshwar Gupta and in 1994, S.V. Subba Reddy won the elections. Social basis of factionalism in the constituency lay with Reddies. The Reddy faction leaders at the village level are patro-

nised by thp Congress-I and backward caste faction leaders are supported by TDP. Thus both political parties maintained factions deriving support from varied castes. In this constituency three elected MLAs - one from CPI - K. Eshwara Reddy - one from TDP - Mahabaleshwar Gupta and one from Congress-1 - P. Seshi Reddy - got killed. This indicates the level of violence in factions. The element of domination, threats, terror at the time of elections, are all integral part of political culture . The electoral outcomes do depend on these factors. The electoral results depend on the influence of district level faction leaders like Kotla Vijay Bhaskara Reddy and K.E. Krishnamurthy. Kotla supports Congress-I and K.E. Krishnamurthy the TDP, though he is in Congress-I, because of his rivalry to Kotla.

8. Yemmiganur Constituency:

This constituency is not affected by factional politics. However there is one Sri Errakota Keseva Reddy who leads factions in most of the villages of Yemmiganur Mandal. B.V. Mohan Reddy, the present MLA though not a factionist, opposed Keseva Reddy. There is another person K.R. Hanumantha Reddy who leads a small faction in this constituency. Factionalism could be partly because of the radical movement of late 70s and 80s.

Electoral Analysis:

In this Constituency, before the emergence of TDP, Congress continuously won six elections in 1955, 1967, 1972, 1978 and 1983 except in 1962. In 1962 the candidate from Swatantra Party won the elections. From 1985 onwards, i.e. 1985, 1989 and 1994, TDP has been winning the elections. From 1983 MLAs have been Reddies. B.V.Mohan Reddy, *from TDP has won all*

the three times. The power struggle has been between Reddies and BCs. Ex-Chief Minister Damodaram Sanjivaiah won from this constituency. The main political rivalry at present is between Kesava Reddy of the Congress and BV Mohan Reddy of TDP. The continuous dominance of one party over a period of time indicates absence of deep rooted factionalism. The electoral data is presented in the following table:

Table No. 6.8
Electoral data of Yemmiganur Assembly Constituency - 1955-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1955	Sanjivaiah	INC	33.6
	V.B.Reddy	INC	27.1
1962	YCV. Gowd	SWA	52.4
	K.V.Reddy	INC	47.6
1967	POS.Raju	INC	54.6
	WS. Gowd	SWA	39.2
1972	POS.Raju	INC	60.4
	MY.Somappa	INC(O)	33.5
1978	H.Reddy	INC (I)	6.0
	R.C.Reddy	INC	28.5
1983	V.B.Reddy	INC	56.7
	Abdul Razzack	TDP	40.7
	B.P.Gowd	INC	2.6
1985	B.V.M.Reddy	TDP	67.9
	D. Muniswamy	INC	31.5
1989	B.V. Mohan Reddy	TDP	49.2
	M.S. Sivamma	INC	45.1
1994	B.V. Mohan Reddy	TDP	51.1
	K. Kesava Reddy	INC	44.6

Source : State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

Electoral Trends and Factionalism:

Effect of factions on elections has not been that intense in this constituency except in one mandal where E. Keshava Reddy supports Congress-I and encourages Reddy faction leaders at the village level against the BCs. At the constituency level, he opposes B.V. Mohan Reddy, who was thrice elected as MLA from TDP. It is Reddies from 1978 who have been wielding political power for a long time. The electoral change from Congress-I to TDP can

be explained through the pattern of alignment of BCs and lower castes against Reddies. But even the BCs and lower castes are led by a Reddy at the constituency level. He maintains a non-factionist image. Thus social base of factionalism at the village level is BCs and Reddies.

Although Congress-I strategically picks up BC candidates against Reddies, the candidate does not win as Congress has no support base among the BCs. Although there are electoral fluctuations at an apparent level, there has not been any significant change in the social base of factionalism.

9. Alur Constituency:

Factionalism in this constituency is violent. This is so more after the advent of Telugu Desam. The rivalry has been between dominant Reddy community and Kamma communities. V. Sreeramulu - a Kamma leader - belonging to Chippagiri village came to power as Samithi President after the advent of TDP. As it is between two dominant communities, there have been 10 - 15 murders in the villages during or after the elections in this constituency.

In this Constituency, from 1955 to 1994, Congress won 5 out of 9 elections, TDP won two, Swatantra Party won one and one independent was a unanimous choice in one of the elections. Since it is a reserved constituency for the Scheduled Castes from 1978, all the elected representatives from 1978 onwards, are Scheduled Castes. Masala Eranna - present MLA got elected twice from this Constituency on Congress ticket once on TDP ticket. The main political personalities include Thimma Reddy, SriRamulu, Devendrappa and Masala Eranna. The detailed elector-

al data for this assembly constituency from 1955 onwards is shown in the following Table.

Table No. 6.9
Electoral data of Alur Assembly Constituency - 1955-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1955	H. Ramalinga Reddy	INC	58.5
	P. Venkataramappa	CPI	25.2
1962	D.L.Reddy	INC	Un-contested
1967	(reserved for SC)		
	D. Govinda Das	SWA	51.6
	S. Nagappa	INC	43.9
1972	P.R.Rao	INC	75.7
	J.Karippa	NCO	9.1
1978	(SO		
	M. Eranna	INC (I)	58.5
	H. Eranna	JNP	24.5
1983	K.Basappa	TDP	48.9
	M. Eranna	INC	47.4
1985	M. Eranna	INC	53.1
	P.R.Rao	TDP	46.9
1989	G. Loknath	INC	52.7
	Rangaiah	TDP	40.5
1994	M. Eranna	TDP	49.6
	M. Marappa	INC	42.7

Source : State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

Electoral Trends and Factionalism:

This constituency is fully affected by faction politics since 1983 onwards. In this constituency, BCs have factional conflict with Reddies and Kammas and Boyas (BCs). Masala Eranna won in 1994 due to TDP wave and support of Kammas and BCs and also a few Reddies who hitherto supported Congress-I. In 1989, TDP candidate Rangaiah lost due to Congress-I wave at that time. Masala Eranna shifted from Congress-I to TDP due to his differences with Reddies. In 1983 he contested from Congress-I but lost due to TDP wave. Victory of Masala Eranna later depended on how he subtly managed the support of Reddies and BCs when he contested from Congress-I and how he managed the support of

Kammas and BCs when he contested from TDP. This is a reserved constituency and a Dalit leader like him has no option but to rely on different faction leaders for his victory. Social base of factionalism is in BCs and Reddies in some villages and Kammas and BC in some other villages. These forces influence the victory of candidates in addition to money and image of the party.

10. Adoni Assembly Constituency:

In this constituency. Kosigi mandal is the only one affected by factions. Marry Gowd a known factionist of TDP was opposed to Siddi Ramappa of Congress-I. The power struggle in this constituency is between Kammas and BCs. This constituency relatively is less faction prone because of radical movement in late 70s.

Electoral Analysis:

In this Constituency out of 9 elections from 1955 to 1994, Congress won 5 elections, Praja Socialist Party won one election, TDP won two times, Independent won one election. It was mainly a non-Reddy-dominated constituency. The elected representatives earlier were from varied castes such as Kamma, Brahmin, Vysya, Jain. It is mostly dominated by business community. This has changed over a period of time. At present, the power-struggle is between Reddies and Kammas. The main political personalities in this constituency are Rayachoti Ramaiah and Meenakshi Naidu. The detailed electoral data for this Assembly constituency is presented in the following Table.

Table No. 6.10
Electoral Data of Adoni Assembly Constituency - 1955-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
<u>Kosigi</u>			
1955	B.Bajanna	PSP	43.0
	Shaik Mohd . Nijami	PP	42.9
1962	H.S.Reddy	IND	52.2
	KCT .Reddy	INC	41.5
<u>Adoni</u>			
1955	TGT. Setty	INC	74.7
	V.Reddy	PSP	25.3
1962	S.N.Raju	INC	49.8
	T.Reddy	IND	29.0
1967	TGL Thimmaiah	INC	62.4
	H.Shaheb	SWA	31.2
1972	H.S.Narayana	INC	51.0
	CS Rao	IND	27
1978	H . Satyanarayana	INC	39.0
	HS .Reddy	INC	20.4
1983	NP Jain	TDP	52.0
	H.Satyanarayana	INC	25.0
1985	R . Ramaiah	INC	51.4
	K. Meenakshi Naidu	TDP	41.8
1994	K. Meenakshi Naidu	TDP	53.8
	R . Ramaiah	INC	37.9

Source : State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

Electoral Trends and Factionalism:

During 1955 and 1962, Kosigi was a separate constituency, known for its factions. This was merged into Adoni constituency in 1967. In this constituency, factions exist between reddiees and BCs, BCs and SCs and Bcs and BCs in a few mandals. TDP won three times (1983, 1985 and 1994). Congress-I won 1994 elections. The main political leaders are Rayachoti Ramaiah of Congress-I and Meenakshi Naidu of TDP. Both do not have direct factions with each other, but take advantage of factions prevailing at the village level. The change of elected candidates from TDP does not change the electoral base nor social bases of factionalism. Same is the case with Congress-I. While Congress-I gets the support of Reddies, and SCs, TDP gets the support of Kammas and

BCs . Victory of Congress-I in 1989 was due to a favourable image. In the elections, voting is done on the basis of factional affiliations of villagers more than affiliation to political parties. In these pockets, all the undemocratic means, like rigging, threat, and domination are resorted to.

11. Dhone Constituency : Factional Background

Factionist politics made their way into this constituency from 1983-85 onwards. This was after the rise of TDP. Earlier factionalism did not play any major role in electoral politics. There was factionalism in Krishnagiri area which had linkages with Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy and K.E. Madanna, the factional leaders at higher level. In other areas factionist groups grew up between 1983 and 94 because of political rivalries between TDP and Congress.

Electoral Analysis:

In this Constituency so far 10 elections were held from 1955 to 1996. Out of 10 elections, Congress won 7, TDP won one, Swatantra Party won one and an Independent won one election. In the recent Bye-elections (1996), TDP won the seat. About the caste background of the elected MLAs, it was Reddies who won in 4 elections and the BCs in the rest of the elections. The power-struggle is mainly between the Reddies and the Backward castes. The fight for power revolves around Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy and K.E. Krishna Murthy families. The detailed electoral data about this constituency is presented in the following table.

Table No. 6.11
Electoral Data of Dhone Assembly Constituency - 1955-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1955	BPS Reddy	IND	52
	V.Setty	INC	47 .9
1962	NS .Reddy	INC	87.3
	Lakshmi Swarnna	INP	4.8
Bye-elections Between			
1962-67	CR Reddy	INC	70.3
	C .Venkatappa	INC	29.7
1967	KVK.Murthy	SWA	59.3
	M.Seshanna	INC	40.7
1972	Seshanna	INC	63.4
	K Reddy	IND	36.6
1978	K.Krishna Murthy	INC (I)	69.7
	Mekka Seshanna	INC	18.9
	CAR Khan	JNP	11.4
1985	KEK Murthy	TDP	58.0
	KKR. Reddy	INC	41.6
1989	K.E. Krishna Murty	INC	53.9
	Challa Ramakrishna Reddy	TDP	40.7
1994	K.Vijaya Bhasker Reddy	INC	66.8
	SudhakarReddy	CPI	29.2

Source: State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

Electoral Trends and Factionalism:

The effect of factionalism on the elections in this constituency is in existence from 1983 elections. K.E. Krishnam Murthy won twice from TDP and Congress-I once. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy won once from the Congress-I. In this constituency, factional politics revolves around Reddies and BCs. While Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy patronises Reddy factional leaders at the village level, K.E. Krishna Murthy patronises BC faction leaders. While K.E. Krishna Murthy (a BC) changed parties, Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy did not. K.E., won twice from TDP and once on Congress-I ticket. Kotla won from Congress-I in 1994 due to K.E.'s "conscious indifference". At that time K.E., contested from other constituency. Thus the analysis of the changing trends of elections in this constituency in terms of factionalism indicate that if both the leaders do not oppose each other, factions get together and win the election. K.E. did not directly oppose Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy in 1994, because he was in Congress-I, but his factions at the ground level worked against. However, it did not stop Kotla from winning, though his margin of victory was not impressive. But in recent bye-elections (1996),

both of these faction came face to face and K.E's brother K.E. Prabhakar won the election indicating growing influence of BCs. All the elements of violent factionalism like domination, money, terror and in some places violence (bomb throwing) played their role in the recent elections.

12. Kodumur Assembly Constituency:

Factionalism is a reflection of groupism between Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy and K.E. Krishnamurthy cutting across the political parties and ideologies.

Electoral Analysis:

In this Constituency, from 1967 to 1994 elections, Congress won two elections, TDP three elections, Swatantra Party one election and Independent one election. In 1992 D.Muniswamy won on Congress ticket unanimously. The power-struggle is between the personalities of Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, Vishnuvardhana Reddy and Gaddam Prakasha Reddy. The detailed electoral data about this constituency is presented in the following Table.

Table No. 6.12
Electoral data of Kodumur Assembly Constituency - 1962-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1962	Sanjeevaiah	INC	58.6
	P.R. Rao	Ind	41.4
1967	P.R. Rao	SWA	61.4
	D. Munniswamy	INC	38.6
1972	D. Munniswamy	INC	(Uncontested)
1978	D. Munniswamy	INC	47.3
	M. Sikamani	INCI	37.1
	P. Gokari	IND	7.6
	T.K. Rajamma	JNP	5.5
	N.V. Swamy	IND	2.5
1983	D. Munniswamy	INC	54.3
	M. Sikamani	TDP	45.7
1985	M. Sikamani	TDP	53.9
	D. Munniswamy	INC	45.0
	N. Venkataswamy	IND	1.1
1989	M. Madangopal	INC	48.8
	Munuswamy	IND	12.4
	M. Sikamani	TDP	47.3
1994	M. Sikhamani	INC	61.2
	B. Ananthaiah	TDP	34.9

Source : State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

Electoral Trends and Factionalism:

This constituency is directly effected with factions and these factions have patronage of political leaders like Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy of Congress-I, Gaddam Prakash Reddy (earlier in Congress-I and later shifted to TDP), Vishnu Vardhan Reddy who was originally in TDP and shifted to Congress-I. The social bases of factionalism is seen in BCs who have factions with BCs in most of the villages, Reddies with BCs in few villages and BCs with SCs in a few other villages. There is no direct affiliation of all BCs with TDP as is the case in the other constituencies. Here, voting is done on the basis of directives of leaders who patronise these factions. This involves all un-democratic means like rigging, bomb throwing, creating terror and exercising the domination and spending huge money.

13. Kurnool Assembly Constituency:

The Kurnool Assembly Constituency is, by and large, free from factionalism. There was no dominance of any particular caste in this constituency. At present the political rivalry is between C.P.M. and Congress-I. Though Kurnool town is free from factions, factionists of Kurnool district often visit Kurnool town either for attending the courts or for other work. Most of them move freely in the over loaded jeeps with their henchmen standing on the footboard exhibiting weapons. Usually the middle level factionists stay in choultries and small lodges and their leaders stay in Govt. guest houses.

Electoral Analysis:

In Kurnool Assembly Constituency, out of 9 elections from 1955 to 1994, Congress won 6 elections, CPM one, TDP one and Independent one. This constituency was represented twice by minorities (Muslims), thrice by Kammas, once by Brahmin and once by BC. There is no dominance of any particular caste in this constituency. The power-struggle is mainly between Rambhupal Chowdary of Congress and CPM at present. The detailed electoral data is shown in the following Table.

Table No. 6.13
Electoral data of Kurnool Assembly Constituency - 1955-1994

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1955	MA Khan	INC	59.0
	KRL Sharma	PSP	24.0
1962	TKR. Sharma	INC	51.7
	A.G. Khan	INC	35.9
1967	K.E. Madanna	INC	48.0
	BS Khan	SWA	42.7
1972	Mohd. I. Khan	INC (I)	54.4
	SB. Khan	JNP	32.8
1978	Mohd. I. Khan	INC (I)	54.4
	BS. Khan	JNP	32.8
	S. Ramalingaiah	INC	7.4
1983	V.R.B. Chowdhary	TDP	54.9
	Dawood Khan	INC	33.5
	M.A. Gafoor	CPM	9.9
1985	V.R.B. Chowdhary	INC	52.2
	K.N. Reddy	TDP	45.2
1994	M. Abdul Gafoor	CPM	49.3
	K.E. Krishna Murthy	INC	42.0

Source : State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad

Electoral Trends and Factionalism:

Except in some of the villages near Kurnool, this constituency is not affected by factionalism. The change in the political parties and candidates is due to changing image of parties. In the town, the followers of K.E. Krishna Murthy, Kotla Vijaya

Bhaskar Reddy, Vishnu Vardhan Reddy and Rambhupal Chowdary influence the electioneering almost on factional lines and resort to rigging, money and muscle power. Wherever factions prevail, it is the Reddies who are factional leaders and the followers are invariably from the lower castes. Mobilisation of votes in the elections is done by the respective factional leaders for particular political parties.

To sum up in Nandikotkur Assembly Constituency there is political rivalry between two political families and politics are guided by these two families. Factions are tied up between the Reddy castes. The factions at the macro-level between these two families patronise the factions at the micro level and get their support. Two different and opposing political parties would give tickets to the candidates coming from these political families. In Panyam Assembly constituency there are multiple factions at the macro level. The Reddy caste patronises factions at the macro level. Political parties give tickets to these macro level factional leaders only, there is shifting of alliances of micro level factions to these macro level faction leaders. The macro level factional leaders keep on changing the political parties. There is intense fight for money, resources and power in this constituency. In Allagadda constituency also the political fight is between two Reddy families, hence caste and factions are tied up with individual factors. The macro level faction leaders from these families patronises micro level faction leaders. Political parties also give tickets to these families. In Kovelakuntla constituency there is political fight between the Reddies. The contestants for the MLA post use factions at micro level. There is no macro level factional leadership in this constituency, but it is an 'outside' constituency factionalism which infects this constituency. In Nandyal constituency the intra-party factions

of Congress I play their role. There is no macro level factional leadership in this constituency but micro level factions between minorities and BCs and BCs and BCs are used by those who contest for MLA poste. In Atmakur also, it is the Reddies who are the macro level faction leaders, political parties give tickets only to these faction leaders. There is shifting of political parties by the macro level factional leader at their convenience. Political murders play a dominant role in this constituency. In Pattikonda constituency the factionalism is between Reddies and BCs. The influence of district level factional leaders is widespread in this constituency. In Yemminagur constituency support base of political parties is solely on caste lines. While BCs support TD party, Reddies are with the Congress. In Alur constituency the political rivalry is between the two dominant communities i.e., Kamma and Reddies, while Kammas support TDP, Reddies support Congress-I. Though this constituency is reserved for SCs, the political game and its rules are determined by the two dominant communities. In Adoni the fight is among the two dominant communities i.e., Kammas and Vysyas, while Vysyas, Reddies and SCs support Congress-I, Kammas and BCs support TDP. In Dhone constituency the fight is between two political families one belonging to Reddy, another to BC. Macro level factional leadership by Reddies and BCs take the support of the micro level factional leadership from their respective community base and support structure. Political parties give tickets only to these two political families. Macro level political leaders keep changing the political party. In Kurnool constituency the fight is between CPM and Congress-I, which uses micro level factions. The overall scenario indicates the micro-macro linkages of electoral politics and their interface with factional network.

But. this factional politics represents "Indian electoral democracy", in which, principal aspects has functioned ... as a means of sharing out patronage, power and property among the rich and the powerful. It has functioned too as a means of recanalising the forms of traditional power and property into modern channels. And therefore, the violence of the armed landlord factions has fitted neatly into electoral combat, while the sanctity and the position of an 'elected representative' has lent ideological legitimacy as well as some amount of "state power' to the erstwhile armed lord. From the village sarpanch to the MLA, most of the elected representatives today are leaders of gangs armed to the teeth, and the consequent terror is a decisive factor in deciding elections .

Parliament Elections Analysis:

In Kurnool district, there are two Parliamentary Constituencies - one is Nandyal and the other is Kurnool. Under Nandyal Constituency Nandikotkur, Atmakur, Panyam, Kovelakuntla, Nandyal and Allagadda Assembly segments are included. Kurnool Constituency consists of Kurnool, Kodumur, Yemmiganur, Adoni, Alur, Pattikonda and Dhone Assembly segments.

1. Nandyal:

In Nandyal, the elections took place for Parliament in 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967, 1971, 1977, 1980, there were also bye-elections between 1977-1980, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1992 (Bye-elections) and 1996. Out of 13 elections, Congress won as many as 11 elections. In one election, Independent and in one election Bharatiya Lok Dal candidate had won³. The major political parties which contested the elections in this Constituency in-

clude Congress, KLP, PSP, SWA BLD, Janata Party, TDP etc. The caste of the elected MPs include Vysya, Reddies and Brahmins. Till 1980 the fight was between P.V. Subbaiah (Vyshya) and Reddies. Between 1984 and 1991, the electoral contest took place between the Reddies themselves. In this constituency, P.V. Narasimha Rao won in 1991 elections with a record majority. The main political personalities in this constituency include Gangula Pratap Reddy, Bhooma Nagi Reddy, Seshasayana Reddy, Madduri Subba Reddy and Bojja Venkata Reddy. In all the Assembly segments, it is the Reddies who dominate as MLAs and hence it is Reddies who hold key to the power in this. In Parliamentary elections P. Venkata Subbaiah won 6 times because he was a senior Congress leader and a wealthy businessman. He, being in Congress party for long time, managed to get the ticket and also invest money in the politics. He supported Reddy leaders who are in Congress-I and managed the Reddies support. Further the Minorities as well as Dalits were also his support base. The following Table indicates the votes polled and candidates under political parties in various elections.

Table No. 6.14
Electoral data of Nandyal Parliamentary Constituency - 1952-1996

Year	Name of the Candidate		Percentage of votes polled	
1952	1.	R.Seshagiri Rao	IND	27.7
	2.	S.R.Reddy	INC	35.0
1957	1.	PV.Subbaiah	INC	70.6
	2.	G.Goud	PSP	29.4
1967	1.	P.V.Subbaiah	INC	66.2
	2.	S.Reddy	CPI	23.6
1962	1.	P.V.Subbaiah	INC	56.9
	2.	N.S.Reddy	SWA	43.1
1971	1.	P.V.Subbaiah	INC	66.2
	2.	K.A.Reddy	NCU	27.9
1977	1.	N.Sanjiva Reddy	BLD	53.2
	2.	P.V.Subbaiah	INC	45.8
1980	1.	P.V.Subbaiah	INC	55.8
	2.	As if Pasha	INEU	35.9

Year	Name	of the Candidate	Percent age of votes polled
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Bye-Elections between 6th & 7th General Elections

	1.	P.V.Subbaiah	INC	50.8
	2.	Gamego	JNP	42.7
	3.	B.Guravaiah	IND	6.4
1984	1.	Maddur Subba Reddy	INC	54.1
	2.	SPY Reddy	IND	7.6
1989	1.	B.V. Reddy	INC	53.6
	2.	M. Subba Reddy	TDP	45.5
1991	1.	Challa Ramakrishna Reddy	TDP	30.4
	2.	G.Pratap Reddy	INC	60.1
	3.	S.P.Y. Reddy	BJP	7.5
Bye-elections				
	1.	P.V. Narasimha Rao	INC	90.0
	2.	Bangaru Laxmsn	BJP	2.6
1996	1.	P.V. Narasimha Rao	INC(I)	49.4
	2.	Bhuma Venkata Nagi Reddy	TDP	36.1
	3.	Byreddy Seshasayana Reddy	TDP(LP)	10.0

Source: 1) V.B. Singh & Shankar Bose. State Elections in India, Data Hand book on Lok Sabha, 1950-80, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

2) State Election Commission, A.P., Hyderabad.

Role of factionalism in Elections:

In Nandyal Parliamentary constituency, out of nearly 450 revenue villages, 300 villages, according to the police estimate, are in the hands of faction leaders. The Police feel that they do not have protection. In Koyalkuntla and Allagadda constituency the influence of faction leaders is so widespread that the Polling officers, candidates and voters all belong to factions. At the time of elections when the faction leaders visit their villages, people are mobilised in thousands. It is **immate-**

rial for the people who is the Prime Minister or who the CM is. The leaders known to them are faction leaders. In the villages which are under the grip of faction leaders, it is reported that there are thousands of voters who have not seen the ballot box. In Allagadda constituency in more than 60 villages, a large section of poor people have not seen the ballot papers. Out of 11,50,000 votes in Nandyal Parliamentary constituency 5 lakh votes are in the grip of faction leaders and the victory of contestants largely depends on the faction leaders.⁴

The effect of factionalism in parliamentary elections is analysed based on elections to Nandyal parliamentary constituency in 1996. This account gives an insight into the influence of factions in the election.

In many areas factionists indulge in rigging. In a majority villages, agents belonging to only one single party were present in polling booths. Agents of other parties were not allowed in the polling booths. For instance in Allagadda and, Koyalkuntla Taluks and in Dornipadu mandal in almost all the villages only the TDP agents were present in the polling booths. Fake voting took place in these villages. Whereas in Panyam, There were villages where only Congress agents were present in the booths. Against Election Commission rules MLA Rambhoopal Reddies brother namely Ram Reddy with a large following moved in the jeeps and did indulge malpractices. APCLC team reported such instances in 15 villages. In Banaganipalli, Challa Ramakrishna Reddy brought outsiders in the bus and it was they who indulged in proxy voting. In Atmakur constituency the followers belonging to Budda Vengal Reddy faction who indulged in violence in Velgodu and Velpanur villages. Central Para-military forces remained only as silent spectators. Eight polling agents of independent candidate

Gokara were kidnapped and beaten up by Chall Ramakrishna Reddy faction. Police did not book any case against those who indulged in violence. Due to fearful atmosphere that prevailed in Owk town, Dalits did not go to polling booth. No proper security was provided in these areas.⁵

As per the news paper report though people did not turn up there was 65% of polling in the elections. It was due to rigging and fake voting on a massive scale. Agents put all the votes in the native villages of contesting candidates. In Owk mandal of Kovelakuntla constituency voters in nearly 25 villages did not participate. There was heavy rigging in favour of the Congress candidate. In 65 villages in Panyam there was rigging in favour of the congress candidate. In Nandikotkur the leaders did massive rigging in favour of NTR Telugu Desam candidate. In Allagadda Assembly segment ruling TDP leader resorted to massive rigging.⁶

An account of bye-elections of P.V. Narasimha Rao in Nandyal Parliamentary Constituency in 1991 is one of the most revealing episode in recent electoral history. The Reddy factionists maintained their unquestioned dominance. As P.V. was already Prime Minister he decided to contest from Nandyal to become M.P. as he was not M.P. TDP chose not to put a candidate on the pretext that a Telugu Man was the Prime Minister. The Reddy faction leaders saw to it that nobody contests against him. The following explains what sort of undemocratic methods that the factional leaders can adopt if they want to achieve what they desire.

Balagopal writes, ... "PV filed his nomination on October 10. From the 11th to the 18th a gang of 50 to 60 goons camped permanently the sprawling collectorate complex, Kurnool, the

district headquarters, where the nominations had to be filed. The camp was based in the premises of the district information and public relations office, but the gang swarmed all over the complex in search of their prey. Hand in glove with them were the police, who were present in equally large numbers and who put at their disposal the arms, the intelligence and the lawful authority they possessed. These unauthorised occupation of the premises made no attempt what so ever to be inconspicuous. The district collector and other revenue officials who are executive magistrates, has their offices in the complex, and could see the gang camping there, but they chose not to take notice of what they saw. Their standard reply to all criticism has been that they "received no written complaints from anyone about an unauthorised presence or unlawful activity on the premises". The gangsterism thus having been officially rendered invisible, there was nothing else to hinder it. All those who were suspected of trying to file nomination were abducted and kept hidden in a place called Madhavi Lodge, owned apparently by a relative of Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy. They were abused, in some cases beaten up badly, and guarded by armed toughs until October 18, the last day for the filing of nominations. And there was no subterfuge in all this. The gang that camped in the collectorate complex was personally led by a galaxy of Congress (I) leaders: APCC (I) general secretary, Prakash Reddy; Kurnool municipal chairman, Sudhakar Babu, MLA from Pathikonda Seshi Reddy, MLA from Kodumuru, Madangopal, former MLC, Raghuram Reddy; the MP who vacated the seat for the Prime Minister, Gangula Pratap Reddy; and Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy's son. They were present on the spot and personally did most of the kidnapping and beating.

Hanumantha Reddy, one of the victims is a senior lawyer from Atmakur, a taluk town at the edge of the Nallamalai forest. He

is a lawyer with his years practice, and a political opponent of local MLA Budda Vengal Reddy of the Congress (I). Having been in and out of various non-Congress parties over a long period, he decided to contest against PV as an independent this time (after the unnerving experience that followed, he recently joined the BJP). On October 14th he went to Kurnool along with about 15 of his friends and followers to file his nomination. The gang tried to stop him but he evaded them and went into the collectorate building. But when he tried to obtain the nomination forms he realised to his terrible frustration that he had not after all succeeded in evading his obstructors. He was sent running from one room to another. The officials were evidently acting in collusion with the Congress (I) goons, for all the prospective candidates had this experience of being made to run around from room to room for the papers and being abducted by the goons who lay in wait en route. Hanumantha Reddy was accosted by APCC(I) secretary Prakash Reddy in the office of the district revenue officer (who is an additional district magistrate). Prakash Reddy pulled him by his shirt collar. Some others joined Prakash Reddy, lifted up Hanumantha Reddy bodily, beat him with rifle butts and took him away. In the lawns outside Hanumantha Reddy found all the other Congress(I) leaders sitting in chairs as if it was their personal piece of property. They asked him why he had entered the contest. When he said that he wanted to expose the problems of his taluk through the campaign, they told him impertinently that there were other ways of doing that. They suggested a meeting with Vengal Reddy to discuss the problems of his taluk, but he refused to meet the MLA. Then they suggested a meeting with a more respected and elderly Congressman.

Being in no position to assert his right to contest regardless of what anyone thought of it, he agreed to this absurd

Suggestion. But it was only a ploy to get him out of the collectorate complex. He was put in a jeep and taken straight to the lodge where all the victims were to be incarcerated. He was one of the first to be lodged there, but he soon had company. One was Sheelam Sanjeeva Reddy president of an outfit called rayalaseema Rytu Sangham, who had decided to contest the election to focus attention on the neglect of Rayalaseema by the Congress governments; he was accosted by a circle inspector of police opposite the collectorate building on the 15th and handed over them to the Congressmen who beat him up, put him in a jeep, and brought him to the lodge. One was an astrologer from Kakinada who had decided to enter the contest as a protest against the non inclusion of astrology as a teaching subject in our universities. The poor man had the kind of experience his stars perhaps never foretold. There was one more godman; a teacher from Hyderabad by name Mastan Vali who was confined for three days in the collectorate itself and was rescued by the BJP candidate's entourage; one person from Gwalior whom the experience seem to have shocked into silence, for he has gone back after his release without saying a single word to any one; and a few others.

On the evening of the 16th the detainees were shifted to the house of former chairman of Kurnool municipality, on the banks of the Handri river, From there they managed to escape on the night of 18th, the last date of the filing of nominations after the captors had relaxed their vigil somewhat. Sanjeeva Reddy managed to reach Hyderabad in a lorry, and told the press about his experience. That was when the sordid incidents became public knowledge. Hanumantha Reddy merely went back to Atmakur where he found that the Bar Association refused to condemn what had happened to him, and his friends only said 'you asked for it'. He does not dare to go to Kurnool to even to attend the district

sessions court, and has joined the BJP perhaps with the hope that the act will save him from further harassment.

The press reporters of Kurnool knew what was happening but they could not pick up the courage to write about it. Only one of them, an assistant reporter of Eenadu, a local youth by name Suryaprakash, decided to make an attempt. Being a little audacious he decided that he himself would file a nomination and report the consequences. He had a rather strange experience. He went to the collectorate complex at 10 am on October 18th, to file the nomination. He had to obtain a certificate from the appropriate revenue official verifying his address which was in Kurnool town itself. Strangely, this turned out to be impossible. One official sent him to another, and the other told him the right man was on leave. He finally went to the collector himself and asked him to kindly verify his place of residence from the voters list, but the collector refused. His argument was that his duty was only to accept duly filled forms and not to help people fill them for that would amount to supporting the candidature! As Suryaprakash stood near the door of the collector's room pleading with him, Sudhakar Babu, the municipal chairman waiting outside the room hidden from the collector's view, tried to grab the youth by the back of his shirt and pulled him out. Suryaparkash pulled himself free and in the attempt nearly fell at the feet of the collector, who pretend ably that nothing untoward was happening. Suryaprakash, by his own account, gave vent to his frustration in choice abuse aimed at the collector and again demanded that he should be allowed to file his nomination unmolested. The collector replied that if he got the right certificate from the right official the nomination would certainly be accepted, but he could in no way help if the prospective candidate dared not go out in search of the right official for

fear of being abducted outside the door of the collector's office. Suryaprakash ate out the whole day in the collector's office and left after closing time, when he had no further reason to fear abduction, for that was the last day for nominations. Outside the collector's office he met the municipal chairman and asked him out of curiosity why they were so intent on preventing nominations. That was when Sudhakar Babu gave his speech about 'foreign hands'.

In allowing the BJP and ML candidates and the sitting MLA Narsimhulu to file their nominations, the gangsters were in part recognising their limitations but in part also they were not unduly perturbed because they felt that these candidates could look after themselves and would not get killed. It was the independents they were worried about. And on the evening of the 18th they were satisfied that they had safely abducted and hidden all the independents. But they realised a couple of days later that they were mistaken. I. K. Reddy, a high court lawyer from Hyderabad, a close friend of TDP leader Uppendra, who had been one of the central government's legal advisers during the National Front government, had managed to file his nominations as an independent. He had gone to Kurnool in the car of one Ravindranath Reddy, a notorious landlord of Mahbubnagar district, and BJP MLA from Alampur, who happened to be a close relative of his. At Kurnool he went into the collectorate along with the entourage of the BJP candidate and was mistaken by the gangsters for a 'dummy' candidate of the BJP. It was two days later that they realised their mistake and they immediately took revenge.

On the evening of October 21, in the heart of Hyderabad city, a large number of Congress (I) goondas attacked I. K. Reddy's son and smashed their car shouting 'did his father think he

was man enough to contest from Nandyal'. The son went to the police station at Kacheguda in the city to lodge a complaint. By the evening he found that he was being treated as a criminal and not a complainant. The police made out that the attack was a sequel to a brawl the youth was involved some time ago and had nothing to do with the father's politics. They abused him for giving a false complaint. Father and son realised that in spite of all their big connections they were up against the kind of shameless collusion that they did not have the stomach to fight. A week later Koti Reddy announced that he was withdrawing from the contest at Nandyal⁷. This graphic account explains several dimensions of factionalism.

2. Kurnool :

For Kurnool Parliamentary Constituency, elections took place in 1952, bye-elections between 1952-1956, 1957, 1962, 1967, 1971, 1977, 1980, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1994, and 1996. Out of 13 elections, Congress won 10 elections, once TDP, once Swatanta Party and once PSP won. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy from Congress has won this seat five times. The other elected MPs include H. Sita Rami Reddy (INC), Y. Gade Linganna Gowd (PSP), Kodanda Rami Reddy (INC), Osman Alikhan (INC), Yasoda Reddy (INC), Erasu Ayyapa Reddy(TDP). Thus the MPs mainly hail from the Reddy community. Particularly it is Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy who wields dominance in this constituency. He and K.E. Krishna Murthy are the main rivals.

Electoral data regarding percentage of votes polled by each political party and candidates won in this constituency from 1952 is shown in the following table.

I. KURNOOL.

Table No. 6.15
Electoral Data of Kurnool Parliamentary Constituency - 1952-1996

Year	Name of the Candidate	Political Party	Percentage of votes polled
1952	1. H.Sita Rami Reddy	INC	36.5
	2. Y.G.Gowd	IND	29.8
1952-57	1. Y.Gadelinganna Goud	PSP	61.4
Bye-ele	2. H.S. Reddy	INC	33.0
	3. N.S.Nagappa	IND	5.6
1957	1. Osman Ali Khan	INC	79.0
	2. B.R.Bhima Rao	IND	13.9
1962	1. Yasodha Reddy	INC	42.7
	2. M.V.Reddy	INC	29.7
1967	1. Y.Gadelinganna Goud	SWA	48.8
	2. D.Sanjeewaiah	INC	45.5
1971	1. Kodandaradni Reddy	INC	87.2
	2. Y.G.Goud	SWA	9.4
1977	1. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy	INC	75.7
	2. Somappa	BLD	20.0
1980	1. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy	INC (I)	77.5
	2. Nasir Reddy	JNP	9.0
1984	1. E. Ayyappa Reddy	TDP	51.4
	2. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy	INC (I)	48.2
1989	1. K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy	INC	57.9
	2. E. Ayyappa Reddy	TDP	40.3
	3. M. Sajid	IND	0.9
1991	1. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy	INC	51.9
	2. S.V. Subba Reddy	TDP	42.9
	3. K. Kapileshwaraiah	BJP	3.5
Bye-elections			
1991-	1. Kotla Suryaprakash Reddy	INC (I)	46.3
1994	2. S.V. Subba Reddy	TDP	43.2
1996			
	1. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy	INC (I)	45.3
	2. S.V. Subba Reddy	TDP	40.7
	3. D. Vishnuvardhan Reddy	TDP (LP)	8.2

Source: 1) V.B. Singh & Shankar Bose. Elections in India, Data Hand Book on LOK SABHA, 1950-80, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

2) State Election Commission, A.P. Hyderabad

Role of factionalism in Elections:

The role of factionalism in Kurnool Parliamentary constituency and particularly 1996 elections is analysed⁸. On the day of polling to the Lok Sabha elections in Kurnool constituency there was rigging on an unimaginable scale. Polling went on "peacefully" except in a few places. Wherever the party had its

Say there was peaceful rigging and fake voting. Polling was all one sided wherever ruling TDP, Congress & NTR Telugu Desam had strong influence. In Kurnool both the congress and ruling TDP indulged in rigging and fake voting on a 'competitive' base. In Kodmur NTR Telugu Desam indulged in rigging.

There was a conflict and tension in Kurnool town and a Bomb throwing between Telugu Desam and Congress I. In some of the booths there was pouring of water in the ballot boxes when opponents were suspected of getting more votes. In Atmakur the two faction groups threw bombs at each other. No body got injured as bombing took place far away from the polling booths. In Dhone Assembly constituency in one village ruling TDP workers rigged the votes and forced the presiding officer to cast all of them in the ballot box. Polling was canceled in two villages in Kodumur assembly constituency. In one village followers of MLA Kothakota Prakash Reddy threw water in the ballot boxes. In one place where the Congress enjoyed supremacy, the agents of TDP candidate were not allowed. In Pattikonda constituency in one village TDP leader SV Mohan Reddy and his followers entered the polling booth and terrorised voters and polling officials. In Alur assembly constituency TDP followers entered one booth and poured water in the ballot boxes. In Adoni constituency polling was cancelled in one village. In Pattikonda, in Ternakallu village congress leaders attacked an Independent candidate.⁹ Thus factionalism in both the parliamentary constituencies indicate the intensity and its influence on electoral processes.

Summing up:

This chapter analysed the role of factions in Assembly and Parliamentary elections. The analysis of assembly and parliamen-

tary elections showed that the candidates for M.L.A./M.P. posts are themselves higher level faction-cum-political leaders; who with the support of micro level (village, Mandal, and ZP) factional leaders contest the elections. It is also evident that with the entry of TDP in the district, factions got institutionalized and turned most of the faction leaders into state level political leaders. In the process it is the violent factional politics which have come to shape and guide electoral politics. The electoral politics instead of democratising factional politics they themselves have come under the impact of factional politics, it is noticed, that the methods of factionalism, negate the very democratic process and render the electoral politics more violent. It is inevitable to infer that instead of the processes of democratisation getting strengthened, the processes got factionalised indicating that the potential of factional politics is higher than the electoral politics.

References

1. This includes (1) Nandikotkur (2) Panyam (3) Kovelakuntla (4) Allagadda (5) Nandyal (6) Atmakur (7) Pattikonda (8) Yemmiganur (9) Alur (10) Adoni (11) Dhone (12) Kodumur (13) Kurnool.
2. K. Balagopal, "Seshan in Kurnool", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 29, NO. 30, July 23, 1994, pp. 1905.
3. Pendekanti Venkata Subbaiah has won 6 times from the Congress Party in this constituency. The other 7 elected MPs from this Constituency are Seshagiri Rao (Independent), Neelam Sanjiva Reddy (BLD), S. Madduri Subba Reddy (Congress), Bojja Venkata Reddy (Cong), Gangula Pratap Reddy (Cong), two times P.V. Narasimha Rao (Cong).
4. Andhra Bhoomi, Telugu News Paper, 28th April, 1996, Hyderabad.

5. Report of APCLC, published in Enadu, 30th April 1996,
6. Enadu 28th April 1996, District Edition, Kurnool, page 2
7. K. Balagopal, "Meham in Nandyal", Economic and Political Weekly, Issue 46, No.46, November 16th 1991, pp. 2610-2611.
8. The analysis is based on the news paper reporting, appeared in Enadu Telugu News Paper, from 4 to 20 April, 1996. Kurnool District Edition, Kurnool.
9. Eenadu 28th April, 1996, District Edition, Kurnool, p.1.

VII. CONCLUSION

This *study Bought* to focus its attention on the political dynamics in factionalism or factional dynamics in politics. The politics are largely based on the western liberal assumptions and factionalism on historical memory and the dominant narrow interests. Theoretically politics is both a process of universalizing and secularizing the competing and contending interests or at the least it is a process of handling the contending interests through the institutional mechanisms and consensual norms. It is not possible for the political actors to play the game of politics as it is not possible to play any game without the ground rules. On the contrary the factional feuds fragment the polity and permit no healthy processes to emerge. It would be rewarding to examine the encounter between these two powerful forces and see the potential of one to influence the other. Although factionalism has been studied in the past, not many scholars bestowed their attention on this dimension of social existence.

The review of literature on factions shows that: (a) quite a number of studies seek to understand the reasons for formations of factions in the villages, their characteristics, the leadership patterns, principles of recruitment, expression of hostilities and their overall role in the village politics; (b) there are studies on the nature of factions within the political parties -- mainly factions within the Congress I party and how these factions shape the political processes more so the electoral outcomes. There are a few studies on linkages of factions from village level to state level politics. In fact, the interface

between the political processes at micro level and politics at a higher level have not been studied. This is an area of enquiry which can provide deep insights into the political dynamics of Indian politics .

This study on Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh tried to look at the interface between the factionalism and the local politics at one level and the local politics and politics at the state level at another level. In doing so, the enquiry is basically on factionalism. This district is one of the most faction affected districts in Andhra Pradesh. This is evident from the number of murders and also the wide spread culture of violence in large parts of the district. It is also striking to note that these processes could either throw up or sustain leaders who acquired state or national level stature. This district and its politics produced a Chief Minister, a Prime Minister and also the President of India. While those who occupied the office of the Chief Minister and President are both the cause and consequence of factionalism, the person who became the Prime Minister was sustained by factionalism. In addition, there are several socio-economic features which provide the objective conditions for factionalism. It is for these reasons this study was located in this particular site.

Factionalism in the Kurnool district, which is fraught with culture of violence, to start with, can be traced to Rayalaseema history. This phenomenon has roots in the institution of Polegars or Armed Chieftains. This can be traced to the days of Vijayanagar empire in the South India. The Polegar culture may not provide an adequate explanation as it is difficult to establish a direct link between the economic backwardness of the district and armed factional violent culture. Nevertheless this

phenomena, in some way has to be traced to the ' legacy' of the Polegar system. This culture, however, in the course of time did undergo changes .

Prior to independence the nature and growth of factions, in Kurnool district was mainly formed due to property disputes or sexual jealousies. The politics got mixed up with this process. The elections during this period formed the basis for factions or factions paved the way to politics during this phase. After independence, the factions gained a new momentum with the increasing prominence to electoral politics and gained further momentum with the advent of Panchayat Raj institutions. From mid 80's factions depended on patronage of the ruling party whichever has been the party that was in power. The growth of arrack business gave totally a different twist to the factions and their political contours. This was combined with their hold over the industrial resources as well as forest wealth. All the structures and systems related to development are in the total fold of factionists. The Polegar culture and the property together nourished the factions. The power struggle for wealth give rise to violence and the patronage from above sustained, if not, legitimized the factionalism. The latter provided the base on which the politics and economics of the region and also, to some extent, of the state have come to depend.

It is quite evident from the data that factionalism is rooted in the propertied upper castes. The Reddies -- the most dominant community of the area -- are the dominant players in the game of factionalism. It is equally striking to note that instead of the caste uniting the community, the power and property sharply divided the families and groups. That one Reddy family

is a perpetual adversary of another Reddy family. This is quite common. In the course of time persons and families from other communities coming from the propertied sections did join the culture of factionalism and the politics that it generates. What is however puzzling is the pattern of mobilization of the poorer sections. The poor belonging to the scheduled castes and backward castes particularly the landless constitutes the followers of the factional leaders or factional families. The data suggest that the wide spread violence creates so much of scare and uncertainty among the poor that it is only the identification with the factional group that provides the psychological security. But it is also equally true that the poor are dependent on these landed sections for their livelihood. Thus the leaders act as a symbol for security to life and the work on land as a source of livelihood. This seems to be a part of the essence of the factional politics or political factionalism.

Regarding political dimensions, the factions which were formed in pre-eighties period enjoyed patronage of the Congress Party. The Congress leaders always triggered one faction against another and maneuvered them for political manipulations. The TDP started supporting or deriving support from one faction or the other ever since it came into being. The emergence of TDP has not only accentuated factional violence in the villages with neo-gun and bomb culture but provided institutional articulation to the polarized factional forces. The small time factional leaders rose in position and got themselves metamorphasised into political leaders. They mobilized resources for the higher level political leaders of the state level who patronized them. Factionalism which worked as a pillar to the political processes turned into a ladder to the political climbers. Since Telugu Desam Party vertically divided the voters by breaking the unipar-

ty dominance, the avenues for political climbers got widened. The offshoot of this new political context, unfortunately for the region, generated intense political competition which, in turn, led to increase in the scale and mode of violence.

The violence which is inherent in factionalism became endemic. In all the faction villages, politics in general and electoral politics in particular are fraught with attacks, group fights and bomb-throwing incidents. There has been a noticeable shift in the type of instruments that are used for the purposes of violence. In seventies, they used sticks and sickles to hit their opponents, although they were also using guns and cartridges. In the eighties bombs have become the major weapons. In this mounting violence although important leaders got killed, more often it is the poor who die in a large number. For during the factional violence the target is the followers. In most of the case they come from poor background and dalit bahun castes.

Here an attempt is made to understand the perceptions of the followers of the reasons for their dependence and also the violence that they suffer. The survey reveals that they feel helpless and have no options except to belong to one group or the other. They perceive it as a vicious circle. For as a part of factional politics they are forced to indulge in violence which makes them dependent on the leaders for legal and political support and protection from police harassment. It is one of the reasons for their loyalty to the leaders. They shift from one party to the other depending on the shifting loyalties of their leaders. This is a situation where the possibility of one supporting a political party on the grounds of ideology, programme etc., hardly exists. With the result, the political parties have no organizational linkages with the people. It is the factional

leaders or groups that mediate or negotiate the relationships between the political party and the so called 'voters'.

An analysis of elite perceptions of factionalism indicate that reasons for factionalism in the district are due to historical antecedents. They also agree that poverty, illiteracy, arrack and local contracts, unequal land-holdings, faulty functioning of the police, elections in general and rise of Telugu Desam Party in particular, the designs of faction leaders to make money, support of political party, lack of democratic movements and large scale licensing of arms are cited as reasons that account for factionalism.

Elite perceptions indicate that violence is manifestation of power-struggle and pursuit of wealth. Terror has its own place in this struggle. Support of political parties and police officials aid and abett violence in the region. Heavy dependence of the poor and the unemployed and the underemployed youth contribute to the incidence of violence. Neo-gun culture in the wake of emergence of a rival political party like TDP, lack of autonomy to police from political executive in controlling crime and violence, lack of democratic movement are also cited as the causes for the growing violence in the district in general and the electoral politics in particular.

Elites suggests that problems of factionalism can be tackled by compromises between the factionists, seizure of illegal properties of the factionists, impartial and non-partisan approach on the part of the police. They also suggested enlargement of employment opportunities to the poor to prevent them from becoming blind followers. The suggestions also included involvement of voluntary organisations to educate the leaders as well as

followers about the anti development nature of factionalism, delicensing of arms and strict enforcement of electoral laws to avoid undemocratic means in the elections. The suggestions may not be workable solutions under the given conditions, but they do provide an insight into the nature and magnitude of the problem on the one hand and the causal relations on the other.

These suggestions of the elite explain the formidable nature of the problem. In the normal course the political processes and electoral politics should have qualitatively transformed the politics of violence. Instead, it is quite clear that the electoral politics got into the clutches of factional politics and heavily lean on them.

An analysis of electoral politics both the local and state level shows that rigging, open-ballot method, fake-voting through cycling method, bomb-throwing to create terror, use of money liquor and muscle power, rigging through election agents, pouring of water in the ballot boxes to manage re-polls, kidnapping, beating up of the rival candidate and supporters are the incidents that have come to characterise the electoral processes in this region. This culture is inherited from the factional culture. The electoral politics, as pointed out earlier, are dependent on factional politics.

In 1995 Panchayat elections in the district 52% of the elected surpanchas had to rely on faction leaders to win the election. In MPP elections, 80% of the elected MPTCS and 77% of Mandal Presidents had to either maintain the factions or have to have support of high level faction leaders to get elected as Mandal Presidents. It is equally the case with the Zilla Parishads where 77% of ZPTC members had to either maintain the fac-

tion or to take the support of the higher level faction leaders to get elected as ZPTC members. Caste and political party background of these elected representative shows that forward castes mainly Reddies constitute the majority of the elected members in all these institutions. As far as the reserved seats are concerned, although the women, SCs and BCs could come to occupy these positions, the data suggest that they had to become a part of the factional politics. Thus Panchayat Raj experiment and the reservation philosophy has had no significant impact on factionalism and the processes of democratisation.

The role of factions in Assembly and Parliamentary elections also showed that the candidates for MLA/MP posts themselves are higher level faction-cum-political leaders. They draw support of micro level (village, Mandal, and ZP) factional leaders. With the entry of TDP into the district, factions got institutionalized and turned most of the small time faction leaders into state level political leaders. In the process it is the violent factional politics which have come to shape and guide electoral politics. The electoral politics instead of democratising factional politics they themselves got factionalised. It is noticed that the methods and modes of factionalism negate the very democratic process and rendered the electoral politics more violent. The inevitable conclusion seem to be that the electoral and democratic processes got more factionalised than factional politicsdemocratised.

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Appendix -1

Support of factions to Village Panchayat Sarpanchas according to Mandals

S. No.	Name of the Mandal affected by factions	% of Panchayats	Rank
1.	Kodumur	100	1
2.	Pagidyala	85.70	2
3.	Sirivella	76.42	3
4.	Kosigi	76.40	4
5.	Allagadda	75.00	5
6.	Velgode	75.00	5
7.	Devenakonda	75.00	5
8.	Panyam	72.20	6
9.	Meddikera	71.42	7
10.	Gudur	70.00	8
11.	Nandikotkur	69.23	9
12.	Owk	68.42	10
13.	Sanjamala	66.66	11
14.	Krishnagiri	66.66	11
15.	Holagonda	66.60	12
16.	Chippagiri	66.60	12
17.	Halaharvi	66.60	12
18.	Bethamcharla	65.00	13
19.	Gonegandla	65.00	13
20.	Rudravaram	65.00	13
21.	Banaganipalli	63.30	14
22.	Chagalatmarri	61.10	15
23.	Uyyalawada	58.82	16
24.	Jupadu Bunglow	58.30	17
25.	Tuggali	57.89	18
26.	Peapully	57.69	19
27.	Alur	57.14	20
28.	Kowthalam	56.52	21
29.	Kallur	54.54	22
30.	Mahanandi	54.54	22
31.	Dornipadu	54.50	23
32.	Gospadu	53.30	24
33.	Veldurthi	50.00	25
34.	Adoni	45.94	26
35.	Yemmiganur	42.80	27
36.	Dhone	42.30	28
37.	C.Belagal	41.66	29
38.	Kovelakuntla	41.18	30
39.	Manthralayam	41.10	31

S. No.	Name of the Mandal affected by factions	% of Panchayats	Rank
40.	Pattikonda	41.00	32
41.	Nandavaram	38.84	33
42.	Aspari	36.84	34
43.	Midthur	36.84	34
44.	Bande Atmakur	36.84	34
45.	Orvakal	35.00	35
46.	Nandyal	35.00	35
47.	Pamulapadu	30.76	36
48.	Kolimigundla	18.18	37
49.	Kurnool	12.00	38
50.	Kothapalli	08.33	39
51.	Atmakur	07.14	40
52.	Peddakadubur	06.66	41

Source : Police records and interviews with people

APPENDIX-2 : FACTION VILLAGE PROFILES

NALLAGATLA VILLAGE

Nallagatla, a village in Allagadda constituency has an area of 872.90 hectares. It has a population of 968, residing in 154 houses. Male population is 507 and females 461. Total Scheduled Caste population in the village is 234 in which males are 121 and females 113. There are 495 STs. Total literates in the village are 246 which include 194 Male literates and 52 female literates. 259 main workers in the village include 76 cultivators. Agricultural labour population in the village is 269. Total non-workers in the village is 603.

Faction Origin:

Factions in this village started in 1947 on a petty-issue of distribution of sugar by dealer, later of course, it was for acquiring Government lands. The factions continue with a toll of 26 murders. There are several cases against several persons: two are undergoing life imprisonment.

Political Party Support :

There are two factions in this village. One led by Baliyas and other by Reddies. From the beginning, faction led by Baliyas had the support of Congress and they retained their dominance till the Congress was in power. Reddies faction got the support of TDP after the emergence of TDP as a political party. TDP rise had increased competition for arrack business and intensified bomb culture. Armed licenses have also increased since 1985.

After the emergence of TDP Balijas dominance declined because of Bhooma Naqi Reddy's (TDP) politics. As Gangula Pratapa Reddy who supported Balijas settled in Hyderabad, Balijas feel that they lost access as well as protection of their *higher* factional leader. This has also contributed to the rise of Bhooma Nagi Reddy.

Reasons for becoming followers :

Poverty and consequent economic dependence are the main causes for the followers joining the factions. Some have joined the factions because faction leaders provided labour to them in their agricultural fields. A few others raised loans from their leaders. In this village if one sub-caste among the SCs (Malas) supported one faction, the other sub-caste Madigas would support the other faction. Followers have marginal land holdings and hence their dependence on the landed faction leader compell them support the faction leader.

Activities of faction leaders :

Both faction leaders are doing contract works like Roads and canal Project works. They did arrack business. They have become rich through these means in addition to their income from agriculture. By extending patronage to the followers, they continue to maintain the factions. They interfere in personal affairs of their followers such as family disputes, marriage, divorce cases, land disputes and their judgements are final, in all such cases.

Elect ions :

Balijas have formed into a caste association and became a faction group under Baliya faction leader. The rival faction was that of Reddies. *Since it* is the oldest faction, its role in elections is significant. Balijas had always supported Congress Party from the beginning. Whereas Reddies who supported Congress in many other villages till the rise of TDP, were not supporters of Congress Party in this village and always voted for a rival candidate. Balijas enjoyed the patronage of Gangula Pratap Reddy and voted according to his party affiliation. The local elections such as panchayats had always been fought between these two rival faction leaders. With the rise of Telugu Desam Party, we observe the Reddies entered political affiliation with the T.D.P. Thus emergence of new political party and its patronage of the already existing faction in the village added a new dimension to faction politics. Though T.D.P. and congress at a constituency level has Reddies as leaders, the support base in the villages cut across the caste lines depending on structure of factions in the villages.

Compromising Efforts :

No compromising efforts were ever made by anybody in this village. Factions have continued for long time. At present as courts have sentenced the accused, factions have become dormant. But the underlying tensions remain them alive.

Violence :

Baliya faction was supported by the Congress (I) from the beginning. As they had access to the ruling party, they killed as

many as 19 followers of the opposite faction. The factionists in this village never tried to enter higher level politics. Bombs were not used, they used traditional weapons in the course of settling the conflict. Mainly the Madigas and Malas - the Dalit castes - were used for the faction murders. Though in the beginning traditional weapons like sickles were used, later the country made bombs were used. The victims in the faction murders of Reddy group mainly belong to Madiga caste with poor income and from Baliya faction victims were of mala caste with equally poor income background and dependence on agriculture labour.

Effect on Development :

Development did not take place in this village because factional leaders bothered about their own factional conflicts but not development. The Baliya faction followers in the village benefitted more because of their affiliation to the ruling Congress Party over a period of time. Mainly loans for agricultural assistance as well as for building houses sanctioned to the followers. Reddy followers do accuse and feel that rival faction was more benefited by the police and the government officials. It is found that due to a long standing factions in the village, the individual lives of faction followers were attacked much. Those people who did not belong to any faction in the village opined that their village did not develop over a period of time because of prevalence of the factions.

2. YERAKALACHERUVU VILLAGE :

The village Yerakalacheruva in Dhone Constituency has an area of 767.28 hectares. The total population, in the village is

2239. Out of which Male population is 1151 and female population in 1088. Totally 201 Scheduled Caste people live in the village. There are 36 Scheduled Tribe households in the village. Literates in the village are 695. Male literates outnumber the female literates. While 492 are male literates the female literates are only 203. Total main workers in the village are 1304, out of which 704 are males and 600 are females. Total cultivators in the village are 265, out of which 200 are males and 65 are females. Agriculture labour population in the village is 872. Non-workers in the village are 895, out of which 430 are males and 465 are females.

Faction Origin :

This faction village in Dhone constituency had the longest history. Faction has formed in 1938 due to Zilla Board elections and later due to Panchayat elections. The factions were started by supporters of K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy due to electoral victory of his opponent Sri K.E. Madanna in Zilla Board elections. These factions are continuing till now with their supporters. Faction feuds keep taking place in the village at the time of elections and also for toddy as well as arrack contracts.

Political Party Support :

Political rivalries between K.E.Krishna Murthy and Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy encourage the factions between Baliyas and Edigas. After the emergence of TDP when Mr.K.E.Krishna Murthy became a minister in the government, Edigas faction gained upper hand. Police arrests, harassments on Baliyas took place. Baliyas were also implicated in many false cases.

But once again when Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy became Chief Minister, Baliyas gained upper hand. It shows the dominance of faction in village is dependent on patronage of political leader belonging to ruling political party. Monopoly of toddy as well as arrack business was in the hands of Edigas being protected by K.E.Krishna Murthy when he was in TDP Government's Ministry. Use of bombs also increased. After the emergence of Telugu Desam, in this village many armed licenses were given to leaders belonging to Ediga faction. But when Mr.K.E. Krishna Murthy rejoined Congress party compromises occurred between the two factions for three years from 1989 to 1992. It shows that the prevalence of factions, intensification of violence, monopoly of economic resources depend on the higher level factional leaders conflict as well as their location in power structure of the state.

This village level faction leaders never rose to the status of political leaders above their village level. Traditional means were used during the times of violence. Toddy used to be the factor to earn money by the faction leaders to maintain factions. During 1989-94, the Baliyas gained upper hand due to support of Congress Party in Power. Faction leader of Baliya also got political position. He became member of Sri Saila Devasthanam Board. Arrack during late 80s also intensified the faction feuds.

Reasons for becoming followers :

It is both caste as well as their economic position (mainly land holdings) that make them depend on their faction leaders. Clear cut caste divisions (Baliyas supporting the Baliya faction leader) and Edigas supporting the Ediga faction leader

provides the basis for faction following in the village. Agricultural labourers entirely depend on their faction leader as they provide them labour work in agricultural fields. Scheduled Castes from each faction support their leaders because they get the government schemes and loans from bank due to their faction leaders' initiative. Thus very agrarian relations, caste divisions and poverty provide the basis for faction followers in the village.

Activities of faction Leaders :

We find that one faction leader does toddy contract as dictated by the higher faction leader who supports him and earn money. The other faction leader did the arrack contract and became rich over the time. Due to their high land-holdings they kept their labourers in their fold and made them followers. They settle the personal disputes of their followers and also interfere in personal affairs such as marriage, family disputes and illegal women contacts cases etc.

Elections :

Ediga faction was always patronised by K.E.Krishna Murthy family and Baliyas had the patronage of Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy family. In all the elections the Ediga followers had voted according to their faction leaders directions who in turn was guided by K.E. Madanna and K.E. Krishna Murthy. Baliyas had voted according to their faction leader, guided and directed by Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy. With the emergence of T.D.P., When K.E. Krishna Murthy joined T.D.P., Edigas supported TDP in Mandal elections as well as in assembly elections. But in 1989 when both top leaders were in Congress, both the faction

groups voted for Congress (I) in 1989 Assembly Election. Thus faction groups are nothing but vote bank to the political parties and provide support base to the higher level constituency leaders through the faction leaders in the villages. We observed that local level panchayat elections were nothing but arena of competition to acquire power between two factions where faction followers exercise their voting according to support rendered to particular candidate by their faction leaders. Thus political consciousness and thereby voting behaviour in faction village is determined by their faction leaders.

Compromising Efforts :

Compromise can only be made at the initiative of faction leaders above the village level who patronise them. For three years between 1989 and 1992 compromise occurred due to the initiative of K.E. Krishna Murthy. Further when punitive outpost by the police was installed, tensions reduced. But as soon as it was removed, tensions revived.

Violence :

Totally 15 murders occurred so far in this village. Country made bombs were the instruments that were used during the factional attacks. In Ediga faction victims mainly belong to the caste of Edigas, with poor income background and agricultural labour being the main occupation. In Baliya faction victims, belong to kuruva caste with poor income background and agricultural labour as the main occupation. Leaders as well as followers belonging to Baliya faction after attack migrate and stay outside village for

Some time and return to the village once normalcy is restored in the village.

Effect on Development :

This village is also affected in terms of development because of the factions. Respondents opined that factionists do not bother about development of the village but are bothered only about their faction feuds. The developmental schemes to the faction followers are accrued only to one faction in the village because their leader belonged to ruling political party. Infrastructural facilities in the village like electricity, roads, schools, water facilities have not improved at all over the time.

3. P. Kotakonda Village :

P.Kotakonda village in Pattikonda constituency has the area of 979.74 hectors. It has the population of 1489. There are 304 households in the village. The male population in the village is 741 and the female population is 748. Scheduled Caste population in the village is 455. Total literates in the village are 625 out of which males are 472 and females 153. Total male workers in the village are 758 out of which males workers are 432 and females 136. The total non-workers in the village are 728. There are 136 cultivators in the village. Total agricultural labourers in the village are 565 out of which females are 324 and males 245.

Faction Origin:

This faction village in Pathikonda constituency has also longest history. Factions started in this village in the 1940s due to village supremacy and dominance between two groups within the same caste i.e., Boya. Factions have intensified from 1966 onwards due to murders in same caste. Murders and violence is the predominant feature of the factions in this village. Factions are continuing till now with the latest murder of one faction leader by woman in order to take revenge against the Reddy faction leader for murdering her husband, who belonged to B.C. community, i.e., Kuruva. Arrack intensified faction conflicts in this village.

Political Parties Support :

In this village both the factors enjoyed the patronage of Mr.K.E.Krishna Murthy till 1990. But Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy's influence was more since he became Chief Minister in 1992. Arrack business from 1985 onwards has intensified faction disputes. The main factor that determines the faction dynamics in the village is Mr.K.E.Krishna Murthy's politics, whichever political party he belongs to. Murders, Violence and use of armed weapons increased during the period. It shows the lack of higher level political leaders' interest to put an end to the factions in the village.

Reasons for Followings :

In this village, majority of the followers stated that their poverty and illiteracy make them dependent on their leaders. For other respondents caste loyalties, arrack dealing and

mutual vengances form the basis for followings factions. The specific feature in this village is a chain of faction murders over the time in the village. And hence in order to seek help and guidance in legal matters, followers heavily depended on their leaders. Thus it is not only socio-economic structure that decides the basis for becoming faction followers but also the very process that is involved in faction phenomenon make the followers to be perpetually loyal, faithful, dependent and also sub-servient to their faction leaders.

Activities of Faction Leaders :

Both leaders did arrack business and earned money. They make their followers commit thefts and robberies to maintain court cases. Faction leaders along with their followers migrate to other places when they perceive the threat from rival faction and settle temporarily for some time and come back to village to continue their factional activities. Faction leaders conduct Panchayats to settle disputes such as family, illicit relations with women, on land issues. In this Panchayats people have to obey their decisions.

Elections :

Whatever been the faction feuds between the two factions, elections had merely been unanimous expression of the choice of K.E. Madanna and K.E. Krishna Murthy. But when Kotla Vijaya Baskara Reddy became Chief Minister, one of the two factions came under the support of him and voted to Congress in 1994, the other group voted to TDP as has been directed by K.E. Krishna Murthy though he was in Congress Party due to

rivalary to Kotla Vijaya Bhaekara Reddy. Thus the voting behaviour in the village is the reflection of the political leadership as well as power conflict between the two constituency level leaders. The illiteracy, lack of political awareness, dependence of both the faction members as well as leaders on political leaders determined their voting choices in the villages. Panchayat elections had always been fought by both the factions to settle their faction disputes by electing their candidates.

Violence :

Murders occurred in this village due to personal vengences and these were done through traditional weapons. During 1985-94 arrack intensified the disputes. 80 people were murdered so far due the factional violence in this village. The victims mainly belonged to the Boya caste with poor income background and agricultural labour as their main occupation in one of the faction, whereas the victims in other faction belong to scheduled caste with poor income and agricultural background. Faction murderers meaning thereby who indulged in attacks belong to caste of Boyas from each faction. Both faction leaders and their followers many a time left the village after incidents and rejoin the village after sometime.

Compromising Efforts :

Compromises work only when political leaders above the village level intend to make the compromises. Due to the efforts of K.E. Madanna settlement took place but due to personal vengeance factions once again rose in the village. When

police punitive out post was installed partly tension reduced as Boon as it was removed tensions increased.

Effect on Development :

Development of the village got affected due to factionalism. There were many loss of human lives due to faction feuds. A lot of damage occurred to the properties as well as to the crops because of faction conflicts. Infrastructural facilities have not been improved. Faction leaders have also not shown any interest in the government's developmental schemes.

4. Koitaku Kanala Village :

The village Kanala in Kovelakuntla constituency has an area of 3212.79 hectares. There are 506 residential houses in the village. The total population of the village is 2601. Male population is 1315 and female population 1286. There are 696 Scheduled Castes in the village, out of which 355 are males and 341 females. STs population in the village is 68. There are 916 literates in the village. Out of which male literates are 620 and female literates 296. Total main workers in the village are 1248, out of which males are 756 and females are 492. There are 469 cultivators in the village. Agricultural labour population is 605. Male labour population is 295 and female labour population is 310. Total non-workers in the village are 1240. Male non-workers in the village are 559 and female non-workers are 681.

Faction Origin:

This village in Kovelakuntla constituency had old factions for 10 years which started in 1957 due to Panchayat elections. There were no factions for 20 years. The present faction in the village originated in late 80s due to village supremacy as well as, for supporting two different candidates by two faction leaders in Assembly elections. Noted feature of this village is less number of murders.

Political Parties Support :

In this village Telugu Desam Party's emergence has led to the encouragement of one faction. After the Telugu Desam Party's rise in all the elections one faction supported Telugu Desam Party the other Congress-I. Telugu Desam Party has intensified the mutual rivalries between the two factions. Before its rise they were no factions in the village. Electoral violence has increased much. Bombs culture has also started. Present Telugu Desam Party MLA in the constituency Mr.Karra Subba Reddy though not a factionist is encouraging the factions in the region in general and in this village in particular. The other faction is encouraged by Congress-I by Mr.Challa Ramakrishna Reddy, who emerged as a factionist during this period only. Armed licenses to the faction leaders also increased during this period. Thus after the emergence of Telugu Desam Party two factions are taking support of two different political parties, and the political parties also take their electoral support which shows the linkages between political parties and village factions.

Nature of Factions during olden days :

In this village, old factions from 1958 to 1965 were due to the conflict for the feudal prestige by the two landlords (Reddles) Factions became dormant due to vexation with court cases. There was only one murder that too it was done by spear head. The village had uniform political behaviour before the rise of new factions. There was Congress support to one of the factions. One village faction leader rose to the level of Samithi President. He spent properties to maintain factions and also to raise to the level of political leader.

Reasons for Followings :

In this village, we find that caste does not provide basis for the followers. Because the followers joined the factions across the caste lines. Majority of the respondents reveal that it is their dependence for agricultural activities in their land holdings on faction leaders that make them dependent on faction leaders. Agricultural labours revealed that they join the factions because they provide them monetary assistance as well as labour work in their fields. Thus it is not the caste but the poverty that determine the basis for faction following in this village.

Activities of Faction Leaders :

In this village, faction leaders made their followers to indulge in violence and in court cases. They always kept their followers in their hold due to their dependence on them for various things. They interfere in personal affairs of their followers

by making panchayats and giving judgments. Followers had to adhere to their leaders judgments.

Elections :

In this village, when there were old factions in the 50s, faction members of one faction voted for Congress and the other for Independents in the 50s. But these factions became dormant for quite a long time. During this dormant period, people in the village have voted enmasse to Congress Party. With the emergency of new factions in 80s, one faction started voting to TDP the other Congress-(I) . Thus factions of the village take shelter in political parties which in turn treat factions as their vote banks. The main political leaders at the constituency level at present are Karra Subba Reddy of TDP and Challa Ramakrishna Reddy of Congress-(I). One of the faction leader in the village is Ex-Samithi President. As the very reason for the formation of factions in 1989 was to challenge the supremacy of this Ex-Samithi President, all the elections were fought on directives of two factional leaders.

Violence :

So far only three murders occurred in this village. Country-made bombs were used during factional violence. While Reddys belonging into middle income group with agriculture as the main occupation are one of the faction victims, to other faction victims belong to scheduled caste with poor income background and agricultural labour as their main occupation. Those who hurled bombs belongs to Boyas caste in one faction and madigas in other faction. Migrations did not take place in this village during or after attacks in this village. But both groups do not cross each

other houses. They take longer routes to go out of the village, when they have to attend the court cases.

Compromising Efforts :

In this village, old factions became dormant as factional leaders got vexed with court cases. To effect a compromise between the new factional leaders efforts were initiated by DSP (District Superintendent of Police) but due to condition of compensation put by one faction leader, efforts of DSP failed.

Effect on Development :

Development occurred in this village in spite of the factions in this village. Development in terms of infrastructural facilities took place. This is due to gap period between old and new factions.

5. Parla Village :

The village Parla in Kurnool constituency has the area of 753 hectares. Total population in the village, residing in 131 houses are 877, in which males are 440 and females 437. Scheduled caste population in the village is 180 in which males are 81 and females 67. There are no Scheduled Tribes in the village. There are 407 literates in the village out of which males are 234 and females 173. Total main workers in the village are 79. There are 327 cultivators in the village. The village, has 470 non-workers.

Faction Origin :

This village in Kurnool Assembly constituency has also the history of old as well as new factions. Old factions existed in the village between 1960s and 1980s among the Reddies for village supremacy, but at present, faction prevails from 1990 onwards due to caste rivalries between Reddies and S.Cs.

Political Party Support :

Initially it is the CPM which has organised the Scheduled Castes which led to the factions between Scheduled Castes and Reddies. In 1990, new faction arose in the village between Scheduled Castes and Reddies. The political differences between the two factionists above the village level namely Mr.Vishnu Vardhan Reddy and Mr.K.Kotakota Prakash Reddy are encouraging the factions. These two leaders keep on changing the political parties encouraging factions. Murders, heavy bombings are the characteristic features of the new factions. Factional leaders in the village make the higher level factional leaders economically rich and politically powerful by approaching them for court cases.

Nature of Old and New Factions :

There were old factions from 1960 to 1980 and both had encouraged by Congress Party. Murder during this time was done by traditional weapons. Present factions in the village from 1990 has acquired the use of new gun culture and became violent.

Basis of faction followers :

It is the caste that determine the basis for becoming faction followers. For defying dominant caste supremacy of Reddys, SCs formed their own faction.

Activities of Faction Leaders :

Leaders attend the court cases involved in factional fights, make the followers fight on petty issues on caste as well as on economic reasons, and keep dependent on them. They also interfere in all the personal affairs of followers such as land-disputes and in family problems.

Elections :

Voting in elections has been done according to factional affiliations. Two factions, one of the Reddies led by Reddy faction leaders and the others SCs led by Schedule Caste leader are always voted as their factional leaders told them to do so. Scheduled caste factional leader was patronised by Kotha Kota Prakash Reddy, and the Reddies by Vishnu Vardhan Reddy. The politics in the village was guided by these two leaders. When Vishnu Vardhan Reddy was in Telugu Desam the Reddies as well as uppara community voted for TDP in 1984 Assembly Elections, and 1985 Mandal Elections but when he joined Congress-(I), in Parliamentary Bye-Elections and in 1994 Assembly Elections, his faction voted for Congress-I. But Scheduled Castes voted for Congress-(I), in all the elections as directed by Kotha Kota Prakash Reddy. When he joined Telugu Desam his supporters supported TDP in 1994 Assembly

Elections. Thus the voting pattern of the factions was determined by the political party affiliations of the higher level factional leaders in the constituency. In Panchayat Elections recently, factional leaders indirectly supported one candidate and thus faction members are asked to vote as per their support to particular candidate. Thus elections are nothing but directives of factional leaders to the people in the villages.

Violence :

In this village so far 20 murders occurred due to factional violence. Country made Bombs were used during attack on rivals. The victims belongs to Reddy caste with middle income background and agriculture as their main occupation in Reddy faction, where as the victims belongs to scheduled caste with poor income background and agriculture labour as their main occupation in scheduled caste faction. It is Reddies who hurled bombs on S.C. faction followers and Madigas who hurled bombs on Reddy faction followers. Migration occurs in this village after factional attacks.

Compromising Efforts :

No compromising efforts are made. Rivalry continues as both the leaders approach the two higher level factional leaders and take shelter under them.

Effects on Development :

The Development got affected due to lack of understanding between the faction leaders. RTC Bus Transport facility is stopped. SC Faction followers who are scheduled caste have got many schemes of the government due to their leader.

Polakal Village :

The village Polakal in Kodumur constituency has the area of 675.01 hectares. It has the total population of 1470. There are 256 residential houses in the village. Male population is slightly higher than female population. There are 706 males and 714 females in the village. Total scheduled caste population in the village is 430 in which males are more than females. Totally 291 literates are there in the village. Total workers in the village are 835 in which males are more than the females. The total non-workers in the village are 634. There are 105 cultivators in the village. Agricultural labourers in the village are 664.

Faction Origin :

This village in Kodumur Assembly Constituency has factions since the establishment of Panchayat Raj Institution. Caste rivalries in the form of factions between BCs and SCs are continuing in this village.

Political Parties Support :

Factions have taken new shape with emergence of Telugu Desam Party. Local TDP leader Mr. Vishnu Vardhan Reddy started encouraging backward caste faction. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy started encouraging Scheduled Caste faction. Electoral violence increased in mandal as well as MLA elections. Arrack business as well as armed licenses have increased. Murders and bomb culture increased during this period. Thus political parties increased the factional polarisation in the village during this period.

Nature of old and New Factions :

In this village old factions used to be for village Supremacy with Congress - I support. It was not industrial resource village at that time, and hence there was competition among the faction leaders only for personal prestige and power in the village and not for earning money. From 1989-94 onwards factionists are having competition for gaining control over industrial resources in the village.

Basis of Faction Followers :

In this village economic dependence, illiteracy make them subservient to their faction leaders. Caste is also a factor in this village for faction following because backward castes are the followers of Backward Caste faction leader and scheduled castes are supporters of Scheduled Caste faction leader. Thus caste, poverty and illiteracy provide the ground for structure of factions.

Nature of Faction Leaders Activities :

In this village, we find that lower caste followers approach their leaders in their personal problems also. Followers are kept under their fold.

Elections :

In this village, two faction groups, one of BCs and the other SCs have participated in elections as per their faction leaders affiliations to political leaders who belonging to different

political parties. Backward castes have become politically powerful after Telugu Desham Party emergence being led by a village faction leader under the protection of Vishnu Vardhan Reddy. In all the elections from 1983 except in Parliamentary Bye-elections and in 1994 Assembly Elections BCs had voted for TDP. The other faction led by a SC village leader, encouraged by Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy voted for Congress-(I) in all the elections. Thus this village voting pattern is decided by two political leaders from above. Thus factions are nothing but vote banks to political parties whatever the issues in which factions are involved. The Panchayat which reserved for BCs, SCs voted to those who were not direct supporters of BC faction. If it is reserved to SCs, that candidate which do not belong to the SC faction will be supported by BCs. So only in Panchayat Elections, we see direct conflict between the factions in the village.

Violence :

So far only two murders occurred in this village through throwing country made bombs. These victims belong to Madiga caste with poor income background and agricultural labour as their main occupation. Faction murderers belong to the caste of Madigas and Boyas. Migration do occur in this village after the attack and they take shelter under their higher faction leaders who patronise them.

Compromising Efforts :

In this village, compromises for ending the court cases are done by two higher level factional leaders, but still faction continued in the villages.

Effect on Development :

Development got affected in this village due to factionalism. There is no water facility and no bus facility, which means that faction leaders did not bother about the development of village. Due to support of congress leaders to the SCs faction, scheduled caste belonging to that faction got some benefits when congress was a ruling party.

7 . Ramapuram Village :

The village Ramapuram in Panyam constituency has an area of 787.52 hectares. There are 1034 households in the village. Total population in the village is 4515, out of which males are 2305 and females 2210. Total Scheduled Caste population is 1014, out of which males are 511 and females 503. There are 19 Scheduled Tribes in the village, out of which 11 are males and 8 females. Total literate population in the village is 1303, out of which males are 992 and females 311. There are 120 slab industries in the village. From 1980's slab industries have come up in the village. Earlier to it, agriculture used to be the main source of income to the people. In those days mining material mainly stones and slabs used to be sent to Tadipatri and Bethamcherla. Later Reddys in the village realised the need for establishing their own industries in the village. 70% of the industries are owned by Reddys, 10 to 15% industries are owned by Veddara's and 5% are owned by SC/ST. Caste wise composition of the village shows that 400 are Reddys, 300 are SCs and rest belong to the other caste. There is one Upper Primary School, one Post Office, one Cinema Hall and there is no Primary Health Centre. In the factories.

labour with age group of below 18 years are paid Rs.25/- and those in the age group of 18 and above are paid Rs.50/- per day. Those labour who go to quarries are paid Rs.75/- to Re.120/- for one Sq.feet. Out of the total geographical area of 1193 acres, 1166 acres are cultivable lands. In 200 acres mines (slabs, granites) are there in the village.

Faction Origin :

This faction village in Panyam Constituency, factions have started in 1960s due to village supremacy between the Reddies, but continuing till now due to control over industrial resources in the village.

Political Parties Support :

Factions are encouraged by two hard-core factionists namely Phakir Reddy and Mr.Challa Ramakrishna Reddy. Both have become factionists during this period only. Control over the resources is maintained in this industrial village by these two factionists. They have become rich by indulging in factional politics. While Mr.Challa Ramakrishna Reddy kept on changing the political parties, Mr.Phakir Reddy has been supporting TDP. Bombs culture and murders increased during this period in this village. Armed licenses also increased.

Nature of Old and New Factions :

In this village, old factions from 1960 had the support of Congress-I. But other faction supporters i.e. Boyas joined TDP after TDP emerged. Lesser intensity of violence used to be

there and that too, it was carried out through traditional weapons. Scheduled Caste faction has always been support base for Congress Party only and many welfare schemes were granted for SCs because of Congress support.

Basis of Faction Followers :

In this village followers for each faction are mainly industrial labourers working in slab industries. Hence they revealed that without protection and support of their faction leaders they cannot work in the industries. In this village some labourers also migrated from the village because they had defied the orders of one faction leader in the village.

Faction Leaders Activities :

In this village, labourers are made to be under the fold of leaders to get employment in the slab-stone industries. Panchayats are conducted by faction leaders to settle the disputes among the people and this is also one of the sources of earning money to faction leaders.

Elections :

In this village, faction feelings strained between two Reddies factions in Mandal elections of 1985. While one faction supported TDP candidate, the other Congress-(I) . Due to his supremacy in the village, in cooperative society elections in 1987, Pakkir Reddy became unanimously elected as President of Cooperative Society. This village has the direct faction between two factionists of the region i.e.,, Pakkir Reddy and Chella Ramakrishna Reddy. Their faction

groups in the village vote according to the political party to which these leaders belong to while Pakkir Reddy is continuously in TDP from 1984, Chella Rama Krishna Reddy has been changing the political parties and contesting the elections. So it means while factional leaders changed their political parties, these faction groups had voted to that political party which their leaders belong. Thus factions are nothing but vote banks to political leaders. While one factional leader rise to the level of Mandal leader, the other to rose to the assembly level. Due to these factions, what we observe is the compulsory exercise of the franchise of the lower caste as per their factional leaders orders.

Violence :

Only 3 murders occurred so far in this village country made bombs were used victims belonged to scheduled caste with poor income and industrial labour as their main occupation on each side. It is Madigas who throw bombs on each other. Forcible migration of labour takes place in this village by faction leaders.

Compromising Efforts :

In this village, no compromising efforts were made. Both factionists were not interested in compromises as they were involved in power struggle as well as for economic competition to gain control over industrial resources to earn money.

Effect on Development :

Individual development of the factional leaders occurred more than the villagers in this village. Three stone polished units to the scheduled caste by SC corporation were sanctioned due to the intervention of the faction leader. But no infrastructural facilities have developed at all.

8. Velpanur Village :

The village Velpanur in Atmakur constituency has an area of 1947.34 hectares. Total population in the village is 1649. They are residing in 355 houses. Male population is 829 and female population is 770. Total Scheduled Castes population in the village is 56. Out of which males are 27 and females 26. There are 14 STs in the village. 1326 literates are there in the village. Out of which male literates are 746 and female literates 580. Total main workers in the village are 404 out of which male workers are 354 and female workers 50. Total non-workers in the village are 1244.

Faction Origin :

Faction village in Atmakur Constituency has old as well as new factions. Old factions existed in this village in late 50s and early 60s due to village supremacy, new factions are formed in early 1980s due to competition over arrack and Canal Project works.

Political Parties Support :

New factions arose during this period. Faction leaders Mr. Budda Vengal Reddy leading one faction has become politically powerful after TDP's rise by becoming MLA both in TDP and Congress-I periods, but presently from Congress - I got elected as ZPTC member. All development contracts are in his hands which have made him rich. The other faction leader namely Mr. Kedharnath Reddy is encouraged by Mr. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy. The encouragement of Mr. Kedharnath Reddy by Mr. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy has intensified faction disputes use of arms bombs, murders and physical attacks, have increased during this period. Aggression and change of loyalties by followers are common. Court cases have increased. Police role depended on factional leaders affiliation to ruling political party.

Nature of Old and New Factions :

In this village, there were old factions and they were mainly for personal prestige as well as to have dominance in the village. Properties used to be spent to maintain the factions. During 1984-89 both the Congress leaders were in Congress-1 only, but during the Telugu Desam Party period, faction leaders grew to the level of political leaders. Arrack and other developmental projects are the areas of competition for these factionists during 1989-94.

Basis of Faction Followers :

In this village, land holdings are small and hence they have to depend on their leaders for agricultural assistance. In this village, we find that Dalit caste is divided in the village.

Support of BCs is divided and the SCs support is also divided, and hence we can infer that it is the faction leaders favors in terms of money, agricultural assistance and employment that provides basis for becoming faction followers in the village.

Faction Leaders Activities :

In this village, one faction leader does the arrack contract and other irrigation development project works. He also conducts panchayats not for earning money, but to increase the influence among people. The other faction leader also does the development project works. Thus both faction leaders earn money. Both faction leaders divide the Dalits and lower castes on caste and economic lines to make them dependent on them. Followers are always made to be dependent on the leaders.

Elections :

In this village, when there were old factions in 60s, the villagers vote was divided according to two factional groups. But with the emergence of TDP, people in the village had voted to Budda Vengal Reddy, who has supported TDP. But when the new factions formed between Budda Vengal Reddy and Kedarnath Reddy, Kedar Nath Reddy Faction Supported Congress-(I) and opposed Budda Vengal Reddy of TDP in 1994 Assembly Elections. In the recent ZP Elections, Budda Vengal Reddy from Congress-I won as ZPTC member inspite of opposition by Kedarnath Reddy's faction. Thus the electoral participation is divided by factions as there is direct competition between the two faction leaders in the village. One faction leader rose to the level of MLA, the other leader contested as MLA. Thus while one faction sup-

port TDP the other Congress. In Panchayat Elections these two faction leaders Bee to it that two candidates of their own contest and support these candidates and ask their faction members to vote for them. Thus there is invariable link between factions and elections in the village.

Violence :

In this village only three murders occurred so far. Country made bombs were used. The victims belong to Mala caste with poor income background and agriculture labour as the main occupation in one faction. The other faction victims belong to Madiga caste with poor income background and agriculture labour as their main occupation. Those who hurled bombs belong to Madiga and Mala caste. No migrations occurs in this village during or after the attack.

Compromising Efforts :

In this village, old factions became dormant as the old factionists got vexed with court cases. No efforts were made for compromises as both are involved in the power game.

Effect on Development :

Village infrastructural development was not affected due to common good fund established by the elders of the village. The followers belonging to one faction got more benefits because their leader is Ex-MLA.

9. Nnnnur Village :

Nannur village in Nandikotkur constituency has the population of 9681 people with 983 houses. Male population is slightly higher than female population. While male population is 4921, female population is 4760. The total scheduled caste population in the village is 1021 in which females are 534 and males 497. There are 73 scheduled tribe population. Number of literates in the village is 6034 in which male literates are more than female literates. The male main workers in the village are 2155 and the female main workers are 677. There are 779 cultivators in the village. The total non-workers in the village are 6849.

Faction Origin :

In this village in Nandikotkur Constituency Assembly, faction has started in 1992 due to enraging woman's modesty, which has resulted in murderis continuing till now.

Political Party Support :

In this village, emergence of TDP leader Mr.Byreddy Rajasekhar Reddy has reduced faction tensions in the village. Both factions are under his control now. Court compromises is also done by him in this village.

Nature of Old Factions :

In this village, there were old factions and they were supported by two political leaders, belonging to same political party i.e., Congress namely Madduri Subba Reddy and Seshasha-

yana Reddy. Only fights and attacks used to be there and there were no murders. From 1989-94 Congress-I party under Seshasayana Reddy created the competition for arrack business between the two. Hence, disputes also increased.

Basis of Faction Followers :

In this village, majority of the faction followers told that their own poverty, illiteracy and ignorance that make them depend on faction leaders.

Faction Leaders Activities :

In this village, faction leaders made the followers to be dependent continuously on them due to agrarian relations and by interfering in the personal affairs to their higher level faction leaders, who patronise them.

Elections :

In this village, one faction is led by Muslim leader and the other is led by Reddy leader. With the emergence of Byreddy Rajasekhar Reddy, both factions had always voted to what Byreddy ordered them to do. His compromise between two factions made them to solidly vote to him when he contested under TDP in 1994 assembly elections. Before Byreddy emerged as a leader two factions used to support two different political leaders. Reddy Faction used to support Seshasayana Reddy and the other Madduri Subba Reddy. Both belonged to Congress-I only. Thus factions before being compromised were under the grip of two higher level leaders. Voting in the local elections were based on the candidates

put by two local level factional leaders. Emergence of TDP made the lower caste especially Boyas to be politically conscious and became supporters of TDP. Byreddy Rajasekhara Reddy's phenomena created terror and domination in the village and became solid voting bank to him in spite of factional differences in the village.

Violence :

In this village, only two murders occurred so far. Country made bombs were used. Victims on each side belong to scheduled caste with poor income background and agriculture labour as the main source of occupation. Those who murdered them through bombs belong to Madiga caste in Reddy faction and Boya caste in Baliya faction. Migration occurred in this village and they sought shelter in the houses of faction leader above who patronized their faction leaders in the village.

Compromising Efforts :

In this village, due to compromises in court cases introduced by the higher level factional leaders, tensions reduced in the villages but factions continued because of mutual rivalry.

Effect on Development :

Factionalism had its impact on the development of the village in a negative way and hence no development occurred in this village.

10. Kotekal Village

The village Kotekal in Yemmiganur constituency has an area of 497.76 hectares. Total population of the village residing in 135 houses are 836, in which males are 415 and females 421. 346 Scheduled Castes are living in the villages, out of which males are 159, females 187. There are no Scheduled Tribes in the village. Total literates in the village are 216. Out of them male literates are 178 and female literates 38. The main workers in the village are 456, in which males are 231, females 225. Total non-workers in the village are 378. There are 337 cultivators in the village. Agricultural labourers in the village are 101.

Faction Origin :

In this village in Yemmiganur Constituency, factions have started in 1970s, but became dormant in 1990, to gain supremacy in the village, but arose in 1992 again due to fair price dealership issue. There is a lot of arson and one murder in this village being supported by different political parties i.e., Congress-I and Telugu Desam Party.

Political Party Support :

In this village, with the emergence of TDP, Boyas (BCs) influence has increased who are patronised by Mr.Errakota Kesava Reddy Ex-MLA of TDP. The other faction group namely Lingayats is supported by Congress-I, being patronised by Ex-MLA, Mr.K.R.Hanumantha Reddy of Congress. Murders, setting fire to houses and bombings increased after TDP's emergence.

Nature of Old Factions :

In this village, factions arose between two groups in 1970-72. Both were supported by Congress only and encouraged by a leader namely K.R. Hanumantha Reddy. Congress Party used to support the hired assassinations in the village. Only traditional weapons were used during violence. These factions were restricted only for village supremacy.

Basis of Faction Followers :

In this village, it is the caste that determine their following to their faction leaders. Illiteracy and poverty and revenge that made them become followers in their villages. Poverty of agricultural labourers among the Scheduled Caste also made them to be loyal to their faction leaders.

Activities of Faction Leaders :

We find that hired assassinations are employed by the faction leaders as well as factionists of the region. Faction leaders by providing debts, work in the agricultural fields, through caste and kinship considerations, and by becoming mediators in Government schemes, keep their followers under their fold.

Elections :

The factions between Boyas and Lingayats are supporting two different political parties, the former TDP and the other Congress- (I). Lingayats supported K.R. Hanumanta Reddy of Con-

gress-(I) in 1989 elections. Boyas supported Yerrakota Kesava Reddy of TDP. 1970s Panchayat elections created factions between these two groups. While Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy gives patronage to lingayat faction, K.E. Krishna Moorthy to Boya faction. Thus the village voting is determined by the directives of these two political leaders.

In this village old factions became dormant as factional leaders got vexed with court cases.

Violence :

Only two murders occurred so far due to factional violence. Country made bombs were used. Those who indulged in violence belong to Boya caste. The faction victims belong to reddy caste with middle income background and agriculture as a main source of occupation. No migrations occurred in this village after the factional attacks.

Compromising Efforts :

No compromising efforts were made to put an end factional rivalries in the village.

Effect on Development :

On the basis of indicators taken, one can infer that, no development occurred in this village due to factionalism.

11. Halvi Village :

The village Halvi in Adoni constituency has an area of 374.33 hectares. Total population of the village residing in 116 houses are 700. Male population is 367 and female population is 333. Scheduled caste population in the village is 148, in which males are 81 and females 67. Total literates in the village are 16 and all of them are males. There are no STs in the village. The main workers in the village are 425. There are only 5 agricultural labourers in the village. Total non-workers in the village are 375, in which females are 146 and males 129.

Faction Origin :

This village had origins of factions in late 80s due to political rivalaries between the same community of Gowda and continuing till now with high degree of violence like murders, arson, looting, setting fire to houses as well as cutting of fruit growing trees.

Political Parties Support :

In this Village, Gowda faction groups had the support of Congress Party only, but after the TDPs rise one faction group of Boyas started supporting TDP and that faction group which supported Congress after TDP rise had become the targets of attack.

Basis of Faction Followers :

In this village, majority of the followers on both sides stated that their dependence on leaders in day to day life, longstanding political support to their leaders to get help in the court cases and also to take revenges on rivals that they support their leaders.

Activities of Faction Leaders :

We find that violent activities are common and the faction leaders make their followers to indulge in violent incidents such as burning of rivals houses, cutting of fruit-growing tree etc. Both leaders do toddy contracts and earn money.

Elections :

The factions between the Gouds and Gouds used to be the supporters of Congress-(I) till 1983. But the emergency of TDP made one faction group of Gouds to be under TDP influence, the other faction group of Gouds supported Congress-(I) in Mandal, Assembly as well as Parliamentary elections. Panchayat elections used to be fierce ground between these two faction groups and the village is divided into two groups. Faction followers did- voting according to their respective faction leaders directives.

Violence :

In this village so far only 2 murders occurred. Country made bombs were used. The victims belongs to Boyas with poor income background and agriculture labour as their main occupation on

each side. Those who indulged in violence also belong to Boya carte. The phenomenon of migration after the attacks was there in the village. Further temporarily stay outside the village and return to the the village after normalcy prevails in the village.

Compromising Efforts :

No compromising efforts were made to put an end to the factions.

Effect on Development :

Judged on the basis of indicators taken, factionalism affected the development of the village.

12. Pedda Hothur Village :

Pedda Hottur village in Alur constituency has the area of 3319.22 hectares. It has a population of 5318. Male population is 2701 and female population is 2617. Total scheduled caste population in the village is 1700 in which males are 844 and females 856. There are 7 Scheduled Tribes house-holds in the village. Total literates in the village are 1240. The main workers in the village are 2987. There are 1098 cultivators in the village. Agriculture labour population in the village is 1279. Non workers in the village are 2319.

Faction Origin :

Factions in this village have the roots from mid-80s onwards between Reddies and Kammas who supported two different political

parties. Two murders took place in this village and electoral tensions keep taking place.

Political Parties Support :

In this village, factions are supported by two different political parties after TDP's emergence. With this, electoral violence increased in all the elections while Reddys are supported by Congress-I, Kamma's are supported by TDP. Factions rose in mid-70s. One faction group of Reddies had always the upper hand due to Congress Party support to them, but the other faction group i.e., Kammas gained upper hand once TDP came to the power. These factions had restrained themselves to maintain village supremacy only.

Basis of Faction Followers :

We find that it is the poverty illiteracy and the court cases that bind them to their followers. They also revealed that their dependence on faction leaders was due to their leaders help to get benefits from various government schemes.

Activities of Faction Leaders :

Lower castes are made to be dependent upon the dominant castes faction leaders due to agrarian relations in the village.

Elections :

In this village, the Kamma faction group is under TDP, the Reddies are under Congress-(I) . From 1983 onwards Kamma faction leader started directing his faction group to vote for

TDP. Till now the Reddies are with Congress-(I) . In Panchayat elections we see those divisions among the voters on the basis of factions. Thus political choice, and awareness of the lower castes, is determined by the factional leaders in the village.

Violence :

Two murders occurred so far in this village. Fire arms and country made bombs were used during factional violence. Victims in Reddy faction belong to scheduled caste with poor income background and agriculture labour as the main source of occupation. Victims in other faction are Boyas who belong to agriculture labour background. No migrations occurred in this village after the factional attacks.

Compromising Efforts :

No compromising efforts were made by any body.

Effect on Development :

Development, judged on the basis of indicators taken, got affected due to factionalism.

13 . Narayanapuram Village :

The village Narayanapuram, in Nandyal constituency has an area of 1031.54 acres. The village has 149 residential houses. Total population in the village is 783. Male population is 425 and female population 358. There are 204 Scheduled Castes in the village. Out of which Males are 113 and females 91. Only 24 STs

are living in the village. Out of 300 literates in the village, Male literates are 235 and female literates are 65. Main workers in the village are 420, out of which males are 232 and females 188. Total cultivators in the village are 217, out of which males are 124 and females 93. 181 agricultural labourers are there in the village. Out of them male agricultural labourers are 93 and female labourers 88. 331 non-workers are there in the village. Male non-workers (184) are more than female non-workers(147).

Faction Origin :

Present factions in the village has origin in late 80s due to murder. The factions exists between two backward caste groups for village dominance with usual recurrence of electoral tensions.

Political Parties Support :

TDP rise has led to the factions among BC's and two factions among BC's are supporting two different political parties i.e. TDP and congress-I. Political parties patronage has increased and consequently increase in electoral violence as well as physical violence due to the rise of TDP.

Nature of Old Factions :

In this village, caste conflicts during the 60s and 70s were encouraged by Congress Party between the two BC castes, for gaining the vote banks only, but with the TDP's rise one BC faction group started supporting TDP and the other Con-

gress I which increased competition increased between the two. As compared to the present factions, the factions in the older days had less aggressive attitude and were restricted only for village supremacy.

Basis of Faction Followers :

Poverty, economic dependence and to get employment in the agricultural fields, followers join the factions.

Activities of Faction Leaders :

Poverty and illiteracy of the followers are exploited by the faction leaders in order to acquire power in the village.

Elections :

Factions between two backward castes are guiding the electoral behaviour of the people. Both the factions before the emergence of TDP used to vote for Congress but with TDP emergence, one of the two factions has TDP supporters, the other Congress-(I). Thus the political parties which determine the electoral behaviour of people through factions in the village.

Violence :

Only one murder occurred due to factional violence. A backward caste person was murdered by the hit of country made bombs. He belonged to poor income background. He was also agricultural labourer. After the attack, migrations took place in the village.

CompromisingEfforts:

compromises were initiated by the political leader in the constituency level but it has not worked.

Effect on Development :

In this village there was no link between faction and development and hence there was no hindrance to development of the villagers.