

**SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS AND THE
EMERGENCE OF ANDHRA PRADESH
A SOCIOLOGICAL INQUIRY**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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19A

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1992

*I humbly dedicate this dissertation
to my affectionate parents*



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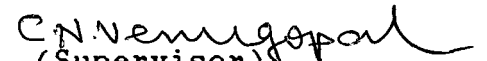
July 1992

CERTIFICATE

Certified that the Dissertation entitled **Socio-cultural Factors and the Emergence of Andhra Pradesh - A Sociological Inquiry** submitted by **KETHU SUBBA REDDY** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**, has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University and is a record of the student's own work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance.

We recommend that this Dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


(Chairman)


(Supervisor)

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kethu Subba Reddy', with a horizontal line underneath the name.

KETHU SUBBA REDDY

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

The present study deals with the emergence of Andhra Pradesh by analyzing various socio-cultural factors. The study highlights the importance of socio-cultural factors in the process of mobilization. The period of the study approximately ranged between the later part of the nineteenth century to the recent past. Though care was taken to highlight the important issues, certain minute details could not be accommodated due to the vastness of the study. The present chapter discusses the relevant concepts and depicts the cultural contours of Indian society for a clear perspective of the problem. The chapter also throws light on the historical, geographical and demographical aspects of Andhra Pradesh. This chapter is further wound up with the scheme of the subsequent chapters..

Concepts:

Culture is the most discussed concept in Anthropology and yet a great deal of disagreement surrounds those discussions. As anthropologists debate what they do mean by culture, they often go back, at least as a starting point, to the distinction articulated by E.B. Tylor in 1871. Tylor says "culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other

capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."¹

However, after analysing more than 150 definitions of culture Kroeber and Kluckhohn brought out certain universalistic features of the concept 'culture'.² These features are listed below:

1. Culture includes ideas, patterns and values;
2. It is historical i.e. transmitted from one generation to another;
3. Culture is learned and symbolic;
4. It is an abstraction from human behaviour and is the product of that behaviour; and
5. Culture includes distinctive achievements of human groups, like science, literature, art and other skills.

We are operating the concept culture, in the present study by taking all the 5 features of culture, as mentioned above, into consideration. The concepts values and symbols, which are crucial for the present purpose, are also discussed below.

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1. Edward B. Tylor, **Primitive Culture** (Gloucester reprint 1958), vol.1, p.1.
 2. A.L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, **Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions** (Cambridge 1952), p.181, pp.308-57.

"Values are collective properties of culture and individuals have only differing attachments, opinions and attitudes towards value ideas."³ Values refer to modes of normative orientation of action. Values take primacy in the pattern maintenance functioning of a social system. Parsons, further says, "The cultural system centers on the institutionalization of cultural value patterns, which at the general cultural level, may be regarded as moral... moral values are also involved, through internalization."⁴ The value orientation supplies norms or standards of action. They are institutionalized and thus provide integration.⁵ Thus values are general standards of social action. Since values are of collective property individual tends to act mostly according to the values laid down by the society. Each society has its own value system which differentiates it from other societies.

Human culture is built into the personality structure through a network of symbols that are all shared, learned and historically transmitted and are partly internalised and

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3. J. Zvi, Nomenwirth and Robert Philip Weber, **Dynamics of Culture** (Boston 1987), p.13.
 4. Talcott Parsons, "Social Systems", in David Shills, ed., **International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences** (London 1968), vol.15, p.969.
 5. Talcott Parsons, **Social Systems** (Glencoe 1952), pp.13-14.

creative and partly external and coercive.⁶ The symbol and the symbolic process are illustrated in the sphere of perception, by universally agreeable pattern and image in the sphere of motivation, value and attitude by art, myth, metaphor and religion; in the sphere of reason by meaning, logic and science; in the sphere of behaviour by technical ways, morals, law and ritual.⁷ Thus, the symbol is concerned with notions, expectations, motivations and imperatives embracing all levels of human learning and experiencing.

Another pertinent question is how society, culture and personality are related. This could be dealt very briefly with two prominent views. The first view argues that these three are independent variables but conceptually related. For instance, Nadel says that society, culture and personality may be conceptually differentiated for specialised types of analysis and study. The second view considers these three are an integral whole. Parsons for instance, emphasizes that society, culture and personality cannot be considered as completely independent varieties. "Personality culture and society form systems of relations

6. Radha Kanai Mukherjee, *The Symbolic Life of Man* (Bombay 1959), preface.

7. Ibid.

that function as integral wholes.⁸ According to Leslie A. White, cultural tradition influences human behaviour and cultural processes could not take place without people.⁹

According to Deutsch, "a common culture facilitates communication."¹⁰ Thus culture functions as a determinant of behaviour, as a medium for communication and as an integrative force in a society, which will be discussed in next pages.

Integration could be classified into four types. They are: the "cultural integration" or the consistency among the cultural standards, the "normative integration" or the consistency between cultural standards and the conduct of persons, the "communicative integration" or the extent to which the network of communication permeates the social system and the "functional integration" or the degree to which there is mutual interdependence among the units of a system of division of labour.¹¹

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8. A. Irwing Hallowell, "Culture Personality and Society", in A.L. Kroeber, ed., **Anthropology Today** (Chicago 1953), p.615.
 9. Leslie A. White, "Culturology" in **International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences**, vol.3, pp.548-49.
 10. Karl Deutsch, **Nationalism and Social Communication**, (Cambridge 1966), p.88.
 11. Werner S. Lardecker, "Types of Integration and their Measurement", **American Journal of Sociology**, (1956), vol.56, p.332.

The essential characteristic of Integration is that certain values must be accepted as common and different institutional agencies should deserve and promote these values. According to Parsons' theory normative integration is achieved when the focal elements in the cultural system - the society's common values - are institutionalised in structural elements of the social system.¹² According to Deutsch 'assimilation' and 'mobilization' facilitate communicative Integration. Assimilation can be made through "common language" and "common culture", whereas "mobilization" can be done by mass media, the elite and the political parties.¹³

Language comprises a set of symbols and a set of rules (a grammar) used in a meaningful way that permits communication. Language is fundamentally a social act. A language or a dialect can also serve as a basis of social solidarity. "Language may no longer be conceived as something entirely distinct from other cultural systems but must rather be viewed as part of the whole and functionally

12. Robert Cooley Angell, "Social Integration", in **International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences**, vol.7, p.382.

13. Deutsch, n.10, pp.88-97, 100-101, 157.

related to it."¹⁴ Within almost any major language we find regional divisions into 'dialects' and social divisions of 'linguistic stratification'. We find again 'language groups', 'language centres' and 'leading groups'; these groups in these centres set the 'standard language'. "Language communities are therefore bounded by barriers of dialect and language, geographically between regions, sociologically between strata and historically in time."¹⁵

A language, like the rest of culture, is acquired by learning and it is cumulative and ever changing - language is specific to society.¹⁶ Language plays a significant role in the total network of cultural patterns, because it functions apparently with most of the cultural behaviour.¹⁷ Finally, as Parsons put it, "language is the most general and elementary mechanism of communication and so of social integration, at the cultural level of the organization of action."¹⁸

14. Harry Hoijer, "Relation of Language to Culture", in A.L. Kroeber, ed. *Anthropology Today*, (Chicago 1953), p.554.

15. Deutsch, n.10, p.44.

16. Hoijer, n.14, p.556.

17. *ibid.*

18. Talcott Parsons, "Culture and the Social System", in Talcott Parsons et.al., *Theories of Society* (New York, 1968), p.971.

Cultural Contours of India

The Indian cultural tradition is showing two essential features of continuity and similarity despite many influences, assimilations and changes took place during its long life. How far this is true? A brief survey of Indian cultural history would be helpful in understanding the above mentioned features and processes.

In the post Mauryan period Brahminism was revived to stabilize the society from the challenges given by the intrusion of alien races and religious systems like Buddhism and Jainism. As a consequence, the whole body of social and religious laws of Brahminism was highlighted and put together in the authoritative smritis of Manu and Yagnavalkya. Epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata contained within themselves the Brahmanical values, norms and beliefs.¹⁹ Indian society showed much tolerance towards other cultural systems. On one hand Brahminism was revived and on the other tolerance was shown towards Buddhism and Jainism. Even the foreign settlers, on their part, absorbed the symbols and ancient Indian spirit, voluntarily.²⁰

19. U.N. Ghoshal, **Studies in Indian History and Culture** (Bombay 1967), p.181.

20. *ibid*, p.181.

By the end of the 12th century A.D. the vitality and vigour of the Indian people appear to have undergone a rapid decline. Society was fixed in a rigid mould. The invading Sultanates overthrew the old Hindu Kingdoms. The Sultanates introduced a new creed, new languages and literatures, different script, novel ideas of state and government, various styles of art and architecture, a new code of conduct and new models and ways of living.²¹ The Sultanate was followed by Mughal dynasty which was founded in 1526 A.D. With the establishment of Mughal empire, consolidation and cultural synthesis and cultural fusion began to take place. They gave stimulus to the growth of administration, through various reforms and the regional languages.

Muslims who came to India in different times were in most cases armies of fighting men, who did not bring their women with them and took local wives. Active proselytization process on one hand and the attraction of lower Hindu castes (towards Islam) due to the prevalence of social inequalities in Hindu society, led to the growth of Muslim population.²² Humayun Kabir says, "the social condition of the people was remained, largely, unchanged,

21. ibid, p.183.

22. Humayun Kabir, *The Indian Heritage* (Bombay 1955), p.19.

throughout the Muslim period. They did not interfere with the normal life of the people so long as their rule was not opposed. Except that, a new community called Muslims was added, who in normal conditions shared the Hindu culture."²³

What were India's responses to the challenges of medieval period? Between 14th and 17th centuries A.D. almost every region of the country produced its own saints and mystics such as Ramananda and Kabir in U.P., Chaitanya in Bengal, Nanak in Punjab, Tukaram, Ramadas, etc., in Maharashtra). These mystics provided the spirit of harmony and integration by preaching many common fundamental ideas such as "the unity of God, the futility of forms and ceremonies of worship, the unreality of caste and the necessity of self purification and absolute devotion to the Deity for attaining salvation."²⁴ Moreover these mystics and saints were drawn from all ranks of society. Though their teachings could not affect the rigid caste system much, their influence on contemporary political and spiritual life cannot be ignored. The teachings of these mystics have moulded various regional cultures of India, especially in the fields of literature, music, arts, etc.

23. ibid, p.26.

24. Ghoshal, n.19, p.184.

During British rule, India felt for the first time the subjugation by a foreign power, ruling from a distant base. The consequences of the British rule were of both positive and negative to Indian society. The introduction of Western education on an increasing scale has led to the incalculable benefit of linking Indian with Western thought. The foreign rule in India gave rise to two types of responses. Firstly, religious movements such as Brahmosamaj and Arya Samaj revived ancient values in a modern form. Secondly, the nationalists such as Tilak and Gandhi led the people towards freedom through a prolonged struggle against the British rule.

The nationalist movement was a reassertion of traditional values and symbols but motivated by western liberal values, against alien intrusions. This phenomenon is manifested in the different schools of nationalism represented by such figures as Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Dayananda and the Arya Samaj, Aurobindo, Tilak, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh School, Annie Besant and above all Gandhi and the Indian National Congress. The social reform movement was stimulated by the impact of modern western ideas, which have found their way to India through three main channels viz., British rule, English education

and Christian missions.²⁵ The chief characteristics of the social reform movement are that it begins from a religious basis, is attracted by the ideas rather than forms of western culture and has evolutionary character, rather than revolutionary.²⁶

The Brahma Samaj was the first great religious reform movement which included social reform as an integral part of its mission. Its success on social reform front has been significant so much so that, "it was Ram Mohan Roy's influence more than Macaulay's rhetoric, which led to the adoption of English as the medium of education in India."²⁷ The Arya Samaj adopted active measures to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables. It framed an ideology based on the reinterpretation of the "Vedas" and the propagation of "Vedic faith." Prarthana Samaj took the charge of social reform in Western India, while Vivekananda and his Ramakrishna Mission, Mrs. Besant and her theosophical society, etc., worked for spiritual, educational and social development, particularly in the south.

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25. Charles Heimsath, **Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform** (Bombay 1964), pp.46-54.
26. S. Natarajan, **A Century of Social Reform in India** (Bombay 1962), p.6.
27. *ibid*, pp.6-7.

Along with all these efforts, Gandhi and Ambedkar gave a new dimension and vigour to the social reforms, particularly in the case of depressed classes, which brought progressive changes in the society. In addition, Christian missionaries, Arya Samaj, Theosophical society, Sikh Associations, etc., helped in raising the position of outcastes. Under the influence of the new nationalist ideas the social reform movement in the early twentieth century altered its creed and shifted the focus of its practical programmes so as to bring both into line with the movement for "national cultural revival"²⁸

The achievements of the social reform movement include the freeing of social life from the grip of religious functionaries, change in the conditions of depressed classes and women, creation of reformistic consciousness among Indians and the promotion of national integration by overcoming regionalism and religious sectarianism over the years.²⁹

Impact of West is multi-dimensional. The Western ideals influenced the new vernacular literatures of India, Indian art, science, administration, civil code, uniform

28. Heimsath, n.25, p.317.

29. Natarajan, n.26, pp.203, 205, 212.

education etc., which led to the growth of strong western educated middle class, developments in communication and transport and etc. The spread of liberal secular values and their placement in the Indian constitution have helped "to bind together the diverse sections of our vast population by a bond of "nationality" based on the collective interests and sentiments."³⁰ For instance the impact on Hindu law can be seen in the following changes: Most of the political concepts are taken from the west. The old Hindu family law has been abrogated and replaced by a new code based largely on Western law. Monogamy is enforced by law, and women's right to property is given legal sanctity.

Despite western influence on many aspects of Indian life the Indian tradition did not cease to exist. The continuation of tradition can be seen in many respects. Here are a few examples: the establishment of elected village councils is an effort to continue the past tradition of the *Panchayats*³¹ In the field of arts the continuity of the tradition is shown along with the adopted western forms. In literature, the stories and the morals of the epics and puranas provide the material for metaphors and similies for most Indian writers.

30. Ghoshal, n.19, p.190.

31. A.L. Basham, *Cultural History of India* (London 1975), p.491.

Though Indian legal system has been based on the Western model of Judiciary much of the spirit and many laws have their roots in the *smritis* dealing with *vyavahara* in particular.³² The prevalence of Hindu ethics which exercise non-injury, truth, purity, non-covetousness, self-control, forgiveness, compassion, auspiciousness, etc., is unquestionable.

Thus in India, culture has been the main agent behind national integration. From the above discussion, it is evident that cultural tradition flows from generation to generation. Despite some variations the regions or the states in India show considerable similarities in their cultural pattern. This brief discussion would help in understanding similar process with regard to Andhra Pradesh.

Andhra Pradesh - A Profile

There is a great deal of controversy regarding the origin of the Andhras. Some are of the opinion that they were Aryans, but migrated to the Deccan and mingled with the native inhabitants and adopted their culture. Others argue that the Andhras were of the Dravidian race who had in

32. Ramaswami Sastri, *Hindu Culture and the Modern Age*, (Annamalai Nagar, 1956), pp.79-82, 115-24.

earlier times inhabited the entire country.³³ However evidences show that Andhras were a people mentioned in the *Aitereya Brahmana*.³⁴ It is not a historical accident that caused the region and the people to be denoted by either of the two terms - Telugu or Andhra. This peculiar feature is due to the historical role of the people. The Andhras, a branch of the Aryan people, when they came to colonise this region, found a comparatively developed people whom they called *Nagas*. The language of the people, was a Dravidian one and the people must have called themselves as *Tilingas* or *Telingas*. The broad and fertile *Sapta Godavari*, offered both of these people, sanskritic and Dravidian, to live together to understand and to unite into one people. This synthesis has been so perfect that the two terms 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' (Telinga) became synonymous to each other. "Such a creative synthesis has been the backbone of Telugu culture throughout the long course of its history."³⁵

Various regimes had been ruling over the present day Andhra Pradesh. The earliest dynasty of rulers known to

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33. P.Raghunadna Rao, *History of Modern Andhra Pradesh* (New Delhi, 1990), p.6.
 34. Encyclopedia of Indian Culture (New Delhi 1981), vol.1, p.75.
 35. *Telugu Culture*, International Telugu Institute (Hyderabad 1980), p.8.

history, as far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned, is that of Sathavahanas³⁶. The Sathavahanas were followed by the Ikshvakus, the pallavas, the Brihatphalayangas, the Salankayanas, the Anandagottas, the Vishnukundins, the Eastern Chalukyas, the Kakatiyas, the Nayakas, the Kondaveeti Reddis, the Kijayanagar Kings, the Qutub Shahis, the Ashaf Jahis and the British.³⁷

During Sathavahana rule the whole of present day Andhra Pradesh was under one dynasty. The Kakatiya rulers contributed to Andhra Culture immensely. During their three hundred years rule, they shaped the Andhra history and culture by defending the Deccan from the repeated conquests of Islam. The greatest service rendered by the Kakatiyas to Andhra was that they brought the whole of the Telugu speaking area under one paramount power.³⁸ Next important dynasty was of Vijayanagara rulers. Their main contribution was to the growth of Telugu literature and other arts. Many foreign visitors visited Telugu country during this period. The period was characterised by prosperity and flourishing

36. Sathavahanas are believed to have ruled 'Andhra Desa' from the third B.C. the inscriptions of Nanaghat, Nasik, thirteen rock edict of Ashoka etc., mention Sathavahana's rule.

37. Rao, n.33, p.6.

38. ibid, p.11

trade with Portuguese. Again during Golkonda Nawabs' period the whole Telugu country was brought under one single administration.

The beginning of the 19th century saw the Telugu land divided into two parts - the **Telangana** under the feudal rule of **Nizam**, who owned allegiance to the British Sovereign and the rest in the Madras presidency under the British rule. Both coastal Andhra and **Rayalaseema** or ceded districts were under **Madras presidency**.³⁹

Since the beginning of the historical period there have been no major alterations in the physical set up of Andhra Pradesh; the drainage pattern has been almost the same in the area for a long time, unlike the north where many rivers are known to have changed their course over time. In the common day-to-day usage the three regions are called coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana. Five rivers the Nagavali, the Vamsadhara, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Penna flow through Telugu area.

The state is situated in the South East between the latitudes $12^{\circ}14'$ and $19^{\circ}54' N$ and longitudes $76^{\circ}50'$ and $84^{\circ}50' E$.⁴⁰ Most of the soil of the Telugu area is of 'red'

39. Sarojini Regani, **Highlights of Freedom Struggle in Andhra** (Hyderabad 1972), p.4.

40. **Andhra Pradesh Year Book** (Hyderabad 1990) p.15.

variety. The 'black soil' occupies the next place followed by 'coastal alluvium', 'deltaic alluvium' and 'laterite soil'. The climate of Andhra Pradesh may be described as 'tropical-monsoon' type. Differences of rainfall, both regional and seasonal, are more pronounced than differences of temperature. Annual fluctuations in rainfall are sometimes very heavy in Andhra Pradesh. Excess is as bad as a deficit and a 'flood' is as disastrous as a 'drought'. During the period between 1870 and 1980 coastal Andhra witnessed eleven floods and five droughts, while Rayalaseema suffered eight floods and thirteen droughts.⁴¹

The Andhra Pradesh is formed as a state on November 1, 1956. The state comprises of 23 districts spread over three regions of coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana, Nine districts of Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Vishakapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Prakasam and Nellore are in the coastal region; Four districts of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Chittoor are in Rayalaseema; and ten districts of Hyderabad, Ranga Reddy, Nalgonda, Khammam, Mahaboob Nagar, Warangal, Karim Nagar, Nizamabad, Medak and Adilabad are in Telangana region.

41. Telugu Culture, n.35, pp.6-8.

The population according to the 1991 (provisional) census is 66, 304, 854. The population of males is 33, 623, 738 and females is 32, 681, 116. The decennial population growth (1981-1991) is 23.82% Sex ratio i.e. total number of females per 1000 males is 972. Out of the total population the urban population constitutes 26.79%. The density of population of Andhra Pradesh is 241 per sq. km., it is slightly lower than the all India density i.e. 267 per sq. km.⁴²

With an area of 2, 75, 045 sq. kms. Andhra Pradesh state accounts for 8.37% of the country's area and 7.86% of the country's population.

Table -41

**Population of Scheduled Castes and Tribes
(based on 1981 census)**

Category	Population	Percentage
Scheduled Castes	79,61,730	14.87%
Scheduled Tribes	31,76,001	5.93%

Source: A.P. Year Book (Hyderabad 1990), p.17.

42. **Census of India 1991, Series - 2, Andhra Pradesh Paper I of 1991 Provisional Population Totals.**

Table -12

Regionwise Distribution of Area

Region	Percentage of area out of the total area of the state
Coastal Andhra	33.78%
Telangana	41.75%
Rayalaseema	24.47%

Source: A.P. Year Book (Hyderabad 1990), p.17.

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Table -13

Regionwise Distribution of Population

Region	Percentage of population out of the total population of the state based on 1981 census
Coastal Andhra	43.24%
Telangana	39.17%
Rayalaseema	17.59%

Source: A.P. Year Book (Hyderabad 1990), p.18.

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Table -14**Literacy Rate based on sex**

Category	Percentage of Literacy out the total literacy rate of the state (45.11%)
Male	56.24%
Female	33.71%

Source: Census of India 1991, Provisional Population Totals, Series-2.

Table -15**Religionwise Distribution of Population**

Religion	No. of people (in lakhs)	Percentage and the total population
Hindu	475.25	88.75%
Muslim	35.33	8.47%
Christian	19.33	2.68%

Source : Census of India 1991, Provisional Population Totals, Series -2.

The present study has been done with the help of secondary sources. Material was collected from the libraries at Hyderabad and Delhi. The libraries include University of Hyderabad Library, (Hyderabad), Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

(Teen Murti Bhavan) and Sahithya Akademy Library (New Delhi).

The following chapter, i.e. chapter-II, deals with the formation of Andhra Pradesh state. In the process, various socio-cultural factors which helped in mobilizing Telugus will be analyzed. The factors include ideology, cultural resurgence, modern values, creation of new institutional structures etc.

Chapter-III depicts the role of cultural output in the process of socio-political mobilization. This chapter also tries to show how changes in the society influence the cultural output and how the cultural output, in turn, influence the society. For the better perception of the above phenomenon, poetry, novel and some performing arts will be analyzed.

Chapter-IV focuses on the socio-political mobilization in the post state formation period. Herein, will be discussed, certain important structural and cultural factors. Following this, the mobilization process will be discussed under three heads. They are: mobilization through social structural alliances, mobilization through radical ideology and mobilization through cultural resurgence. Chapter-V consists of the summary and conclusion of the dissertation.

CHAPTER - II

Socio-Cultural Factors and State Formation

In the long course of history, Telugu people had been influenced by various vehicles of thought. Among these, the influence of Buddhism through prakrit, and Aryan through Sanskrit was prominent. As a result of this the triple stream of Dravidianism, Buddhism and Aryanism hallowed the Telugu land, yielding the fruitful harvest of Telugu language and culture. The Telugu people are influenced by both the components of Indian culture, namely the Aryan and the Dravidian.

Due to political invasions of Muslim and British rulers, Islam and Christianity reached Andhra Pradesh. Along with these religions their cultural traditions influenced Telugu culture considerably. All these culture contacts facilitated the process of cultural diffusion throughout the Telugu land. This is evident in language, values, beliefs, etc. Many sanskrit, prakrit, urdu, English words entered Telugu language and are assimilated into it. Sanskritic ritual practices and religious literature became part of the Telugu culture. Same was the case with art, literature, sculpture and others.

Telugu people have been in the fold of various religions. Hinduism being the dominant among the people.

Jainism and Buddhism had their own impact on Telugu people.¹ Islam is said to have been introduced by a muslim saint, Baba Fakruddin who succeeded at first in converting the king of Penukonda to Islam. The *Dudekula* muslims who live by the carding of cotton say that their conversion was due to the efforts of that Baba Fakruddin. Along with this type of individual efforts, Muslim rule and domination from 14th century onwards encouraged religious conversion. Most of the present day muslims of the state are the descendants of the converts from Hinduism. In the villages, the muslims follow many of the social customs of the Hindus.²

Similarly Christianity spread in Andhra since 18th century due to proselytization by Roman catholics and the Protestant missions. Though some people of the upper castes too embraced the religion, it has spread mainly among the socially disabled castes, to whom it rendered great help.³

No account of the people would be complete without a mention of the hill tribes. In Andhra Pradesh there are some important tribes like Gonds, Koyas, Chenchus, Bagathas, Banjaras and others. They are still maintaining their age

1. **Telugu Culture**, International Telugu Institute (Hyderabad 1980), p.14.

2. *ibid.* p.13.

3. *ibid.* p.15.

old customs and practices and separated from the so called civilised society. Due to proselytization some of them came into the Hindu and Christianity fold.

The people of Andhra in general are responsive to progressive ideas. This characteristic feature of Andhras can be gauged from the history of various religious reform movements that took place in the country, like the Advaita movement of Shankara, Veerasaivism of Basava, the Vaishnavism of Ramanuja, Achala Bodha of Vemana, Veerabrahman and Siddaiah. Even the coming of Islam or Christianity to Andhra did not produce any divisive forces in the society. On the other hand it resulted in creating a sense of tolerance and good will among the people.⁴

In all the three regions of the state we find many similar socio-cultural traditions. Despite various influences, the local traditions like Yakshagana, Burrakatha, Bommalata (shadow play) etc., continue to exist in all the three regions even today.⁵ The themes and forms of myths, women songs, rituals related to women like *perantam*, *Nomu*, *vratham* and the like, children songs, and

4. Sarojini Regani, **Highlights of Freedom Struggle in Andhra** (Hyderabad 1972) p.3.

5. M. Radhakrishna Murthy, "Folk Art Forms", **Telugu Vani** (Hyderabad 1975), pp.83-86.

festivals and fairs are similar in all the parts of the state, though they have different names at different places.⁶ The main force behind this cultural identity is the Telugu language. Since all of them speak in one language, they have shared identical cultural traditions and values throughout the state. This similarity in cultural traits gave them an independent and collective identity as Telugus or Andhras. This common culture integrated them and this identity and integrity facilitated the formation of Andhra Pradesh state. Culture has been one of the main forces which influenced them to demand a separate state for themselves.

As we have mentioned earlier the Telugu speaking areas were divided under two administrative set-ups. One part the present Telangana was under the Nizam control as a part of the Hyderabad state. Rest of the portion i.e. coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema were under the British as part of Madras presidency. We will discuss how the consciousness for a separate state emerged independently in these two regions and the causes for such consciousness.

Education was mainly confined to the *pial* school system prior to British rule. The second part of the

6. G. Ramakrishna Rao, "Festivals and Fairs", **Telugu Vani**, *ibid*, pp.39-41.

nineteenth century witnessed greater progress in education with the creation of Anglo-vernacular schools in many places of Andhra. Along with the government efforts, Christian missionaries also played significant role in spreading modern education. The first organised missionary school was started in 1836, at Nellore by the 'Free Church Mission'. The whole region was covered with an elaborate network of mission schools. Within the next two decades several schools for boys and girls sprang up. The missionaries published books in Telugu too.⁷

The spread of western education imparted modern rational values like equality, freedom, rationality in Andhra during the later part of the nineteenth century. As a consequence several educated sections influenced by the modern western values, felt suffocated in the orthodox set-up of the Hindu society. The society of Andhra during nineteenth century was predominantly traditional and suffered from many social evils such as child marriage, bride price, sati practice, devadasi institution, superstitious beliefs etc.⁸

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7. Five Societies, namely, the Society for the Propagation of Gospel, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, Wesleyan Mission and the Free Church Mission started their activities related to both educational development and religious conversion.
 8. V. Ramakrishna, **Social Reform Movement in Andhra** (New Delhi 1983), pp.10-13.

They gave up their attitude of uncritical difference to authority, tradition and custom and became pioneers of the social and political reform movement. Various social reform movements in the country in general and Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Brahma Samaj Movement in particular influenced eminent Andhra Social reformers like Veeresalingam Pantulu, Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu and others.⁹ They actively took to the task of social reformation in Andhra. The emancipation of women in all its facets - education, widow-remarriage, discouraging Kanyasulkam (Bride price) - and condemning infant marriage, superstitions, rituals, idolatry, were some of the issues which they included in their programmes.

Veeresalingam felt that social reforms should precede political reforms and without social reform, people could not fully reap the benefits of political liberty.¹⁰ Veeresalingam's ideas, ideals and social reform, "roused the Telugus and helped to create in them a love for public life and a degree of public spirit."¹¹ The later generation of

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9. Charles Heimsath, **Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform** (Bombay 1964), pp.257-59.
 10. K.V. Narayana Rao, **Emergence of Andhra Pradesh** (Bombay 1973), p.9.
 11. **The Hindu** (Madras), 23 January 1913, Quoted in *ibid.*, p.10.

social reformers, who were also prominent leaders of Andhra, came to be associated with the demand for separate state.

Organizations like "Hindu Sreyobhivardhani Sabha" founded by Kokkonda Venkata Ratnam Pantulu and "Arsha Matha Sabha", founded by Paravastu Rangacharyulu, held a series of lectures on Hindu scriptures and religion to counteract the large scale conversion by the Christian missionaries.¹² The steady progress of social reform accelerated the spirit of public life in coastal Andhra. At the same time the formation of Madras Mahajana Sabha in 1884 and Indian National Congress in 1885 inspired Telugus to the extent of forming "District Conferences" for their areas. These District Political Conferences were followed by the "Social Conferences." These fora discussed various local political and social problems and created a new consciousness among the masses. The growth of Journalism added to these developments. The main contribution of Telugu press was standardization of language in a form which was intelligible to a mass audience.¹³ Efforts were made by prominent writers to standardize Telugu. The spirit of Swadeshi movement during the early part of twentieth century spread

12. Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, *Story of my life - Modern Andhra* (Vijayawada 1959), pp.42-45.

13. Selig Harrison, *India: The Most Dangerous Decades* (Madras 1960), p.86.

to all parts of the Telugu country. The slogans of *Vande Mataram* and *Manade Rajyam* (the government shall be ours) were frequently heard. Many Telugu poets wrote patriotic songs and poems which again inspired the people.¹⁴ In Telugu districts freedom struggle continued along with the people's demand for a separate state. Telugus fostered regionalism as part of nationalism. All the above mentioned developments made Telugu people politically conscious. These developments also brought about significant changes in the value system. The contact with the Western ideals and knowledge of English through British education brought new values like "freedom", "equality", "rationality" and "reform". The social reform movement tried to establish the modern values in the place of the traditional orthodox values. The Swadeshi movement in particular and freedom struggle in general imparted the values of "swadeshi", "self-determination", "freedom from oppression" etc. This was manifested symbolically in the form of 'slogans', 'boycotting foreign goods' and 'encouraging swadeshi goods'.

This growth in political and social consciousness led to the growth of enthusiasm in enriching Telugu language and

14. Narayana Rao, n.10, p.21.

literature. This brought in an increased awareness of the rich cultural legacy of Andhras.

The spread of such literature inculcated a feeling of cultural identity among the Telugus. For instance, 'Andhrula charitram' written by Ch. Veerabhadra Rao highlighted the past glory of Andhras which instilled in the Andhras a deep sense of pride of their heritage and roused them to demand recognition.¹⁵

This increasing cultural identity gradually awakened them to the discrimination shown by the government of Madras and the Tamils towards Telugu people in matters of education, employment and overall development.¹⁶ Telugu people felt relatively deprived in reference to Tamils in the Madras presidency. Tamil people too had an ethno-centric view about themselves. For instance, a Tamilian remarked to a Telugu on his way to Madras, "the Telugus are a backward race, they have no brains and they never had men like our Bashyam Aiyangar or Muthuswamy Iyer."¹⁷

15. ibid., p.20.

16. ibid., pp.21-28.

17. The Hindu (Madras) 15 April 1911, in P. Raghunatha Rao, History of Modern Andhra Pradesh (New Delhi 1990), p.86.

Such discriminations made the Telugus feel that the partition of the Telugu people into two administrative units was the main cause for their backwardness and cultural subordination. "Deshabhimani", a Telugu newspaper on 21, December 1911 observed, "the Telugu people should be brought under a separate government like the Beharees ... The Telugu talent is fast dying out. It is the duty of the government to see that it does not become extinct before long. It can be nurtured only when the Telugu people are placed under a separate government."¹⁸ C. Seshagiri Rao, a correspondent, wrote in "Desabhimani", "Language is the vehicle of thought. A common language helps the free flow of ideals among men and unites them in a common bond of love and attachment". He felt that Telugus under the Madras Presidency can no longer develop because that environment is not conducive for Telugus.¹⁹

Such were the feelings of the Telugu people and it was widely discussed in the newspapers. Everywhere the consciousness spread for a separate state and cultural subjugation. Amidst this condition, organised efforts for collective mobilization of Telugus and for Telugu solidarity began around 1912. The Andhra Conference was formed in

18. Rao, n.10, p.31.

19. Rao, n.17, p.87.

1913 to discuss the issue of a separate state on linguistic basis for Andhras.

The growing demand of the Andhras for a separate province of their own attracted varied reactions among the Tamils. "The Hindu" did not support the movement on the ground that it might disrupt the process of unification among the Indian people.²⁰ The non-Brahman movement viewed the demand for a Telugu province as being detrimental to the unity of non-Brahmans and their goal of breaking the dominance of Brahmans in the Madras Presidency. Hence it emphasised a composite linguistic culture within the Dravidian political identity to foster solidarity. But Telugu people countered the non-Brahman idea by saying that Telugus had a distinctive culture and that it was nothing short of absurdity to yoke them to the Tamils.²¹

Here, it is necessary to mention the attitude of Telugus towards the Dravidian movement. The rivalry between Brahmans and non-Brahmans was not so keen in the Telugu country as it was in the Tamil country or in Malabar. This is because of the fact that the cultural bond between the

20. ibid, pp.89-90.

21. Indhu Rajagopal, **Tyranny of Caste: The Non-Brahman Movement and Political Development in South India** (New Delhi, 1985), pp.158-59.

Brahmans and the non-Brahmans in the Telugu country is stronger. Moreover the presence of numerous landholders who claim Kshatriya origin, act as a moderating influence.²²

Similar views are expressed by Eugene F. Irschick. According to him, despite the fact that the prominent leaders of Justice party were non-Brahman, middle-class, educated Telugus, Justice party could not gain much popularity for its ideology in Telugu districts because the Brahman and non-Brahman relation is more cordial than it is in the Tamil part of the Madras Presidency.²³ Due to above mentioned reasons the Telugus were not enthusiastic about the Dravidian movement based on the non-Brahman solidarity.

Some Tamil leaders criticized the Andhra movement by equating it to a desire for posts. Dr. Pattabhi Sitarmayya argued, against these criticisms, that the love of one's own province was not inconsistent with the love of one's country. He observed: "the movement was neither social nor educational nor even political; it is a national movement or if you please, it is a sub-national movement."²⁴

22. S. Natarajan, **A Century of Social Reform in India** (Bombay 1962), p.14.

23. Eugene F. Irschick, **Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non_brahman Movement and Tamil Separatism 1916-1929**, (Bombay 1969), p.177.

24. Rao, n.10, p.71.

When Congress party gained popularity in Andhra areas, the responsibility of Andhra movement had been transferred from Andhra Maha Sabha to Congress. Yet, Andhra Maha Sabha did not cease to exist. It was continuing its efforts. In 1936 a special session of the Andhra Maha Sabha was held at Coconada (East Godavari district) along with Andhra Provisional Conference. The Conference appealed to the Andhras to celebrate the "Telugu New Year's Day" in a grand manner. Consequently at a number of other places the festival was celebrated. The map of "Andhra Rastramu" was taken in procession. The "Andhra Rastramu" comprised of all the Telugu areas (present day Andhra Pradesh). The Bay of Bengal adjoining the Andhra area was named the "Andhra Samudram" (the Andhra ocean). Four hundred people gathered on the banks of Krishna and took a pledge to achieve an Andhra province.²⁵

All the above mentioned events were symbolic - observing Telugu New Year's Day, taking the 'map' in procession, taking a pledge etc., were a symbolic expression of their determination, ideology, cultural identity and the like. To institutionalize these ideals and values they observed the symbolic events collectively. G.V. Subba Rao, a prominent leader of Andhra movement, advocated the boycott

25. ibid, pp.101-02.

of Fez, Gujarati cap, English suits, English calendar, Tamil hotels, etc., to crystallize the Telugu cultural identity.²⁶

When the Telugu cultural identity crystallized, certain leaders from Rayalaseema felt that their economic interests will be protected more in Madras than in a future Andhra province. The location of Andhra university in Visakapatnam, was also one of the strains between Andhra and Rayalaseema leaders. The main apprehension of non-Brahman Telugus and non-Telugus in ceded districts was the fear of dominance of the circar Telugu Brahman in a future Andhra province.²⁷ But there was no demand for separate Rayalaseema at any time. The Tamilians settled in Rayalaseema feared that the separate Andhra demand will affect their status-quo. They showed their disagreement for separate Andhra province. But their view could not gain much support. Sribagh Pact, was signed between Rayalaseema and coastal Andhra leaders which promises that the needs of Rayalaseema would be first met in matters of irrigation, development and the choice of location of the capital or the High Court being given to the Rayalaseema.²⁸

26. *ibid.*, p.108.

27. *ibid.*, p.148.

28. Rao, n.17, pp.126-27

The post independence Andhra politics has often been viewed as a confrontation between the two caste groups viz., Reddi and Kamma. The Andhra movement for provincial autonomy became in its final stages a mass expression of the regional patriotism of all Telugus, but in its beginning the Andhra movement was led by Brahmans and later by Reddis and Kmmas, to protect their place in the power structure in a future separate Andhra province.²⁹ These comments are purely from a political perspective. Though the movement was started by the educated Brahmans later different communities like the Reddis, Kmmas, Vaishyas, Artisan castes, Christians, etc., supported the movement. Muslims and Muslim League never opposed this demand for a separate province.³⁰ It was a general movement supported by all sections of the people, as Pattabhi Sitaramayya said.³¹

The native state of Hyderabad comprised three linguistic regions, viz., the Telugu speaking Telangana, the Kannada speaking Karnataka and the Marathi speaking Marathwada. Hyderabad was the only native state where the official language was neither English nor that of the people. The language of the administration and the medium

29. Harrison, n.13, pp.110-111.

30. Rao, n.10, p.51.

31. ibid, p.71.

of instruction was Urdu.³² Hindu culture and Telugu language of Telangana were influenced by Muslim culture and urdu language. Many urdu words mixed with Telugu words and language.

During Nizam's rule, "the people of Hyderabad were reduced to intense economic misery, political bondage and cultural decay due to 200 years of this feudal order."³³ In religious matters the Nizam's rule exhibited partiality. Once when Moharrum and Dassehra festivals were on the same day, the former was allowed to be celebrated on a larger scale. Whereas Dassehra celebrations were banned.³⁴ Though Telangana comprised more than 50 per cent of the area and about 50 per cent of the population of Hyderabad state, the position of the Telugus in public life was not consistent with their numbers.³⁵ A normal feature of feudal culture was forced labour. The victims of this system were mostly village artisans and low castes. The general tax system was unbearable during Nizam's rule in Hyderabad state.³⁶ Above

32. P. Sundarayya, **Telangana Peoples Struggle and its Lessons** (Calcutta 1972) p.8.

33. Raj Bahadur Gour et al, **Glorious Telangana Armed Struggle** (New Delhi 1978), p.2.

34. Ravi Narayana Reddy, **Heroi Telangana: Reminiscence and Experiences** (New Delhi 1973), p.3.

35. Sundarayya, n.32, p.8.

36. Reddy, n.34, p.4.

all, Telugus in Hyderabad state faced insult from Urdu and Marathi people. This cultural alienation and their socio-economic backwardness led the Telugus to organise themselves in the 1920s. Political awakening in Telangana was very slow compared to the Andhra region. This is mainly due to the prevailing autocratic rule of Nizam.³⁷

Prior to 1920s a Library movement took place. Certain educated Telugus started libraries in Telangana to encourage the language, literature and culture of Telugus. These library associations started publishing popular literature in Telugu in sciences and humanities. These developments laid the foundation for the cultural revival of Telangana and also revived cultural contacts between Andhra and Telangana regions.³⁸

In 1921 an association known as the *Nizam Rastra Andhra Jana Sangham* was formed. It aimed at bringing about mutual cooperation among the Telugus to work for their progress in all spheres of life. Its programmes included the opening of libraries, schools, helping and encouraging Telugu students, making efforts to propagate Telugu literature and encouraging fine arts. The association

37. Rao, n.17, p.129

38. *ibid*, p.129.

successfully undertook the programme. The success of Telugu people motivated the public minded Maharastrians and Kannadigas to organise similar movements in their respective areas.³⁹

In 1930 a conference of historians and schools was held at Warangal to discuss the 'History of Kakatiyas'. It published a journal called **Kakatiya Sanchika** which contained many research articles on the history and culture of the Andhras. During this period the 'Nizam Andhra Mahasabha' was formed to intensify the movement against the Nizam and also to support the Telugu cultural revival. Andhra Jana Sangham was converted into the newly formed Andhra Mahasabha. The Hyderabad state congress was formed during this time but the Nizam Government imposed a ban on the congress party.⁴⁰

The Arya Samaj and the Hindu Maha Sabha organised Sathyagrahas has protesting against the suppression of the Hindu religious liberties.⁴¹ At the same time, Andhra communist party helped some active youth like Ravi Narayana Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddy, Kaloji Narayana Rao and others in their efforts to form a communist party in Telangana. All

39. Rao, n.10, p.273.

40. ibid., p.274.

41. ibid, p.275.

these parties and associations intensified their struggle against the Nizam. Their collective aim was independence of Hyderabad from the feudal autocracy of Nizam and merger with their Telugu brethren, on the other side. The Razakar dominated Government tried to break the alliance and suppress the movement.⁴²

When the Congress party became silent and passive over the issue, the communists took charge of the movement. In this regard the reaction of prominent communist leader P. Sundarayya against the Congress party is worth mentioning here. "One question to Andhra congress leaders: are three crores of Telugu people living in the same or only one area? Our history is very ancient; we have our own language, culture and traditions; our political and economic future will be bright if all of our Telugu people should form into one political unit or state. Do you agree that we, as the Andhra race, have got a right to decide freely and independently whether to join or not in the Indian Federation?"⁴³ This was the attitude of the Communist party during the movement.

The idea of Vishalandhra which includes all the Telugu areas was originated as early as 1910s in coastal

42. ibid., p.276.

43. Harrison, n.13, p.221.

areas. There was a doubt whether Telugus in Telangana ever thought of merging themselves into Andhra. But, it was only due to few civil and political liberties under Nizam, the Telugus in Telangana could not mobilize themselves, though they have had a strong desire since 1920s. Andhra communists with the help of "Abhyudaya Rachaitala Sangham" (progressive writers' association), led by the poet 'sri sri', spread the slogan for 'Vishalandhra' through Telugu folk art forms such as 'Burrakatha' in colloquial medium, to reach the masses. These literary compositions harped on the past greatness of the Andhras and the need to bring "three crores of people" once again under one administration.⁴⁴ Sri Sri, Dasarathi, Arudra and other poets contributed in this direction. All these efforts awakended Telangana people to fight against the Nizam's feudal rule.

In 1947 all sections of people of Hyderabad, viz., students, women, workers and peasants participated in a ceremony on Aug. 15 to hoist the tri colour Indian flag, despite strict police vigilance. The people also observed "Join India Day", "Flag Day", "Anti-repression Day", "Hyderabad Day", "Martyrs Day" and others. All these ceremonies and events were basically emotional and symbolic

44. Ghour and et al., n.33, pp.3-4.

expressions of their urge to join the Indian union and emphasise their Indian cultural identity.⁴⁵

Nizam and the Majlis party had provoked the Muslim sentiment and they gave a call to be prepared "to die", "to sacrifice themselves" to "save the Independence of Hyderabad".⁴⁶ Though there were communal riots at some places Muslims soon realised the ploy of feudal autocracy. Their enthusiasm towards 'democratic values', prepared them not to support 'feudal values', feudal autocracy and Nizam instigated hooliganism any more.⁴⁷ The Educated Muslim youth who were greatly influenced by democratic and secular values reacted against the arbitrary rule of the Nizam and communal politics of the Muslim League.⁴⁸ Some urdu papers owned by the Muslims played an important role in defending the anti-Nizam struggle of the Telangana people. The famous poems of "Maikash" in urdu about Telangana armed struggle, "Talash", "Kadvandi" and "Jag Uttah Jangaon" inspired Muslims in Hyderabad.⁴⁹

45. ibid., pp.9-20.

46. ibid., p.65.

47. ibid., pp.65-72.

48. Gulam Hyder, "Anti-Nizam Struggle: Participation of Muslims", Gour et al n.33, pp.137-40.

49. ibid., p.151.

A brief mention about the "Mulky Movement" is necessary here. The Mulky movement started in 1930s in Hyderabad state. Its main plank was that the people of Hyderabad irrespective of class and creed should rally round the Asaf Jahi banner and claim their birth right of enhancing by their services, the glory of their sovereign (i.e. the Nizam) and the prosperity of their state.⁵⁰ "Mulky" means the son of the soil. The Mulky movement was aimed against all non-Hyderabadese whether they were Hindus or Muslims. But this could not help Nizam's continuity in power as organised violent struggle broke out in Hyderabad state by the people to "Join India".

Swami Ramananda Tirtha started a popular movement known as "Join India Movement". Meanwhile the "Ittehadul-Muslimeen", a communal organisation under the leadership of a fanatic, Kasim Razvi, created a paramilitary wing called "Razakars" to terrorize the Hindus and indulged in many acts of violence. The Congress was unable to react against the Razakar activities openly. The harassment of Razakars, 'a symbol of Nizam autocracy', became unbearable in the villages. Since Congress was mainly urban-based, the people looked to the communists for help.⁵¹ The communists decided

50. Rao, n.10, p.292.

51. Rao, n.17, p.174.

to launch on the basis of a triple strategy, with "guerrilla squads", *Grama Rakshak Dalams* (village protection forces) and *Vidhvamsaka Dalams* (Destruction squads).⁵² Amidst this violence and counter violence the Govt. of India undertook "Police Action" in 1948 and liberated Hyderabad from the clutches of the Nizam.

The feudal conditions in Hyderabad were similar to that of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh or elsewhere. But what made the people take to an intense struggle in Hyderabad? There were certain special reasons behind this struggle, The following are some important reasons:

- 1) The Nizam was a Muslim ruler belonging to a minority ruling over the Hindu Majority. Political attitude of his administration curtailed political and religious liberties of the Hindus;⁵³
- 2) The language of the majority and their culture were suppressed;⁵⁴
- 3) The Communist party formulated a correct economic and social programme with a broad cadre base;⁵⁵

52. *ibid*, p.174.

53. Reddy, n.34, p.62.

54. Sundarayya, n.32, p.8.

55. Reddy, n.34, p.62.

- 4) Some of the reputed nationalist leaders in the state and state congress joined the communist party;⁵⁶
- 5) Though the Muslim population was about 12 per cent in the whole administrative set up, especially in the higher echelons, the overwhelming majority of more than 90 per cent, were muslim bureaucratic officials;⁵⁷ and
- 6) In Telangana *Vetti* system, (Bonded labour), was an all pervasive social phenomena affecting all classes of people in varying degrees, which was legitimized by the existing feudal values and customs.⁵⁸

On the other hand, Selig Harrison concludes, "The Telangana movement is normally depicted as an agrarian uprising with land reform as its slogan or as a Hindu response to the Muslim Nizam's domination of Hyderabad. But Telangana drew an important motive force from the assertion of a linguistic regional solidarity which the Communists made a cardinal feature of the movement."⁵⁹

56. *ibid.*, p.62.

57. Sondarayya, n.32, p.8.

58. *ibid.*, p.12.

59. Harrison, n.13, p.222.

He further says that the Communists could present themselves, as brave soldiers, before the Andhra people, since they entered into the Nizam's Hyderabad to annex the Telugu territory. To Telangana people, Communists gave the impression that they battled against the Nizam's feudal oppression, which facilitated Telugu people's unification.⁶⁰

Instead of evaluating the role of communists, here it is appropriate to draw conclusions based on the above discussion. The main reasons for awakening of Telangana was basically cultural and social and not exclusively economical. Language was the main binding force. Along with this, the modern democratic and secular values spread throughout the Hyderabad state in general and Telangana in particular formed the basis for the movement. The very fact that the Muslims also joined the movement shows that the changes in the value system due to the active library and educational movements and the organised efforts of various associations and parties motivated them toward their unity. The economic reasons were added in the last phase of the struggle. However, Hyderabad was liberated and joined in the Indian Union. Now the question of merging it with the Andhra State, which was formed in 1953, due to the active

60. ibid., p.223.

participation of people, parties and the martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu who died after undergoing a fast unto death for 56 days.

There had been doubts and fears about the economic and political power of the Telangana people in a future 'Vishalandhra'. Many groups had some reservations regarding the merger of Telangana into Andhra. For instance, the Reddis of Telangana feared that they may be politically ruined by the Rayalaseema Reddis and Circar Brahmans and Kammas. Another main apprehension was felt by the educationally backward people of Telangana. They feared that they may be swamped over and exploited by the more advanced people of the coastal area.

These economic and political fears and apprehensions were brought to a halt by the **Gentlemen's Agreement**, between Telangana and Andhra leaders. All the safeguards mentioned in the agreement were mainly related to economic development, setting up of educational institutions, recruitment to services and sharing of political power among the leaders of both the regions. The state Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956 with three Telugu regions.

As mentioned above the main problems or the hurdles, for the formation of separate state i.e. Andhra Pradesh, were economic and political. They could be solved through

the agreements like "Sribagh" or "Gentlemen's Agreement". But, if there were any cultural dissimilarity or the languages of the regions were different, the process of state formation could not have been possible. From the above discussion it is evident that the main motivating forces behind the formation of the Andhra Pradesh state were socio-cultural factors in general and common language in particular. Because of this reason the Telugu people could overcome those economic and political apprehensions. These reasons apart, the constitutional developments too, led to the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh. Some of the relevant constitutional Acts are discussed below.

The Andhra University of the Andhra Area and the Osmania University of the Telangana Area are the oldest Universities in the state. According to the **Andhra University Act of 1925** the Andhra University was established at Vishakapatnam for the area comprising the present districts of Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Vishakapatnam, West Godavari, East Godavari, Krishna, Prakasam and Guntur. Later, followed the Sri Venkateswara University Act 1954, Osmania University Act 1954, the Andhra Pradesh Agriculture University Act 1968 and the Andhra Pradesh University Acts (Supplementary Act) 1976.⁶¹ These acts led to the formation

61. Padala Rama Reddi, *The Andhra Pradesh State Laws* (Hyderabad 1985), vol.II, pp.492-545.

of the respective Universities. These Universities further led to the enhancement of education among the masses and in turn led to the integration of Andhra Pradesh as a state by itself.

Through the Andhra Pradesh Application of Central Acts 1952 of the Telangana Area, the Hindu Inheritance (Removal of Disabilities) Act 1928, the Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act 1939, the Hindu Married Women's right to separate residence and Maintenance Act 1946 were made applicable to the Telangana Area of Andhra Pradesh.⁶²

The Andhra Pradesh Abolition of Inams Act 1955 of the Telangana Area abolished all *inams* - land held under gift or grant made by Nizam or any jagirdar - except those held by charitable and religious institutions.⁶³

The Andhra State Act of 1953 provided for the formation of the state of Andhra.⁶⁴ The state was to comprise of the districts of Srikakulam, Vishakapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Kurnool, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittoor also the Alur, Adoni and Rayadurg taluks of the Bellary district in the state of

62. *ibid.*, p.278.

63. *ibid.*, vol.I, p.12.

64. *ibid.*, vol.II, pp.308.

Madras. Administrative reasons saw Alur and Adoni within Kurnool district. Rayadurg on the other hand was included in the Anantpur district. Thus, the **Andhra State** came into existence on October 1st 1953.

As a consequence to the formation of Andhra State the number of seats allocated to the state of Madras in the Council of States were reduced from 27 to 18 and 12 seats were allocated to the newly emerged state of Andhra in the said council. Similarly the number of seats allotted in the House of the People to the State of Madras were reduced from 75 to 46. Further, the number of seats allocated to the state of Mysore were increased from 11 to 12 and 28 seats were given to the state of Andhra in the House.⁶⁵

The strength of the Legislative Assemblies were fixed at 140 according to the total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly. A separate High Court for the State of Andhra was also established. The High Court of Andhra was vested with the same jurisdiction exercised by the Madras High Court before 1st October 1953.⁶⁶

Though the Andhra state was formed on the 1st of October 1953, the boundaries of the state were not clearly

65. ibid., p.312.

66. ibid. p.315.

demarcated from the Mysore state and Madras state. While it was contemplated to segregate the task to a Boundary Commission, the states Reorganization Act came into force. The state of Andhra Pradesh was formed on the 1st of November 1956.⁶⁷ It was found to include a few districts of the erstwhile Hyderabad State popularly known as Telangana. Based on the Pataskar Award the Parliament passed the Andhra Pradesh and Madras Alteration of Boundaries Act in 1959. The appointed date from which the territorial changes were to come into effect was fixed on the 1st of April 1960. As a result of this Act, 318 villages of Andhra Pradesh covering an area of 495 sq. miles were transferred to the state of Madras and 151 villages of the state of Madras covering an area of 326 sq. miles were transferred to the state of Andhra Pradesh.⁶⁸

While the above mentioned laws led to the integration of the state, the Government of Andhra Pradesh through the Andhra Pradesh Adaptation of Laws Order, 1957, adapted all the erstwhile Andhra Laws and Hyderabad Laws.⁶⁹ This gave more meaning to the integration of the state.

67. ibid., p.320.

68. ibid., p.358.

69. ibid., vol.I, p.84.

CHAPTER - III

Role of Cultural output in Socio-Political Mobilization

In this Chapter an attempt is being made to show the effects of social and cultural aspects on the forms of thought and expression (as manifested in literature and other performing arts of Andhra Pradesh). It is well established fact that the study of literature and arts would serve the understanding of culture and society, because these forms of thought and expressions are undetachable parts of the society and culture.¹ As Richard Wallheim says, "we see the society in its art as we see a man in his portrait or his character in hand writing directly."²

Milton Albrecht has shown three modes of connection between literature and society, which are applicable to all forms of art. They are: 1) cultural output reflects accepted patterns of thought, feeling and action; 2) it innovates, and gives expression to the emerging themes; and 3) cultural output is one instrument of social control i.e.

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1. C. Milton Albrecht, "The Relation of Literature and Society" in **American Sociological Review** (1954), vol.59, p.426.
 2. Richard Wolheim, "Sociological Explanation of the Arts", in Milton C. Albrecht, ed. et al, **The Sociology of Art and Literature** (London 1970), p.576.

maintaining or changing the inherited patterns of the society.³ Further, Radhakamal Mukherjee observes, "art is at once a social product and an established means of social control."⁴

The study of Albrecht proved that literature reflects the common cultural values of the society.⁵ Apart from these functions literature has a communicative function in the society.⁶

From the above expressed views on this topic, an inquiry into Telugu literature and performing arts is being made in this chapter. The present inquiry would focus on certain basic issues viz., how far social and cultural aspects influenced cultural output in Andhra Pradesh, how the cultural output reflect the society and its polity and culture, and in what way the cultural output facilitated the political and social mobilization through its communicative function.

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3. Milton Albrecht, n.1, pp.425-436.
 4. Radha Kamal Mukherjee, "The Meaning and Evolution of Art in Society" in **American Sociological Review** (1945), vol.10, p.496.
 5. C. Milton Albrecht, "Does Literature Reflect common values" in **American Sociological Review** (1956), vol.21, no.6, p.298.
 6. Robert Escarpit, "The Sociology of Literature" in **International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences** (London 1968), vol.9, pp.417-425.

For the present purpose only certain selected forms of cultural output are taken up for analysis due to its vastness in scope and the quantity. It is a fact that the literary forms are meant mainly for educated upper and middle classes in the society. To give representation to the "cultural output", certain popular art forms and oral literature - which cater to the needs of uneducated - are also analysed.

Generally speaking, Telugu literature may be classified as written or non-written. While the written literature is mainly written by high - caste persons, particularly Brahmins, oral literature in the form of ballads is primarily sung by persons of low castes particularly by malas and madigas, tribals and by shaivite *Jangams* (Shaivite priests who belong to low castes). The Ideologies of written literature are often pan-Indian. On the other hand oral literature is local in its outlook. For the present purpose, the cultural output has been divided into three mainstreams viz., traditional, liberal and radical. These three streams approximately correspond to three historical periods. The traditional period started with the age of Nannaya continued till the middle of 19th century. The liberal literature emerges during the second half of the 19th century and thrives till the third decade of twentieth century. In 1930s the emergence of radical

literature was witnessed and its influence has been decreasing since 1970. This is a rough periodization for the convenience of analysis.

Even today many works belonging to these three streams or traditions are emerging. However, this scheme cannot be applied exactly to novel, because novel emerged in the last part of the 19th century.

The traditional literature and arts have been influenced much by the Sanskrit language and feudal cultural values. They are mostly religious in their outlook. The liberal arts and literature, though liberated from Sanskritic shackles, are "romantic" in their outlook. The radical stream, as the name sounds, has been influenced mostly by the Marxian ideology. Traditional arts and literature uphold the tradition and emphasise its continuity. The liberal section tries to change the society gradually to keep it up to the modern times. It is reformistic in nature. The radical stream, is said to be progressive in its outlook, and aims at radical transformation of the social structure based on inequality.

Traditional Literature

Textual or traditional literature emerged during 10th century A.D. A brief review of its evolution till the

modern era is given here. The textual Telugu literature was initiated by Nannaya. He attempted to translate Mahabharatam from sanskrit. He was a pious Brahman devoted to the Hindu Dharma in his work. Nannaya at several places added a few words to emphasise and uphold the superiority of the Vedic Dharma, though there was nothing in the original to support his statements.⁷ He deliberately stressed the need for vedic Dharma because Buddhism and Jainism were at the brink of collapse. He attempted to establish vedic Dharma to fill the vacuum in the society and maintain social order.⁸ He used many sanskrit words in his work. His unfinished work was continued by Tikkana and Errana in later periods.

There was a school of Shaiva poets between Nannaya and Tikkana, which tried to popularize "Shaivism". The main objective of this school was to protect the Hindu Dharma and suppress Jainism. In the process it assumed a hostile attitude towards "Vaishnavism".⁹ The period was also characterised by the communal conflict between vaishnavism

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7. G.V. Sitapati, History of Telugu Literature (New Delhi, 1968), p.9.
 8. C. Narayana Reddy, Traditions and Experiments in Modern Telugu Poetry (Telugu) (Hyderabad, 1989), p.102.
 9. Sitapati, n.7, p.7.

and shaivism. The *Vedic Dharma* would uphold the superiority of the Brahman and sanskrit language, whereas the Veera shaiva cult would give prominence to *bhakti* and would take into its fold all devotees to *Shaiva* irrespective of caste distinctions.¹⁰ In other words, the conflict was between two set of values viz., the vaishnava cult upholds values like 'superiority', 'inequality based on birth' and the shaivism cult upholds values like 'Humanism' and 'equality'.¹¹ The shaiva poets composed poems in popular style and language.

At the helm of hatred conflict between Vaishnavism and shaivism, Tikkana took the responsibility of communal harmony. *Hari-Hara natha* philosophy - which says that both Hari or Vishnu and Hara or Shiva are one - was emphasised by Tikkana in his work.¹² Tikkana used more Telugu words than sanskrit words in his work.

Next comes the age of Potana and Srinatha during 14-15 centuries. Both the poets gave importance to religious poetry but the latter wrote romantic poetry also, in the form of *chatus* (stray verses), which became very popular in the

10. ibid., p.13.

11. ibid., p.24.

12. ibid., p.9.

Telugu country. A real devotee in thought Potana always associated with the **Bhagavatam**, his masterpiece. He rejected to be patronized by the kings unlike other classical poets. He used very simple language, beautiful poetic skill and vivid narration. Due to these reasons these poems "appeal to the classes and masses alike."¹³ Kakatiya period's social life was depicted in Srinatha's works. The social organization-based on varna and castes-occupations, leisure activities, and social evils like prostitution,¹⁴ were described by Srinatha.

During this age another branch of Telugu literature, 'lyrical devotional songs', came out. **Tallapaka Annanacharya** is regarded as the father of this new branch. These songs are all addressed to the deity, Sri Venkateswara of Tirupathi. He composed an astounding number of songs (32,000) with a variety of ragas (melodies).¹⁵ These devotional songs became so popular and wide spread in south India. When Vaishnava literature was flourishing like this, shaiva literature did not fade out. It had its stronghold in the Rayalaseema and some parts of Telangana.¹⁶

13. ibid., p.20.

14. Narayana Reddy, n.8, p.116.

15. Sitapati, n.7, p.23.

16. ibid., p.24.

Next was Sri Krishna Devaraya's age or *prabhanda age*. "Prabhanda has embodied in itself the excellence of the 'sravya', 'drisya' and 'mathura kavyas' of prose and poetry ... prabhanda is a unique gift by the Andhra to the genius of Bharat."¹⁷

During 16th century muslim rulers entered Andhra. The *Vedic Dharma* established by Nannaya and Tikkana and the Veera-shaivism planted by Somana had been fading away. Above all these, the luxurious aristocratic life of Muslim rulers attracted the Vijaya Nagar rulers and the Hindu society in general. These factors led to the growth of "Aesthetic-erotic" poetry.¹⁸ Most of the *Prabhanda* literature is of "Aesthetic-erotic" romantic and satisfied the leisure class and the society in general. The Vijaya Nagar period is regarded as "Golden Age" in respect of prosperity. *Prabhanda* literature centres around certain 'themes' like love, sex, laughter, happiness, beauty, sport, arts, etc., which describe the aristocratic life style and their culture.¹⁹

17. **Telugu Culture**, International Telugu Institute (Hyderabad 1980), p.63.

18. Narayana Reddy, n.8, p.117.

19. **Telugu Culture**, n.17, p.63.

After Prabhandha age there were some prominent individual poets. Among them **Vemana** is most popular for his *satakas* (centuries of verses). Vemana's verses express moral, religious, social, satirical and philosophical aphorisms in simple language. V.R. Narla says about vemana: "He is an iconoclast, out and out, stubbornly opposed to all forms of idol worship and has little patience with those trying to rationalize it. He is a social rebel, constantly at war with the upholders of the caste system."²⁰ His poems became so popular and widespread that many of his lines are now popular proverbs in Andhra Pradesh (See Appendix 3.1). Eminent western scholars like C.P. Brown, Dr. Pope, Major R.M. Mc Donald, W.H. Campbell, J.A. Dubois, etc., brought vemana poems to light and appreciated them.²¹

Another special feature of this period was the growth of *yakshagana*, a popular form of dance-drama in vogue in Telugu areas for a long time. "It is said that this literary form wholly reflects the life and culture of Telugu speaking people."²² It consists of epical or social or historical subject as theme, with a language of village folk. It is a performing art with music and performers on the stage.

20. V.R. Narla, **Vemana** (New Delhi 1969), p.14.

21. *ibid.*, pp.15-20.

22. M. Kulasekhara Rao, **A History of Telugu Literature** (Hyderabad 1988), p.465.

In the long course of development Telugu language and literature were influenced by invasions by Muslim rulers, Portuguese, British and due to geographical location of Andhra Pradesh, by neighbouring languages and literatures. Due to these influences many foreign words, themes, styles and forms entered into Telugu language and literature. The evolution of Telugu culture in general and Telugu language and literature in particular has been characterised by the continuity of tradition on one hand and the change in tradition on the other.²³

Literature has been reflecting the society from time to time. It has been used as a medium to spread the values of the cultural system as we have seen in the case of Nannaya, Tikkana, Shaiva poets, etc. But in the classical literature mostly aristocratic and religious values were given prominence. A parallel can be seen, in this respect with the development of Indian classical literature. As Krishna Kripalani observed, "The most vital impulse that had conditioned the character of Indian literature was religious."²⁴ Similarly as C.O. Kurian Observed, in his study of Malayalam literature, that the Malayalam literature

23. Narayana Reddy, n.8, p.121.

24. Krishna Kripalani, "Medieval Indian Literature" in A.L. Basham, ed., **Cultural History of India** (London 1975), p.309.

till the last quarter of 19th century was in the form of poetry under sanskritic influence and with the exception of Ezhuthachan and Nambiar it was an activity of the aristocratic leisure class.²⁵

The attempts of Nannaya, Tikkana, Shaiva poets, Vemana and other show that the literature in the past, was oriented to bring change in the society. Except some individual poets like Potana, Vemana, etc., mostly the poets and their poetry got the patronage of the ruling class. And oral literature had never received the patronage of the establishment. One significant feature is that Telugu language and literature have gradually been liberated from sanskritic hold, which was parallel to the change in the traditional society. Society during the second part of 19th century had been gradually exposed to the modern liberal values. Gradually, literature has also become liberal in its character.

Liberal Literature:

Liberal period in Telugu language and literature starts with **Kandukuri Veeresalingam**, a scholar and a social reformer. He attempted to bring changes in language, literature and society. Influence of his writings was more

25. C.O. Kurian, **Literature and Social Transformation** (New Delhi 1975), p.56.

vigorously and extensively felt in the first quarter of this century. He used literature to propagate his ideals of social reform. He condemned the orthodoxy in Telugu society. He made Telugu language simple and introduced secular themes and forms into literature.²⁶ As V.R. Narla says "Veesalingam was not merely one of the makers of an epoch in Andhra, but its sole architect."²⁷

Movement for standardization of language:

In the first quarter of this century a historical movement took place related to the standardization of Telugu language as a part of cultural revival. This movement, as it is known as "modern Telugu movement" or "spoken language movement", has had an impact on the language and literature in particular and Telugu culture in general, in the modern era. The movement was sponsored by Gurajada Apparao and G.V. Rannurti. This movement for "Language standardization" became necessary because of certain reasons.

There was a need to popularize Telugu language and literature. Standardization of language became essential as the textual language was very tough. Moreover, the textual language was not suitable for translation and

26. Sitapati, n.7, pp.110-114.

27. V.R. Narla, **Veesalingam** (New Delhi 1968), p.81.

teaching modern, rational, scientific education. So the reformers felt that the language should be standardized by bringing spoken language in place of orthodox textual language. The leaders of the movement also felt that the simplification of language could bring all sections of the Telugus into the fold of modern education.²⁸

Gradually, the spoken language movement gained success. The spoken language of the educated in the society - *Sishta Jana Vyavaharika Bhasha* - has been recognized as a standard language for writing prose.

This movement changed the culture and society in many ways. Modern Telugu literature has, very much, been influenced by the spoken language movement. This movement "gave freedom of expression to the young writers."²⁹

Liberalization of literature

The liberal or the modern Telugu literature has been influenced by a set of factors like social reform movement, spread of English education, expansion and growth of journalism, spoken language movement, Andhra movement and National movement.³⁰ The sanskritized literature of the

28. Gurajada Apparao, *Descent Paper (Telugu)* (Vijayawada 1968), pp.157-160.

29. Sitapati, n.7, p.149.

30. Narayana Reddy, n.8, pp.158-162.

past stood for feudal values and practices. It was mainly confined to the ruling class. In contrast, the modern literature has been an educated middle class response, who were influenced by the western liberal and secular ideas as well as by the indigenous humanistic Gandhian ideas.³¹ As stated earlier, the liberal school aimed at mild changes and reforms in the society. This has been reflected in their works. Their themes are mostly related to social reform, morality, National movement, cultural revival, Andhra movement, etc. This type of literature has helped in the process of political mobilization during national movement and Andhra movement.

Due to the vastness of the subject and material, only certain selected works are being discussed. The present analysis will be based on, entirely, the works of importance and the criticisms related to those works, but not on the basis of content analysis.

Poems related to social reform came out during the first quarter of this century. Most of the poets of this branch were influenced by humanism and Gandhism.³² The main objective of this branch of poetry was to reform the

31. ibid., p.421.

32. ibid., p.421.

society. It acted as a medium to spread the ideals of social reform initiated by Veeresalingam in Andhra. The main issues highlighted by these poems are child marriage, bride price, untouchability, plight of widows and condemning orthodox customs, etc.³³

The writers influenced by the liberal humanistic values could not keep quiet when many social evils were rampant in society. Bride price was the most widespread practice at that time. Along with the bride price practice, child marriage, young widows and other problems also prevailed. Gurajada observed, "Strange as it may sound, bargains are sometimes struck for children in the womb."³⁴ The bride prices for the girls at the age of one year was around Rs.350-400 per head.³⁵ The poets with reformist zeal reacted to such a scandalous state of affairs and felt that the "literature cannot have a higher function than to show up such practices and give currency to a high standard of moral ideas."³⁶ The result was the emergence of poetry to

33. ibid., pp.422-431.

34. Gurajada Apparao, **Kanyasulkam** (Telugu) (Hyderabad 1986), p.xx. Bride price was practiced till the first quarter of this century, particularly by the Brahmans. Gradually this has been replaced by Dowry system.

35. ibid., p.xxi.

36. ibid., p.xx.

discourage such practices and mend the society by injecting high standard moral ideas and values into it. Condemnation of untouchability was also one of the main themes. Gurajada, Jashuva, Krishna Sastri, etc., highlighted these problems in their works.

The notion of freedom inspired them to oppose the hold of tradition; they started protesting against the existing social norms and regulations which legitimize the evil practices. Poetry related to culture and cultural revivalism focused on two issues. One, praising the past glory of land, people and their culture and two, condemning the present evils and motivating the intelligentsia for future action.³⁷ Rayaprolu's *Andhravali*, Vishwanatha's *Andhra Pourusham* and *Andhra Prasasti*, Tummala's *Rastraganam*, *Telugu Velugu* of Jashuva and *Penugonda Lakshmi* of Puttaparti Narayana Charya are some of the prominent in this branch of poetry. They are often nostalgic about the past glory of Telugus and express love for their language, culture, history and land.

The response of Telugu poets towards national struggle for independence was manifested in many ways. Poems related to Indian culture, praise of national heroes

37. Narayana Reddy, n.8, pp.372-373.

and their contribution and patriotic elegies inspired the Telugu people to participate in national movement. These poems were widely published in Telugu newspapers that time. The patriotic poetry also influenced and inspired other art forms like songs, dramas, *Harikathas*, etc.

Many patriotic elegies were written in reaction to the death of many national heroes. Basavaraju Apparao's *Yamuna Santhvanam* on the death of 'Andhraratna' Gopala Krishnaiah, Rayaprolu's poem on Gokhale's death, Rama Chandra Rao's *Ravindra Niryanam* and Rayaprolu's *Ravindruni Ashthanayan* after Tagore's death, many songs and poems relating to the tragic end of Mahatma Gandhi are some of the important elegies with patriotic fervour.³⁸ These patriotic elegies symbolize "patriotism", "sacrifice" and the recognition of such sacrifices by the society.

Mostly the poets of this period responded much to Andhra movement by praising Telugu land, people and culture. *Krishna Patrika* and *Andhra Patrika* (Telugu newspapers) became main channels for this poetry, inspired by the Andhra movement. The Andhra feeling and regional patriotism emerged during this period for the first time. In the past such poetry was almost non-existent.³⁹ It means that this

38. Narayana Reddy, n.8, pp.452-453.

39. *ibid.*, p.373.

poetry is mostly born out of social conditions and influenced the process of social and political mobilization.

Radicalization of Literature

During the Telangana movement many poems came which highlighted the Nizam-Razakar sponsored atrocities and motivated the people to participate actively in the struggle. Dasarathi's **Agniparvatam** (Valcano) erupted during tragic movements of the Razakars in Telangana. Arudra's **Thwamevahan** contains Telangana liberation as main theme. Kaloji, Somasunder, Ramana Reddy, Kundurti had composed a full length poetic work revolting against Nizam of Hyderabad.⁴⁰

During 1930s a group of progressive writers with Marxist ideology began to write with different themes and tools.⁴¹ These writers were influenced by Western literary movements like "Futurism", "Dadaism", "Surrealism", "Imagism", "Symbolism" and "Left-Wingers". But mostly these progressive writers were influenced by Marx and Freud.⁴² During this period the Indian communist movement began to

40. Kulasekhara Rao, n.22, pp.191-193.

41. The period witnessed the emergence of socialist left oriented journals such as Vahini, Prabha, Jwala, Narasakti, Abhyudaya, Telugu Talli, etc.

42. Narayana Reddy, n.8, p.496.

emerge. The growing left-oriented consciousness among many sections of the people like educated youth, peasants, labourers etc., the dissatisfaction with passive Gandhism, the inflow of left oriented literature from outside particularly from Bengal, the formation of "All India progressive writers Association" etc., created congenial conditions to start an organised left oriented cultural movement in the Telugu country. Consequently, the progressive writers Association was set up in Andhra in 1943.⁴³ This branch of literature commented upon social reality critically and upheld Marxism as a solution for the contemporary problems. Now, "social conflict is the modern literary theme ... it is now far away from mere social reform."⁴⁴

Sri Sri, Shista, Pattabhi, Narayana Babu, Anisetti, etc., wrote in this direction. Sri Sri is regarded as the pioneer of progressive poetry and his **Mahaprasathanam** as first work in this direction. According to Sri Sri, his view point is, "realist-internationalist" but not "nationalist-idealist".⁴⁵ The poems of this school

43. V. Rama Krishna, **Literary and Theatre Movements in Colonial Andhra: Struggle for Left Ideology Legitimacy** (New Delhi 1990), p.12.

44. D.P. Mukherjee, **Modern Indian Culture: A Sociological Study** (Jaipur 1979), p.143.

45. Quoted in, Sri Sri, **New Frontiers** (A.P. 1983) p. Introduction.

attempted to show the exploitation by capitalist class in the society and that class war would be inevitable for change in the existing social order. Here is a poem which portrays a capitalist and the exploitation by that class (See Appendix 3.2).

These poems not only showed the conflict in the society but also gave ideological message for future course of action. The poem quoted here substantiates this (See Appendix 3.3).

Poems and songs were composed and popularised during the peasant struggle against Ryotwari and Zamindari practices. Marxism is the base for these poems and songs. These songs created a consciousness among the peasants and inspired them to participate in the struggle against feudal autocracy of Nizam. The songs contain three main themes: Nationalism, abolition of Zamindari and controlling state power.⁴⁶ "These songs played a considerable part in filling the peasants with enthusiasm."⁴⁷ (See Appendix 3.4)

These poems portray certain values like Justice, fight for the rights, equality, united action, etc., and

46. N.G. Ranga, **Modern Indian Peasant** (New Delhi 1979), p.143.

47. *ibid.*, p.143.

condemn the exploitation by the land lord, injustice, and other false ideals of the society.

After the long silence from 1955 to 1965, a few angry young men came out with their poems and named themselves as *Digambara Kayulu* (Nude poets). They felt very much for the people, "who live", in their opinion, "to work, eat, produce children and live". They said that the life of human being should have physical peace and comfort, and an active mind is needed for real existence of man.⁴⁸ Though they had sincerity, they lack a systematic action.⁴⁹

These poets and some of the progressive writers formed an association called **VIRASAM** - "Revolutionary writers Association" - They believed in violent overthrow. As D.P. Mukherji says, "uncritical use of Marxist phrases ... is nearly as romantic and unreal as anything that had gone before."⁵⁰ The observation of Raghbir Sahay would not be inappropriate here: "Ironically enough, Marxism at the same time appears to have helped an easy escape to middle class writers from confronting the complex reality of the

48. Kulasekhara Rao, n.22, p.403.

49. *ibid.*, p.404.

50. Mukherjee, n.44, p.148.

Indian situation."⁵¹ These observations are relevant in case of radical writers in Andhra Pradesh.

However the Marxist writers achieved success in spreading the 'ideology' and condemning the Bourgeoisie values. Several literary journals helped them in achieving this success. **Udayani, Pratibha, Prajanitra**, etc., have been main medium for these writers. These journals created a new school of poetry and challenged the traditionalists.

Literature, morals and society:

Almost every piece of poetry work gives some morals to the readers. There are certain works in Telugu which are moralistic in nature entirely. As we mentioned before Vemana's poems contain lot of morals. Like this, many eminent works based on 'morals' exist today. These works reflect the morals of the society. Here only one important book on morals, **Sunathi Satakam**, will be discussed. The popularity of Sumathi Satakam, the earliest book on morals is so wide, that it has inextricably woven itself into the texture of everyday life. No wonder, the verses are used as proverbs by common folk in Andhra Pradesh. A sizable

51. Raghbir Sahay, "Indian Literature" in S.C. Dube, ed., **India Since Independence: Social Report on India 1947-1972** (New Delhi 1977), p.170.

portion of this deals with *Grihanithi* - family relationships, importance of wife, importance of friends and relatives. It has also *Lokaniti* - the don'ts and do's concerned with human qualities and basic truths. Its time and author's name are in controversy. Nevertheless, even now it is relevant and popular in the Telugu country⁵² Here are some excerpts from the book (See Appendix 3.5).

These morals are widespread and popular in the Telugu country. In the light of their popularity it can be assumed that these morals might have influenced the behaviour of individuals in the society. one important thing is that these morals are not artificially created without any social base. These are a part of the cultural system, which would have been emerged gradually over a period of time in the society. It is worthy to note that Telugu literature has been responding to the problems of society from time to time since Nannaya's age. Also, literature has been directing social change, to some extent, by spreading certain new values, whether it was through romanticism or progressive literature. Thus, literature has been reflecting the existing value system or it has been influencing the value system. In either case, the existence of values is a fact.

52. C.N. Srinath and T.V. Subba Rao, Trans., *Sunati Satakam* (Bangalore 1987), p. Introduction.

Based on the above logical deduction it can be assumed that the morals, beliefs and values emphasised by "sumathi Satakam" are existing in the society and influencing the behavioural patterns and thinking at least to some extent if not completely. However, the influence of these morals on individual behaviour needs a separate intensive study.

NOVEL

Novel in Telugu literature emerged during the last years of 19th century with the initiative of Veeresalingam Pantulu. Malapalli was one of the earliest among social novels. Mala Palli (Harijan Village) mirrors the social life based on the rigid caste system. This novel narrates the plight of Harijans in a rigid social structure, based on the norms of purity and pollution. The novel ends with a message to this community that they could achieve better social status by avoiding evil practices and taking modern education. The main theme of the novel is 'awakening the community'.⁵³ The novel emphasises the importance of education in enhancing one's status in the hierarchy. It also stresses the need for abandoning all the age old superstitious and evil practices for social mobility. This is a fine example for the novels based on reformist objective.

53. Sitapati, n.7, pp.217-218.

Most of the novels in this period were of "social criticism" variety. This period is associated with the social reform movement, freedom struggle, Andhra movement, etc. These movements brought a set of liberal values into the society.⁵⁴

Women liberation or freedom for women was the main theme for **Chalam**. He is regarded as a social rebel. According to him, the traditional marriage system can give only sexual pleasure but not "life" to women. All his novels highlight that the women have been made puppets in the hands of men and attempt to liberate them from these chains. His novels are so popular and emphasise one main point "Absolute freedom for women".⁵⁵ He had faced lot of criticism from the traditionalists.

Novels based on telugu culture and history came out during Andhra movement. **Sapan** and **Andhra Pastramu** are popular among them. **Veyi Padagalu** (Thousand hoods) of **Vishwanatha** is a symbolic expression of decaying Indian culture scene in the modern period. **Adavi Bapiraju's** novels **Gona Ganna Reddy**, **Hima Bindu**, **Narayana Rao**, etc. Portray an ideal Telugu person and praise the greatness of Telugus.

54. M. Nagabhushana Sarma, "Novel" **Telugu Vani** (Telugu), (Hyderabad 1975), p.242.

55. R.S. Sudershanam, **Perspectives in Literature (Telugu)** pp.203-204.

These novels also depict Telugu history and culture.⁵⁶ The period starting with 1930s witnessed many changes in the society. The feudal structures and values were gradually being replaced by modern institutions and values. People became conscious of their rights and of social conditions around them. At the same time society was in a state of conflict between the old and new the values. The psychological impact of these changes on the individuals must have been tremendous. To marginalise this psychological effect, many novels came out. **Asamarthuni Jeevitha Yatra** of **Gopichand** and **Chivaraku rnigiledi** of **Buchibabu** describe the human mind when it is subjected to a conflict between the present and the past ideals and ethical values of the society.⁵⁷ **G.V. Krishna Rao's Keelu Bonnalu** (Puppets) narrates how the clever people exploit innocent people in the villages with their manipulative tactics.⁵⁸ It also describes the conflicts within and outside the human beings.⁵⁹

Alpa Jeevi written by **Rachakonda** is a psychological novel which describes a personality with inferiority complex. *It*]

56. Sitapati, n.7, p.218.

57. ibid., pp.218-219.

58. Kulasekhara Rao, n.22, p.411.

59. Nagabhushana Sarma, n.54, p.243.

attempts to show various social causes and the position of individual in the social structure influencing the personality.⁶⁰ Kutumbarao's novels describe the life of the middle class people in the society. His novels touched all the problems faced by the middle class people, their ideals, their aspirations, their feeling of relative deprivation and their reference group behaviour.⁶¹

Among women Novelists Ranganayakamma and Lata wrote about women problems. Lata dealt with women problems in a practical manner. Ranganayakamma's novels describe the good and the bad in the society as well as in the human life.⁶² During 1960s and after certain educated, leisure class women took to writing novels. Their novels can best be classified under romantic novels. Ranging from love to science fictions have been coming out, what are popularly known as "commercial novels". These novels mainly serve as time pass purpose.⁶³ Mainly the Telugu weekly magazines are channels of this type of novels. These novels give a false impression of society and encourage 'escapism'. Generally, they deal with themes such as love marriage, competition,

60. Kulasekhara Rao, n.22, pp.411-413.

61. *ibid.*, pp.411-413.

62. Nagabhushana Sarma, n.54, pp.244-245.

63. *ibid.*, p.245.

achievement, conspicuous consumption to enhance one's status, etc.

Popular Art Forms:

There are number of folk art forms existing in Andhra Pradesh. Some of them are *Harikatha*, *Burra Katha*, *Kolatam*, *Golla Suddulu*, *Veedhi Natakam* (Street play), *Bhajanalu* and *Chenchuveshalu*. In all these art forms song and dance constitute the prime components. Though these ar forms existed in olden days, they came into prominence only during late 1930s, when popular movements were inspired by national movement and left ideology. Ramakrishna says, "popular movements and popular cultural movements developed simultaneously along with each other, one stimulating the growth of the other."⁶⁴

The movement for popular arts for ideological necessities brought immense changes in content and form of literary creations. During 19th century, the folk artists used to perform their arts with themes related to feudal landlords. They had to portray some land lord as hero in the story and praise that hero for his bravery, charity etc., for which the landlords used to offer a few cents of land by way of patronage. Moreover traditionally sections

64. Rama Krishna, n.43, p.3.

of these artists were attached to a particular dominant caste. These artists had to visit such villages where the patronizing caste was numerically preponderant.⁶⁵

But after the popular movements' influence on folk art forms, the content of these arts became more problem oriented and the language of the people gained place in both literary forms and theatre scripts. Moreover, these changes in folk arts were the result of similar reforms in the mainstream literature and language as discussed.

Popular Songs

Vernacular folk literature projects various feelings and events of the popular classes of society like tribals, peasants, women, labourers etc. There are around 10 lakh tribals and 50 lakh nomads and other backward people in A.P. Their habitat spreads along the coastal and mountain strip of the Bay of Bengal from the Bhadrachalam agency in Sri Kakulam district to Bhadrachalam agency in Khammam and Godavari districts. From there it spreads North-Eastern to the Adilabad region. There are 33 tribal groups in eight districts of A.P. important among them are the Khonds,

65. Jayadhir Thirumala Rao, **Telangana Peasant Struggle : People's Literature (Telugu)** (Hyderabad 1988), pp.34-35.

Kolams, Koyas, Kondadoras, Savaras, Chenchus and Valmikis.⁶⁶

Rama Raju observed, "Heroism, martial valour, the sacrifice of the self for a cause, the risks taken to uphold a word of honour, acts of philanthropy etc., form the central motifs of folk ballads and songs."⁶⁷ Some of the nomads are pichaguntlollu, Balasantha, Lambadas, Gollasuddulu, Dasarulu and Viramustivaru. These nomads' main occupation is ballad singing. But now some of them have changed their occupation.⁶⁸ During the festival seasons or *Jataras* the tribal people sing and dance. These songs are part of their oral tradition. These songs are mainly religious and mythological.

Apart from the tribal songs, women songs constitute the major part of folk songs. These songs mainly related to the religious and secular rituals performed by the women on several occasions such as puberty, marriage, fertility, etc. Similarly, songs related to agricultural operations like sowing, weeding and harvesting are also part of this oral tradition, whose authorship is anonymous. These songs are widespread in the Telugu country. The simple-minded rural

66. B. Rama Raju, *Folklore of Andhra Pradesh* (New Delhi 1978), pp.8-9.

67. *ibid.*, p.7.

68. *ibid.*, p.9.

folk belonged to all the three regions of Andhra Pradesh exhibit this oral tradition. Despite many influences this oral tradition has been continuing, though its character and popularity changed considerably.

In 1934 N.G. Ranga published an anthology of songs *Rytu Bhajanavali* for peasants. This was part of the Ranga's efforts in organising peasants all over Andhra into 'peasant protection Leagues'. These songs were composed by several peasant activist writers who fought against landlords, zamindars and the British Government. Most of these peasant activist leaders became active members of the "Progressive Writers Association" in the 1940s.⁶⁹

These peasant songs highlighted the economic oppression of peasants during British period and projected socialism as the ultimate goal. *Garimella's nakoddi Tella Doratamam...* (We don't want this white bossism.) was the most popular among the people which denounces the British rule and popular suppression. These songs were composed in simple colloquial language with full of Telugu idioms appealing directly to the common masses who would easily sing them. Besides, the tribals themselves composed many songs of protest against the Zamindars and the British. The

69. Thirumala Rao, n.65, p.50.

songs related to Alluri Sitarama Raju's heroic revolt, were widespread among the tribals.⁷⁰

Along side, language regionalism started gaining currency in both Andhra and Telangana region. Many writers felt that the Telugu speaking people must be united. Hundreds of songs came out to inspire Telugus of all sections in this direction. For instance, Dasarathi's songs on Nizam's oppression and Maharashtra and Kannadigas domination over Telugus in Hyderabad state were popular among common people. Past Telugu cultural glory was praised in the form of songs, to inspire people to take part in the movement for separate state.⁷¹ Many traditionalists also joined the progressive movement, "as they grasped the quintessence of Marxism in terms of broad humanism that would translate the ancient saying *Serve Jano Sukhinobhavantu*, into reality."⁷² The writers made sincere efforts in creating awareness among the masses about the problems society has been facing from time to time. The progressive writers could spread their socialism among the masses through their songs. Their success can be seen from the awareness created among the tribals and peasants of A.P.

70. ibid., p.49.

71. ibid., pp.68-69.

72. Rama Krishna, n.43, p.14.

which inspired the Naxalite movement and other people's wars.

Theatre and other performing arts

Rama Krishna says, "irrespective of time and space, there has been an active link between dominant literary production and popular drama"⁷³ This is true as we can see a parallel between these two traditions. During the 19th century when the dominant literary production was of religious and mythological nature, the popular drama also projected such themes. Slowly the social element was added to the literature and it was again revealed in the popular drama also.

During the last part of 19th century the plays were staged on the model of folk form of *Veedhinatakam* (street play). Towards the end of 19th century the character of these plays changed radically as they took up the cause of social reform. Veeresalingam's **Prahasanam** and Gurajada's **Kanyasulkam** (bride-price) are prominent plays which highlighted many social evils of the day and the need for social reform.

During national movement many plays with patriotism and cultural revival came into prominence. Themes centred

73. *ibid.*, p.15.

around Chandragupta, Shivaji, and Jhansirani were staged in many parts of Andhra. The main idea behind such historic and heroic themes was to show the past cultural glory and inspire the people to fight against the alien rulers. During this period many writers wrote and staged plays, whose main inspiration was Gandhi's ideology. "Theatre became message bearer of Gandhian ideals."⁷⁴

By 1930s another school of writers under the influence of Ibsen, Bernard Shaw, Chekov and also Freud introduced 'Women's liberty' as a theme in their plays.

During 1940s it was felt that people's theatre movement should reach the masses. The writers also started realising that the literature is not for the art sake, but it has a social purpose. It was also realised that the literary output of writers was mainly stimulating the educated middle class. In 1943, the **Indian Popular Theatre Association** founded in 1943 was revived. Its main aim was to revive the folk arts, group singing and open air stage to achieve their aim of organising poor peasants and labourers for the movement against the oppressions.⁷⁵ Regional branch of Indian Popular Theatre Association was set up in Andhra

74. ibid., p.6.

75. ibid., p.17.

named as Praja Natya Mandali. It revived the old folk forms of art numbering about thirty. The artists wrote songs and plays, composed folk music and presented them before large crowds mostly country-side. They adopted most popular art forms in Andhra Pradesh viz., *Burrakatha* (Bardic recitals), *Hari Katha* and Street play.

Basically, these art forms emerged during feudal epoch. *Burrakatha* includes a story, music, rhythmic body movements and also satirical comments on contemporary politics. *Burra katha* needs one lead performer and two assistant performers. *Hari Katha* can be performed by one person. The performer in the latter assumes all the roles according to the story. Traditionally, these art forms are staged on dias made out of two bullock carts or on the central *pial* of the village. In all these performing arts simple language is being used with fine musical backdrop.

Praja Natya Mandali as a part of their strategy formed several *Burrakatha* troupes. These troupes moved from one village to another and perform. Local problems were given prominence in the content of the art.⁷⁶ 'Kastajivi', 'Alluri Seetharama raju', 'Veeresalingam' 'Palnati Veeracharitra' etc., were some of the popular *Burrakathas*.

76. Thirumala Rao, n.65, p.107.

During Telangana movement the activities of Praja Natya Mandali reached a peak. The organisation staged a play **Mabhooni** (our land). The success and the impact of the play among the people is realised by the fact that the play was staged around thousand times by 125 troupes to an audience of 2 million people in a single year.⁷⁷

According to Jayadhir Thirumala Rao, these efforts led to the growth of consciousness among the people brought them together irrespective of their caste, sex, and religion to wage struggle against the oppressing class.⁷⁸

"The real impact of the radical movement in cultural front is democratization of culture through the revival of people's art forms."⁷⁹ Thus these art forms have been revived and used for socio-political mobilization.

As stated above, this chapter shows that the literature and art act as communicative forces in the society. They not only reflect the society and culture, but also play greater role in mobilizing the people for social and political processes. This has been evident in the case of social reform movement, national movement, separate

77. Rama Krishna, n.43, p.19.

78. Thirumala Rao, n.65, pp.107-108.

79. Rama Krishna, n.43, p.21.

Andhra movement, radical or Naxalite movement, which brought considerable changes in Andhra Pradesh society and culture. Due to these reasons, even today the literature and other performing art forms in Andhra Pradesh are being used by various political parties - like Congress (I), Telugu Desam, and Communist parties - for propaganda purposes and to mobilize people. Cinema plays a very important role in Andhra Pradesh politics, which is illustrated by the success of N.T. Rama Rao and his Telugu Desam party. Due to its vastness this study could not include "cinema" in its focus. However, there is much scope for further sociological research in these areas; such independent and deep studies would bring many new aspects into light.

CHAPTER - IV

Socio-Political Mobilization : Some Structural and Cultural Factors

Structural and Cultural Aspects:

Every linguistic region has its own set of castes whose counterparts may not show much resemblance with them. For instance, agricultural castes in Andhra Pradesh, like the Kammas, the Reddis, the Telagas, the Gavaras do not show much similarity with their counterparts like the Okkaligas in Karnataka or the Mudaliars, Nadars and the Naikars in Tamil Nadu, etc. But in the case of Brahman's social status Andhra Pradesh shows uniformity with the Pan-Indian phenomena. Same is the case with the other Dwija caste and Vaishya (Komatis).

Apart from this traditional Varna -based stratification, there was another stratification model, which was in practice until the first half of this century. According to this model many of the castes, except Brahmans and some upper caste Non-Brahmans, were divided into "Right hand line" (Dakshina Pakshamu) and "Left hand line" (Vama Pakshamu). The Right hand division was led by Baliyas assisted by Reddis, and the Malas provided the base for this. The left hand division was headed by the Komatis largely assisted by Kammas, and the base was provided by

Madigas.¹ Mala and Madiga are two untouchable castes. But these models of traditional social structure of Andhra Pradesh have undergone radical changes with the rise of land-owning castes like the Reddi and the Kamma, into seats of political and economic power during the later part of the British period, and with the spread of democratic decentralization in rural areas.²

Despite changes in the political and economic positions of castes, the traditional rules, rituals, taboos, practices continued to exist and influence the society. Except Brahmans, all other castes are arranged into exogenous clans. Most of these castes practise both types of cross-cousin marriage as also the marriage of a man to his younger sisters' daughter, but not elder sister's daughter.³ Some of the taboos related to marriage in Andhra are, a man's marriage with his wife's elder sister and the marriage of children of two sisters i.e. maternal parallel cousins even if they belong to different clans.⁴ Apart from Gotra or clan exogamy, *Intiperu exogamy* or 'surname exogamy'

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1. C. Lakshmana, *Caste Dynamics in Village India* (Bombay 1973), p.31.
 2. *ibid.*, p.32.
 3. Iravati Karve, *Kinship Organisation in India* (poona 1953), p.192.
 4. *ibid.*, pp.193-194; also C. Lakshmana, n.1, p.69.

has been in practice - people who bear the same 'surname' are considered as 'agnates' and hence marriage between people of common surname is strictly prohibited.⁵

According to C. Lakshmanna, Brahmans and to some extent Rajus and Komatis are guided by one set of gotra exogamy which is patterned after "manusmriti" and other Dharma sastras. By contrast, the other major castes in Andhra have totemic symbols as their gotras.⁶

Commensal taboos exist in Telugu society in different degrees. Brahmans and Jangams in particular and sometimes Komatis, observe *madi* while eating. After taking bath, they wear raw silk 'dhoti' before they start eating. Many among the upper and middle order castes sprinkle water around the plantain leaf or banyan leaf or the plate in which food is taken.⁷ Among the upper non-Brahman castes, there used to be certain practices like *Bhumpankti*, *Nalugu*, etc., during marriage ceremonies which used to proclaim to the caste members the acceptability or otherwise of the status of different people within their own caste.⁸ Though these

5. Pauline Kolenda, **Caste in Contemporary India: Beyond Organic Solidarity** (Jaipur 1984), p.15. Also Lakshmanna, n.1, p.69 and Iravati Karve, n.3, p.182.

6. Lakshmanna, n.1, p.70.

7. *ibid.*, pp.38 & 55.

8. *ibid.*, p.39.

taboos are fast disappearing, as Lakshmanna observed, "it has been seen that various taboos, pertaining to the mode of eating, content of eating and association in eating are in operation in rural areas and constitute the basis of inter-caste relations."⁹ Commensal taboos are not as rigorous as the marital restrictions among different castes in Andhra Pradesh. Despite many progressive changes in respect of marriage, still marriage alliance is preferred within the caste, if not within the sub-caste. Even among the Muslims, the preferential marriages are common.

Although the muslims are not part of the Hindu caste system, yet they occupy a well defined position. Their position in the traditional hierarchy is slightly above the service castes and below the upper non-Brahman land-holding castes. This is due to the fact that the Muslims have for generations lived together with the Hindus. Their interaction with Hindu castes are governed by the same principles which govern inter-caste relations in the villages. S.C. Dube during his village study in Telangana, observed that though the muslims follow Islamic faith, they continue to have more or less the same basic attitudes,

9. ibid., p.54.

ethics and ideals as the Hindus, in socio-cultural spheres of life.¹⁰

Dominant themes of cultural values in India, as Yogendra Singh observed, are characterised by hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence.¹¹ These dominant themes can be observed in traditional Andhra society also, but with varying degrees. Traditional Telugu society, as discussed above, was stratified according to the ritual superiority and inferiority. Each caste has a distinct place for itself in the social structure.¹² The collective interests were given importance over the individual interests. As S.C. Dube observed, "the concept of Dharma determines all the phases of human life-cycle and pervades several details of intra and inter-group life."¹³ The society has been influenced by other worldly orientation. Values related to other worldly orientation were common in traditional Telugu society. This is true in the case of both Hindu and Muslim population. Both Hindus and Muslims in

10. S.C. Dube, *Indian Village* (New York 1967), p.132.

11. Yogendra Singh, *Essays in Modernization in India* (New Delhi 1978), p.179.

12. S.C. Dube, n.10, p.57.

13. *ibid.*, p.92.

14. *ibid.*, p.90.

Andhra Pradesh believe in the concept of fate and the doctrine of Karma.¹⁴

Contact with the West introduces many new liberal values into the society. Along with these new values - which were brought by the modern education - introduction of western technological models like mass media, transport and other means of communication, influenced the society. Similarly, Western institutional models like democratic institutions, planned economic development, bureaucracy and new modes of production in agricultural, industrial and other sectors also entered into the, otherwise, traditional society. Though these changes began in the early part of this century, their impact on a large scale was felt only after the formation of the Andhra state. Along with these influences, reformistic cultural output ushered in several changes in the values and attitudes of the people. Several plays, novels, etc., which denounced the orthodox practices and notions of taboos and untouchability emerged. Similarly, the cultural output influenced by the radical ideology also played a vital role in pushing the society towards modernization.

Changes in the technological and institutional spheres brought about considerable changes in the

15. Lakshmana, n.1, pp.87-92.

traditional value structure. As a result, modern values like equality, individualism, techno-scientific rationalism and the like have been emerging in Andhra society. These changes in the value structure have, in turn, been bringing changes in ideological and institutional spheres. A brief review of certain changes in these spheres is presented as follows.

In Andhra during the early part of the century the social reform movements initiated considerable changes in the consciousness of the people and in the value system. These progressive changes were further articulated during the national movement and the Andhra movement. Apart from these movements, the communists parties too created awareness among the downtrodden and untouchable castes. Above all Telugu literature and other arts played greater role in injecting rational, and secular values into the society.

The following analysis would show what changes, broadly, took place in Telugu society after it is exposed to all the above mentioned influences. Ritually, Brahmans still occupy a prominent place but now they have become inferior in rank to the castes which became economically

superior or numerically big like the Reddi, the Kamma, the Naidu etc.¹⁵ The taboo of physical contact with the low castes has also steadily decreased.¹⁶

Cooperation in the villages is based on "purpose" rather than "obligation." For instance, the villages cooperate with each other in certain situations like talking to authorities about fertilizers, hybrid seeds, loans, etc., which benefit all.¹⁷ Apart from these situations, individual interests are given more prominence than the collective interests. This is an ideal typical depiction of social life. Conflicts and disunities are not ruled out in reality. Power and privilege of a dominant caste can command "Readiness to co-operate" from the under privileged groups, unlike in the past where ritual superiority used to command.¹⁸ The sharing of water and terms of water in Andhra Pradesh villages are strictly on the basis of ownership.

The agricultural workers are paid in money and no longer in kind as in the past.¹⁹ According to Klans Mading,

16. Klans Mading, **Peasants in South India: A Study of Social Values in Telangana** (New Delhi 1988, p.75.

17. *ibid.*, p.86.

18. *ibid.*, pp.115-117.

19. *ibid.*, p.103.

the influences from the modern economic sector viz., new occupations, education and changing mode of production have been indirectly prompting egalitarian values in the villages of Andhra Pradesh.²⁰

Most of the peasants, according to Klans Mading, possess a general aspiration for innovation. Modern education, outside contacts and mass media have influenced the propensity for innovation. But this aspiration for innovation is determined by the available resources.²¹

S.C. Dube has observed many changes in the traditional value system related to the social organization of Andhra Pradesh villages. In the matters of family the principal changes are (1) growth of individualism, (2) less regard for traditional principles and (3) break-up of joint families.²² In the matters of caste he observed the following changes: 1) rules of interdining became less rigid, 2) mild protest against social hierarchy, and 3) caste became less significant in determining occupation of an individual.²³

20. ibid., pp.99-110.

21. ibid., p.120.

22. Dube, n.10, p.222.

23. ibid.

But symbols of caste status and distance still continued to exist. This is manifested in the continuation of using honorific titles like 'Rao', 'Reddy', 'Chowdary', etc. In rural areas the forms of address like 'Dora', 'Reddy', 'Sarkar', etc., are still existing.

Klans Mading states that, "the caste system in Andhra Pradesh has a limiting effect on peasant cooperation".²⁴ This is true as most of the village cooperative societies have been in the hands of those castes which were traditionally dominant. There has been so much change in the power structure. Even the economic structure of Andhra Pradesh still resembles the traditional social structure. Most of the lands are in the hands of dominant upper castes. Government of India has legally abolished the intermediaries like 'zamindars', 'jagirdars' as a first step to bring the tillers of the soil into direct relationship with the government. Though the intermediaries are absent, the condition of peasantry has not improved much. Due to the loopholes in the land ceiling laws, imposition of land ceiling could not produce fruitful results.²⁵

24. Mading, n.16, p.85.

25. A.M. Khusro, "Land Reforms since Independence", in V.B. Singh ed., **Economic History of India** (New Delhi.1975), pp. 196-199.

In Telangana the persistence of feudal values legitimated the economic exploitation and poverty of the peasants.²⁶ Bonded labour legitimated by the *vetti system* has been prevailing and this practice has been a symbol of the dominance of landlords in Telangana. However, this practice is declining considerably due to state intervention in many cases.

On the other hand, the pattern of investment activity among the tenant cultivators in Andhra Pradesh which was extremely lopsided before the reforms gradually increased. The Hyderabad enquiry confirms the process.²⁷ Another significant development was the "Green Revolution" of mid sixties. Since Andhra Pradesh has considerable irrigation potential, the green revolution succeeded and resulted in surplus capital. But this green revolution gave surplus to only those districts which have enormous water resources like Godavari and Krishna of coastal Andhra and to only certain sections of population who could afford the costly inputs.

This surplus agricultural capital of coastal Andhra was invested in Telangana. The local feudal and industrial

26. Dhanagare, **Peasant Movements in India 1920-1950** (New Delhi 1973), pp.183-187.

27. Khusro, n.25, p.194.

classes in Telangana resented the entry of the new capital from coastal Andhra.²⁸ Moreover, the educated youth found the employment opportunities diminishing. Apart from these economic factors, the continual existence of *Mulki* rules²⁹ also strained the relation between Andhra and Telangana regions. All these factors led to the 'separate Telangana movement' and a counter movement known as 'Jai Andhra movement'. The problem was considerably resolved with a "six point formula" in 1973, which included the abolition of *Mulki* rules, creation of state level planning board with sub-committees for different backward regions, etc.³⁰

Industrialization in the state gained momentum from 1973 onwards, which coincided with the emergence of peace in the state after the six point formula. The process of industrialization helped mostly the two dominant castes Reddy and Kamma, and Rajus and Kapus to a considerable

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28. K.R. Acharya, "Telanga and Andhra Agitation", in G. Ram Reddy and B.A.V. Sharma eds., **State Government and Politcis: Andhra Pradesh** (New Delhi 1979), p.575.
29. In 1919 the Nizam of Hyderabad issued a notification laying down that only 'mulkis' are eligible for public appointments. 'Mulki' is one who was born in the state of Hyderabad. The continuation of these rules hampered the interests of the people belonging to Andhra region in matters of employment.
30. P.R. Rao, **History of Modern Andhra Pradesh** (Newq Delhi. 1990) pp.189-192.

extent.³¹ Their dominant position is manifested in their position in the political structure of the society.

How have these structural and cultural aspects influenced socio-political mobilization in Andhra Pradesh? This could be analysed by indentifying three types of mobilization which are as follows:

1. Mobilization through social structural alliances;
2. Mobilization through radical ideology; and
3. Mobilization through cultural resurgence.

The following discussion would try to analyse Andhra Pradesh society since its formation.

1. Mobilization through social structural alliances

Caste has been playing a vital role in Andhra Pradesh, particularly in rural areas. Casteism was a force behind the first general elections and was manifested in slogans like, "Reddis must solidly stand together", "Irrespective of party considerations Reddis must vote for a Reddy candidate", etc.³² This is because of the growing consciousness of castes and the competition for political power. As Carolyn M. Elliott observes, "the comparative

31. Caste wise economic data is not available.

32. Dube, n.10, p.188.

equality of the two castes at top and bottom levels suggests competition between castes at the same level, between Reddis and Kammas and between Malas and Madigas."³³ This is true with respect to the competition between Kammas and Kapus in coastal Andhra and between Reddis and Baliyas in certain pockets of Rayalaseema. A study of the members of the Legislative Assembly of 1967 was carried out by Mr. Kistaiah. After interviewing 202 members out of the total 287, he concluded that caste and religious factors have a strong influence on Andhra Pradesh politics. The study shows that the political leadership in the state has been in the hands of the upper castes.³⁴

Similarly, as Selig Harrison observed, caste has played a significant role in the success of the communist party in the first two elections (1946 and 1951) in Andhra.³⁵ During this period the Kammas were with the communist party and the Reddis were with the Congress party. Both Reddis and Kammas belong to a similar position in the

33. Carolyn M. Elliott, "Caste and Faction Among the Dominant Caste: The Reddis and Kammals of Andhra", in Rajni Kothari ed., *Caste in Indian Politics* (New Delhi 1986), p.149.

34. M. Kistaiah, "M.L.As" (Sanasabhyulu) in K. Madhusudhan Reddy and P. Sathyanarayana eds., *Andhra Pradesh Politics* (Telugu) (Hyderabad 1979).

35. Selig Harrison, *India: The Most Dangerous Decades* (Madras 1960), p.205.

social hierarchy. Caste legends which trace their origin to a Kshatriya descent provide legitimacy to their recognition of each other as equals.³⁶ This dominant position of these land owning castes over Brahmans influenced many people from lower castes to imitate, the uppercaste non-Brahman persons, to raise themselves in the society.³⁷ For instance, many people from low castes have adopted the surnames of non-Brahmin upper castes. A new process of imitating dominant castes has thus been taking place in Andhra Pradesh.

Another factor which influences political mobilization in Andhra Pradesh is "group solidarity". In most cases kinship and caste solidarity play significant role in mobilizing people for political purpose. Due to the practice of marrying within the family, the kinship ties are made stronger, which help in political and economic situations.³⁸ This type of kinship solidarity exists in almost all the castes. Thus, caste plays a vital role in the mobilization process. This mobilization on caste lines is a Pan-Indian phenomenon. M.N. Srinivas says, "caste is

36. Elliott, n.33, p.138.

37. *ibid.*, p.151.

38. Elliott, n.33, p.138.

so tacitly and so completely accepted by all, including the most vocal in condemning it, that it is everywhere the unit of social action."³⁹ Other factors which influence "group solidarity" are the membership of village, Mohalla, Religion, etc. All these factors influence voting pattern in Andhra Pradesh.⁴⁰

Inter-caste alliances and support can also be seen in the process of mobilization by various political parties at the state level. According to Carolyn M. Elliott, "political change in Andhra Pradesh has shown the viability of vertical mobilization into multi-caste factions that have continued from the past."⁴¹ This type of "multi-caste faction" has emerged mainly due to the political parties active mobilization for party gains on caste lines. Most of the political parties give party tickets for elections to those members whose castes enjoy numerical majority in the respective constituencies.

This arrangement of 'factional network' helps various castes to enhance their status in the society. For

39. M.N. Srinivas, **Caste in Modern India and other Essays** (Bombay 1962, p.41. Also C.P. Bhambri, **Politics in India 1947-1987** (New Delhi 1988), p.180.

40. K.R. Acharya, **Political Behaviour in Telangana: An Empirical Study of Preferences and Motivations during Parliamentary Elections 1971** (Unpublished thesis, J.N.U., 1971), pp.260-268.

41. Elliott, n.33, p.166.

instance, certain lower castes cannot achieve political positions independently due to several reasons like numerical minority, lack of money, etc., so these castes join some faction behind a dominant caste. Likewise, the dominant castes in the state need the support of these lower casts at all levels i.e. local, district and at state level politics. The result is the formation of multi-caste factions on the basis of mutual cooperation within the faction. Rajni Kothari says: "Andhra Pradesh provides an instance of a rapid succession of numerous caste groups into factional networks of politics which provides the best channel of mobility."⁴²

A brief discussion about the scheduled castes' and scheduled tribes' involvement in the political process follows. Since 1956 most of the people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have been supporting the congress party. However, the scheduled tribes belonging to hill tracts and forest regions, have been with the communist parties. This is because of the concern shown by the communist parties towards the tribal problems in general and the active Naxalite movements in the tribal areas. At the same time, these castes and tribes are part of the factional networks of various political parties. Their

42. Rajni Kothari, n.33, p.12.

positions of power are more of figurative and the real power has been vested in the hands of the upper caste political elite.⁴³ Several studies show that despite many changes in the society, their position is still comparatively low.⁴⁴

2. Mobilization through radical ideology:

Land reform has been in effect since 1951, but it has not changed the structure of land-ownership. More than this the failure of land reform in Andhra Pradesh, the continual existence of serfdom in Telangana and certain pockets of Andhra and Rayalaseema has paved the way for radical movements based on communist ideology. The situation in Telangana is more conducive for radical naxalite movements because of the utter failure of land reform, the dominance of land owners with the help of their private armies and police, prevalence of serfdom and the large gap between landowners, who in many cases own hundred of acres and the poor, who are either landless labourers or poor peasants. According to an unpublished report, 10,000 serfs have been identified in Telangana in the last part of 1970s.⁴⁵ This

43. Alluri Sunder Kumar Das, **S.C. Political Elites: A Case Study of East Godavari District, A.P. 1951-1981**, (unpublished dissertation, J.N.U. 1983), p.129.

44. M. Kistaiah, n.36 and A. Abbasayulu "Scheduled Caste M.L.As", in Madhusudan Reddy and Sathyanarayana eds., n.36, p.170.

45. Jan Myrdal, **India Waits** (Madras 1985), p.345.

substantiates the socio-economic conditions prevalent in Telangana.

The Naxalite groups in Andhra Pradesh have been working to build the peasant movement. After the emergency was lifted in the country, the democratic and civil rights were officially reinstated. As a consequence, in Andhra Pradesh there emerged a movement for ensuring better legal protection for small peasants, agricultural labourers and bonded labourers. *Ryotu-Kuli-Sangams* (peasant labourers organizations) were set up to demand for the implementation of the minimum wages and prohibition of serfdom. Village committees were also formed in every village in these Naxalite influenced Telangana areas. These organizations are legal and explicitly take up the issues through dharnas, strikes, and demonstrations to pressurize the Government and the landlords or industrialists.

The main objective of the armed squads of Naxalites groups is to popularise the revolutionary line and to take up the people's problems. The armed squads teach new improved farming methods. They help people carry out irrigation projects. Educating the masses, popularising new poems and songs among them, and creating socio-political consciousness are some of the main activities of the Naxalites besides fighting for their rights.

"Culture does not stand isolated from politics and society in Andhra Pradesh", observes Jan Myrdal.⁴⁶ This is specifically true with respect to the naxalite movement in Andhra Pradesh. The Naxalite movement in Andhra Pradesh has been popularised by the progressive literary tradition which has emerged in Telugu. The Government has banned numerous anthologies of lyric poetry, short stories and plays of progressive tradition. This literature "is about the life and struggle and honour of living people and thus a conspiracy in the eyes of the government."⁴⁷ However, the Government and the mass media have often blamed the Naxalites for violence in the tribal hinterland.

Due to the spread of communist ideology class based mobilization has been possible. Homogenous class alliances have emerged to fight for the collective interests. For instance, when the bamboo cutters were waging a strike against the industrialists for better wages, the armed squads of naxalites organised a sympathy action. With this the transport workers have shown solidarity which affected the transportation of timber. Similarly the road workers also showed solidarity along with the bamboo cutters. This type of alliance and solidarity have forced the

46. ibid., p.365.

47. ibid., p.368.

industrialists to accept their genuine demands.⁴⁸ The armed squads of naxalites also mobilized people for political actions. These groups have been playing a significant role in creating awareness about various political parties and their policies and performances. The agricultural workers, small peasants scheduled castes and tribes, mostly follow the directions of naxalite groups at the time of elections. The Naxalite groups discuss these political issues at the village centres and decide whether to support a party (or candidate) or not. The decision to support a particular party or candidate is based on their commitment to the cause of poor.

Thus the naxalite groups in Andhra Pradesh have been active in mobilizing people for various issues. Their mobilization has been mainly through spreading their ideology and by creating a consciousness among the masses. Radical literature, in the form of plays and songs have been influential in spreading their ideology among the masses. However, Naxalism is dominant only in some districts like Karim Nagar, Warangal, Srikakulam, Nizamabad, Adilabad and Khammam.

48. ibid., p.382.

3. Mobilization through cultural resurgence:

Supremacy of a single caste in the state politics often creates a feeling of deprivation and antagonism among the other dominant castes. This was witnessed during the rise of Telugu Desam party which enjoyed the support of a dominant caste - the Kammas of Andhra Pradesh. Since 1956 Congress ruled over the state till the advent of Telugu Desam in 1983. Though Congress has had Kamma leaders, its forefront was occupied by Reddis. This continuous domination of Reddis in the state politics created a feeling of deprivation among the Kammas. This, inter alia, which led to the emergence of the Telugu Desam party. Other notable reasons for the rise of Telugu Desam were the constant factionalism within the state Congress, increased interference from the Centre, frequent changes in the state leadership, misrule of Congress, N.T. Rama Rao's charismatic personality and his use of cultural symbols.

During 1956-1983 the Congress rule in Andhra Pradesh is characterised by factionalism. Most of the chief

ministers were asked to resign by the Congress high command. The average duration of congress ministries has been as follows :

a) 1956 - 1978 - 21.5 months.

b) 1978 - 1983 - 14 months.⁴⁹

During this period Congress enjoyed the support of the dominant castes through 'accommodative politics', the poor through the slogans of 'garibi hatao', the scheduled castes and tribes through the extension of reservations and other schemes, Congress could attract women also since its leader Indira Gandhi symbolised 'women in power'. But by 1980s the people were vexed up with Congress politics in the state and were waiting for a change.

In these circumstances the Telugu Desam party was launched in 1983 by the famous matinee idol N.T. Rama Rao, whom the Telugu people had been seeing on the silver screen for more than 30 years, as a God, king or as a common man. "Whatever the role he played, he always stood for all that was good, noble and brave and fought against everything that was bad, mean and corrupt."⁵⁰ This image gave confidence to

49. G. Sathyamani, **The Congress in A.P.: Decline and Electoral Collapse 1978-84** (unpublished dissertation, J.N.U. 1985), p.102.

50. S. Venkatanarayana, **N.T.R: A Biography** (Delhi 1983), p.5.

the people who thought he would fight against corruption and stand for the good in politics also.

Moreover, in Andhra Pradesh the phenomenon of using cinema for politics is not new. Many films with a message of communism hit the screens and influenced the people. Even Congress party used cinema medium to propagate its views particularly after N.T. Rama Rao's emergence as Chief Minister. Some movie stars like Krishna and producers belonging to the Congress party screened movies in condemnation of Rama Rao's politics.

Apart from the publicity given by his movies, N.T. Rama Rao also used certain cultural symbols which attracted not only large crowds but also votes which gave his party a thumping majority. As Venkata Narayana says, "He often peppered his speeches with a nostalgic invocation of the 3000 year old glorious heritage of the Telugu people... his speeches abounded in lofty and sonorous phrases, such as *Jaati gouravam* (honour of the Telugu race), *atma gouravam* (self respect), *Teluguvalla Goppatanam* (the great heritage of the Telugu people), *nisswartha seva* (selfless service), *tyagam* (sacrifice) and *subramaina prabhutwam* (clean government)."51

51. *ibid.*

This cultural revival and using cultural symbols and concepts such as sacrifice, self respect, selfless service, clean government etc., attracted the Telugu people. Moreover, Telugu people considered him as a symbol of their collective aspirations.⁵² People remembered him most for his roles as Rama, Krishna, Vishwamitra, etc. All the above mentioned factors gave a tremendous success to the Telugu Desam party and a rude shock to the Congress party.

The victory of Telugu Desam focuses light on the importance of a strong *primordial sentiment* in political mobilization.⁵³ Primordial sentiment has many functional contexts in which it becomes operational like caste, religion, linguistic and cultural identities. Telugu Desam has projected itself as a saviour of the Telugu respect and pride. Shatrugna observes, "The Telugu national question, though raised superficially, caught the imagination of the people",⁵⁴ and helped Telugu Desam in the elections.

52. *ibid.*, p.13.

53. George Mathew, "Primordality in Indian Politics - The Case of 1983 Elections in A.P. and Karnataka", in George Mathew ed., **Shift in Indian Politics - 1983 Elections in A.P. and Karnataka** (New Delhi 1984), pp.166-175.

54. M. Shatrugna, "Rout of Congress and Others" **EPW** (January 22 1983), p.100.

The appeal to the 'primordial sentiment is seen in the election campaign of Telugu Desam party through its cassettes, posters, hoardings and pamphlets. Many cassettes which recalled the contributions of Telugu reformers, poets, scholars and patriotic leaders were used for the campaign. N.T. Rama Rao in his speeches after praising the past glory of Telugus used to express his sorrow for the present state of Telugu pride, which in his view, was sold on the streets of Delhi.⁵⁵

The pamphlets and life size posters of N.T. Rama Rao projected an 'imagery' which by implication promised a clean and good government. The pictures of N.T. Rama Rao in the roles of Krishna, Karna, Veera Brahmendra Swami, Sri Krishna Devaraya, Sri Rama, etc., were highlighted during the election. Each of these figures stand for certain ideals like political shrewdness, commitment to Dharma, bhakti, secular attitude, sacrifice and social reform.⁵⁶ National parties like Congress (I), B.J.P., C.P.I. and C.P.M. could not manage to get votes when Telugu Desam raised the Telugu national question. This mobilization through cultural

55. Ratna Naidu, "Symbolic Imagery used by the Telugu Desam in Andhra Elections, 1983" in George Mathew ed., n.56, pp.61-64.

56. *ibid.*

resurgence during the 1980s was mostly similar to that of the first half of this century when the Telugus demanded for a separate state. In both these situations the methods used were similar but the objectives were different.

In November 1989 elections Telugu Desam party was defeated and Congress came back to power after a gap of six years. This time the people did not yield to the 'Telugu sentiment' as they could not see much difference between Telugu Desam party rule and the Congress rule prior to 1983.

Thus, various structural and cultural factors have been influencing the socio-political mobilization in Andhra Pradesh. The classification of mobilization process on the basis of social structural alliances, radical ideology and cultural resurgence is an ideal-typical one. Many aspects under these three categories may overlap with each other.

CHAPTER - V

Summary and Conclusions

An attempt was made to analyse the importance of the socio-cultural factors in shaping Andhra Pradesh. The present day Andhra Pradesh had been influenced by various vehicles of thought such as Dravidianism, Buddhism and Aryanism. During recent centuries of foreign rule, cultural traditions of Islam and Christianity reached Telugu country. Thus, the society was influenced by both internal and external forces. These influences brought considerable changes in the value structure, and the society adapted to these influences. Despite various alien influences the local traditions continued to exist till today.

Contact with the West led to the modernization of Andhra Society. This contact brought about many far reaching changes in culture and social structure of the Andhra Society. Notable among them were: Universalistic legal system, expansion of English education, spread of new means of communication and transport, urbanization, industrialization, rational bureaucracy and social reform. The spread of western education imparted modern rational values like equality, freedom, socio-political reform, etc. As a consequence, several educated sections influenced by these modern values felt suffocated in this orthodox

society. Thus various socio-political reforms emerged to bring changes in the society.

These modern rational and secular values also influenced Telugu language literature and other art forms. As a result a movement for standardization of language emerged. This movement brought considerable progressive changes in Telugu language. Subsequently, similar changes in literature and other art forms have been taking place. Language and literature which were in the clutches of orthodoxy were liberated and new forms and themes were taken up by the new generation of artists.

Social reform movement in Andhra, though partly successful, did bring changes in the attitudes and values of Telugu people. Many evil practices like 'satee', Bride price, child marriages were given up. The impact of social reform, national movement, modern education and the newly emerged educated elite, fostered the political reform in the Andhra society. These influences coupled with the emergence of Telugu patriotic literature motivated Telugu regionalism. But this regionalism was never in contradiction to nationalism. It was a result of their urge to develop themselves.

The urge for development was aroused due to the above mentioned factors and the relative deprivation which Andhra

people felt in the Madras province. Telugus in the Madras presidency were looked down upon by Tamilians and Keralites. Moreover the development of Telugus and Telugu areas under Madras presidency was marginal. This gave birth to separate Andhra movement. Similarly, Telugus under Nizam's rule felt that their interests were not given importance. In Telangana, Telugu language and culture were neglected due to Nizam's autocratic policies. Added to this, educational and employment interests of Telugu people were neglected. The feudal style of Nizam's rule caused poverty and misery to the peasants in general. Along with these factors, the growth of educated elite, national movement and Andhra movement created Telugu identity among Telangana people. Soon there also emerged a protest movement against the Nizam.

Journalism, libraries, political and literary magazines have influenced Telugus of Andhra and Telangana. Many patriotic poems, songs and plays emerged. Literature related to Telugu cultural revival created enthusiasm among the people, for Telugu separatism. On one side they were fighting for national freedom and on the other demanding a separate state for Telugus. Their common identity came from the Telugu language bond and the cultural and historical similarity.

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The study has also focused on the emergence of radical literature and its influence on the spread of communist ideology. This was particularly evident in the case of Telangana. But the movement in Telangana against the Nizam was more influenced by socio-cultural factors than the ideology of class struggle. Literature and performing arts which were influenced by communist ideology played a greater role in creating consciousness of conditions among the people. All these factors, movements and processes paved the way for the formation of Andhra Pradesh state in 1956. There were certain apprehensions among various sections of Telugu people about their relative position in a future state of Andhra Pradesh. To a considerable extent, these apprehensions have been pacified by certain agreements.

The present study has also focused on the impact of social and cultural factors on socio-political mobilization in Andhra Pradesh after its formation as a state. The process of modernization gained momentum after 1956. New values, new institutional structures, rapid growth in communications and transport, industrialization, planned economic development, etc. brought in considerable changes in social structure and culture of Andhra Pradesh. Influence of cultural output on society also changed the attitudes and values of society. Changes in the traditional caste system have been highlighted in this respect.



Mobilization in the post-formation period has been dealt with under three categories. They are: mobilization through social-structural alliances, mobilization through radical ideology and mobilization through cultural resurgence. When dealing with the first category, role of caste and class alliances were given main focus. Mobilization through radical ideology was stressed to show the Naxalite phenomena and the role of ideology in mobilization. The last category i.e. mobilization through cultural resurgence, mainly focused on the emergence of N.T. Rama Rao and his Telugu Desam party. In this part, it was shown how Telugu Desam party emerged victoriously by appealing to the primordial sentiment. The study has also projected the importance of cultural symbols in political mobilization.

As discussed above the socio-cultural factors influenced the demand for a separate state. The mobilization for state formation was also done through these three processes viz., social structural alliances, various ideologies and cultural resurgence. Though these aspects were not dealt explicitly in the second chapter, they were implicitly analysed. Common origin, cultural similarity,

linguistic fraternity, feeling of socio-cultural deprivation etc. motivated the masses to demand a separate state for themselves. However, the study has not ignored other economic and political factors.

Cultural similarity alone does not influence this type of phenomena. Certain objective conditions like the changes in structural and value spheres, growth of communications and transport, leadership, ideology, and organization are essential. The study has pointed out that common culture has 'communicative' and 'integrative' functions. As Deutsch says, a common culture facilitates communication. This is shown by the fact that cultural output has performed a communicative function in mobilizing people in Andhra state.

The study has thus brought out the importance of language for social integration. As Parsons says, language is the most important mechanism of social integration. This fact was established by this study. The present analysis reinforced the fact that the cultural output and the society influence each other. Changes in the society could bring changes in the cultural output. Similarly cultural output did play a vital role in bringing about a socio-cultural

change in Andhra Pradesh. These aspects were dealt in the present study. This study has involved a macro level analysis. But care was taken to highlight the important issues. This study might be helpful as a preliminary guide in this area. However, there is a vast scope for micro-level studies in this area.

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APPENDICES

Popular proverbs derived from Vemana's verses

"Once the lake is dried up, do not
the cranes desert it?"

"Can you whip morals into a doll?"

"However high you may throw a ball,
does it stay up there?"

"Can a dog become a lion by a
dip in the Godavari?"

"If the heads are clean-shaven, would
thoughts become clean?"

- Vemana - Trans. by V.R. Narla

English Version of Sri Sri's Poem

"When we perceive
This one man thieve
The wealth by us in a collective effort made,
And when we shout, dismayed,
"Its unjust, unjust!"
He in a fury bursts
Baying loud; "Its your karma, you know it!
"You've got to bear it, that's all! so keep quite"

- Sri Sri, Trans. by Chalasani Prasad

English Version of Sri Sri's Poem

"March Forward ... like serpents, like greyhounds,
Like Dhananjaya, launch forth!
Haven't you noticed the effulgence of that worlds
crown of fire?
The glory of the red flag,
The fumes of the sacrificial flames"

- Sri Sri, Trans. by Chalasani Prasad

Peasant Songs

"....You play the plough, break open
our beloved mother earth
And these millionaires and butterflies,
the consequence
Are dancing your death dance...
can't you, can't you raise
your plough (like the 'Balaram' of old)
Emblem of your invincible and creative
power and
Demand your rights?
Wrest your rights?
Raise your class, as you raise crops
Feed your kindred as you feed the markets".
"We don't want, we don't want the society
going putrid with false ideals
... ..
Down with
Such society and such ideals."

- N.G. Ranga, Modern Indian Peasant

Poems on Morals

- 1) "A relative failing in need
a god deaf to prayer
a horse that refuses to gallop
discard forthwith, O Sumathi"

- 2) "Luxury dependent on loans
a youthful wife in old age
the penance of a fool
the dominance of a king where crime is
scot free
These undoubtedly will inflict harm now
and forever".

- 3) "He may be of a low caste, a worthless
fool or the son of a slave
but its wealth that makes him prince
Is it not sumathi?"

- Sumathi Satakam, Trans. by C.N. Srinath and
T.V. Subba Rao



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