STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL PARAMETERS OF THE PANCHAYAT POLITY

Introduction

Study of a panchayat - the micro-democratic structure - is essentially a systemic study of a newly emerging rural leadership in the contemporary India. The phenomenon of leadership, the essential structural feature of a social organization ever problematic from within and without has constantly been in focus of rural studies in India. Studies of rural leadership in India have historically evolved through two phases; viz., (1) the village studies mostly of the early fifties as a rule dealing with the phenomenon of leadership as a sub-system (Srinivas 1955, Dube 1955, Marriott 1955, Chouhan 1967) and (2) the studies of rural leadership, independent of other questions, ushering in the late fifties (Park and Tinker 1959, Govt. of India 1965, Vidhyarthi 1967). The latter type of studies coincide with the process of rural democratization through the Panchayati Raj in India. These studies concerned with the new leadership emerging in the democratic environment in India may broadly be divided into two categories: (1) The studies which reveal that new leaders are persons of high economic status, upper caste and old age (Roy 1951, Lewis 1954, Dhillon 1955, Bachenheimer 1956, Singh 1958, Barnabas 1958, Orenstein 1959, Brown 1959, Opler 1959, Hitchcock 1959, Retzlaff 1962, Berreman 1963, Srivastava 1965, Kumar 1965, Asthana 1965, Gupta 1966, Sudhansu 1967, Singh 1967, Ranganath 1967, Rao 1968, Singh 1968, Singh 1969, Khan 1969, Jha 1972, Mehta 1972, Sachchidanand and Lal 1973, Muthayya and Raju 1973, Lakshminarayana 1985, Singh 1985 and (2) the studies which reflect that new leaders are young and educated persons drawn from all castes and classes (Beals 1955, Cohn 1955, Govt. of Rajasthan 1961, Dayal 1962, IIP 1964, Narain and Mathur 1967, Bhatt 1967, Krishn 1967, Ganguly 1967, Chouhan 1968, Singh 1968, Beteille 1969, Sheth 1969, Sarkar 1971,
Somjee 1971, Govt. of Maharashtra 1971, Gangrade 1974, Sharma 1974, Jain 1976,
1985, Singh 1985 and Pamecha 1985). Full length studies on leadership in rural setting
engaging sufficient attention in the seventies have continued to conceptualize the phe-
nomenon of power (leadership) alongwith its increasing complexity. Presently the
Panchayati Raj institutions all over India provide systemic parameters of differential
levels as well as network of inter-linkages to understand the emerging patterns of rural
leadership.

Structural discussion of a statutory (now constitutional) panchayat at the very first
instance evokes a pertinent question: The panchayat is constituted of whom, at what time
and place and in what manner? As a democratic polity refering to organizational aspect
of a society functioning for realization of its common goals (Chouhan 1968), the panchayat
(body) is a peculiar structural arrangement constituted of leadership drawn from the
society and significant, both, in terms of time and place. Therefore, being a spatial phe-
nomenon of temporal reference, a panchayat needs to be treated in a given time-space
perspective. The Alsigarh Gram Panchayat was formally established under effect of the
Rajasthan Panchayats Act 1953 and the Rajasthan Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad
Act 1959. Under the Acts, it came to be constituted for five tenures by elections in
The last elections of panchayats were held in January-February 1995 after re-organiza-
tion of panchayats under effect of the Rajasthan Panchayati Raj Act 1994. This Act
unified all the earlier existing Acts; viz, the two aforementioned Acts, the Panchayats
Alsigarh and Pai have, each, a seperate panchayat body. The present analysis is restricted
to the former (five) panchayats, constituted during a span of thirty two years from January
1960 till the dissolution of the last one in 1992, with a total of 67 seats filled in by
45 persons elected at regular elections. The first two panchayats consisted of 11 mem-
bers each and the remaining three of 15 members each, including 2 women members and
1 Scheduled Caste member co-opted right from the beginning. The increase in the size of
the third panchayat is due to natural increase in size of its population. Of 45 panchayat
leaders, 7 are dead, 1 has migrated for good from the panchayat and remaining 37 are still
active to matter in the panchayat politics. The characteristic impact of spatial particu-
larities at periodical elections of leadership in the process of panchayat formation is being
attempted with a two dimensional analysis, i.e, temporal and spatial dimensions. Tempor-
al and spatial analytical dimensions are brought out by discussing the periodic electoral-
contextual particularities of the panchayat. Therefore, analysis of the panchayat leader-
ship processed through institutional procedure of periodical elections is addressed here
to the questions: What structural patterns exist there, consequent upon what structural
bases and structurally consequential in what ways?

To begin with, one may ask the question: What type of leadership, with what social
background and of what persistency has come up in the political process of the panchayat
formation in Alsigarh? There have been three modes of elections prevalent in the Alsi-
garh Gram Panchayat; namely, (1) election by unanimity, (2) election by contest and (3)
election by co-option. The incumbents at the panchayat body were to be elected either by
all the three modes or by the first and the last but, in two cases, the same leaders were
elected by the first as well as the second mode in the panchayat bodies formed subse-
quently. Therefore, by mode of election, there are four types/patterns of the panchayat
leadership; viz., (1) the leadership elected unanimously, (2) the leadership elected by
contest, (3) the leadership elected by co-option and (4) the leadership elected by unanimity and by contest as well. The co-opted leadership being elected by the elected members of a panchayat body from women and the Scheduled Castes is divided into two types; viz., (1) the co-opted women leadership and (2) the co-opted Scheduled Castes leadership. Thus, by mode of their election, the panchayat leaders are divided, in all, five types; namely, (1) the unanimously elected leadership (2) the leadership elected by contest, (3) the leadership elected both, by unanimity and by contest as well, (4) the co-opted women leadership and (5) the co-opted Scheduled Castes leadership. When classified by its structural anchorage in the various social strata such as gotra, backward section/caste, paal (village), phala (sector), lineage, gotra, indigenous political strata, age, education, occupation, external contacts and political orientation, the panchayat leadership may be attributed to various sub-types broadly arranged under two types; viz., (A) the traditional leadership of ascriptive qualities and (B) the emergent leadership of achieved qualities.

The first type includes: (1) The gotra leadership, (2) the paal leadership, (3) the phala leadership, (4) the lineage leadership, (5) the indigenous leadership (i) the gameti-bhaanjgadia-secular-institutional leadership, (ii) the bhopa-religious-institutional leadership and (iii) the waatawaala -the reputational/non-institutional leadership, (6) the leadership of the aged, (7) the illiterate leadership, (8) the agriculture - based leadership, (9) the alien/non-agricultural/caste leadership and (10) the collectivity oriented leadership. The second type comprises: (1) The new/secular political leadership, (2) the adult leadership, (3) the literate/educated leadership, (4) the leadership based on agriculture and other occupations, (5) the women leadership, (6) the Scheduled Caste leadership, (7) the introduced leadership and (8) the individuality oriented leadership. In fact, the body of a constituted panchayat is not simply a type of the dichotomized distribution of leadership with a number of types and sub-types but, rather, the same leader represented more than one type/sub-type at a time. In a crude sense, the dichotomous typification of leadership is to some extent observable between the first three and the last two panchayats.

Lastly, by its tenurial nature, the leadership may be divided into four types; viz., (1) the continuing leadership, (2) the discontinuing leadership, (3) the emerging leadership and (4) the re-emerging leadership. The continuing leadership, by mode of their continuity, is divided into three types; viz., (i) the leadership continuing by unanimity, (ii) the leadership continuing by contest and (iii) the leadership continuing by re-co-option. Examined by their tenurial nature, these three types of the continuing leadership have come to be four types, in all; viz, (1) the bi-tenurial leadership continuing by unanimity, (2) the multi-tenurial leadership continuing by re-co-option, (3) the discontinuing leaders who were elected by unanimity and (4) the discontinuing leaders who were elected by contest. Viewed in their structural context, the four types of the panchayat leadership are found differentiated into the six types; namely, (1) the individually as well as structurally continuing leadership, (3) the individually as well as structurally discontinuing leadership, (4) the individually as well as structurally emerging, (5) the individually emerging but structurally continuing leadership and (6) the individually emerging but structurally re-emerging leadership.

With this understanding of the leadership patterns derived from over the three-decade-stretched process of the panchayat formation, one may proceed to undertake a factual analysis of mode of election, social background and tenurial nature of the overall leadership involving the panchayat formation in Alsigarh before making an attempt to explain its various components.
The Mode of Election

As the data reveal, the five panchayats, in all, each, constituted of the leadership elected by two or three modes of election may be classified into two categories: namely, (1) the panchayats constituted of the leadership elected by unanimity and co-option; viz., first, third and fourth panchayats and (2) the panchayats constituted of the leadership elected by unanimity, by contest and by co-option; i.e., second and fifth panchayats. This demonstrates dominance of the panchayats of the first category over that of the second one and, thereby, the pre-dominance of the leadership elected by unanimity and by co-option over the one elected by contest. The two pre-dominating modes are ever present in all the five periodically elected bodies of the panchayat constituted right from its initiation. Contrarily, it also underlines the rarity of leadership elected by contest which is obtained at the Second and the Fifth panchayat. Thus, a feature of pre-dominantly unanimous and co-opted leadership in the panchayat is very prominent and of the one elected by contest is dormant. Here, a question springs up: What is the relative size of the three types of leadership elected by unanimity, by contest and by co-option in the process of panchayat formation? A probe into their relative size will clarify the level of significance of these leadership types in the panchayat politics.

The Leadership Elected Unanimously

Over two-third of 45 leaders, who were elected unanimously, filled over two third of 67 seats in the five consecutively constituted panchayats. These leaders are variously distributed in the five panchayats: First- 8/11, Second- 7/11, Third and Fourth- 12/15 each and Fifth- 7/15. In respect of the head roles leadership, the distribution of unanimous by elected leadership is: Sarpanch- 2/4 and Up Sarpanch- 1/2. Of 2 Sarpanches, 1 headed the First and the another headed the Third and the Fourth panchayat, whereas the only 1 such Up Sarpanch headed as the deputy in the first four but the last one panchayat. Thus, the prominence of unanimous leadership is very common feature of the leadership in general. This predominant feature of unanimity in panchayat elections is very much in accordance with the recommended or expressed one (Malviya 1956:269-72; Dey 1969:68) as well as officially encouraged and rewarded by the Govt. of Rajasthan. But whether or not unanimity at elections incorporate choice of all the adult villagers in a democratic sense is a question yet to be explored. So far, choice of the traditional tribal leadership -gameti, bhaangadia, bhopa and waatawaala- in a unanimous election of the panchayat leadership decisively prevailed over that of the common adults and the women. It is obviously indicative of traditionalization/tribalization of a modern democratic process of panchayat formation in the context of a traditional/tribal socio-political structure. In this instance, tradition and modernity are meeting to constitute a panchayat wherein the former provided the traditionally legitimate leadership content for the democratically legitimate modern form (the latter) of the panchayat. It signifies a syncretism fabricated with the old or traditional/tribal warp and carp (content) in a new or modern democratic design (form) rather than a democratization of the tribal structure and tradition. Thus, the official intent apart, a compromise between the tribal tradition and the modern democratic structure is an interesting particularistic political feature of the grass-root (panchayat) politics in Alsigarh.
The Leadership Elected by Contest

Six leaders out of 45 leaders were elected by contest filling the same number of seats apportioned between the two panchayats: Second- 1/11 and Fifth- 5/15. Of these 6 leaders, 3 were the head roles leaders in the two panchayats: Second- 1 and Fifth- 2. Of these 3 head roles leaders, 2 were Sarpanches, one each, elected in the Second and the Fifth panchayat and one was the Up-Sarpanch who occupied a seat in the Fifth panchayat. The leadership elected by contest constituting one ninth of the total number of leaders, slightly less than half in the Fifth panchayat and exactly half in the two head roles is sufficient to register its significance in a tribal context. In terms of the seats, it is further reduced in size such as 6/67 in the five bodies of the panchayat, 5/15 in the Fifth panchayat, 3/10 in two head roles, 2/5 in the head role of Sarpanch and 1/5 in the head role of Up Sarpanch. Here, the leadership elected by contest in the head role of Sarpanch has a three-fold significance: That its size in terms of the total leaders is larger than in the leadership in general; that it is the leadership elected, first, by contest and that the contest emerged for the prime office of power in the panchayat structure. Therefore, the numerically nominal leadership elected by contest in the second panchayat is very significant in real sense. However, the contestants, Dhana duo, were young energetic sons of two waatawaalas - Mangla and Nara- and were members of two reputed families, lineages and gotras/clans - Kharaadi and Kataara- from two villages of almost equal size - Alsigarh and Pai- making the electoral process a scene of tribal/structural feud disguised in the democratic garment rather than a contest between the individuals to seek secular choice of the majority. The initial contest came to be inconsequential in view of the unanimity arrived at by structural re-adjustments between the traditional leaderships of the two villages. But phenomenal rise of the leadership by contest in the Fifth panchayat may be attributed to the political consciousness about powers of the panchayat (Retzlaff, 1962: 125) growing out of a slow (political) socialization/politicization during the previous four elections for the panchayat as well as, in all, eight General Elections for the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assembly. Moreover, that the office of Up Sarpanch, too, was filled in by contest is the adductive fact to corroborate to the rising political consciousness among the people by the Fifth elections for the panchayat. This analysis leads to the important question: How many persons of what social background contested the elections? The contestants or power seekers (Dahl 1961: 51-3) are of two types: (1) The power winners and (2) the power losers. From this, another question emerges: What is the nature of contest in respect of the margin between the winners and the losers of power? But due to lack of the required data, both the important questions, here, remain unanswered.

The Leadership Elected by Unanimity and by Contest as well

Two leaders were elected by unanimity in the Fourth panchayat were re-elected by contest to continue in the Fifth panchayat, which signified the take off stage of political consciousness among the tribal people. It can be assumed from this category of leadership in the panchayat that the little community (Redfield 1954) with homogeneity of its world-view under the hold of traditional leadership has come of age, i.e., how should a community tackle its own political differences.
The Leadership Elected by Co-option

In all, 9 leaders elected by co-option, filling 15 seats, in the five panchayat bodies are divided into two categories: Women- 6 filling 10 seats and the Scheduled Caste members- 3 filling 5 seats. This feature which continues upto the Fifth panchayat indicates that neither of the two backward categories could rise up to the level of participatory representation, though women for long constituted more than half and, still, at least half the population in the panchayat. The constant prevalence of marginality and political indifference of these two social categories points to the inadequacy of democratic consciousness among these categories. This analysis leads one to examine social background of the panchayat leadership.

Social Background of the Leadership

Gotra/Caste

Forty-five panchayat leaders, in all, filling a total of 67 seats were drawn from 11 out of 31 gotras and 2 out of 6 castes: Kataara- 10, Kharaadi- 7, Solanki- 6, Bhagora- 4, Daamar, Vadera & Balaai 3 each, Paargi- 2 and Hiraavat, Kalaawa, Khokharia & Mahajan 1 each. Panchayatwise, numerically dominant gotras are: Kataara, Kharaadi, Sapania and Solanki in the First; Kharaadi, Sapania & Solanki in the Second; Kataara & Solanki followed by Bhagora & Kharaadi in the Third; Kharaadi followed by Kataara & Solanki in the Fourth and Kataara followed by Bhagora and Kharaadi in the Fifth panchayat. Of the gotras and castes, 5 gotras & 2 castes represented in the First, 6 gotras & 1 caste in the Second, 8 gotras & 1 caste in the Third, 6 gotras & 1 caste in the Fourth and 9 gotras & 1 caste in the Fifth panchayat. Besides, 6 leaders of head roles filling 10 seats, in all, were drawn from 4 gotras and 1 caste: Mahajan- 1 in the First, Kharaadi- 2 from the First to the Fourth; Daamar- 1 in the Third & the Fourth and Kataara & Sapania 1 each in the Fifth panchayat. Separately, 4 leaders in the role of Sarpanch filling 5 seats, in all, were drawn from 3 gotras and 1 caste. Mahajan, Kharaadi, Daamar and Sapania headed the First, Second, Third and Fourth, and Fifth panchayat respectively. 2 leaders in the role of Up-Sarpanch filling 5 seats, in all, were drawn from 2 gotras: Kharaadi in the panchayats from the First to the Fourth, and Kataara in the Fifth. Therefore the leadership was drawn from only a small structural volume of the panchayat, i.e., from one third of the total number of gotras and of castes which slightly increased in the Third and the Fifth panchayats. Kataara, Kharaadi and Solanki are the three gotras constituting over a half of the total number of leaders elected as well as of seats filled in. Numerically they dominated the most of its periodically elected bodies and, alongwith Vadera, registered their regular presence since its very inception. This structural volume of the leadership is rather larger in case of the head roles leadership, particularly in case of Sarpanch, but is at the same time, small in case of Up-Sarpanch. Barring the initial Sarpanch from a Mahajan caste, the rest of the head role leadership was drawn from a few numerically major and/or traditionally influential gotras in the social structure of the panchayat. Considering knowledge of letters officially and of the outer world unofficially as necessary requirement, the traditional leadership baffled on the eve of the elections for the first formal
panchayat decided to elect in the office of Sarpanch an exogenous leadership, i.e., a shopkeeper Mahajan from a nearby village, Nai, trading in Alsigarh. The relative dominance of a few gotras such as Kharaadi, Kataara, Solanki, Sapania, Vadera, Bhagora and Daamar in formation of the panchayat is, besides their traditional influence, attributable to their significant sizes constituting 19.22%, 17.66%, 6.49%, 5.28%, 9.00%, 3.29% and 4.15% respectively of the total number of families in the panchayat. The constant representation of the Balaai caste in all panchayat bodies is by virtue of co-option of a member from a Balaai family being the only Scheduled Caste permanently settled in the panchayat.

Village

Forty-five leaders were drawn from three constituent villages of the panchayat: Alsigarh- 21, Pai- 22 and Aad- 2, each village filling in 36, 29 and 2 seats respectively. Alsigarh scored the largest number of seats in the First, Second and Fourth panchayat bodies, Pai in the Third and Fifth and Aad in none. The head role leadership was drawn only from the two larger villages: Alsigarh- 4 and Pai- 2, each filling 7 and 3 seats respectively with an initiative of the former in respect of both the head roles. Separately, 3 leaders from Alsigarh were elected in the head role of Sarpanch in the First, Second and Fifth and 1 leader in that of Up Sarpanch in the First to Fourth panchayat. whereas from Pai, 1 leader was elected in the role of Sarpanch in the Third and Fourth panchayats and 1 leader for Up Sarpanch in the Fifth one. This shows a dominance of Alsigarh in terms of total seats filled in the panchayat as well as in the First and Second panchayats. It also shows an alternate sharing of a large number of seats between Alsigarh and Pai from the Third panchayat onwards. The trend of dominance by Alsigarh followed by Pai is as well present in respect of the two head roles. The initial lead taken by Alsigarh is due to initial reluctance of the traditional leadership of Pai to allow any external interference in their village. Aad- being a village of very small size and remaining the part of a ward of Alsigarh could represent a seat in the panchayat only after becoming a full-fledged ward of the panchayat in 1981. Thus, size and motivational level, both, differentially affected the village units during the representation process in the panchayat.

Alsigarh leadership in the panchayat was drawn from 6 out of 11 gotras and only 1 caste: Kharaadi & Solanki- 6 each, Sapania & Vadera 3 each and Kalaawa, Kataara & Mahajan 1 each. Kharaadi, Sapania and Solanki numerically dominated in the First and Second; Kharaadi and Solanki in the Third and Fourth and none in the Fifth panchayat. Kharaadi, Solanki and Vadera gotras have persisted in the panchayat since its inception. The office of Sarpanch was occupied by Mahajan, Kharaadi and Sapania leaders in the First, Second and Fifth panchayat respectively, whereas that of Up Sarpanch was occupied only by 1 Kharaadi leader from the First to the Fourth panchayat. Therefore, a major and regular part of Alsigarh leadership in the panchayat is drawn from Kharada, Solanki, Vadera and Sapania, each, besides being traditionally influential gotras, constituted 26.13%, 11.45%, 20.09% and 8.42% respectively of the total number of families in the village. Thus, Alsigarh being the headquartering village took lead in respect of political motivation as well as in representation in the panchayat and within Alsigarh, the leadership from the four gotras did the same. Of these gotras, the two -Kharada and Solanki- constituted over a half of the total leaders elected and slightly less than two thirds of the total seats filled in by Alsigarh in the panchayat.
Pai leadership in the panchayat was drawn from 6 out of 25 gotras and 1 out of 6 castes: Kataara- 9, Bhagora- 4, Daamar & Balai 3 each, and Hiraavat, Kharaadi & Khokharia 1 each. Except standing equal with Bhagora in the Third panchayat, Kataara gotra alone dominated the leadership scene from Pai in the panchayat by sending 9 out of the total of 22 leaders and filling 12 out of 29 seats. Of 2 leaders in the head roles from Pai, 1 Daamar leader occupied the office of Sarpanch in the Third and Fourth panchayats and 1 Kataara leader occupied the office of Up Sarpanch in the Fifth panchayat. Thus, the initial reluctance of the Pai people pointing their suspicious attitude towards the formally introduced panchayat, though lessened by the time of the Second panchayat, could be overcome only in the Third panchayat. They had the largest share of representation including two head roles in the third, fourth and Fifth panchayats. The traditional source of authority, i.e., Kataara, constituted 30.35% of the total number of families in the village.

Two leaders from Aad were, belatedly, drawn from a single gotra, i.e., Paargi, out of 8 gotras, in the fourth and fifth panchayats. This indicated the dominance of a numerically largest gotra -Paargi- constituting 50.38% of the total number of families in the village.

Thus, the location and the size of a constituent village and the traditionally influential and/or numerically dominant gotras therein characterized the level of political motivation and extent of representation of a unit in the panchayat formation. Despite the fact of Pai being equal in population to Alsigarh together with Aad, it was Alsigarh headquartering the panchayat, which took initial lead with a dominance mostly of Kharaadi and Solanki gotras. Pai- village of the largest size, multiple gotras and dominance of Kataara followed by Bhagora and Daamar, soon, began to envy with Alsigarh in the representation process. Aad- smallest among the three villages- gained the least and that also, as usual, was cornered out by its largest gotra; i.e., Paargi.

Phala

The leadership from a village is embedded in its multi-phala structure. The Alsigarh leadership was drawn from 4 phalas: Waada- 15, Kheria- 3, Kaatya- 2 and Kaada- 1. This predominance of the Waada leadership occupying 26 out of 36 seats from Alsigarh in the panchayat is well distributed throughout the five panchayats. This included 4 leaders of the head roles: 3 Sarpanches elected in the First, Second and Fifth panchayats and 1 Up Sarpanch in the First to Fourth panchayat. Then, these leaders are drawn from 4 gotras and 1 caste out of 5 gotras and 1 caste in the phala: Kharaadi & Solanki 5 each, Sapania- 3 and Kataara & Mahajan 1 each. In the first two panchayats Kharaadi, Sapania and Solanki and in the remaining three panchayats, Kharaadi & Solanki dominated in terms of number of leaders and number of seats from the phala. Of the four leaders in the head roles, Mahajan, Kharaadi and Sapania, one each, occupied the office of Sarpanch, in the First, Second and Fifth panchayat respectively and 1 Kharaadi leader occupied the office of Up Sarpanch in the First to the Fourth panchayat. Thus, Kharaadi, Solanki & Sapania dominated the entire representation process.

From Kheria, all 3 leaders occupying 6 seats were drawn from Vadera gotra featuring in all the five panchayats. 2 leaders from Kaatya were drawn from 2 gotras: Solanki and Kalaawa 1 each. 1 Kharaadi leader was drawn from Kaada.

Thus, Waada phala predominated the leadership from Alsigarh in respect of numerical strength of leaders and seats, regular occurrence and representation in the head roles.
Within the phala, the dominance came from Kharaadi and Solanki. Waada constituted the largest, i.e., 37.15% of the families in Alsigarh and Kharaadi and Solanki 19.77% and 29.07% of the families in the Waada phala.

The Pai leadership was drawn from 7 out of 12 phalas: Mual - 10, Vadla- 5, Nichla- 3, and Gawadi, Hamli Pipla, Paba & Kemri 1 each. The Mual featuring regularly dominated the leadership from Pai in the panchayat from the First to the Fifth, except the Fourth panchayat. This included 2 leaders of the head roles: 1 Sarpanch in the Third and Fourth panchayats and 1 Up Sarpanch in the Fifth panchayat. The leadership from Mual was drawn from 4 out of 11 gotras: Bhagora- 3, Kataara- 4, Daamar- 2 and Khokharia- 1. Kataara represented all but one panchayat since its inception. 1 Daamar Sarpanch headed the Third and Fourth panchayats. 1 Kataara Up Sarpanch occupied the office in the Fifth panchayat. The Mual constituted largest part of the leadership from Pai in the panchayat, which is mainly drawn from Kataara, Bhagora and Daamar gotras of traditional influence constituting 16.67%, 12.82% and 28.21% respectively of the total number of families in the phala.

Five leaders from Vadla phala all drawn from Kataara gotra are distributed over all but the Second panchayat. The remaining phalas except Nichla represented in a single tenure of the panchayat. A Balaai leader from the Nichla phala by virtue of co-option of the Scheduled castes member regularly featured in all the panchayats. Thus, Mual followed by Vadla, and Kataara gotra therein, dominated the leadership from Pai in the panchayat.

Aad leadership was drawn from the only 2 phalas: Uparla & Hetla- 1 each of Paargi gotra in the Fourth and Fifth panchayats respectively. Uparla phala constituted 70.54% and Hetla 29.64% of the total number of families in the village, whereas Paargi constituted 39.56% of the total number of families in Uparla and 22.48% of the families in Hetla.

Succinctly, in the Alsigarh panchayat the leadership is largely drawn from two large villages- Alsigarh and Pai, from three gotras- Kataara, Kharaadi and Solanki and from three phalas- Waada, Mual and Vadla.

**Kinship**

An interesting feature of the panchayat politics in Alsigarh was support-building through intermittence of kinship. Of 45 leaders, 41 were drawn from 13 lineages of different gotras and 4 from 2 castes. Of 41 tribal leaders, 34 leaders formed 11 kin-sets of three broad types: Lineal sets- 8, Affinal kin-sets- 2 and Mixed set- 1. Of lineal sets, 2 lineal sets are consisted of 5 leaders each, 5 of 3 leaders each and 1 of 2 leaders. Of 2 affinal kin-sets, 1 set consisted of intra-village affinity and 1 of inter-village affinal bonds.

The Kin-sets can be further sub-divided into 28 sets of following 13 types:

1. **Husband-Wife Kin-Set- 1**: There was 1 politician couple of husband and wife continuing in the First and Second panchayats. Nathu S/o Nara Solanki from Waada phala of Alsigarh was elected and re-elected by unanimity in the two panchayats alongwith co-option and re-co-option of his wife, Deetli.

2. **Brother-Brother Kin-Set- 3**: There were 3 brother-brother kin-sets, each, from Balaai (caste), Kataara and Solanki holding positions in different panchayats. Amrit Lal Balaai (SC) from Nichla phala of Pai was co-opted and re-co-opted in
the First and Second panchayats and his younger brother, Deep Chand Balaai, in the Third and Fourth panchayats. Dheera Bhai Kataara and his younger brother, Prabhu Das Kataara, both, from Mual of Pai were elected in the Third and Fourth panchayats respectively. The third set was from the Solanki brothers- Nathu Solanki and Mavji Solanki held positions in the First and Second and in the Third and Fourth Panchayats respectively.

3. Cousin-Cousin Kin-Set-1: There was 1 cousin-cousin kin-set formed by Dhana S/o Mangla Kharaadi and Kalu S/o Khema Kharaadi holding the position of Sarpanch and that of ward panch in the Second and fifth panchayat respectively.

4. Brother-in-law-Sister-in-law Kin-Sets-2: There were 2 kin-sets of this type from Daamar and Solanki gotras each holding position in different panchayats. The first of these kin-sets was formed by Deetli Solanki and her brother-in-law, Mavji Solanki. Deetli continued by co-option in the first two panchayats and Mavji by election in the next two panchayats. The second set was formed by Lalu Ram Daamar and his sister-in-law, Galali Bai Daamar. Lalu Ram continued as the Sarpanch in the Third and Fourth panchayats and Galali Bai was co-opted as the ward panch in the Fifth panchayat.

5. Cousin-Cousin-Cousin’s Wife Kin-Set-1: There was 1 set of this type formed by three Kharaadi leaders by holding position in different panchayats. Dhana Kharaadi, Gujri Bai Kharaadi and Kalu Kharaadi from Waada phala of Alsigarh held the position of Sarpanch by contest, of ward panch by co-option and of ward panch by contest in the Second, in the Third and Fourth and in the Fifth panchayat respectively.

6. Brother-in-law-Brother-in-law Kin-Set-1: There was 1 affinal set of this type formed of 2 leaders, each, holding position in different panchayats. Perna Solanki from Kaatya phala of Alsigarh and his brother-in-law (wife’s brother), Hakra Paargi from Hetla phala of Aad, held the position of ward panch in the Third and Fourth and in the Fifth panchayat respectively.

7. Father-Son Kin-Sets-6: There were 6 sets of this type formed of the leaders from Daamar, Kataara, Kharaadi, Solanki, Vadera and Balaai holding the position in different panchayats. Kala Daamar and his son, Lalu Ram Daamar, from Mual phala of Pai held the position of ward panch and of the Sarpanch in the Second and in the Third and Fourth panchayats respectively. Navla Kataara and his son, Waloo Ram Kataara, from Vadla phala of Pai held the position of ward panch in the First and in the Fourth and Fifth panchayats respectively. Khema Kharaadi (dead) and his son, Kalu Kharaadi from Waada phala of Alsigarh held the position of Up Sarpanch and of ward panch in the First to the Fourth and in the Fifth panchayat respectively. Rama Solanki and his son, Dhana Solanki, from Waada phala of Alsigarh held the position of ward panch in the Third and the Fourth and in the Fifth panchayat respectively. Kesha Vadera and his son, Devilal, from Kheria phala of Alsigarh held the position of ward panch in the First to the Fourth and in the Fifth panchayat respectively. And lastly Amrit Lal Balaai (dead) and his son, Amba Lal, from Nichla phala of Pai held the position of ward panch (co-opted) in the First and Second and in the Fifth panchayat respectively.

8. Uncle-Nephew Kin-Sets-3: There were 3 sets of this type formed of the leaders from Bhagora and Balaai in different panchayats and from Kharaadi gotra in the same panchayat. Kaku Ram Bhagora from Mual phala and his nephew, Bheru
Lal, from Paaba phala of Pai, held the position of ward panch in the Third and in the Fifth panchayat respectively. Deep Chand Balaai (now migrated from the village) and his nephew, Amba Lal, from Nichla phala of Pai held the position of wardpanch in the Third and Fourth and in the Fifth panchayat respectively.

9. Father-in-law-Son-in-law Kin-Set- 1: There was 1 kin set of this type formed of the leaders from Bhagora and Daamar gotras in the same panchayat. Khem Raj Bhagora and Lalu Ram Daamar, both, from the Mual phala of Pai held the position of ward panch and of Sarpanch respectively in the Third panchayat.

10. Father-Son-Daughter-in-law Kin-Set- 1: There was 1 set of this type formed of leaders from a Kharaadi family in different panchayats. Kala Ba Damaar, his son- Lalu Ram- and his elder son’s wife- Galati Bai, the first two from Mual and the last from Kemri phala of Pai, held the position of ward panch in the Second, of Sarpanch in the Third and Fourth and of ward panch (co-opted) in the Fifth panchayat respectively.

11. Uncle-in-law-Niece-in-law Kin-Set- 1: There was 1 set of this type formed of 2 leaders from a Kharaadi lineage holding position in the same panchayats. Khema Kharaadi and his nephew’s wife Gujri Bai from Waada phala of Alsigarh held the position of Up Sarpanch and of ward panch (co-opted) respectively in the Third and the Fourth panchayat respectively.

12. Father-in-law-Daughter-in-law Kin-Set- 1: There was 1 set of this type formed of leaders from a Daamar family holding position in different panchayats. Kala Ba Daamar (dead) from Mual and his elder daughter-in-law- Galali Bai from Kemri phala of Pai held the position of a ward panch in the Second and in the Fifth panchayat respectively.

13. Kins Related Lineally- 6: There were 6 sets of kins, related by lineal ties formed of leaders from Bhagora, Kataara, Kharaadi, Sapania and Vadera gotras holding positions in the same as well as in different panchayats. Khem Raj Bhagora and Kaku Ram Bhagora from Mual of Pai held the position of ward panch in the Third panchayat and Bherulal Bhagora from Paaba of Pai in the Fifth panchayat. Vesati Bai Kataara (co-opted) from Vadla phala, Dheera Bhai Kataara and Prabhu Das Kataara both from Mual of Pai held the position of ward panch and Up Sarpanch (by the last) in the Third and Fourth, in the Third and in the Fifth panchayat respectively. Khema Kharaadi occupied the office of Up Sarpanch from the First to Fourth panchayat and Homli Kharaadi, Dhana Kharaadi, Gujri Bai and Kalu Kharaadi held the position of ward panch in the in the First and Second; in the Second; in the Third and Fourth and in the Fifth panchayat respectively. Nara Sapania and Kaua Sapania from Waada phala of Alsigarh held the position of ward panch in the First two panchayats and Nathu Sapania held the position of Sarpanch in the Fifth panchayat. Kesha Vadera, Shankar Vadera and Deival Vadera from Kheria phala of Alsigarh held the position of ward panch in the First to Fourth, in the Fourth and in the Fifth panchayat respectively.

Of these kin-sets, the leaders of 9 sets held positions in the same panchayat and those of the remaining sets held in different panchayats. Of 28 kin-sets, the first six sets consisted of the leaders of one-generation depth and the next six sets consisted of two-generations depth.

Thus, kinship appears to be a prominent structural base in emergence of leadership in the panchayat.
Sex

Of 45 panchayat leaders, 6 were women elected by virtue of co-option of 2 leaders in each panchayat. They are drawn from 5 gotras: Kharaadi- 2, Kataara- 2 and Daamar and Solanki 1 each. Kharaadi women leaders represented in the First to the Fourth; Kataara in the Third to the Fifth and Daamar in the Fifth panchayat respectively. This indicated that initial as well as overall leadership of women, too, was drawn from the same dominant gotras in the panchayat. Four women leaders from Alsigarh were drawn from 3 gotras: Kharaadi- 2 and Solanki and Kataara 1 each.

Of 2 women leaders from Pai, 1 each was drawn from Kataara and Daamar. All 4 leaders from Alsigarh were drawn from Waada phala: Kharaadi in the first four panchayats; Solanki in the first two panchayats and Kataara in the last panchayat. Each of 2 leaders from Pai was drawn from Vadla (Kataara) representing in the Third and Fourth; and from Kemri (Daamar, originally from Mual) in the Fifth panchayat. Therefore, women leadership was also drawn almost from the same gotras, villages and phalas as found in respect of the overall leadership in the panchayat.

Age

Forty-five panchayat leaders were drawn from three age categories: Adults- 24, middle aged- 12 and aged (old)- 9. Therefore, the age range of 21-50 years is generally suitable for leadership in the panchayat; of 21-35 years is more suitable and of 26-30 years is the most suitable. 6 leaders of the two head roles were drawn from two age-groups: Adults- 5 and middle aged- 1. All the four Sarpanches and one Up Sarpanch were drawn from the age-group of 26-30 and only 1 Up Sarpanch beginning his career in the First panchayat was drawn from the age-group of 46-50. This indicates the derivation that the age-range of 21-50 is generally desirable and of 26-30 years is the most desirable for election in the panchayat. But it does not render the old aged without any political role and, rather, they may be wire-pullers from behind the scene.

Education

Forty-five panchayat leaders were drawn from 6 categories: Illiterate- 16, literate- 14, primary school pass- 8, middle school pass- 5 and secondary and higher sec. school pass 1 each. In the first two panchayats, the leadership was dominated increasingly by the primary school pass, literate and illiterate leaders. From the Third panchayat onwards this order began to reverse in presence of a few leaders educated beyond primary school. This indicated a downward trend of illiterate leadership and upward trend of literate-educated leadership. The trend may be attributed to slow spread of education in the panchayat such as 6.55% in 1971, 7.01% in 1981 and 9.96% in 1991.

Of the leaders in the head roles, 1 was illiterate, 1 literate, 2 primary school pass and 2 middle school pass. Of the Sarpanches, a primary school pass Mahajan and a Sapania in the First and the Fifth panchayat respectively, 1 literate Kharaadi in the Second panchayat and 1 middle school pass Daamar in the Third and Fourth panchayats. Of the Up Sarpanches, 1 illiterate Kharaadi represented in the First four panchayats and 1 middle school pass Kataara in the last. Thus, there is a gradual replacement of the illiterates by
literates of leadership in the panchayat in general and of literates/illiterates by educated in
the head roles leadership, in particular.

**Occupation**

Forty-five panchayat leaders were drawn from 7 occupational categories: Agriculture and labour- 19, agriculture only- 11, agriculture and service- 7, agriculture and shopkeeping- 2 and shopkeeping/trading only and labour only 1 each. Therefore, two-third of the leadership was drawn from two occupational categories, i.e., agriculture and labour and agriculture only, distributed into all the five panchayats. It is only from the Third panchayat onwards that occupational base of the leadership widened into seven categories, in all. Of leadership in the head roles, 1 leader was drawn from shopkeeping/trading, 3 from agriculture, 1 from agriculture and shopkeeping and 1 from agriculture and service. Of 4 Sarpanches, 1 was drawn from shopkeeping/trading in the First; 2 from agriculture one each, in the Second and the Fifth and 1 from agriculture and service in the Third and Fourth panchayats. Of 2 Up Sarpanches, 1 was drawn from agriculture in the First to the Fourth panchayat and 1 from agriculture and service in the Fifth panchayat. Therefore, the two occupational categories, i.e., agriculture, and agriculture and labour, are the most conducive to emergence of leadership in a tribal panchayat wherein stakes in the village as well as the outside contacts, both, are desired qualities of a leader to be elected in the panchayat. Agricultural occupation helps maintain one’s stakes in the village and, ultimately, rise to the status of a waatawaala suitable to be elected in the panchayat. Besides, the combination of agriculture and labour is still more suitable for stakes in the village acquired through agriculture in the village and for outside contacts established through labour beyond the village.

In sum, the leadership in the Alsigarh Gram panchayat was mainly drawn by unanimity from three numerically dominant gotras of traditional influence- Kataara, Kharaadi and Solanki and from three phalas- Waada, Mual and Vadla- of two large villages- Alsigarh and Pai. Further, they were also drawn from the age-group 21-50, from illiterates and literates and from two occupational categories, i.e., agriculture and labour, and agriculture. After discussion of modes of election and social background of the leadership elected in the five consecutive panchayat bodies in Alsigarh, a question, further, arises: What kind of tenurial persistency of leadership is perceived through the process of periodic panchayat formation? Therefore, it has been tried to identify nature of emergence, continuity, discontinuity and re-emergence, both, with respect to individual as well as structural character of leadership. Used as analytical variable, emergence indicates the first entry by election of an individual or/and structural unit into a power position in any of the panchayat bodies constituted consecutively. Continuity refers to the same individual or/and structural unit retaining a power-position in two or more successive tenures of the panchayat. Discontinuity denotes the loss of a power-position by an individual or/and structural unit in a panchayat just next to that of the first entry. And re-emergence implies re-gaining of a power position after an earlier loss. Of 45 leaders, there were 18 continuing leaders, 14 discontinuing leaders, 13 leaders emerging-at-last and 2 cases of structural re-emergence. The following discussion is devoted to bring out structural dynamics of the panchayat enacted by the various leadership phenomena.
Emergence

Forty-five emerging leaders are distributed over the five panchayats: First- 11, Second- 3, Third- 13, Fourth- 5 and Fifth- 13. Therefore, phenomenon of significant emergence of leadership is perceived only at alternate tenures of the panchayat.

Nature of Emergence

Emergence of Individuals as well as Gotra/Caste

There are 22 emerging leaders of this type in the five panchayats: First- 11, Second- 1, Third- 4, Fourth- 2 and Fifth- 4.

Emergence of Individuals Only

There are 23 emerging leaders of this type in the panchayats: Second- 2, Third- 9, Fourth- 3 and Fifth- 9.

Emergence of Individuals as well as Gotra/Caste in a village

Twenty-four emerging leaders of this type were drawn from the three villages: Alsigarh- 12, Pai- 11 and Aad- 1. Panchayatwise distribution of such leaders from Alsigarh is 8, 0, 0, 1 and 3; from Pai is 3, 1, 4, 1 and 2; and from Aad is 0, 0, 0, 1 and 0 in the five respective panchayats. Therefore, Pai is the only village which showed a continuous emergence of individuals and gotras in the process of panchayat formation.

Emergence of Individuals Only in a Village

Twenty-two emerging leaders of this type were drawn from the three villages: Alsigarh- 9, Pai- 11 and Aad- 1. Panchayatwise distribution of such leaders from Alsigarh is 0, 1, 4, 2 and 2; in Pai is 0, 1, 5, 1 and 4 and in Aad is 0, 0, 0, 1 and 0 in the respective panchayats. This pattern of emergence of individual leadership differs in a significant sense, in terms of villages in the panchayat.

Emergence of Individuals and Gotra/Caste within a Phala

Twelve emerging leaders of this type from Alsigarh were drawn from four phalas: Waada- 10 and Kaatya, Kheria and Khaada 1 each. Of 11 emerging leaders of this type from Pai were drawn from seven phalas: Mual- 5 and Vadla, Gawaadi, Hamli Pipla, Paaba, Kemri and Nichla 1 each. One emerging leader of this type was drawn from Uparla phala of Aad.

Emergence of Individuals Only in a Phala

Nine emerging leaders of this type from Alsigarh were drawn from three phalas: Waada- 5 and Kaatya and Kheria 2 each, 11 emerging leaders of this type from Pai were drawn from three phalas: Mual- 4, Vadla- 3 and Nichla- 2. One emerging leader of this type from Aad is drawn from Hetla phala.
Emergence of Individuals by their Age, Sex, Education and Occupation

Of 45 emerging leaders, there were 24 adults (21-35), 13 middle-aged (36-50) and 8 old-aged (51-60 and above); 30 illiterates and literates, 13 middle school pass and 2 secondary and higher secondary school pass. there were only 5 from women and 14 from the occupational category of agriculture and labour, 9 from agriculture only and the remaining from other categories. Therefore, there is a majority of adults, males, illiterates and literates and agriculturists-cum-labourers and agriculturists among the emerging leaders in the panchayat.

Emergence of Leaders by Kin-Sets

Of 45 emerging leaders, 41 were tribals and 4 from two castes. They formed 11 kin-sets which are breakable into 28 sub-sets of kinship. The kin-sets have already been discussed in the preceding analysis.

Mode of Emergence

There were three modes of emergence of leaders in power: By unanimity- 32, by contest- 4 and by co-option- 9. The emergence by co-option is also virtually a part of the first mode in the case of this panchayat. Therefore, unanimity overwhelmingly predominates the phenomenon of emergence in the panchayat. Nonetheless, the mode of contest merely by its presence is very significant in the context of democratic politics in a tribal village panchayat.

Conditions for Emergence of Leadership

Conditions for emergence of Leadership consisted of (1) structural factors and (2) cultural factors

Structural Factors

Gotra

Of 45 emerging leaders, 29 were drawn from five gotras: Kataara- 10, Kharaadi- 7, Solanki- 6, Sapania- 3 and Vadera- 3. Thus, major gotras of the panchayat have dominated the scene of emergence of leaders power.

Village

The emerging leaders drawn from three villages are: Alsigarh- 21, Pai- 22 and Aad- 2. Their respective share in the panchayat is: First- 8, 3, 0; Second- 1, 2, 0; Third- 4, 9, 0; Fourth- 2, 2, 1, and Fifth- 6, 6, 1. Thus, the villages of large size have a large number of leaders emerging in power.

Phala

The emerging leaders are mostly drawn from four phalas: Waada- 15 and Kheria- 3 of Alsigarh and Mual- 10 and Vadla- 3 of Pai. Their numerical position in the First panchayat
is Waada- 7, Kheria, Mual and Vadla 1 each; in the Second- Waada- 1 and Mual- 2; in the
Third- Waada- 3, Mual- 5 and Vadla- 3; in the Fourth- Kheria and Vadla 1 each and in the
Fifth- Waada- 4, Mual- 2 and Kheria and Vadla 1 each. Thus, the major phalas centrally
located and keeping traditional seats of power have lion’s share in the emergence of
leadership.

**Kinship**

The fact that, except 4 leaders, all the leaders are related to each other by some
kinship bonds underlines the extent of role of kinship in emergence of leadership in the
panchayat.

**Cultural Factors**

**Age**

The emerging leaders drawn from the category of adults in various panchayats are:
First- 3/8, Second- 1/3, Third- 6/13, Fourth- 4/5 and Fifth- 10/13. Thus, the trend for
emergence of leadership from adults has continuously been at increase during the process
of panchayat formation.

**Sex**

The fact that women leaders were all the times co-opted indicates the non-emer­
gence of their leadership in real sense.

**Education**

Thirty illiterate and literate emerging leaders in various panchayats were: First- 9/11,
Second- 3/3, Third- 8/13, Fourth- 3/5 and Fifth- 7/13. The figures show almost constant
level of illiterates and literates in various panchayat bodies, but within these two catego­
ries, there is gradual increase in number of literates and decrease of illiterates. Moreover,
increasing number of the educated leaders is also visible.

**Occupation**

Twenty-three emerging leaders from the occupational categories of agriculture and
agriculture and labour drawn in various panchayats are: First- 9/11, Second- 3/3,
Third- 8/13, Fourth- 4/5 and Fifth- 7/13. Thus, these two occupational categories have
been the constant source of emergence of leadership in the panchayat.

Briefly, five major gotras- Kataara, Kharaadi, Sapania, Solanki and Vadera; two
large villages- Alsigarh and Pai; four of their phalas- Waada, Kheria, Mual and Vadla,
adult age (21-35), male gender, illiterates and literates initially but, latter, literates and
educated and agriculturists and agriculturists-cum-labourers have been the major sources
of emergence of leadership into power in the panchayat.

**Continuity**

Eighteen continuing leaders distributed in the five panchayats are: First to
Fourth- 2, First to Second- 6, Third to Fourth- 8 and Fourth to Fifth- 2. This distribution
of leaders points to the phenomenon of continuity running although the consecutive panchayats.

Nature of Continuity

Continuity of Individuals as well as Gotras/Caste

The continuing leaders were drawn from 6 gotras and 1 caste: Solanki- 5, Kharaadi- 4, Kataara- 3, Sapania and Balaai (Caste) 2 each and Daamar and Vadera 1 each.

Of 2 continuing leaders in the head roles of Sarpanch and Up Sarpanch 1 each was drawn from Daamar and Kharaadi gotra respectively. Therefore, there being not a single case of individual discontinuity but structural continuity of gotra/caste, it is apparently clear that individually as well as structurally (gotra/caste) continuing leadership covered the entire floor of the continuing leadership. This type of continuing leadership is mostly drawn from Solanki, Kharaadi and Kataara gotras constituting a very limited structural base.

Continuity of Individuals as well as Gotras/Caste within a Village

The continuing leaders of this type were drawn from only two villages: Alsigarh- 11 and Pai- 7. The leaders of this type from Alsigarh were drawn from four gotras: Solanki- 5, Kharaadi- 3, Sapania- 2 and Vadera- 1. Such leaders from Pai were drawn from three gotras and one caste: Kataara- 3, Balaai- 2 and Daamar and Kharaadi 1 each.

Of 2 leaders continuing in the head roles of Sarpanch and Up Sarpanch, one each was drawn from Daamar gotra of Pai and Kharaadi gotra of Alsigarh respectively. These facts indicate the dominance of individual as well as gotra/caste leadership within the two large villages of the panchayat. Of the two villages, Alsigarh is more continuity-prone in terms of leadership formation.

Continuity of Individuals as well as Gotras/Caste within a Phala

The continuing leader were drawn from six phalas, in all-three of Alsigarh and four of Pai: Waada- 9, Vadla- 3, Nichla- 2 and, Kaatya, Kheria, Mual, Hamli-Pipla and Paba 1 each. Of 2 leaders continuing in the positions of Sarpanch and Up Sarpanch, 1 each was drawn from Mual and Waada respectively. Thus, two-third of the continuing leaders was drawn only from two phalas, i.e., Waada and Vadla.

Nine continuing leaders from Waada of Alsigarh were drawn from three gotras: Solanki- 4, Kharaadi- 3 and Sapania- 2. Three continuing leaders from Vadla of Pai were drawn from a single gotra, i.e., Kataara. One continuing leader in the position of Up Sarpanch from Waada was from Kharaadi gotra. Thus, the same gotras dominated the continuing leadership as the emerging one within the phalas.

Succinctly, the continuing leadership individually as well as structurally is mostly drawn from Waada and Vadla phalas and Solanki, Kharaadi and Kataara gotras.

Continuity of Leaders by Their Age, Sex, Education and Occupation

Of 18 continuing leaders, there were 8 adults (21-35), 7 middle aged (36-50) and 3 old-aged (51 and above); 10 illiterates, 3 literates and 5 educated up to middle school
and 11 agriculturists-cum-labourers, 3 agriculturists and 4 others. Of the leaders continuing in head roles of Sarpanch and Up Sarpanch, the Sarpanch was adult, middle-school pass and agriculturist, while the Up Sarpanch was middle-aged, illiterate and agriculturist. 4 continuing women leaders, except 1 adult, were middle-aged, illiterates and agriculturists-cum-labourers. Thus, the continuing leadership, in general, is adult and middle aged, male dominated, illiterate and agriculturist-cum-labourer, while the one in the head role of Sarpanch is adult, educated and agriculturist.

Mode of Continuity

Broadly, continuing leaders are divided into two modes of continuity: (1) Bi-tenurial leaders- 16 and (2) multi-tenurials leaders- 2. The bi-tenurial were elected for two successive tenures and multi-tenurials for four successive tenures of the panchayat. By their classification alongwith the mode of election, the continuing leaders are distributed into four modes of continuity: (1) The bi-tenurials continuing by unanimity- 8, (2) the bi-tenurials continuing by contest- 2, (3) the bi-tenurials continuing by re-co-option- 6 and (4) the multi-tenurials continuing by unanimity- 2. Of 2 leaders in the head roles, one was the bi-tenurial Sarpanch and the other was the multi-tenurial Up Sarpanch, both, continuing by unanimity.

The bi-tenurials are drawn from five gotras and one caste: Solanki- 5, Kataara and Kharaadi 3 each, Sapania and Balai 2 each and Daam- 1; from Alsigarh- 9 and Pai- 7; from Waada- 8, Kaatya- 1, Vadla- 3, Nichla- 2 and Mual, Hamli Pipla and Paaba- 1 each; from adults- 7, middle-aged- 6 and old-aged- 3, from illiterates- 9, literates- 3 and educated- 4 and from agriculturists-cum-labours- 10, agriculturists- 2 and others- 4. The multi-tenurials, one each, are drawn from Kharaadi and Vadera gotras of Waada and Kheria phala respectively of Alsigarh. The Kharaadi multi-tenurial was in the position of Up Sarpanch and Vadera was a ward panch. The bi-tenurials continuing by contest in the successive panchayat were, one each, drawn from Kataara and Kharaadi gotras of Vadla and Hamli Pipla phala respectively of Pai. Thus, (1) bi-tenuriality and unanimity at elections are predominant features of the continuing leadership in the panchayat, (2) only 2 leaders continuing by contest in a successive panchayat are seemingly a nominal numerical phenomenon but socio-politically a very significant feature of this tribal panchayat, (3) the leadership distributed into a number of modes of continuity is drawn from the socio-structural bases common to the leadership, in general, in the panchayat and (4) the contrasting feature seen in the panchayat is that 2 multi tenurials indicating a high level of unanimity are drawn from two main phalas of Alsigarh, while 2 leaders continuing by contest and signifying the initial budding of political differences are drawn from two main phalas of Pai.

Conditions Leading to Continuity

Conditions comprising structural and cultural factors leading continuity of leadership are discussed below.
Structural Factors

Gotra/Caste

Structural bases of the continuing leadership, i.e., the six gotras- Solanki, Kharaadi, Kataara, Sapania, Daamar and Vadera -are traditionally and/or numerically dominant and located in a vantage situation in the rural systems of the panchayat. The Balai continuing leadership owes its presence to the incidence of being the only Scheduled Caste family settled permanently in Pai village and presence of at least 1 SC member elected or co-opted in the panchayat was a legal requirement.

Village

Alsigarh and Pai- the two large village- are the other structural source of the continuity of leadership in the panchayat. Owing to their structural differences, Alsigarh appears to be more continuity-prone while Pai seems to be allowing meagre political differences alongwith continuity.

Phala

Within the two villages, 8 phalas, predominantly 2 phalas- Waada and Vadla, one each, from the villages, provided the continuing leadership in the panchayat. Besides, the remaining phalas also are centrally located in the villages.

Kinship

All 18 continuing leaders have their places in one or more kin-sets of the leaders emerging in the panchayat. This connotes to the support-building through kinship for continuity of the leadership.

Cultural Factors

Age

The continuing leaders are mostly adults and middle-aged. Thus, the age range of 21-50 is the most conducive for the continuity of leadership.

Sex

The continuing leadership is totally male dominated and women continued only by virtue of co-option.

Education

Most of the continuing leaders are the illiterates followed by the educated. This also implies that the traditional influence of the illiterates in the continuity of leadership is gradually decreasing in the wake of educational spread.

Occupation

Occupational source of the continuing leadership is the same as that of the other types of leadership; i.e., agriculture and labour and agriculture only.
Discontinuity

Of 14 discontinuing leaders, 3 were discontinued in the Second, 13 in the Third, 8 in the Fourth and 13 in the Fifth panchayat. Thus, the phenomenon of discontinuity, though fluctuating, is found continuously present as well as gradually increasing in the process of panchayat formation.

Nature of Discontinuity

Discontinuity of Individuals as well as Gotras/Caste

Five leaders of this type, in all, were drawn from three gotras and one caste: Bhagora- 2 and Hiraavat, Khokharia and Mahajan 1 each. Smaller size of this type of discontinuing leadership owes to the larger size of continuity of individuals as well as of gotra/caste in the foregoing discussion.

Discontinuity of Individuals but Continuity of Gotra

Nine leaders in all, discontinuing individually but continuing structurally (by gotra/caste) were drawn from five gotras and one caste: Kataara- 4, Kharaadi- 2 and Daamar, Paargi and Vadera each. Obviously, discontinuity of this much size of leadership is, in a sense, the positive indicator of participatory and competitive politics in the micro-democracy but its significance is somewhat lessened when viewed structurally, i.e., the base of this leadership, too, is almost the same gotras -traditionally, numerically and situationally predominant- showing structural continuity of leadership in the panchayat.

Discontinuity of Individuals as well as Gotra/Caste within a Village

The leaders of this type drawn from two villages are: Alsigarh- 1 and Pai- 4. The one from Alsigarh was Mahajan in the position of Sarpanch in the First panchayat. Those from Pai were drawn from three gotras: Bhagora- 2 and Hiraavat and Khokharia 1 each, all of them were in the Third panchayat. Thus, (1) the largest number of this type of leadership came from Pai which, though participating nominally with reluctance in the first two panchayats, signifies a comparatively better level of political participation, competition and consciousness and (2) the discontinuity of individuals as well as gotras in Pai prominently stands in contrast to the over all continuity of individuals (except Mahajan) as well as gotras in Alsigarh.

Discontinuity of Individuals but Continuity of Gotra/Caste within a Village

The leaders of this type drawn from the three villages are Alsigarh- 3, Pai- 5 and Aad- 1. These leaders from Alsigarh were drawn from two gotras: Kharaadi- 2 and Vadera- 1. From Pai they were drawn from two gotras: Kataara- 4 and Daamar- 1 and from Aad there was drawn 1 leader of Paargi gotra. Here, again, Pai seems to be leading in numerical sense, but when total discontinuing leadership viewed in context of the respective villages, this type of leadership is a phenomenon of total dominance in Alsigarh and Aad against that of dominance only in Pai.
Discontinuity of Individuals as well as Gotras/Caste within a Phala

The leaders of this type were drawn from six phalas: Mual- 5 and Waada, Kaada, Vadla, Gawaadi and Uparla 1 each. These leaders from Mual are drawn from four gotras: Bhagora- 2 and Kataara, Daamar and Khokharia- 1 each and from Waada Kaada, Vadla, Gawaadi and Uparla are drawn from gotras/caste such as Mahajan, Kharaadi, Kataara, Hiraavat and Paargi respectively. Thus, this type of discontinuing leadership mostly came from the dominating phalas and within the dominating phalas it mostly came from the non dominating gotras/castes such as Mahajan, Bhagora and Khokharia.

Discontinuity of Individuals but Continuity of Gotras within a Phala

The leaders of this type were also drawn from three phalas: Mual- 2 and Waada and Kheria 1 each. These leaders drawn from Mual were Kataara, from Waada was a Kharaadi and from Kheria was a Vadera. Thus, it is apparent that the leadership individually discontinuing but structurally continuing within a phala came from the major/dominating gotras- Kataara, Kharaadi and Vadera.

Discontinuity of Individuals but Continuity of Kinship

Eight discontinuing leaders were related to various kin-sets: Navla Kataara to Kin-set No.IV, Dhana Kharaadi and Nanga Kharada to No.I, Khemraj Bhagora and Kaku Ram Bhagora to No.VII, Dheera Bhai Kataara to No.VI, Shankar Vadera to No.II and Sawa Paargi to No.X. Therefore, despite the discontinuity of individual leaders, the kin-sets enacted a continuity of family, a lineage or an affinal group in the power positions running through the entire process of panchayat formation.

Discontinuity of Individuals by Their Age, Sex, Education and Occupation

Of 14 discontinuing leaders, there were 6 adults and 4 middle-aged and 4 aged; no women; 7 literates, 4 educated between primary and secondary school and 3 illiterates and 6 agriculturists, 4 agriculturists-cum-labourers and 4 others. Thus, the discontinuing leaders are generally adults and middle-aged, literates, agriculturists and agriculturists-cum-labourers and totally males.

Mode of Discontinuity

Fourteen discontinuing leaders are distributed into two modes of discontinuity: (1) By resignation- 1 and (2) by withdrawal- 13. The leader discontinuing by resignation was a Mahajan in the position of Sarpanch in the First panchayat; while those discontinuing by withdrawl were drawn from the gotras/caste: Kataara- 5, Bhagora- 2 and Kharaadi, Daamar, Hiraavat, Khokharia, Paargi and Vadera 1 each. Thus, almost all the leaders were discontinued by their will for non-continuance. Actually such will is not the personal but socially determined in the context of rural system of a panchayat because only a few would come out to contest elections unless a consensus or support in favour of them is sensed out.
Conditions Leading to Discontinuity

Conditions consisted of structural and cultural factors leading to discontinuity of leadership in the panchayat are brought out as follows.

Structural Factors

Gotra/Caste

Discontinuing leaders are drawn from two types of gotras/castes: (1) The power dominating gotras sending continuously and mostly a large numbers of leaders and (2) the peripheral gotras in power politics sending only a few leaders in the panchayat. The first category comprises the gotras such as Kataara, Kharadi, Daamar, Paargi and Vadera which constantly maintaining hold of power did permit discontinuity of individual leaders within their fold but alongwith the structural continuity of power in gotra. These gotras did exercise circulation of power among their own members within their structural boundaries and this mostly caused to individual discontinuity of leadership. The second category consisted of gotras/caste such as Bhagora, Hiraavat, Khokharia and Mahajan remaining peripheral in the power politics. Occasionally shared power in the panchayat and continued in the power individually as well as structurally. Their discontinuity indicates their instability in power owing to their traditional, numerical or situational significance derived from the rural system of the panchayat.

Village

Discontinuity of leaders took place largely in two villages, i.e., Alsigarh and Pai, owing to their large size and adequate differentiation into a number of gotras/caste and phalas. In both the villages, the gotras of traditional/numerical/situational advantages depicted individual discontinuity but structural continuity within their respective villages. Owing to greater structural differentiation into a larger number of gotras and castes, the structural base of power in Pai is wider as well as more competitive leading, both, to individual discontinuity within the major power-holding gotras and individual as well as structural discontinuity of the peripheral gotras in power. In a sense, the discontinuity of leaders in the two villages differs in view of competitiveness and consciousness generated by a wider structural base in Pai than that in Alsigarh.

Phala

Discontinuity of individual leaders appears to be taking place largely within the major power-sharing phalas; viz., Waada, Kheria, Mual and Vadla but that of individuals as well as phala itself is coming from the phalas of peripheral level or smaller size; viz., Kaada, Gawaadi and Uparla. It is generally observable that gotras of significance for power are found in the phalas centrally located in the villages.

Kinship

Majority of discontinuing leaders being related to many of the kin-sets shows that support-building and power-sharing through intermittence of kinship worked as a means of constant power-possession, despite the loss of power occurring due to discontinuity.
of individuals. The discontinuing leaders falling beyond the pale of kin-sets were deprived of power in real sense.

**Cultural Factors**

**Age**

A decreasing trend of discontinuity of leaders from among adults to middle-aged and aged shows two features: (1) That the greater size of discontinuing adults owes to the greater size of adults in the overall leadership and (2) that inexperienced adults soon disappointed with the politico-administrative dynamics and constraints chose to withdraw themselves in the successive panchayat, while the remaining of two categories continue to drag on.

**Education**

The large number of discontinuing leaders from the category of literates followed by that of educated also indicates that illiterates are more tenable in a panchayat politics rather than literates and educated who are more mobile, dynamic and job-oriented on the one hand and too fast to go along the slow-going activities in an atmosphere of the piling up expectations in the village.

**Occupation**

Agriculturists and agriculturists-cum-labourers form the largest part of discontinuing leaders as in the overall leadership. Then, these two categories are a source better than the other ones for availability and replacement of leaders.

**Briefly**, in respect of the three cultural sources of discontinuing leadership, the trend is found almost reversed, i.e., from the discontinuity of aged, illiterate and agriculturists in the initial tenures to that of adults, literates and educated and agriculturists and agriculturists-cum-labourers. This trend owes to changes in the cultural characteristics of overall leadership in view of increasing awareness and education among adults and in view of occupational differentiation.

**Re-emergence**

There is found no case of individual re-emergence but two cases of structural re-emergence are obtained in the panchayat. The cases construct a situation of the structural re-emergence as well as individual emergence in which 2 leaders of Bhagora gotra from Mual of Pai elected in March 1978 discontinued in the next elections in Dec. 1981 but there emerged 2 new leaders of that gotra, one each, from Mual and Paba in the elections in May 1988. Similarly, 2 leaders of Sapania gotra from Waada of Alsigarh were structurally out to lose the power after continuing in the initial two subsequent panchayats. But 1 new Sapania leader emerged in the position of Sarpanch in May 1988 to enact the case of structural re-emergence of that gotra. This phenomenon implies a dual process of political orientation, i.e., collective orientation in wider context of the panchayat but individual orientation and replacement within a structural unit like gotra. Two leaders, one each, from Bhagora and Sapania gotra being related to the kin-sets point out indirect
role of kin-sets in support-building for structural re-emergence. Their location in the major phalas- Mual and Paaba of Pai and Waada of Alsigarh is also structurally advantageous for their re-emergence. Besides, the cultural factors associated with the three emerging leaders such as Surji Bhai Bhagora being educated pasteur of the Penti- coastal Church, Bheru Lal Bhagora being educated, son of a reputed bhopa and in-charge of a shop under the Public Distribution System and Nathu Lal Sapania being an educated youth of political links with the Congress party leaders and in-charge of a shop under the PDS also contributed to this structural re-emergence in the panchayat.

Therefore, from the foregoing analysis it may be derived that:

1. Leadership constituting the five successive panchayats in Alsigarh emerged out of four modes of election; viz., election by unanimity, election by contest, election by unanimity and by contest as well and election by co-option.
2. Majority of the five panchayat bodies formed at various periods and of the leadership therein is elected by unanimity at elections.
3. Despite this very prominent feature of unanimity, the fact of contests at election, both inter-village and intra-village, though numerically nominal, is very much significant in socio-political sense. It implies for the tribal people to be coming of age of political differences and consciousness cutting across their traditional way of unanimity.
4. Leadership in the panchayat, when viewed historically, may be discussed under four phenomena: Emergence, continuity, discontinuity and re-emergence. The phenomenon of continuity dominated the remaining ones.
5. Leadership in its various phenomenal forms is characterized by two factors - structural and cultural- embedded in the village systems of the panchayat. The structural factors comprise gotra, kinship, village and phala and the cultural factors- age, sex, education and occupation.
6. With a limited structural base, leadership in the panchayat was mostly drawn from three gotras- Solanki, Kharaadi and Kataara sharing the most of seats alongwith Vadera and Daamar; from three phalas- Waada, Mual and Vadla alongwith Kheria in the matter of seats; and from two large villages- Alsigarh and Pai. Intra-structural (intra-gotra, intra-village and intra-phala) circulation and replacement rather than increasing inter-structural political involvement is prominently found in the panchayat.
7. By their gradually changing cultural characteristics the leaders were increasingly drawn from adults and middle-aged (age-group 21-50); from literates and educated against illiterates and literates in the beginning; and from agriculturists-cum-labourers, agriculturists and a few of others.

On the whole, unanimity, continuity and intra-structural circulation of power with constant intermittence of kinship are prominent, distinct and interesting features of the structuration of panchayat leadership characterized by traditional structural and changing cultural factors in the micro-politics of Alsigarh.