CHAPTER IV

LEADERSHIP: NATURE AND STYLE

* (1) Frame of Reference
(2) Leadership in Mogri
(3) Informal leadership

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Village India is passing through a period of turmoil and transition, due to the new forces generated by the introduction of economic planning and democratic decentralisation. These forces have not only caused tremors in the traditional social fabric but also affected the old values and attitudes as well. The traditional leadership is being challenged and there is an incessant quest for new leadership. The success or failure of development plans may well depend upon the type of emerging leadership, especially at the village level. It will be pertinent to ask - what will be the new pattern of leadership? In this respect, Iqbal Narain\(^1\) observes: "The emergence of a new pattern of leadership even in a developed democracy is a long drawn out process; it is more so in a developing one like ours. The quest of new leadership is the quest of a revolution in man who does not stand in isolation but who is subject to a number of influences, both historical and contemporary ---, thus, the problem of new leadership is essentially a problem of social change and what makes it most baffling is the fact that the new leader is at once the cause and consequences of the social change. It is this interdependence which makes both the pace of social change

\(^{1}\) Iqbal Narain; "Democratic decentralisation and emerging institutional leadership", in Tiwari and Sharma (Ed.), Political Studies, (1966), p. 294.
and the process of the emergence of the new leadership at times, distressingly slow."

Traditional Society and leadership:

It is the contention of M.N. Srinivas\(^2\) that there is a dominant caste in Indian villages which dominates over the other castes and communities of the village, and is responsible for most of the decisions arrived at in matters concerning the people of the village. He further says that numerical strength, education, ritual status are some of the factors that go to make a caste dominant in a particular village or in a region of rural India. The principles of caste is so firmly entrenched in political and social life that every one including leaders have accepted tacitly the principle that in provincial cabinets at any rate, each major caste will have a minister. And this principle has travelled from our provincial capitals back to our village panchayats. It is his belief that the caste structure is important for locating and indentifying leadership in the village.\(^3\)

An Indian village is relatively slow to respond to change because the traditional pattern of leadership is composed of caste-groups and caste-factions, the traditional leadership


\(^3\) M.N. Srinivas, Caste in Modern India, (1962), p.75.
is acquired through ascribed status. Although, of an informal type, the traditional leadership is more powerful than the formal type. It is patterned as hierarchic pyramid with "untouchables" at the base and a small class of 'elites' at its top.

**Leadership concept: A review:**

Man is a social being and builds up and lives in groups and social group requires guidance. Guidance is to be given by someone to whose directions everyone submits. Such a person is known as a leader.

The need for leadership arises in all cases where common and collective action is necessary for matters of common-interest. Leadership varies according to the nature of the subject or interest in which a group of people desires the guidance of a person and are willing to follow his advice or guidance.

"Leadership," writes M.P. Watkins, 4

"is the element which makes democracy dynamic. Where there is no leadership there is no movement in the true sense, only drift or stagnation."

While discussing the role of leadership, P.E. Weeraman 5 says:

"we no longer think of a leader as one who has


5. P.E. Weeraman, "Role of leadership in the pioneer stage and well established societies", Ibid. p.54.
unusual talents, as one who would excel in any situation and who stands out from the rest as markedly superior. The role of leadership is to realise the needs of the community and to plan for meeting those needs with the assistance of the persons who have such needs. The role of leadership is to stimulate the people into seeking solutions for their problems."

In short, leadership consists in a capacity to shoulder responsibility and to carry it out. A.Q. Ansari⁶ pinpoints the element of influence in defining leadership. He says:

"Leadership is the activity of influencing people to cooperate toward some good which they come to find desirable."

Lapier and Farnsworth⁷ tell the same thing when they put emphasis on the element of behaviour in leadership. They say:

"Leadership is behaviour that affects the behaviour of the other people more than their behaviour affects that of the leader."

N.M. Basu⁸ similarly points out the importance of dominance in the concept of leadership, when he says:

"Leadership is more accurately defined in terms of dominance. By dominance we mean an act or response

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6. Ibid., p.88.
8. N.M. Basu: "The role of leadership in the life of an individual", Ibid., p.73.
which affects the attitude and the act of another."

"The acts", he writes further,
"influencing others range from flattery, suggestions, argument, persuasion, threat and even physical force. This a power device used by one to control or modify the actions and attitudes of others. When the power is structured and widely spread as a part of culture, we call it authority of one over others".

According to Basu, dominance in human societies takes three different forms. They are: (1) Dominance due to class or caste-system which may be called 'status-dominance'. (2) Dominance due to institutional arrangements which may be called 'headship-dominance' and (3) Dominance which is voluntarily accepted by others. This is called 'leadership-dominance'.

However, any definition of leadership can be criticised on the ground that there cannot be any fixed characteristics of leadership. Time and place play an important role in determining the proper characteristics of leadership.

F.G. Bailey\(^9\) gives an interesting account of how ultimately he discovered the real leaders of a village where he was working. His account perhaps defies all that is said above. He narrates his story as follows:

"I first heard it used in this context by an official

who had long experience of village development work in Orissa. He had noticed that when he came to a village for the first time, he encountered three categories of persons. The first to approach him were the 'simple' people — the children and others who came to stare at him and his jeep, simply because he was a stranger. After a short time he would be approached by others who escorted him to a house, or the school, or the Bungalow if the village had one. There they brought tea for him and, in the tactful roundabout way of Indian conversation, would find out why he had come and what had to offer. Any development work which he initiated through these people invariably failed. Successful work had to be done through another set of people, who he called the 'real' leaders. They never approached him; he had to find them. They were reluctant and non-committal, while the others (whom he called 'touters') were cooperative and apparently enthusiastic. But if he managed to persuade the real leaders to follow his advice — to use a new variety of seed, a different cropping technique, to dig a compost pit or a latrine — the rest of the village, the 'simple' people, would follow their example. But they would not follow the example of theouters.'

Another realistic picture of Indian leadership is available from Taya Zinkin. She writes:

"At each level in Indian society there are leaders. Whether aware of the changes occurring or totally ignorant of them, these leaders are taking the
Society of yesterday a few steps into the future. Owing to the water proof tightness of caste, leadership has to be multiple. Thus, there are leaders in the caste, leaders in the sub-caste, leaders in the village, leaders in the town, leaders within each political group. Leadership for a caste must come from a member of that caste, and to be effective, it must be followed by the caste as a whole. Naturally the leaders are the enterprising people who are more educated and therefore more ambitious. They know that if they are to rise in the world they must carry their caste fellows with them."

Approach to the study of leadership:

There are three distinct approaches used by social scientists for the study of leadership. They are known as (1) trait approach (2) the situationist approach and (3) the group-follower approach. However, none of them is adequate in itself to unfold the total phenomenon of leadership. It is felt that the study of leadership cannot overlook the important aspects of 'social climate' and the 'system of values' prevailing in that community whose leadership is studied. It is obvious, says Hans Nagpaul, that leadership is a complex social phenomenon and to concentrate on any one approach without taking into account the characteristics of the total culture in which the group functions is not proper.

12. Ibid., p. 58.
Typology of Leadership: A framework:

It is difficult to classify leadership on a fixed pattern. Various scholars have given different classification depending on the situation, time and place of its working. A common method is to classify leadership as (1) Official and Non-official or (2) Formal and Informal. There is also an old classification of leadership popularly known as (1) Born (2) Acquired and (3) Thrust. F.C. Bartlett classifies leadership as (1) Institutional (2) Dominant and (3) Persuasive. Hans Nagpaul subscribes to the following four types of leadership:

(1) Institutional leadership or Formal leadership.
(2) Situational leadership or Informal leadership.
(3) Dictatorial or Authoritarian leadership.
(4) Democratic or Creative leadership.

Iqbal Narain adds one more type in view of the emerging leadership and calls it material-benefits oriented leadership. There is another pattern in vogue with social anthropologist. They term it as (1) traditional leadership based on the principle of caste, wealth, education, family status etc., and (2) charismatic leadership resting on the devotion to the sanctity attached to a leader who attracts followers almost blindly. Max Weber defines "charisma" as -

14. op.cit., p. 58.
15. op.cit., p. 505.
"a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader."

Max Weber's concept of charismatic leadership has had an immense influence upon the thinking of sociologists studying the sources of authority and dominance in changing political life.

However, it should not be forgotten that none of these patterns exist in their pure form in the real world. At best they provide an analytical framework to understand the phenomenon of leadership.

Modernisation and Leadership:

Modernisation is a complex process. There are many forces -- social, economic and political -- that stimulate this process. The direct impact of the process of modernisation has been much more telling on the social organisation than anything else. It seems to have loosened the rigidity of the traditional structure and to provide greater choice to the individual for entering into inter-personal relations which cut across the boundaries of the old established groups.17

Modernisation in its political aspect is generally agreed to mean effective mass participation in political decision-making and more or less equal accessibility to the political arena for all persons. Weiner gives his own definition of modernisation by saying that it is the process advocated by those westernised elites who favour a unified national state, large scale economic development and are concerned with making substantial modifications in the social structure. The concept of modernisation has assumed a crucial role recently with the emergence of 'social development' as a discipline in its own right. The modern system of technology, transport and communications along with mass participation in politics on account of adult franchise, spread of education, party membership and democratic process like elections have certainly brought some radical changes in the rural life; the social structure in the process is changing from a relatively closed system ordained by caste hierarchies to a relatively open system governed by secular law. The general weakening of the old system has facilitated the emergence of a new leadership structure and has widened the base of leadership.

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(2) Leadership in Mogri:

An attempt is made in this chapter, to study the pattern and structure of leadership in village Mogri in the context of its social, political and economic background. The social structure of the village is traditional. Patidars are the most dominating group by virtue of their numerical strength (40%), economic prosperity, large land holdings (173 out of total 257 i.e. 67%) group consciousness, better level of education and early politicisation. As against this, Bariyas (28%) are backward and dormant while Brahmins, Banias, Musalmans and Christians live in political seclusion. Harijans(9%), being scheduled caste, are having the advantage over others, in terms of secure representation in the panchayat. The overall position of women's participation in political life of the village is disappointing. While the reins of power in the panchayat are in the hands of older generation, the youth has yet to show active interest in it.

There are one or two dominating personalities like CB and NS, enjoying informal leadership status in the village whom all villagers would follow. However, leadership in the village is not necessarily symbolized by one or two individuals but by groups having their own leadership.

Formal leadership:

Our analysis of leadership is confined only to the members of the panchayat. They constitute the official or
formal leadership at the village level. Informal leadership is provided by those local elites who do not occupy any official position but always matter in the important decision-making process whether at the official level or otherwise. They will be studied here to the extent they help us to understand the working of leadership.

The panchayat in Mogri was introduced by the Baroda State in 1930. Although we have concentrated, for the purpose of our study, on the working of the present panchayat, attempt will be made to compare its working with the performance of the early panchayats. By early panchayats we mean those panchayats which were constituted after 1949, the year in which the Baroda State merged with the Bombay State. Since then, four elections have been held to the panchayat in Mogri — first in 1951, second in 1956, third in 1961 and the fourth in 1965* — the last under the new system of Panchayati Raj. The strength of the panchayat has gone up from 11 to 13 only recently after the last election. Members are directly elected by adult franchise and under the system of secret ballot. Seats are reserved for the representatives of women and the scheduled castes. In the first two panchayats representatives of women and the scheduled castes were required to be nominated as none of them had filled the nomination forms.

* The fifth election due in 1969 was postponed by one year. The field work was completed in the early 1970. Hence the study does not cover the fifth panchayat.
Traditionally, leadership in the village was determined either by age and experience or by social status and economic position. Ownership of land was closely related with the hold on the village. However, with the emergence of Panchayati Raj, the political power structure is slowly undergoing a change. Members of the panchayat will now be elected by the people from among themselves and of their own choice, as against the practice of nomination of members from the elite class during the days when Mogri was part of the Baroda State.

Social groups in the Panchayat:

The present panchayat was constituted in 1965. It has 15 members out of which 8 are Patidars, 3 Bariyas and 2 from the scheduled castes. It means the Patidars have got 61.6% representation as against 40% of their population, whereas the Bariyas have 23% representation against 28% of their population. Scheduled caste is more than fairly represented with 15.4% against 9% of their population. This is due to statutory provision of reserved seats for them.

The comparative imbalance between the Patidars and the Bariyas in the composition of the village population as well as the panchayat membership is striking because the Bariyas constitute about 55% as compared to 34% of the Patidar population in the Taluka.

It will be noticed from Table 1, that no castes other than the Patidars, Bariyas and Harijans(Scheduled) are
represented in the panchayat though they happen to represent remaining 25% of the village population. This indicates clearly that the Patidars have a dominating position in the panchayat, while Bariyas have yet to go a long way to do away with the imbalance. That they are serious in their fight for representation is born out by the fact that in the general elections of 1967, the Bariyas got their caste-fellow elected in the Anand constituency defeating a Patidar stalwart. However the constituency level of politics does not seem to have percolated to a significant degree to local politics. 21

TABLE 1

Social Base of Membership in the Panchayats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>1951 Percentage</th>
<th>1961 Percentage</th>
<th>1965 Percentage</th>
<th>Percentage Variation of 1961-65</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patidars</td>
<td>10 91%</td>
<td>7 63.8</td>
<td>8 61.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bariyas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 9</td>
<td>3 23.3</td>
<td>+ 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banias</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harijans</td>
<td>1 5%</td>
<td>2 18.2</td>
<td>2 15.4</td>
<td>- 2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11 100%</td>
<td>11 100%</td>
<td>13 100%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison of the composition of the present panchayat with the past would give a better perspective. The present panchayat is the fourth since independence and the preceding three were constituted under the previous Acts. The first two were constituted under the Bombay Panchayats Act, while the third was constituted under the Gujarat Panchayats Act of 1961. In the first panchayat (1951), there were 11 members out of which 10 were Patidars, 1 from scheduled caste and none from the Bariyas. There was no election for the second panchayat (1956) and the names of the members were unanimously proposed by the people. Most of them were the sitting members of the erstwhile panchayat. The selection of a Sarpanch was also by unanimous choice. The texture of the social composition of the first panchayat was retained in tact in the second panchayat, conceding no membership to the Bariyas. In the third panchayat (1961), out of the total of 11 members, 7 were Patidars, 2 from the scheduled castes, and 1 each from the Bariyas and the artisan class respectively. This shows that for a decade i.e. 1951-1961, the Bariyas remained unrepresented in the panchayat. It is only in 1961 that they had one member along with another from the artisan class (Valand) in the panchayat. If we compare this with that of the fourth i.e. the present Panchayat, we would notice that the Bariyas have benefited at the cost of Patidars as well as other communities excluding the scheduled castes, although the gain is not overwhelming. As we observed above the Bariyas are still
That no other castes, except the above mentioned three, have been represented in the panchayat reveals how slow is the process of modernisation, secularisation and democratisation going on in the village even after 25 years of Independence. The fact that all the four Sarpanchas have been Patidars underline the same trend.

In response to my enquiry as to what would be the factors responsible for the increase of their membership in the panchayat, the leading members of the Bariyas community seemed to agree on the following:

(i) benefit of universal adult franchise.
(ii) consciousness of their numerical strength.
(iii) highhandedness of the dominant caste.
(iv) alignment with the scheduled castes.
(v) factions among the dominant caste.

The above points could be explained in the following manner:

As we have observed earlier, the Bariyas inspite of their being one of the largest castes in the village were kept out of the panchayat for more than a decade. Nomination to the earlier panchayats was largely on the ground of social and economic position. Illiteracy among the Bariyas also discouraged them from participating in political affairs of
the village. Caste-panchayat was an alternate forum where they could go and solve their social problems. For their livelihood, they had to depend upon the village aristocracy rather than on the statutory panchayats which had already passed into the hands of the dominant caste which controlled the village life. However, the advent of democracy at the grass roots with its concomitant of adult franchise and voting by secret ballot slowly turned the situation in their favour, especially after 1961, when the Gujarat State passed a broad based and progressive piece of legislation and introduced Panchayati Raj. When they discovered that their own men can get elected (as in the third panchayat of 1961) if they unitedly vote for him, they at once realised the importance of their numerical strength. General elections of 1962 strengthened this process of realisation. The two main political parties of Gujarat, namely, the Congress and the Swatantra were running a cut-throat competition to capture power in the State. The Swatantra party, with the support of the Kshatriya Sabha, made a clean sweep by capturing both the Parliamentary and the Assembly seats of the Taluka.22 This provided, the elan to the Bariyas as a rising group. The result was that in the next panchayat election (1965) they moved with a measure of confidence and courage, and managed to field three candidates. They had a good leader in FP who by now had sufficiently learned the election tactics.

In 1961 panchayat election, the Bariyas and the Harijans had joined hands in defeating a prominent Patidar candidate from Ward 1. Their success made them conscious of the fact that they could pocket the Ward for ever if both the communities remained united and voted en bloc for their candidates. The Bariya's faith in the success of their strategy of en bloc voting was further strengthened by the triumph of their candidate in the 1962 general elections. The same strategy also proved fruitful in the 1967 general elections.

In the last panchayat election (1965) the Bariyas leaders had cleverly exploited the factional rivalry among the 'local' Patidars and fellow-feelings of the downtrodden in snatching away one seat each from the Wards II and III. They had encouraged various Patidar factions to field their candidates in the election on the one hand, and forged bond of unity among the Harijans and other low caste people to support their candidates on the other. The result was as expected. This was also true, to some extent, of the earlier panchayat election (1961) as mentioned in the beginning.

Apart from the political reasons discussed above, there is also a psychological reason which has caused the Bariyas to agitate against the Patidars. Many of the Bariya leaders complained, about the bad treatment they received from the Patidars. These included among others, beating and levelling of forged charges. The only way of coming out of this
plight, they felt, was to change the status quo in the power structure. Of course, there was still a long way to go, but they had made a beginning.

**Occupation:**

Occupation is yet another important factor affecting rural leadership. Agriculture being the predominant occupation in Mogri, agriculturists are obviously in a majority. At the same, tobacco businessmen form the core of the landed aristocracy in the village. Because of their wealth and social status they naturally influence the course of events in the public life of the village.

**TABLE 2**

**Occupational break-up of Panchayat Members in 1961 and 1965**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1961 Percentage</th>
<th>1965 Percentage</th>
<th>Percentage variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tobacco business-cum-agriculture</td>
<td>3 27.3</td>
<td>3 13.</td>
<td>- 4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agriculture</td>
<td>4 36.4</td>
<td>5 38.5</td>
<td>+ 2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Agriculture-cum-labour</td>
<td>3 27.3</td>
<td>5 38.5</td>
<td>+ 11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Others</td>
<td>1 9.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11 100.0</td>
<td>13 100.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 13 members in the present panchayat, 3 are tobacco business-men-cum-agriculturists, 5 are pure agriculturists.
and the remaining 5 are agriculturists-cum-labourers. The 3 members who are engaged in tobacco business are not small traders. They have big land holdings besides tobacco processing Khari and business offices in and outside of Gujarat. All of them belong to Patidar caste like the other 5 agriculturists. These 5 agriculturist-members mainly depend upon land cultivation and do not have any subsidiary occupation. Being Patidars they do not themselves work in the fields as labourers. Most of them are economically better off than any of the rich Bariya member. Out of the remaining 5 members, 3 are Bariyas and 2 Harijans. All the 3 Bariya members work as tenants and/or agricultural labourers, while 2 Harijans mostly work as day-labourers. That most of the members are agriculturists should not cause surprise in view of the fact that 64% of the population in Mogri depend on agriculture and 27% of them work as agricultural labourers. What is surprising is that a few rich business families should occupy as many as 25% of seats in the panchayat. This shows the dominance of the rich class. It may be deduced that the conflict in Mogri is not only between the two castes but also between the two classes.

Table 2 classifies the members of the old set-up and the new set-up on the basis of their occupation. The table shows that the percentage of tobacco business-men has decreased by 4.3% within 4 years; and the percentage of members engaged in other occupations also decreased by 9%. As a consequence,
there was a corresponding increase in the membership of those who were engaged in agriculture and field-labour. However, the bulk of the benefit (11.2%) has gone to the field-labourers. This may be an indicator of the shape of things to come.

The increase in the membership of the agriculture-cum-labourer class has directly resulted in boosting up the morale of the Bariyas, who along with the Harijans constitute the labour force in the village. This needs to be explained. The Bariyas had not been represented in the panchayat for about a decade. Association of Kshatriya Sabha with the Swatantra party during the general elections of 1962 and the introduction of Panchayati Raj aroused their aspiration for political roles in the village affairs. They had also realised that justice at the hands of the Patidars was not possible so long as they remained at the helm of affairs of the panchayat. Membership of panchayat tended to enhance the social prestige of a candidate vis-à-vis his caste, seemed to be the third reason. A member from the Bariya community could sit with the caste Hindu people on equal footing and could participate in the deliberations over the village affairs was a new experience for them, and exposed them to the new winds of modernisation which they found sometimes bewildering.

The decrease in the membership of the big business houses is due to their ever-expanding business which require full time attention of the senior members of the families.
Calculative as they are, they found that 'panchayat-business' was time consuming and 'not paying' compared to their own business. They also realised that being powerful and influential in society they thought they would be able to protect their interests through the members of the panchayat. Nevertheless, they did take care to see that at least one of the members of their families got elected every time, though the membership of the panchayat, was, now, not at all an issue of social prestige for them.

On the other hand, there was alarm in the minds of the local middle class Patidars at the ever increasing influence of the rich families (mostly outsiders) in the governance of the village. To check this trend, it was thought that some new aspiratns from middle strata should be encouraged. As for the member of the other caste (Valand) experience in panchayat was a disillusion.

**Income Group and Economic Status:**

It is still true that the pattern of village leadership is determined by the income and economic status of its members. Tables 3 and 4 enable us to assess how far does the economic status of the members play a part in the panchayat.

There are 5 members in the present panchayat who come from the income group upto Rs. 5,000. Three each from the income group of Rs. 5,000 - 15,000 and above Rs. 30,000 respectively. Two members come from the income group of
Rs. 15,000 - 30,000. Table 3 also gives us the comparative picture of the income groups of the members of the previous panchayat (1961). The percentage of the membership belonging to the group with an income below Rs. 5,000 has slightly gone up by 2.2% and that of group of Rs. 15,000 -30,000 considerably by 6.4%. As against this, the percentage of members earning between Rs. 5,000 and 15,000 has gone down by 4.3% which is also true in the case of the member earning above Rs. 30,000.

**TABLE 3**

**Income Groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income per year</th>
<th>1961 Percentage</th>
<th>1965 Percentage</th>
<th>Percentage Variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upto 5,000</td>
<td>4 36.4</td>
<td>5 38.6</td>
<td>+ 2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000 to 15,000</td>
<td>3 27.3</td>
<td>3 23.0</td>
<td>- 4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,000 to 30,000</td>
<td>1  9.0</td>
<td>2 15.4</td>
<td>+ 6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 30,000</td>
<td>3 27.3</td>
<td>3 23.0</td>
<td>- 4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11 100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>13 100.0</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While increase in the membership of the lowest group of income can be explained as on account of rising aspirations of the Bariyas who improved their position in the panchayat by 14% and that too at the cost of all other castes* (Table 1).

* Although caste composition of the panchayat seems to have radically changed due to increase (14%) in the membership of the Bariyas, the same proportion of change is (continued on p.121)
That no Bariyas hold land more than 10 acres (Table 4) is sufficient to show where he stands in the economic structure of the village. Table 3 also shows the increase in the membership of the income group of Rs. 15,000 - 30,000. Generally speaking, rich middle class peasantry of Mogri belongs to this group. It appears that the people of this group, having found a few top rich houses of Mogri who are generally known as "outsiders" controlling the panchayat machinery at the cost of 'local' Patidars moved to counter their influence. Believing themselves to be rising leaders, it would be natural for them to think that a seat in the panchayat should be the first right step.

**TABLE 4**

**Caste in relation to land holdings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6-7</th>
<th>7-10</th>
<th>above 10</th>
<th>Total land-holding families</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Brahmin</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Patidar</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>67.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bania</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bariyas</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Harijan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Musalmán</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Others</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not reflected in the income group below Rs. 5000. (2.2% increase) simply because the two incoming Bariyas members replaced one Valand member of the same income group and another Patidar member. Thus increase of 2.2% in the income group tallies with decrease of 2.2% in the Patidar group.
Out of 257 land holding families, 173 (67%) are Patidars, 50 (20%) are Bariyas, 3 (3.1%) each from Brahmin and Musalman, 6 (2.3%) from Harijan and 1 (0.5%) from Bania caste. It will be interesting to note that out of 80 families in the land holding group of 10 acres and more 79 (nearly 98%) families consist of Patidars and 1 from Brahmin caste. A majority of landholding Bariyas (43 families) have 1-5 acres of land. Of 41 families having 7-10 acres of land, 39 are Patidars, 1 Brahmin and 1 Bariya. In fact, it will be seen that Patidars constitute the largest group in all the categories given in Table 4.

It will be noticed from Table 4 that economic structure of the community and leadership are interdependent. Possession of land in the village determines the status of the family and sets the pattern of leadership.

**Age:**

Age, like other factors considered so far, is also an important one. Traditionally, it is considered to be a privilege of the elders to occupy important positions in the village. Mogri follows the same pattern. Of the 13 members in the present panchayat, 3 (23%) belonged to the age-group of 31-40 and 51-60 years respectively. 5 (38.6%) belonged to the age group of 41-50 years and 2 (15.4%) were over 60 years.
Table 5 analyses the comparative age-groups of the past and the present panchayats. It shows a decrease in percentage of the younger age groups of 31-40 and 41-50 years to the extent of 13.4% and 6.8% respectively. On the other hand, there is a progressive increase in the percentage of higher age-groups. The increase in the age-group of 51-60 years is 4.8% followed by the next higher age-group of 60 years and above with an average of 15.4% which is the highest. Both the trends, the increase in the higher age groups and the decrease in the younger age groups are not in keeping with the time of progressivism and expectations of new generation. However, this can be explained in the following manner. There are at least five members in the present panchayat who are returned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>Percentage variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of members</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>No. of members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>above 60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
for the second time. Of the five, three were nearing 43 and two nearing 57 at the time of the election of the previous panchayat, hence they came under the next higher age-groups in 1965 election. Therefore, there was considerable increase in all higher age-groups.

There are one or two more trends which should be noted. It is somewhat curious that none from the age group of 21-30 years has still secured a place, in the past as well as present panchayat. It shows that the youngers are yet not considered adequately mature for public life. It also shows that people have more faith in the experienced leaders rather than young ones. Election of older people to panchayats is in accordance with the tradition of the Indian Village, in which leadership and decision making rest mainly with the older people, and Mogri is no exception. It will be noticed from Table 4 that most of the members coming from the Patider caste are well to do middle class agriculturists. They can spend their 'relative leisure' for the panchayat work because most of the cultivation work is done in a particular season and that too by the younger members with the help of labourers.

Most of the women members fall in the next younger group of 31-40 years. The reason of their being in panchayat is that they are better educated than the older generation of women in the village, and belong to the Patidar caste which

is progressive and modern, than the other castes in the village. In the case of the Bariyas, the new generation is aggressive and determined to fight the forces which cause imbalance in the political structure of the village. This was made clear to the researcher, who visited a few young members of the Bariya community. However, they admitted that the task was not so easy.

The analysis, on the whole, shows that it is the middle aged group on the higher side of 41 and above which has taken control of the panchayat.

Education:

Education is an investment in terms of human capital. A good education definitely helps one's capacity to give thoughtful judgement on political-social issues. A better educational background of the members of any institution like village panchayat is supposed to help develop progressive attitude of these members towards social and economic problems in contrast to illiterate members. 24

**TABLE 6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>1961 Members Percentage</th>
<th>1965 Members Percentage</th>
<th>Percentage variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>2 18.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>5 45.4</td>
<td>10 77.</td>
<td>+ 31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>4 36.4</td>
<td>3 23.</td>
<td>- 13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11 100.</td>
<td>13 100.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 provides interesting reading. For the first time there are no illiterate members in the panchayat. There were two illiterate members (18.2%) in the last panchayat (1961). There is none now. This is certainly a marked improvement in the educational standard of the members. Not only that illiteracy is removed, there is significant increase (31.6%) in the number of members belonging to the group of primary level education. In the last panchayat there were 5 members out of 11, belonging to this group, whereas at present there are 10 out of 13 members (77%). It means persons belonging to moderate means and ordinary education do not feel shy of entering into the Panchayat. Higher Education is still a luxury to many, especially for a low caste-people. (Table 7). There is a decline by 13.4% in the number of members belonging to the group having education up to matriculation. There were 4 members out of 11 in the last panchayat, belonging to this group whereas at present there are 3 members out of 13. Table 6 further shows that nobody with college or technical education has so far entered the panchayat arena, although Mogri is in the vicinity of educational centres like Vallabh Vidyanagar and the Institute of Agriculture. This anomaly may be explained by the fact that the educational centres mentioned above have come into existence recently after 1945. Hence, its benefit will accrue to the present generation, while the members of the present and past panchayats belong to the outgoing generation which did not have the benefit of the present
educational facilities. Secondly, the highly educated people of the Charotar Villages have always preferred to go 'outside' for better prospects. The result is that only those who, out of necessity and interest in their agricultural pursuits, have remained at home. This only partly explains the dearth of educated persons in the panchayat. There are, no doubt, one or two educated persons who are not happy with powerpolitics of the 'panchayat' and therefore, keep aloof from it. Table 7 gives a comparative idea of the education attainments of the members of various castes after Vallabh Vidyanagar and the Institute of Agriculture came into existence.

**TABLE 7**

**Educational Progress of Mogri**

(1969)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>S.S.C. Pass</th>
<th>Graduates</th>
<th>College-going</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Patidar</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Brahmin</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bania</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bariyas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Harijans</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Musalman</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Valand</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Jaiswal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Christian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7 shows that castes like Patidar, Brahmin and Bania have seized the opportunity of higher learning, offered by Vallabh Vidyanagar and the Institute of Agriculture. Among the low caste people, only Harijans have one graduate and a college-going student. The Bariyas have not taken the benefit of educational opportunities is clear from Table 7. So far no graduate is produced by them. It shows their lack of interest and motivation. It is also possible that their economic plight may be partly responsible for their educational backwardness.

Knowledge of 'English' and 'Office-procedure':

It was revealed during the course of the investigation that a number of people in the village Mogri, many of them actively interested in the panchayat affairs, were of the opinion that a Sarpanch should possess, at least, the working knowledge of English language and some understanding of the office-procedure. Non-officials also think it necessary and advantageous when some important schemes have to be explained to the government officials. Of course, this is a popular belief and not empirically tested.

However, I was told that this aspect has not always been given due consideration at the time of selection of a Sarpanch. I find that all the four Sarpanchas except the first one possessed working knowledge of English. They were also conversant with the work of office-procedure. This does not mean that the knowledge of English and office-procedure
were the only criteria in the selection of Sarpanchas. The selection process of a Sarpanch involves an inter-play of many factors such as caste, economic-status, group politics and personal qualities. What is sought to be pointed out here is simply an aspect of it.

**Weaker Sections:**

Mogri had the benefit of progressive administration of the Baroda State before Independence. The Panchayat Act of Baroda State had made it obligatory the representation of the scheduled caste on the panchayat. Since 1930, a member from the scheduled caste had always been there on the Panchayat Samiti. In the first (1951) and the second (1956) panchayats, there was one seat reserved for the scheduled caste and in the third (1961) and the fourth (1965) panchayat, the same was doubled.

It should be noted that so far as representation in the Panchayat is concerned, the scheduled caste has always been in a better position than other castes such as Brahmin, Banias, Musalmans and others who are yet not represented by their caste-men. In terms of percentage, the scheduled caste was represented by 18.2% in 1961 and 15.4% in the present panchayat as against 9% of their population. Of course, this is due to the statutory provisions. However, the fact that none of them has ever contested a seat in the general ward shows that they are not fully integrated in the society.
The reservation of seats provides on the one hand, a sense of secure representation to the Scheduled caste people and on the other hand makes them conscious of their socially vulnerable position. After 25 years of Independence, the provision for reservation of seats is required to be extended for 10 years more, speaks of the social condition of the weaker sections in our country.

It also appears from the manner of selecting their candidates for panchayat, that the recruitment style in the scheduled caste is peculiarly their own. The same person is not proposed for the second time. The community offers leadership roles in turn by rotation. This is not so in the case of Patidar or Bariyas where the same 'old guards' are returned again. This is, perhaps, indicative of rigid and traditional hold of the Patidar and the Bariyas over their caste as against flexible and cooperative attitude of the leaders of the scheduled caste in Mogri, especially the Harijans. We could see in Table 7 that so far as education is concerned, Harijans are next only to the Patidars, Brahmins and Banias, with 6 other communities trailing behind. Even if it is a matter of occupying a reserved seat, it should be noted that in the third panchayat (1961) there was one female member from the scheduled caste. Where ladies from the progressive community like Patidars feel shy to enter panchayat office, the presence of a lady member from the scheduled caste should be considered noteworthy. Sending
new faces every time suggests successful working of democratic method within the caste-structure, and openness of leadership. It further suggests harmonious working among the various leaders as also the absence of the hold of a particular leader in the caste organisation.

**Female leadership:**

It may not be out of place here to briefly consider the position of women in the context of rural leadership. The practice among the women-folk of not moving out freely and covering their faces before elders still continues in the countryside. There may be some examples of women contesting the panchayat election and some of them even going to the State legislatures or Union Parliament. But, by and large, leadership in village is a male affair.25

This is also true of Mogri. The female leadership in Mogri is one sided affair. It is confined to sending one or two representatives according to statutory provisions. However, slow but definite change is taking place since last two elections. Table 8 makes it clear.

Table 8 shows that the representation of women in the panchayat has doubled after 1956. It also shows that till 1961 there was no contest among the women for their reserved seats. It was only in 1965 that for the first time an election was fought by women candidates for one of the two

reserved seats. This shows the degree of awareness among the women for their political roles. Table 8 also shows improvement in the educational level of the women members. In the first two panchayats, all the women members were illiterate. In the third panchayat ratio between literacy and illiteracy among them was fifty-fifty. It was in the present panchayat (1965) that stigma of illiteracy was completely removed. It is certainly an achievement by any standard.

TABLE 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panchayats</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Contested</th>
<th>Uncontested</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Reserv.</th>
<th>Literate</th>
<th>Illiterate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This type of representation of women so far seems to have served merely as an element in consolidation of kinship and caste-feeling as also building of support-structure for the formal leadership of their guardians. Most of them have contested their seats at the instance of their family or factional leaders. All, save one, belong to one or other sub-faction of the 'local' Patidar faction. Main consideration in their selection is to balance the factional representation.
in the panchayat as well as to obtain their support at some crucial meetings. Generally they do not care to remain present in the ordinary meetings. But they do remain present in those meetings when a Sarpanch is to be selected or annual budget is to be passed, or an important resolution (like the one seeking change in boundary of Ward I with a view to weakening the hold of Bariyas) is proposed. Here, their role is two-fold: they work to consolidate their kinship and group feelings as also build up support structure for their caste leaders.

**Modernising Process:**

The term modernization is said to contain the following five core processes:

(i) Mechanisation;
(ii) Industrialization and Urbanization;
(iii) Secularization;
(iv) Growth of Science; and
(v) Achievement Orientation.

General notions with which modernization process is connected are rationality, humanism and the feasibility and necessity of improvement in the conditions of human life in this world. 

Use of modern means:

The use of modern means of communication is a good index to study some of the aspects of modernization.

It will be rather surprising to note that most of the members of panchayat in Mogri are conversant with the use of modern means like telephone, car, electricity, radio, water-tap, newspaper, bicycle, banking etc.

**TABLE 9**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means</th>
<th>1961 Percentage</th>
<th>1965 Percentage</th>
<th>Percentage variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Telephone</td>
<td>1 9</td>
<td>1 7.6</td>
<td>- 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Car</td>
<td>1 9</td>
<td>1 7.6</td>
<td>- 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Electricity</td>
<td>7 63</td>
<td>11 84</td>
<td>+ 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Radio</td>
<td>5 45</td>
<td>10 77</td>
<td>+ 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Water-tap</td>
<td>7 63</td>
<td>8 61</td>
<td>- 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Newspaper</td>
<td>7 63</td>
<td>8 61</td>
<td>- 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Bicycle</td>
<td>4 36</td>
<td>7 54</td>
<td>+ 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Banking</td>
<td>6 54</td>
<td>6 46</td>
<td>- 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 shows that at least one member in the panchayat has his own car and telephone. 7 members possess bicycles as mode of personal transport. It is not unusual for a member to hire taxi or get private car if the work is
urgent and involves question of prestige or status. Increase in the use of cycle is in the direct proportion to the increase in the number of panchayat members of ordinary class. There is also an overall increase in the use of electricity and radios by the members. However, there is a slight decline in the use of newspapers and water-connections. It was explained that private water-post is found expensive by the Bariyas and the scheduled caste members while newspaper reading is time-consuming and less interesting. That there is no increase in the number of members using private car, telephone and bank suggests the diminishing interest of the rich commercial class in the panchayat. It also suggests that it is not so easy now to get elected in view of the politisation of the masses. Defeat of a candidate from the richest family of Mogri by an ordinary candidate in Ward I in the elections of third panchayat (1961) is worth mentioning.

What is true of Mogri is generally not the case in other villages of its type. It shows how fast it is developing and modernising. If the members are prone to use of modern facilities, it is expected that they will not show traditional and conservative attitude in tackling the problems of their village. The Patidar members may be somewhat orthodox in their social outlook, but they are dynamic and progressive in other respects. That they are providing the surplus water from their water-tank for irrigation purpose and also have established a centre for artificial insemination of buffalows.
in order to improve the quantity and quality of milk are some of the instances that suggest their progressive outlook.

Role of Political Parties in the Panchayats:

"It is well worth emphasizing," says J.P. Narayan, that "the success of Panchayati Raj would depend upon the extent to which organized political parties refrained from interfering with it and trying to convert it into their hand-maid, and use it as a jumping ground to climb to power. For the sake of the health and vitality of these institutions and intelligent participation of the people in the working of democracy, it would be best to leave these institutions in the direct contact of the people, without party interference." 27

But contrary to such hopes, political practitioners and local citizens are very much concerned with where a school is built, who gets a well, where a road is constructed and whose soul finds a job. "Who gets what" is crucial question in any political system and whatever institution has the power to decide is invariably a target for those who want political power.

The power of village panchayat is considerable under the new legislation. And wherever there is power, there must be politics - a law as fundamental in political science as supply and demand is in Economics. This is how Myron Weiner 28 puts

the views opposite to those expressed by J.P. Narayan. He further says: "Since political parties want to control Samitis and Zilla Parishads, and since these bodies are generally elected by the panchayats, it follows that political parties must exercise influence within panchayats."

Party-activities in Mogri:

As such, no political party is formally active in Mogri and certainly not at the panchayat level. None of the members of the present as well as the past panchayat was elected on the party basis. Most of them said that they did not favour association of party politics with the panchayat administration. It is, therefore, expected that political considerations do not determine the actions of the office bearers of panchayat.

Political parties become active in the villages only during the time of general elections. Although the election for the Parliamentary as well as Assembly seats was bitterly fought by the Congress and the Swatantra party, and the voting in Mogri was closely divided between the two rivals (53% for Congress and 46% for the Swatantra in 1967), there is no hang-over of this bitterness on the working of the panchayat. The voting pattern shows that the voters in Mogri were clearly divided between the two parties. However, this division of attitude is not reflected in the daily behaviour of the people. This does not mean that leaders in Mogri did not participate in the election campaign of the political parties. In fact
many of the Patidar members of the panchayat worked for the patidar-candidate of the Swatantra party, while members from the Bariyas and the scheduled caste supported the congress candidate, who was a Kshatriya by caste. But for the solid support of a veteran congress member from Mogri, who was also a rich landlord and big business man, the Congress candidate would not have been able to score the comfortable margin of votes over his rival candidate.

This is all about working of the political parties in Mogri. Party politics is generated only at the time of election. For them, there is no ideology involved. Most of the Patidars voted for the Swatantra party not because of its ideology but the candidate was a Patidar. Similarly, the Bariyas voted for the Congress candidate, because he was a Kshatriya. The scheduled caste voted en bloc for the Congress candidate because there was a mandate from their caste-leaders. Helpful policy of the Congress government towards the Scheduled Caste was another consideration. However, old rivalries do come up on surface and get strengthened during the election days. BS, a leader of rival faction of NS, a former Sarpanch and Mukhi, supported Congress candidate because NS was working for the Swatantra party. In the beginning, BS and NS were friends and

29. G. Ram Reddy and K. Seshadri observe: "The interesting phenomenon of rural politics which deserve to be noted by political scientists is that there is not much rigidity in the political affiliations of the contestants". The Voter and Panchayati Raj, (1972), p.111.
belonged to the same group in the village politics. They became rivals when NS played dubious role in defeating BS in the panchayat election of 1965. On the whole village politics is yet guided more by local issues and rivalries than political issues of the higher level.

When local issues are tackled at the party level, local politics then becomes party politics. The case of Mogri's water works is an important illustration. It is said that the leaders of Mogri had come to an understanding with the Congress candidate that in exchange of en bloc voting for the Congress, the candidate would help them in getting the scheme of waterworks included in the list of 'approved projects' for the purpose of grant. The fact is that on winning the election, the Congress candidate sincerely worked for the promise and the panchayat of Mogri got the grant from the government. Similarly, they had brought tremendous pressure on the district Congress leaders through the boycott of District Local Board elections for their demand of the construction of an approach road. The Bariyas, being harassed by the Patidars, occasionally invited leaders of the Kshatriya Sabha to boost up the morale of their community in Mogri. The leaders of the Kshatriya Sabha in turn exercised their influence over the Bariya community for political support to their candidates

30. K. Seshadri and S. P. Jain comment: "The involvement of the political leadership at lower levels is inevitable, but wisdom lies in making this involvement more positive and contributory to developmental than become impedo-mental when the links between the leadership at various (continued on page 140)
in the general elections. The management of the local high school is another example to show how political party like the Congress keeps its contact with the local leaders.

Of course, village leaders find it advantageous to be associated with a political party during the election days. It increases their importance in the eyes of their supporters and caste-fellows. It also gives them opportunities to establish contact with the leaders at the district and state levels. Sometimes it enhances their position to bargain, as it happened in the case of water works in Mogri.

**Informal leadership:**

Informal leadership includes influential persons in the village. They may not occupy any position, but can take decisions on behalf of the villagers and influence the decisions. They are the real leaders of the community and voice the group's collective conscience.

In fact, leadership in the village is not symbolized by one or two individuals, but by groups having their own leadership. The village leaders are understood to be influential persons who are shown respect at ceremonies and festivals

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(continued from p. 139...)

levels and the people have to be forged in order to make the leadership more responsive to the national and local aspirations and expectations. (Panchayati Raj and Political Perceptions of Electorate, (1972), p.99.

and are invited to take part in panchayat meetings and to settle village disputes and issues. It is only by observing the persons whom people give such respect and who are invited to panchayat meetings in the village, that the pattern of leadership can be determined.

There are certain influential persons in villages, who do not like to shoulder responsibility of the office of a Sarpanch of a panchayat as it is statutorily constituted and connected with higher levels of panchayat system to which it is subjected for supervision and control. And yet such persons occupy central position in the influence structure of the village community either because of their traditional social status, or rich position or public status.

**Typology:**

The leaders of the village, observes H.S. Dhillon, can be divided into two categories -- (i) primary or major leaders and (ii) secondary leaders. The primary or major leaders are those whose presence is considered essential in all important meetings of the village. The presence of at least a few of these primary leaders is essential at ceremonies like marriage, cultural programmes or sports events.

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They are informally consulted before any tax proposals are decided, state leaders are invited or development schemes are mooted.

Secondary leaders are persons who occupy an important position in their respective factions. Their presence is considered essential for all important meetings of their own factions or of village panchayats when matters concerning their factions are discussed. Many of these persons are quite influential and active in village affairs also. They generally act as supporters of primary leaders belonging to their respective factions in the village panchayat meetings. Some of them may become primary leaders in course of time. On the other hand, some of primary leaders also become secondary leaders when they cease to take active interest in village affairs or lose popularity because of old age, a fall in economic status, an unpopular action or other reasons.

Henry Orenstein gives another classification. He writes: Informal leadership is of greater consequence in the community affairs of a village than formal leadership. Such leadership may be classified under two main headings (1) sanctioned and (2) unsanctioned. Sanctioned leadership may be further sub-divided into two types based on the sources of their effectiveness. Some are leaders primarily by virtue of the respect they inspire in others. Their advice is sought

and their actions are imitated, but they generally do not attempt to compel obedience. This type of leadership may be called passive. Others are leaders because of the power they exercise over people. They instigate or prohibit activities and their right to do so is sanctioned by the majority, though their decisions may be contrary to the desires of many. This may be termed active leadership.

There are men in the village who have the power to get things done their way, yet who have few, if any, of these qualities. From the perspective of the majority of the villages, this kind of leadership is based directly on force. They are unsanctioned leaders.

Method of Study:

In general, there are two approaches for the identification of "influentials". One is the decisional approach, where particular community decisions are selected for detailed analysis. Whereas this approach may facilitate the discovery of those who exert influence in the particular areas under study, it may lead to the omission of important persons who were perhaps not interested in the decisions selected for analysis. Thus this method has come to be supplemented or substituted by the reputational approach.


In this approach, a selected group of "Judges" or a random sample of the community or even the formally identifiable community office-holders are asked to identify the influentials.

For the purpose of our study, a selected group of 'judges' was asked to identify three types of leaders: (1) Those informed persons who were sought out as advisers; (2) Those who were sought out as arbitrators; and (3) Those who work as 'liaisons' between the village and the power structures outside it.

Taken together, one could arrive at what could be regarded as the general list of community elites.

Informal Leadership:

(1) CB

The most important among the front-rank informal leaders of Mogri as a whole is a tall, slim, imposing and aristocratic man of 75, who is popularly known as CB. He comes from the dominant Patidar caste, is educated upto matric and understands English very well. It is said that his fore-fathers migrated from Ahmedabad side nearly two hundred and fifty years ago. Local people call them "Ahmedabadi". Besides inheriting a large fortune from his father, CB has now established himself as a leading business man of tobacco and progressive agriculturist in the district. He is also an unchallenged leader of his own group in the village. He has
his own bungalow, garden, car, telephone, tractor and a number of servants. He owns a big tobacco processing factory in Mogri, employing more than a hundred workers. He is hard-working, methodical and thorough in his work.

He does not personally believe in many of the religious ceremonies that are held in his community, but he thinks it his duty as a leader of the village to attend them. He extends his support, financial and otherwise, in the cultural activities — such as ras, garba, drama, sports — of the village.

He does not interfere in the affairs of other leaders in the village. He is, however, ready to advise and guide when called upon to do so. His advice always carries weight. He also acts as a mediator and settles disputes. CB has not to struggle for status or position; he is accepted and recognised as a leader of the village. Being a shrewd leader, he would not involve in the inter-factional rivalries, but would keep good relations with all the factions, making them dependent on him. His sole concern is to safeguard his business interests and enhance his status. For this, he would give donations both in his village and outside and even utilise his links at higher levels. He has ways and means to make people feel small before his greatness. Because of his contacts with 'big guns' of the government and the party (congress), he can get things done immediately, while others might be groping in the darkness of administrative jungle. An instance in the
point would suffice here. Farmers in the villages know very well that Hybrid seeds and fertilisers are always in urgent need before and during the first spell of monsoon. But they are not easily and readily available in the market as they are distributed through cooperatives or panchayats. Because of usual procedural channels, such commodities are rarely available at the proper time. In Mogri, CB would directly contact the District Panchayat, ask for immediate release of seeds and fertilisers, send his tractor or jeep and get them even before time. He would even distribute the surplus to his own supporters and the needy. Such dramatic but timely moves make the villagers rely on him.

To maintain his dignity and high status, CB generally does not go out of his bungalow. He expects leading people of his village to come to him. All important officials visiting Mogri make a point to visit him. Ministers and other VIP's usually camp at his residence and address people there under his chairmanship. He would put his car and guest house at the disposal of the visiting dignitaries and provide facilities to them. CB has a number of leadership acts to his credit. One or two of them may be cited here to show its nature and magnitude. There is a practice in Mogri of holding a meeting of the village people to exchange greetings on the New Year's Day. The panchayat takes this opportunity of the presence of villagers and turn it into a formal meeting of the Gram Sabha, for the purpose of discussing developmental
schemes of the village. The work of the meeting would not start until CB comes. On his arrival, he would be directed by the Sarpanch towards the most important position in the congregation. People would press him to speak a few words and guide the deliberations.

When Mogri was to be connected with electricity for the first time, he emphasised the importance of electricity in the life of a village. He himself was so joyous and enthusiastic about it that he offered to supply free of charge the poles required to be erected for street-lights.

This year he has done another feat of leadership. He has so far donated more than Rs. 60,000 for the progress of education in Mogri, especially for the construction of buildings to house primary school and the High School. The high school has got its own newly constructed building from this year, along with a surrounding land of some 9 acres, which is fallow. He suggested that this fallow land should be cultivated and the proceeds should go to the High School, thus making it a permanent source of income. He did not stop at making the suggestion only. In order to set an example, he volunteered himself to do it free of charge. A piece of fallow land which was meant for grazing the cattle was turned into a green farm of tobacco. CB had so far donated more than one lakh of rupees for the development of Mogri. The fact that he was elected for a number of years on the District Local Board.
and later on unanimously elected as a Sarpanch of Mogri testified to his popularity and qualities of leadership. There was no leader in Mogri who could be ranked in his category.

Although CB is the foremost leader in Mogri and his leadership has steered the village through for many years, there is one group of local Patidar which is opposed to his leadership. The opposition stems from the fact that the family of CB an outsider, is yet not fully integrated in the social fabric of the village, despite their stay here for over a couple of hundred years. The aristocratic and sophisticated atmosphere in the family of CB seem to be working as barrier in the process of integration. The fact that his dominance is due to economic power is another reason for the lack of integration. The local Patidars, especially the former Matadars of the Baroda regime, who enjoyed traditional leadership are jealous of this new leadership in the hands of the 'outsiders'. The local population is made to believe that the economic prosperity of CB's group is due to their exploitation of the village. Since they are not in a position to challenge CB's leadership on the economic front, this group of local Patidars does it on political level and that too not openly but in a disguised form, e.g. creating contempt in the minds of labourers by pointing out CB's acts of economic exploitation and social superiority or by manoeuring for the defeat of CB's candidates in the panchayat elections.
(B) Leadership by Experts:

There are at least three persons in Mogri who are looked upon as experts in their respective areas of leadership. They are NS, RK and RS. These are the leaders always preferred if a delegation on behalf of the village is sent outside for some public work. They all belong to the dominant Patidar caste, and are well educated. They are also well-to-do farmers and leaders of their own groups in the village.

NS is forthright and outspoken. He is not afraid of going to any office or speaking to any officers. He is also well versed in the court-procedures. He has a habit of speaking aloud even if he is whispering in your ears. He has a knack for getting things done. If he is dealing with a petty official, he would hold out a threat of going to the highest official in case his work is delayed. With big officers, he would try to befriend and eulogize their services. But he would get things done one way or the other. In one case, he went to the extent of taking a petty quarrel with an official to the press.

RK and RS in their nature are quite opposite to NS. They are sober, practical and methodical. RS, particularly, is known for his strategic mind. He would not deter in any frustrating situation. RK makes no haste. Slow but sure, he goes from step to step. He is also a good speaker and has cultivated the art of presenting the case in a very effective manner.
The general impression in the village is that, if all the three get together in any public work, they would make a success of it. The example of water-works is always cited to an outsider. It was decided that Mogri should have a water-works. One Mr. Lavingwala of Mogri, who has settled down in Africa, was approached for this purpose. He agreed to donate Rs. 30,000 for water-works. However, the estimate for water-works came around one lakh of rupees. Unless the state government could be persuaded to give 50 percent grant, the scheme was not likely to materialise. Inspite of all the efforts and the influence of CB, the then Sarpanch, nothing could happen. Ultimately, the whole task was entrusted to a committee, which included, among others, NS, RK and RS. After a long, arduous struggle and innumerable visits to the Mamlatdar and other officials -- big and small -- including the minister of the department concerned, they succeeded in persuading the government to accept the scheme. Their real success lies in the fact that they got the water-works sanctioned under a scheme which was already shelved by the government. It is unanimously acknowledged that but for this trio, the water-works would not have materialised.

Arbitration:

Individually, they have also been playing useful roles of arbitrators or mediators in the village. Whenever, there is a quarrel between two neighbours or a dispute in the matter of property or a fight among the low caste people, these leaders
would be invited to arbitrate. Some time they mediate of their own accord for the sake of peace in the village. NS and RK are, popular with the low-caste people, while RK takes interest in his Patidar community only. The pattern of their arbitration is mostly similar. They would hear both the parties, would not bother much about the legal position in the case, tell the truth in round about manner and force a compromise. The solution may not be palatable to all the parties concerned. Justice will be equated with expediency. The arbitrators may be slightly partial to a party which is stronger of the two quarreling parties, or to a party which is nearer to their groups. In no case would they allow the parties to take the dispute outside the village. A party which decides to settle the dispute out of village i.e. in the court, is looked upon with contempt. There are two such cases which merit mention here. In one case, some Bariyas were beaten by Rakhas (Sikh Watchman) on the suspicion of stealing crops from the farms of Patidar farmers. Rakhas were engaged by the Patidar agriculturists for the protection of their crops. Rakhas, therefore, had the backing of the Patidars. The Bariyas were not in a mood of settling the dispute at home, and therefore, had taken the case to the court. Ultimately, they were persuaded to withdraw the case and the dispute was settled through arbitration of NS and RS. In another case, the dispute was between two Patidar groups. The case pertained to the use of a piece of open land by one party and objected to by his neighbour. The mediation efforts having failed, the
parties went to the court of law. The village leaders requested them not to do so as it was not customary and good. But one of the parties was adamant and would not heed the advice. It went to the court only to find himself isolated in the village. Ultimately, he withdrew the case and the dispute was settled through mediation of NS and others.

These leaders are certainly well-to-do and self-reliant. On account of their good education, prosperity, high status in society and superiority which is recognized by the village, they wield authority.

NS, a son of a former Mukhi, has inherited leadership from his father. He was appointed a Mukhi at a comparatively young age of 25, before the formal introduction of Panchayati Raj in 1964. Being the son of a former Mukhi, he believes that he should behave as a leader, in keeping with the best traditions of the village. It is really expensive for NS to maintain the pomp and show of his status as a front-rank leader. He would not mind hiring a taxi for attending a case in the court or meeting an officer. He would readily accompany persons in distress and go out even at the cost of his own business. All this accounts for his arrogance and self-importance. He would feel his ego hurt if he is ignored in the important affairs of the village and would retaliate by hurling criticism. It is widely suspected that he would not miss a chance of making business out of the work entrusted to him. It is alleged that he had transferred a big amount
of money from the treasury to his personal account at the time of the merger of the Baroda State. The Panchayat records, however, show that it was a case of misunderstanding and not that of embezzlement. It is also suspected that his interest in the quarrels of the low-castes people or the auction of babul-trees by panchayat is motivated by monetary considerations.

RS and RK are different kinds of personalities. Both are wealthy and flourishing businessmen in tobacco. They do not have the weaknesses as NS is alleged to have. On the contrary they are generous and spend money for public purposes.

RS, however, is famous for his 'machiavellian' art in the village politics. He has never lost his seat in the panchayat elections so far. He plays all tricks to keep his rival down. It is a tribute to his gamesmanship that he even manages to get elected from a ward where his caste-fellows i.e. Patidars, are not in majority. The key to his success, according to RS himself, is that he keeps very cordial relations with all types of people. It is feared in some quarters, that RS wins because he cleverly makes people fight against each other and quite often succeeds in his game.

RK is quiet and sober in his manners and approach. He hardly meddles in the village affairs unless he is called upon. He is, however, more interested in social rather than political problems. He is also a leader of his own group called "Nine". He would like to see that his group is properly represented.
in the power-structure of the village. He has never aspired for any position in the Panchayat through elections but informally he is always associated with the process of decision-making.

The Bariya Leaders:

There are three leaders in the Bariya community. The oldest and highly respected is FM. He is the first member of his caste, to be elected to the panchayat in 1961. Since then, he has represented his community without any break, in the panchayat. He is, generally, favoured as a mediator in any dispute concerning his community. He is a tailor by profession. He has also a small piece of agricultural land. By his caste's standard of living, he is considered to be self-sufficient and therefore, out of economic influence of the rich Patidars. He is a sort of public worker with a strong support-base in his community. However, he is conscious of his own limitations as well as those of his caste. He, therefore, does not come out in open conflict with the rich dominant Patidars, whatever may be the occasion -- a panchayat problem or an inter-caste quarrel. In panchayat meetings he takes very moderate and 'realistic' attitude. But in private conversations he does not conceal his grudge against high-handedness of the dominant Patidar members.

DF and DS are other two leaders of the Bariya community. They belong to the present generation and therefore, somewhat less moderate in their attitude. Both of them have
benefited from the government regulations of land-to-the 
tiller (i.e. The Bombay Tenancy Act of 1948). With their 
economically improved position and strong caste-base they 
thought of acquiring political power through panchayat election 
in 1965. And they have been successful since then.

**Summing Up:**

In terms of numerical strength, control over the tradi-
tional power structure and possession of vast land holds, 
the Patidar caste occupies a dominant position in Mogri. Their 
dominance has virtually over-shadowed the working of the 
village panchayat. The political power has become coeval 
with the economic strength of the Patidars.

Political position on the panchayat has become a status 
symbol for the Patidars. Their main concern is to ensure 
their hold over the panchayat. The modern forms of politics 
like democratic participation have helped the lower class, 
especially the Bariyas and the Harijans, to increase their 
participation in the political life of the village. It is 
for the first time, since the advent of Panchayati Raj, that 
the Patidars have been challenged by the lower class in their 
monopoly of power. The conflict in Mogri is not only between 
the two castes but also between the two classes (land owners 
and landless labourers). Table 2 (page 116) shows that the 
Bariyas have increased their strength by 14% in the panchayat.

It will be noticed from Table 4 (page 121) that economic
structure of the community and leadership pattern in Mogri are closely related. Possession of land in the village is still a major determinant of status and power. In Mogri, the Patidars constitute 67% and the Bariyas only 13.7% of the total 257 landholding families. Obviously, this has influenced the composition of panchayat and its committees. However, the economic base of the existing power structure is slowly but surely challenged by the political aspirations of a new rising class. They have been helped in this process by the new aspirants belonging to the well-off middle class.

The most surprising aspect of the leadership pattern is that the youth is put at a discount, while experienced persons are favoured. There is no single member belonging to the age group of 21-30 years in the panchayat, past or present.

The experience regarding female leadership is disappointing. They have failed to bring about their political emancipation envisaged in the new set-up. The legal privileges for females operate within limits set by the male-oriented and male-dominated social structure. Where social orthodoxy and caste-dominance multiply their influence, women's participation becomes perfunctory. Among the weaker sections of the society, the Harijans (Vankars) have shown better interest-perception and political consciousness by joining hands with the lower class (the Bariyas, Valand) in their fight against the dominant Patidars.
No political party is formally active in Mogri and certainly not at the panchayat level. Most of the members have, so far, taken non-party attitude in the panchayat elections. People are guided more by communal affinity or personal rivalries than political ideology in their voting behaviour. It has definitely strengthened the caste or community feelings in the lower class people. Of course, they indulge in party politics during the period of general elections. They have cleverly utilised the election-occasions to get their problems solved. In otherwords, they have been successful in politicising their local issues by relating them with party-politics or election-politics.

The pattern of informal leadership that emerges in Mogri may be described as neo-traditional (traditional-modern combined) and functional (result-oriented). Mogri people have accepted those persons as their leaders who are dynamic, articulate, result-oriented and popular.