CHAPTER V

FACTIONAL POLITICS AND

VILLAGE PANCHAYAT

(1) Factions
(a) Sociological viewpoint
(b) Political Analysis

(2) Factions in Mogri
(a) Intra-caste rivalry
(b) Class conflict
(c) Power struggle

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(1) Factions:

"Factions" have been extensively studied by Sociologists and Anthropologists, from various angles. Their studies in Political Science, however, have been of recent interest. It will be profitable to review the study of factions both from sociological and political angles with a view to developing correct perspective, especially in Political Science.

(A) Sociological View-point:

Factions, according to Oscar Lewis, are an old, ingrained pattern in village life, and need to be considered as a basic aspect of traditional village social organization along with caste, clans, lineages and other groupings. He does not think that factions are always political groupings or temporary alliances of individuals. Rather, they are primarily kinship groupings which carry on important social, economic and ceremonial functions in addition to their factional struggle against one another.

Sociologists, generally, emphasis two things as important in the study of factions: (i) the kinship structure of the families and (ii) the past history of inter-personal and inter-group relationship, especially the history of major disputes and litigations.

Factions are commonly understood to be hostile and aggressive groups which are constantly quarreling and as a result of which the village remains like a house divided against itself.

**Condition for operation:**

According to Lewis,² there are three conditions for a faction to operate successfully over an extended period of time. They are: (1) It must be sufficiently cohesive to act as a unit. (2) It must be large enough to act as a self-sufficient ceremonial group. (3) It must have sufficient economic resources to be independent of other groups.

**Binding factors:**

The factors which bind members of a faction and enable it to function as a cohesive unit are the intensive kinship ties and economic, social and ceremonial relationships between faction members. It is a result of these relationships that a faction operates as a cohesive unit and offers a considerable degree of social, economic and physical security to its members.³

**Factions: Friendly and hostile:**

Members of friendly factions, writes Dhillon,⁴ have generally a common meeting place. House-visiting and other

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social relations between families are much more common. However, the relationship between members of friendly factions are less stable than those among members of a single faction.

Members of hostile factions as a rule do not visit each others' house, except on such occasions as death or serious illness of a person when all the villagers are expected to be present. They would not usually meet, except at the house of a member of a neutral faction or at the village Chora.

They generally oppose one another during court litigations and in panchayat meetings. They often try to exploit dispute within a faction, in order to create a split. Factions which enjoy the reputation of being relatively neutral and of having friendly relations with all groups are the most influential in the village.

Shifts and splits in a faction:

The behaviour of leading members of factions also tends to weaken factions and cause frequent splits and changes. For instance, the leading families within faction do not like any rise in the status of those families which depend upon them. Similarly, increase in population and weakening of kinsip ties, sometimes, lead to shifts and splits in factions.

It should be noted that the leaders and other important persons who are supposed to maintain unity in the faction are not supposed to sacrifice their vested interests for other
members of the faction. They rarely do so and often exploit the weaker members.

Common Functions:

The functions of factions will differ according to their nature, purpose and necessity. However, all factions operate as more or less cohesive units on ceremonial occasions; in court-litigations, in the traditional caste-panchayats; and in recent years in the panchayat, state and national elections.

(B) Political Analysis:

"Factions", according to Ralph Nicholas, "is one kind of political process, and is necessary to understand if one wants to analyse the village politics." Lasswell, writing on 'faction' in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, says:

"A faction seems to subordinate the public good to private gain, and thus the term takes its place in the dialectic of political struggle especially as a means of defence and counter attack by those in power."

Nicholas disagrees with Lewis, who believes that factions may have important social functions outside politics and says that factions operate for the most part in the political field

5. Ibid., p. 32.
or with political effects in other fields. Thus, factions may be defined as conflict groups which perform essential political functions. Siegal and Beals define factionalism as "overt conflict within a group which leads to increasing abandonment of cooperative activities."

While criticizing students of factional politics for permitting "the emotional load" of the term to influence their thinking about factions, Nicholas writes:

"It is common to find factions connected with a 'break-down' of social institutions, rather than treated as an expectable alignment of personnel in certain kinds of political fields or regarded as one made of organizing political relations under conditions of rapid social change." 8

Characteristics of Factions:

Ralph Nicholas discusses at length some of the characteristics common to factions. He says that factions are (1) conflict groups (2) political groups and (3) non-corporate groups. The members of a faction are recruited by a leader and the recruitment is done on diverse principles. 9

While discussing factions as conflict groups, he says that factions appear as groups only during conflict. Conflict is the raison d'être of factional membership. Conflicts explain

8. As quoted by Nicholas, Ibid., p.22.
9. Ibid., p. 22.
10. Ibid., p. 44.
why there is no such thing as one faction in any political arena. Obviously, there must always be at least two factions. This does not mean that factions do not cooperate with one another. We find, curiously enough, many instances of factional coalitions, or factional alliances. However, factions do not lose their separate identities in an alliance.

Factions are also political groups. If we regard politics as organised conflict, writes Nicholas, then it is factions which organise the conflict in certain kinds of society and institution.

Factions are not corporate groups, believes Nicholas. This negative criterion is important since it points out a basic difference between factional and other kinds of political conflict. Anthropologists are accustomed to deal with political conflicts between enduring corporate groups such as dual divisions, clans or lineages. Political Scientists\(^\text{11}\) study conflict between corporate political parties. Factions seem to lack the permanence of any of these groups. That factions are not corporate and permanent does not mean that they may not persist for a long period of time. Analysing caste in purely abstract structural terms, Bailey\(^\text{12}\) points out that

"the system ideally permits only cooperative and never competitive relations between castes. Only

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(b)] Paul E. Brass: \textit{Factional Politics in an Indian State}, (1966).
\end{itemize}

the dominant caste has an autonomous political existence, not as a corporate political group, but as a field for political competition."

Recruitment is an important stage in the process of faction building. The leader who is responsible for organising the personnel of a faction is ordinarily a man with more political power than any of his followers. A faction leader has several different kinds of connections with his followers; he makes use of all possible ties to draw supporters into his faction.

The bases of recruitment to factions are diverse — they may rest upon kin ties, patron-client relations, religious or politico-economic ties or any combination of these. The main incentive for joining a faction, however, appear to be hostility toward some members of the opposing faction. Individuals, sometimes, align themselves politically with one another primarily out of self-interest. 13

**Factionalism in Indian context:**

"Factionalism", writes Myron Weiner, 14 "is a characteristic feature of Indian political life at all levels, from village to state and nation. It is relatively easy to describe the social composition of factions, more difficult to

explain what gives them cohesion." The faction is first of all a political unit. Its members do not share common ideas about pollution, marriage customs, religious rights or ritual status. Members characteristically belong to different castes, practise different occupations, and have wide disparity in income. Typically, each faction has as its leaders prominent members of the dominant caste in the village. The leader of each faction generally has the support of his own kin group, but there are instances when brothers are the leaders of contending factions. Patron-client relations are important in bringing artisans, tenants and agricultural labourers into the faction led by large land-owner. Kinship ties, personal friendship, financial obligations and status aspirations may all be elements in leading individuals to associate with a particular faction. A skilful factional leader must provide a wide variety of rewards for his followers.

"When we speak of factions", Weiner observes,

"we are referring to parts of a whole. Only a portion of a village belongs to a faction. Those who are of high caste and of wealth are most likely to join factions, but there are many men of high status who choose not to participate. Individuals who are low in caste, without land, and poor are less likely to be factional supporters but they will also be found in factions."\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 178.
A faction cannot always be certain of the allegiance of all of its supporters. Factions are not permanent groups, though many of them have endured for long periods with only small changes in their composition. It is not common, but individuals do occasionally leave one faction for another.

**Faction -- a vertical structure of power:**

Another useful study on the system of factional politics in India is made by Paul Brass.\(^\text{16}\) He notes that "factional conflict requires a certain kind of environment in which they flourish." However, factions and factional conflict in India are part of the indigenous social and political order. Brass gives three varieties of factional systems, namely, (1) A single faction system (2) Bi-factional system and (3) Multi-factional system.\(^\text{17}\)

"It is important to recognise", writes Brass,\(^\text{18}\) "that a faction is a vertical structure of power which cross-cuts caste and class divisions. A faction is, in this sense, like a political party."

While describing the role of a factional leader, he observes, "A faction leader is not expected to be an ascetic. The leader is expected to try to advance himself in every way possible. The only condition which his...

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17. Ibid., p. 235.
18. Ibid., p. 236.
The strength and cohesiveness of a faction depend very heavily upon the ability of the leader to distribute material benefits to his followers. Very often faction leaders bring private resources into local politics to build and maintain political support, e.g. In the countryside large landed proprietors have great economic resources to apply to the building of political following.

Similarly, another important source for a faction leader is control over association, local body or a cooperative society. Apart from economic basis, traditional loyalties and individual interests are other bases for faction building.

Functions:

Factions perform both integrative and disintegrative functions. Factorial politics in traditional societies are personal politics and status politics. It cuts at the very basis of the existence of a modern democratic political party. It is intensified by our traditional attitude toward decision making and conflict resolution. Thus, it is normal for political rivals to carry their conflicts into business and social life.

Factions also perform some integrative functions like recruitment to political organisations etc. A particularly important function which faction performs in society is the politicization of social and religious groups in secular terms. "The role which factions perform in dividing social group is also important for the political system as a whole. Factions are well suited for this role since they are based upon a form of loyalty which is traditional, but adaptable to secular political institutions. Factions are oriented towards political power rather than towards the advancement of the goals of parochial groups. It has been amply demonstrated that the quest for power by factions and factional leaders overcomes caste antagonisms." 20

Factions and Interest groups:

"Factions", according to Brass, 21 "are alternative forms of political organisation to interest groups and are based upon conflicting principles. Factions are vertical structures of power oriented towards influence, that is, towards the establishment of links which will provide for the transmissions of favours and services. Members of faction come from different social and economic groups in society united by a desire for personal privileges."

"Interest groups are associations oriented towards the promotion of the long term interests of a generalised category in the population. Factions inhibit the organisation of interests because they are based upon ties which unite opposed interests."

Factional Politics and Panchayats:

In our countryside today live members of different

20. Ibid., p. 242. 21. Ibid., p. 244.
groups with varying interests, that conflict with one another. This conflict is visible in hundreds of events taking place in the villages everyday. Panchayats have become the centres of these conflicts because they have become by far the most potent forum for the villages, who had hitherto been denied all avenues of self-expression.\(^{22}\)

The new scheme of democratic decentralization has brought to the fore some of the weaknesses of the village life. This seems to be a consequence of the existence of the faction-ridden society. Division is the essence of this society. Factions and cliques are the principal instruments through which access to power is obtained and political parties become arenas for the inter-play of factions and cliques. A process of compromise and sharing of spoils establishes a working arrangement among the factions.

"The emergence of power factions has resulted in the division of panchayats in a sort of political favourites and political exiles. This has resulted into discrimination and partisanship in the distribution of benefits with the majority group adopting both monopolistic attitudes and policies. Such trends can prove to be both anti-democratic and anti-developmental, besides weakening social homogeneity and village solidarity."\(^{23}\)


(2) **Factions in Mogri: Caste Composition:**

**TABLE 10**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Patidars</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bariyas</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Banias</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Brahmins</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Musalmans</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Harijans</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Christians</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Others</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>632</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Village Mogri has a population of 4,173 with more than twenty castes and sub-castes. Among the main castes are Brahmins, Banias, Patidars, Bariyas, Harijans, Musalmans, and Christians. The Patidars, who entirely dominate the public life of the village, constitute about 40% of the total population, followed by the Bariyas with 28% and the Harijans with 9%. The remaining communities are so small from the point of their numerical strength that they may be termed as 'microscopic minorities,' and they play no significant role in the political life of the village.
In the village, the Patidars are mostly engaged in the cultivation of land. They are a fairly advanced community. A good number of them are tobacco-business; a few of them have gone to East Africa to make good fortune. The Patidars, as a community, are very conscious of social status. They attach great importance to the formal positions in the village, such as a membership in panchayat, cooperatives or other voluntary organisations. This gives rise to factional politics in the village. Loyalty to a faction is one form of loyalty which is politically important in the traditional order, like loyalty to a lineage, to a caste, to a village etc. Factions among the Patidars centre around the kin-groups and come to surface only during the panchayat elections or court-disputes.

Three Major Patidar Factions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factions with Households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Ahmedabadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. &quot;Local&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Gadiawala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10 households of Patidars, mostly immigrants, do not belong to any faction)
There are three major factions in Mogri. They all belong to the dominant Patidar Caste. There are also factions and sub-factions working with intense rivalry within this dominant caste. There are, as such, no factions of any political significance in the Bariyas and other castes. The Bariyas, though next to the Patidars in numerical strength, seem to have very well realised their weak position in terms of economic dependence on the dominant land owning Patidar caste. They also do not have any political standing in the village. However, due to the politicization brought about by the introduction of mass franchise and the Panchayati Raj, the Bariyas have gathered courage to articulate their political interests in terms of seats to be captured in the panchayat. The realization that has dawned upon them is "united we stand, divided we fall". Since they are less politicized and less conscious than the Patidars, the process of faction-formation has not yet taken place among them. There is, virtually speaking, no competition for leadership among the Bariyas. The result is that a few competent leaders have led the Bariyas to the position of bargain in the panchayat politics. In the present panchayat, they have 3 members out of 15, a commendable gain compared to 'none' in the first two panchayats and only 'one' in the third panchayat. The Bariyas know it that as long as they remain united, no damage in terms of representation will be done to them. In order to consolidate their position and enhance the gain, they have come to an
understanding with the Harijans to help each other during the panchayat elections, with the result that they virtually dominate Ward I (pre-dominantly inhibited by the Bariyas and Harijans) and no Patidar or any other candidate can win the seat from that ward without their support. A prominent member of the Patidar community had tried to test his popularity in the panchayat elections of 1961 from this ward, and the outcome was a humiliating defeat. Similarly, no Patidar candidate had shown the courage to contest during the last elections (1965) from this ward. This bears testimony to the unity and understanding of the Bariyas and the Harijans. Moreover, in order to prevent disaffection and rivalry among themselves, the Harijans have adopted an innovation of rotating the panchayat membership among their different leaders.

The three major factions belonging to the dominant Patidar caste are known as (1) "Ahmedabadi" (2) "Local" and (3) "Gadiawala". The "Ahmedabadi" faction comprises of those persons whose forefathers had come from Ahmedabad side. Despite their being Patidars, "Ahmedabadia" are considered to be inferior to the "local" Patidars, because they did not originally belong to the "charotar" region. The "local" Patidars are called the "lewa"(leuva) a sub-caste among the Patidars whereas the "Ahmedabadi" group belongs to the "Kadva" sub-caste. "Leva" Patidars generally do not prefer to give their daughters in marriage to the "Kadva" Patidars, because of the differential status between the two sub-castes. Though,
this distinction is fast disappearing, it seems there is no complete integration, social or emotional, between the two sub-castes. It is interesting to note that the by-lane (Khadki) where these outsiders live is known as "Ahmedabadi 'Khadki'". Even though more than two centuries have passed, lady-members of these two factions do not visit each other very frequently, except on some rare occasions.

"The Ahmedabadi Faction":

The Ahmedabadi faction is, numerically speaking, not very strong having only 10 households in its fold (Table 11). But economically they are very powerful. Three of them, namely CB, SB and IZ form the core of the rich families in Mogri. They possess the highest landholdings in Mogri and own three tobacco processing factories employing more than 450 workers during the season. All the ten families have common ancestors and therefore form a solid kin-group. Because of their special aristocratic background, the three families mentioned above, stand out as a different category. In fact, these three families virtually control the economic life of the village. CB, for all practical purposes, is the head of this group.

Second Faction: The "Local" Patidars:

The second faction which consists of "Local" Patidars, is the largest in the village with 230 households in its fold. The "local" Patidars belong to the common lineage,
and form a powerful kin-group. In the pre-Independence era, the political power was monopolized by the leading families of this group. All the Matadars (Village-headmen) during the Baroda regime were appointed from the leading families of this group. Being the traditional power holder, this faction was in favourable position when the panchayat system was introduced in Mogri in 1951 on the basis of adult franchise. The first Sarpanch of the elected panchayat in 1951 belonged to this faction, and was also a former Matadar. It is clear that introduction of universal franchise opened the field of political power to those majority castes who were left out of the share of power before independence. It is also true that the election by secret ballot intensified the political activities among the traditional power holding groups, resulting into factions and sub-factions. The "local" faction was also torn into as many as four sub-factions. Internal rivalry and keen desire for position among the "local" Patidars were two factors responsible for factionalism in Mogri. The politics of status in terms of membership in panchayat was fought on the basis of narrow kinship-groups. The present sub-factions among the "local" Patidars were named on the basis of their original strength in terms of households as well as on the pattern of their settlement in the village. The four sub-factions seemed to have been formed as a result of a split in the joint family establishment once headed by a common ancestor. It is

said that out of the two Patidar families which had migrated to this place some 12 centuries ago, one settled in Mogri and another settled in Jitodia, the nearby village. The "local" Patidars in Mogri are the patrilineal descendants of the said family.

**TABLE 12**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-factions among &quot;Local&quot; Patidars</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub-factions</td>
<td>Households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. &quot;13-13&quot;</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Darwaja</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Khadki</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. &quot;9&quot;</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are four sub-factions among 'local' Patidars.

The most powerful among the four sub-factions is "13-13". Its very name suggests that in the beginning it had some 18 households and later on a group of 13 seemed to have merged into it. The second is known as "Darwaja" because most of the members of this faction have their house-holds in a locality which is separated by a 'Darwaja'(Gate). The third faction is known as 'Khadki' because its members have their houses in big or small 'Khadkis' (by-lanes protected with gates). The fourth sub-faction is called "9" as it had nine households in the beginning.
The "local" faction being split into four sub-factions, there is no common leader acceptable to all. There were eight families which gave twelve Matadars to the village during the Baroda Regime. By the end of the post-independence decade (1947-57) most of the Matadar families, excepting three, had gone into oblivion. Those three, which were in the lime-light, were suffering from 'economic ills'. The heads of these families, save the one who became Sarpanch in 1961, were not dynamic in their outlook. They could neither augment their economic prosperity nor political influence. The only family which gave dynamic leadership to the village had earned disrepute for some misdeeds of its head, N3, who was fighting against his own financial difficulties with whatever means he could command. N3 was also the leader of "18-13" - a powerful sub-faction. However, the vanity and mutual jealousy of the "local" Patidars, especially of "Khadki" would not allow them to accept anybody's leadership. The result was that there are as many leaders as there are sub-factions.

Except for the common dislike that they have for the outsiders, the sub-factions among "local" Patidars behave as independent units, especially during the panchayat elections. Sometime they cut across the boundaries of kinship loyalty and align with the traditional rivals in order to preserve their political entity. This has happened many a time during the panchayat elections of 1951, 1961 and 1965 respectively.
The Third Faction:

The third faction in the village is known as "Gadawala" as its members have migrated from the nearby village Gada. It has 10 households in its fold. Although a few of them are really economically prosperous, their political influence has been eroding as could be seen from the results of the panchayat elections (Table 13). In the first and second panchayats they had two members each; in the third panchayat only one member and in the present panchayat none. Owing to its weak position in the panchayat, especially from the point of numerical strength, this faction has been forced to play a neutral role in the power politics of the village. However, it finds ample scope for manoeuvre during the panchayat elections and would be only too ready to cash on the internal strife of the "local" faction. This could be done by aligning with one faction against the others. It had joined hands with the "Ahmedabadi", faction at the time of the first panchayat election (1951) to fight for the post of a Sarpanch. The tables were turned against 'Ahmedabadi' during the third panchayat when it declared its support for the "local" group. The alliance was successful in capturing the post of a Sarpanch. Since then, however, its influence is on the wane. There are at present, two prominent leaders of this faction. One is SS, a leading businessman in tobacco and another is MS, an active politician. SS is working behind the scene and never takes direct interest in the panchayat elections, while MS is quite opposite of SS.
He has always cared for position in the Panchayat with mixed fortunes. It may be said that they have not been able to make inroads into the panchayat institutions as voting is mostly done on factional lines. This faction suffers from both, lack of numerical strength and emotional integration with the local Patidars.

It seems that the factions continue to be distinct from one another even when they are in alliance. The reasons may be that two faction leaders can never have identical interests, with their resources as scarce as they are in any Indian village. "Men powerful enough to be faction leaders are always at least potentially in conflict." 25

(A) Factions and Panchayat Elections: Intra-caste rivalry:

The struggle among the main factions of Mogri centres around the acquisition of political power and leadership through panchayat office. Since all the three factions belong to the dominant Patidar caste, the result is intra-caste rivalry. However, the very consciousness of belonging to the same caste prevents them from going into an 'open' conflict. The intensity of political and sometimes personal rivalry reaches its climax during panchayat elections.

The "local" Patidars, traditional holders of power in the village, are frightened at the constantly increasing

25. R. Nicholas, op.cit., p. 46.
influence of the "Ahmedabadi" group. They understand that the real challenge to their monopoly of power comes not from the Bariyas but from the economically powerful group of "Ahmedabadi". It is not possible for them to meet this challenge on the economic front. They have, therefore, to face it on the political level. It is possible, here for them to out-manoeuvre the "Ahmedabadi" group on account of their numerical strength.

There is a small section within the "local" Patidars which believes that the "Ahmedabadi" have not only prospered at the expense of the local people but they have been systematically trying to root out the old leadership from the village by their policy of economic expansion. The economic prosperity achieved by the outsiders is a matter of recent history. The imposing palatial buildings constructed by the "three big"s of the "Ahmedabadi" group constantly remind the local leaders of the penetration achieved by the group. The sites where these buildings are constructed originally belonged to the local people who sold them off to the "Ahmedabadi", to cover their debt. The outsiders have not only got best of the house-sites, they possess the largest chunk of cultivable land, highest number of pump-sets, and biggest tobacco factories — all at the expense of the local people. More than one-third of the labour force of the village is working under their control. The influence that can be exerted by these outsiders on the economic life of the village is tremendous.

The political power, so to say, comes to them from the barrel of the economic gun. The local leaders are worried at the
speed with which the economic steam-roller of the 'Ahmedabadi' group moves on. The expected reaction is expressed in the policy of containment at the political level and disparagement on the social front.

The battle between the two factions is waged in a subtle manner — the manner as intriguing as playing the game of chess. All the forces — social, economic and political — are brought into the field to combat the adversaries tooth and nail and yet the finesse of the game is not lost.

However, the rivalry among the dominant Patidar caste is not confined to the two main factions only. The jealousy and the vanity among the members of the "local" Patidars generate another kind of rivalry which curiously enough works as an automatic brake against the outsiders. This helps to maintain an equilibrium among the political forces of the village, the benefit of which goes to the third party, i.e. either to the "Gadiwala" group or to the Bariyas.

As mentioned earlier, the "local" Patidars are split into four sub-groups due to inter-personal rivalry. These groups are (1) '18-13' (2) Darwaja (3) Khadki and (4) '9'. Their mutual jealousy is so deep that some time the main conflict between the "local" and "Ahmedabadi" group is forgotten. Nonetheless, the bone of contention is the membership of panchayat, a status symbol. Every third leader of a sub-faction wants to represent his faction in the panchayat. It will be
interesting to note here that in the last elections (1965), there were in all 20 candidates from the Patidar caste, 5 from the Bariyas and 2 from the scheduled castes. The Bariyas and Harijans were contesting for five seats which were considered "safe" for them. The real contest was for the remaining 8 seats for which 20 candidates from Patidar caste were fighting. The break-up of the Patidar candidates was as follows: one each from 'Ahmedabadi' and 'Gadiawala' groups; two from sub-faction "9"; four from "18-15"; five from "Darwaja" and seven from "Khadki". This shows how keen they were to enter the panchayat. Even more interesting is the case of seven candidates from "Khadki" who were fighting for 3 seats allotted to their ward. Obviously, some four out of the seven candidates were defeated by their own men, since none from outside was contesting in that ward and it was predominantly inhabited by the members of the 'Khadki' group. In short, it had become a matter of prestige for some families, and a question of political existence for different factions to get represented in the panchayat. In pursuit of this goal, new alliances took place and old ones faded away. The neighbours became rivals and rivals turned friends. The kinship bonds were tightened and past obligations recalled. A few known instances may be quoted here. NS, a former Sarpanch had to conspire against a friend and neighbour BS in the last election. They are still not on speaking terms. The same NS had to forge friendship with MS of opposite faction just to defeat a candidate of his own group. Likewise, DB the
present Sarpanch was opposed by his own men and was required to seek help from the Bariyas and others.

The following table shows how factions and sub-factions have been represented in the panchayats:

**TABLE 13**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factions</th>
<th>Panchayats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Ahmedabadi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Local</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. '18-13'</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Darwaja</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Khadki</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. '9'</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Total</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Gadiwala</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bariyas, Scheduled Caste and others</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that all the factions were represented in the first two panchayats. It also shows that the real tussle is between "Ahmedabadi" group and "Local" Patidars. The "Ahmedabadi" group always managed to get elected its own representative throughout, although it has only 10 households. As against this, the "Gadiwala"
faction seems to be on the decline as it lost one seat out of two in 1961 and got completely eliminated in 1965 elections. This indicates the waning influence of its members in the political sphere of the village. The 'local' faction which seems to have incurred a considerable loss in terms of seats in 1961, has retrieved the position slightly. It appears that the Bariyas have come out as the greatest beneficiaries of the factional fight. In the first two panchayats, there was no Bariya representative; in the third panchayat there was only one and in the present panchayat there are three Bariya members.

Looking to the overall performance of the sub-factions, it appears that "18-13" and "9" are well entrenched with a uniform score throughout. It means the leadership of these two factions is well organised. It is only between "Darwaja" and "Khadki" factions that some fluctuation has taken place. The performance of "Darwaja" faction during the last two elections shows that it is short of capable leaders, otherwise it would not have lost its representation completely in 1961 elections and reduced to half the original membership in 1965 elections. As against this, "Khadki" has improved upon its past performance by snatching one seat more. The gain was due to the transfer of reserved seat for women from ward II to ward III, strong-hold of the 'Khadki' faction. In short, table 13 clearly shows that all the factions are very keen to secure its representation in the panchayat.
and therefore, would not allow the status quo to be disturbed. The gain to the Bariyas is due to the growing awareness of their political rights and numerical strength. The above table also confirms that a sort of equilibrium in terms of representation among the various political forces in the village is achieved and so long as the voting in the panchayat elections is done on the caste and kinship basis, the status quo is likely to remain undisturbed.

Factional Politics: Selection of a Sarpanch:

The pattern of selection of Sarpanchas in Mogri probably reveals the true nature of factional fight in the village. As we have earlier observed, the real struggle for power was between the two groups, viz., the "Ahmedabadi" and the "local" faction. Although they never come into an 'open' conflict, both tried their best to limit each other in their bid for power. The post of a Sarpanch is most important in this respect and therefore, all attention was focussed on it. Having large economic and financial interests in the village, it became imperative for the "Ahmedabadi" group to get their own man as a Sarpanch. On the other side, the 'local' Patidars appeared to be determined firstly, not to lose power they traditionally enjoyed, and secondly, to check the concentration of power in the hands of the "Ahmedabadi" group.

The first encounter between the two groups took place in 1951 when election of the first Sarpanch was held. There were two candidates, one supported by the 'Ahmedabadi'
group and another by the 'local' group which was then dominated by the former Matacars. In the counting, ZM the candidate supported by the 'local' group was elected by 6 to 4 votes. The "Ahmedabadi" group lost the contest despite the backing it had from the "Gadiawala" group.

However, it is to be noted that the candidate who became the Sarpanch was not the original candidate of the 'local' group but a compromise candidate. The leader of the 'local' group, NS, who was involved in some money matter of the panchayat at that time was not in a position to offer himself as a candidate.

A close relative and well-wisher of ZM, who was living in a nearby town, came to know about this development. He was known as a shrewd politician and very influential in this area. With a view to restoring some prestige and power to ZM, who had lost Matadari status, his relative came down to Mogri and convinced NS and his group that the only possible way of preventing Sarpanchship going to the rival group (Ahmedabadi) was to agree to ZM's candidature as a Sarpanch. If he (NS) did not do so, then, ZM threatened to go over to Ahmedabadi's group. NS was realistic enough to see the point. Both the groups had almost equal votes. In any case he was not prepared to accept an 'Ahmedabadi' as a Sarpanch. So, ultimately, ZM

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27. Panchayat Resolution No. 24, dated 3-12-1951.
became the first Sarpanch.

However, ZM was not a very powerful personality. But for his relative's intervention, he would not have aspired for the post. Being a compromise candidate, he was incapacitated to do anything effectively. His period ended without a mark of any solid achievement.

The repercussion of the ineffective and unfruitful regime of the first Sarpanch was very bad among the people. Many of them outright demanded services of CB, the leader of the "Ahmedabadi" group and a prominent businessman, at the time of election of second panchayat in 1956. Having sensed the situation correctly, CB gave it a psychological turn by declaring his unwillingness to contest the election. The result was his unanimous choice as a Sarpanch. The old leaders of the 'local' group were caught napping and hence forced to accept CB as a Sarpanch. Unfortunately the hopes for rapid development of the village under the leadership of CB proved illusory. Except for a few small schemes here and there, nothing concrete was done. Really speaking, CB was more interested in the expansion of his own business rather than devoting his valuable time for the petty things of the village. Moreover, a very important scheme of water works for Mogri had remained unimplemented only because of CB's lukewarm attitude. An amount of Rs. 30,000 was already received from a donor. Only the matching grant from the government was to be obtained.
NS, the leader of the 'local' group, low-lying so far, took up the problem of water works and managed to get the grant from the government. This was a morale booster for the 'local' group. And for NS, it was a God‐sent opportunity to put forward his claim for the post of Sarpanch in the ensuing elections of 1961. The tables were completely turned in favour of 'local' group and NS found no difficulty in becoming the Sarpanch. Since then, CB has retired from active politics of the village.

Encouraged by his election as a Sarpanch, NS and his friends concentrated their efforts to complete the water works. He received full cooperation from other leaders of the village. He undertook some other development programmes for the village such as construction of washing ghats and additional class rooms in the local school. However, some sort of disaffection and opposition was slowly growing from within against NS for the manner in which he was exploiting his position of a Sarpanch to further his personal interest. It was alleged in some quarters that he was making business from the transaction done through the panchayat. The old leaders, especially from 'Khadki' and '9', also complained that he was siding with the "Ahmedabadi" group to get some business favours from them. In spite of his dynamic leadership, NS was losing ground for re‐election as a Sarpanch at the next elections of 1965. He was neither trusted by his own men nor liked by the "Ahmedabadi" group.
When election in 1965 was over and the first meeting of the Panchayat took place, it had become clear to NS that he had lost the majority. The "Ahmedabadi" group was also active to see that NS does not become Sarpanch again. They adopted a shrewd strategy by fielding one of the 'local' leaders against NS. DB, a leader of 'Khadki' faction, was ready to oblige the 'Ahmedabadi' group. It was difficult for NS to oppose DB, who was highly respected in the village. He wisely withdrew in favour of DB, who was then unanimously proposed as a Sarpanch. Although, DB, was a compromise candidate, he was not under the influence of either group. Financially self-sufficient, educated and spirited, DB was standing on his own merit. He was supposed to prove a good Sarpanch.

If we closely look into the above pattern of selection of Sarpanchas in Mogri, it broadly confirms our contention that the real tussle is between the two factions, the 'Ahmedabadi' and the 'local'. Being numerically weak, it is not possible for the 'Ahmedabadi' group to exclusively enjoy political power. Similarly, being faction-ridden, it is not possible for the 'local' group to drive out their opponents from the political arena. The result is that they both sit tight on the policy of checks and balances. The game of musical chair, for the post of a Sarpanch is likely to continue so long as these factions exist and fight with each other.
(B) Class-Conflict:

Factional fighting assumes different role in Mogri when two communities, the Patidars and the Bariyas, confront each other as a class. Patidars as a land-owning class are traditional rivals of the Bariyas (and to a lesser extent of the Harijans) who constitute the bulk of landless labourer's class. Unfortunately, the social and economic environs of these two communities compel them to be political rivals too. 28

Social class structure in Gujarat as in other parts of India is dominated by castes. Here social structure and caste-structure are largely co-terminus. Though Gujarat has rarely known intense class bigotry or caste-conflict, its politics has been influenced by power structures generated by some important castes.

It is evident, writes K.D. Desai 29 that only two castes of Patidars and Kshatriyas (Kshatriyas include Bariyas) count in Gujarat politics. These two castes represent formidable power-structure of rural Gujarat. From the point of impact-potentiality these two can be characterised as dominant castes. Patidars represent the ruling dominant caste; whereas Kshatriyas

28 The prominent role of farmers in the politics of the Gujarat State is also indicated by the findings of the two surveys of Gujarat legislatures conducted by Prof. D.N. Pathak - Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, April, (1962) and January, (1965).

the emerging dominant caste.

In rural Gujarat, the Patidar community has been the most dominating and vigorous. Being traditional farmers, they are fervently attached to land. They have been educationally advanced and politically enlightened.

Kshatriyas constitute the next important community in Gujarat. They are more numerous but less articulate than Patidars. They may be called the rural have-nots of Gujarat. Most of them happen to be tenants to the Patidar land-owners. These two communities are divided by conflicting economic interest and caste-antagonism.

Fight for Dominance:

During the last two decades in India, democratic politics based upon adult franchise and elective institutions have greatly contributed to the unprecedented politicisation of lower strata constituted mainly of the large backward caste groups.

At the village level, Panchayati Raj has become the forum and the focal point where all these changes, in varying degrees, are taking shape. Panchayati institutions, being the formidable power-structures at the local level, have attracted both the dominant and dormant caste groups to control and utilise the benefits and patronage that go with them.

The Patidars in Mogri have enjoyed political and economic dominance over the Bariyas for a long time. Under the
progressive Baroda regime, in the pre-Independence era, all the Matadars (Mukhis) used to be appointed from among the Patidar elites. The Baroda State had long back introduced the panchayats in the villages under her jurisdiction. Although the provision was made for nomination of a member from the scheduled castes, no safeguards were provided in the Act for the representation of the backward classes, with the result that the Bariyas in Mogri had practically no chance to be elected in the panchayat. Even after Independence, they were not represented in the panchayat until 1961. It was in the third panchayat (1961) that a candidate from the Bariyas got elected for the first time.

The relationship between the Patidars and the Bariyas underwent a radical change when the government enacted progressive legislations. On the political level, the introduction of universal adult franchise brought the Bariyas on par with the Patidars. Further, adoption of the Panchayati Raj at the grass-root level has unfolded to the Bariyas many political opportunities otherwise denied to them. On the economic front, progressive reforms like abolition of Zamin-dari with the objective of land-to-the-tiller have substantially altered the position of land-owing Patidars vis-a-vis the Bariyas. The availability of opportunities of economic development and welfare benefits, abolition of untouchability and a new awareness among the backward classes of their strength and position have greatly helped in loosening the
grip of the dominant caste over the dormant castes including Harijans.

In Mogri, though the fight for dominance between the two classes is on, the Bariyas do not appear to be so much on the offensive as the Patidars do. Being politically and socially suppressed for a long time and economically oppressed, the Bariyas take only strategic moves in their struggle for survival.

In the political arena, elections provide good opportunity to the opposite parties to test their strength and skill. Whatever the political loyalty of an individual Bariya, as a class they have always voted en bloc for their candidates. The voting behaviour of the Bariyas in Mogri during the general elections of 1962 and 1967 as well as in the local panchayat elections prove this point beyond any doubt. In both the general elections, they had voted for Shri Narendra Sinhji Mahida, a Kshatriya by caste who had contested first as a candidate of the Swatantra Party in 1962 and subsequently as a Congress candidate in 1967. Because of this caste-consciousness they have been able to increase steadily their quota of representation in the Mogri panchayat. In this, they have been ably supported by the Harijans who have a common cause against the land-lords. They have almost pocketed the ward I and been able to snatch one seat each from wards II and III, chiefly because of the understanding between them. (1965). So long as this sense of unity and
understanding continues between them the Patidars will not be able to achieve the old status-quo.

It is obvious that the Patidars should grudge the ever increasing influence of the labourer's class, especially that of the Bariyas, in the sphere of panchayat politics. No doubt, they tried their best to minimise their influence in every possible way. They sometime even resorted to physical beating of one pretext or the other. In one such case, a son of a leading Bariya was beaten by Sikh-Rakhas (Chowkidars) on the charge of stealing crops from a Patidar's farm. The Sikh-rakhas were engaged by the local Patidars for the protection of their crops in the farms. The real reason for beating was not the so-called theft, but the leading part played by that particular Bariya in the panchayat elections, causing defeat of a Patidar candidate. It was also reported to the investigator by another Bariya leader that some of the local Patidar leaders often induced police officials to register false complaints against the Bariyas with a view to harassing them. On the other hand, complaints by the Bariyas of harassment are not at all seriously taken into account by the authorities especially when Patidars were involved. Suspected breach of Prohibition is another favourable ground on which the Bariyas could be harassed through the police raids. In short, methods and means of harassment could be different depending upon the situation, but the Bariyas continue to be troubled. Even in the panchayat meetings they do not receive proper treatment.
They are neither heard nor consulted by their Patidar counterparts in the important decision-making process at the panchayat level.

There is one incident worth mentioning here which highlights the conflict between the two classes. In the third panchayat election (1961), a very influential Patidar candidate belonging to "Ahmedabadi" faction was contesting from Ward I in defiance of the wishes of the Bariyas and Harijan leaders. Ward I is considered to be the stronghold of the Bariyas and the Harijans. The Patidar candidate had some valid ground to expect support from the people of Ward I. He had his tobacco factory in that area, employing some 150 workers, mostly Harijans and Bariyas. Besides this, workers employed in his uncle's factory as well as those working on their lands were expected to support him. Many of these workers were residents of Ward I and it was not unreasonable for him to count on these people whom he was giving bread. Opposed to him was a candidate from the Valand (Barber) caste. By any standard, he was no match to the Patidar candidate. His only asset was that he belonged to the class of down-trodden. To everybody's surprise he defeated the Patidar candidate. It was confidentially explained to the investigator by some Bariya leaders that there were probably two decisive factors which affected the result -- firstly, the Patidar candidate was disliked by the agricultural labourers as well as factory workers for his highhandedness and exploiting nature; secondly,
there was an inner sympathy for a candidate who belonged to their own class. The Bariyas and the Harijans did not like that a Patidar should snatch away a seat which really belonged to them and that too against their wish.

Perhaps the conflict between the two classes reached its climax when the ruling Patidar group got a resolution passed in the Mogri Gram Panchayat about delimitation of the wards in such a way that the Bariya votes could be split into two wards making the latter lose their control on Ward I and become ineffective in Ward II. But the Bariya leaders were quick to sense the mischief and made strong protest to the District authorities against the arbitrary manner of passing the resolution. They also warned the congress leaders of their area to the effect that they will lose faith of the backward class people if they fail to come to their rescue. Ultimately the damaging resolution was repealed, at the instance of the higher authorities. 50

Because of their superior resources, the Patidars of Mogri have an upper hand in their fight for dominance over the Bariyas. But the trends show that they have almost lost the first round in the sense that the chances are dim for reverting to the old status-quo.

(C) Power Struggle:

The pattern of factional fighting in Mogri brings out two important aspects (i) most of the factions struggle for

acquisition of power through representation in the panchayat and (ii) economic interest of factional leaders often cut across the factional-loyalties and kinship ties.

Factions among the Patidars are divided along kinship ties; whereas they are based on caste-lines in the Bariyas. Here, kinship and factions are intertwined with caste. Factions among the Patidars are individualistic, ego-centric and narrow in their inter-personal relations except that they tend to be united in their hostility toward the Bariyas. Only strong leaders like CB of "Ahmedabadi" group or NS of '18-13' faction appear to be holding their factions together; otherwise, the rest of them are loosely-knit and without unified leadership.

In fact, factions are what their leaders make of them. The "Ahmedabadi" group is very small in number but most effective in terms of influence because of the pragmatic leadership provided by CB. Equally small is "Gadiawala" faction, but it has gone into oblivion due to negative approach of its leaders. The most numerous and otherwise powerful 'local' faction suffers from internal strife.

Political Equilibrium:

Though the factions in Mogri appear to be political in nature, they really do not work on any political ideology. They are also not party-based. They become active particularly during panchayat elections. Factions' keen desire to get due place in the power-structure of the village often constitutes
the overriding source of political conflict. Wards are so arranged that they could easily be identified with some of the major factions. For example, Ward I is identified with the Bariyas and Harijans; Ward II is identified with "18-15"; Ward III with "Khadki" and Ward IV with "9". Most of the contests being fought on the basis of expected support from the kin-groups, candidates hardly take risk of changing wards. Crossing of wards is considered to be more fatal than the impending defeat in one's own ward.

The spoils of political victory and status of power-position are important prizes for which factions fight elections so bitterly. For them representation in the panchayat is synonymous with their political existence. The election-politics in the context of factional representation is played on the principle of 'check and balance'. Every faction is eager to check the expansion, in terms of membership, of the other faction. It is clearly understood that the gain of one faction is a loss for another. Besides, it disturbs the power equation among the factions. The ideal situation would be that in which all factions get representation in proportion to their strength. In the above situation, when elections are fought on the support of kin-groups and caste-loyalties, an independent or a neutral candidate has no locus-standi. A very prominent, service-minded, Brahmin businessman of Mogri, at whose credit stand some public utility work, confided that a non-Patidar or a non-Bariya has no chance in
the elections.

Factionalism and party-politics:

Although factions in Mogri have strictly confined themselves to the local politics, the voting pattern during the last two general elections, of the two main castes, around which factions have been formed, measures the degree of politicization achieved by them. The Bariyas had voted en bloc for the same Kshatriya candidate in the last two general elections, disregarding candidate's oft-changing political ideology; In contrast, the Patidars were split into two groups, one pro-Congress and another pro-Swatantra indicating their ideological stand. This proved that for the Bariyas party-politics is still a matter of caste-solidarity, while for the Patidars, political ideology cuts across caste and factional interests.

Economic Interests and Factional Alignments:

It is observed from the inter-action between the leaders of different factions that economic interest sometime bring leaders of the rival factions together and change their relationship. Here, economic interests cut across factional loyalties.

For example, NS and MO, two leaders of factions '18-13' are found keen to maintain good relations with the affluent 'Ahmedabadi' group. They think that it is possible for this group to oblige people in a number of ways - by providing
car or telephone services at crucial time, giving financial help during money-crisis, offering trading facilities, using their political influence or governmental contacts for urgent problems, personal or local. It is commonly believed that MO has received considerable business favours from this group.

Similarly, DB, a prominent leader of 'Khadki' and the present Sarpanch, is also inclined towards this group. DB is said to have been obliged when he was helped to purchase a piece of fertile land from a distant kin of CB at throw away price only through latter's sympathy.

This gives some force to the criticism of DS, an old traditional leader from 'Khadki' who believes that some of the present leaders from 'Local' Patidars, like NS, MO, DB have been 'sold' off to the 'Ahmedabadi' group for their economic interest. Of course, DS has some personal grievances against this group.

There is also another interesting case in which leaders of opposite factions are found working in collusion. NS of "18-13" and MS of "Gadiawala" factions, it is alleged, did not find it difficult to make a common cause when their economic interests arising out of their position in the panchayat (1961), coincided. It is said that both were interested in the auction-sale of babul trees belonging to the Panchayat.
Economic interest not only cuts across the factional loyalties, it also cuts across the caste boundaries. The following incident brings home the point that economic consideration is not so easy to dispense with from the minds of caste leaders. There has been a second thought about the part played by the Bariyas and Harijans in the defeat of a member of SB family of 'Ahmedabadi' group, in the previous panchayat election. They have realised by now the damaging effect, in terms of job-potentialities, it had on the backward class people. The investigator was told in a very repenting mood by a prominent Bariya leader that they were thinking of inviting a member of the same SB family to contest from their ward in the ensuing elections. After all, a man does not live by political power alone says a mature Bariya leader. They are now prepared to welcome the services of a benevolent family like that of SB or JB.

In short, economic interests of the various factional leaders appear to work as moderating influence on their political rivalry, sometimes giving unexpected turns and twists to factional alignments. However, political rights or political equality in terms of adult franchise etc. while work to the advantage of the downtrodden, backward castes of Mogri, the economic superiority of a few Patidars often operates against the best interests of the backward (class) people. Political revolution through the process of democratic decentralisation will have no meaning if it cannot remove
the economic malaise of the society.

Summing Up:

Panchayat politics as a process has become an interaction between two informal power-structures sustained by two communities, the Patidars and the Bariyas. It has also given political colour to the traditional hostility waged by elites of the dominant caste.

The factional fighting in Mogri has two dimensions. In the first, it is intra-caste rivalry among the Patidar elites. Factions have emerged on the basis of kin-groups. Each major family cluster behaves as a faction and is primarily concerned with defeating its traditional rival. There are three major factions in the village. They are known as "Ahmedabadi", "Local" and "Gadiawala". They all belong to the dominant Patidar caste. There are also four sub-factions in the "Local" faction. Although the Bariyas and the Harijans work in unison as factions against the Patidars, they have no sub-factions among themselves.

The real fight is between the two factions -- "Ahmedabadi" and "Local". The struggle between these two factions is waged with a view to acquiring political power and leadership through which they can enjoy dominance over others. The "Local" -Patidars who are the traditional holders of power in the village, fear that the real challenge to their monopoly of power comes not from the Bariyas, the rising lower class...
but from the minority group of 'Ahmedabadis' with tremendous economic resources at their back. Curiously enough, the 'local' Patidars are at the same time suffering from intra-factional rivalries. The Bariyas and the Harijans have been advantage of this situation whenever possible by helping one Patidar faction against another, especially during elections.

The second dimension appears when factional fighting turns into class-conflict. The Patidars, as a class of land owners and employers, are politically challenged by the Bariyas and the Harijans, who represent the labour class. The Patidars get united, forgetting their rivalry, to counter the challenge posed by the new rising class. Being socially suppressed and economically oppressed, the lower class finds it difficult to be offensive in their political fight against the dominant Patidars. It may be noted that the economic interest as a factor is found working in a cross-directions. It has got the land-owing class of Patidars united in their fight against the landless labourers, while preventing them (the Bariyas) becoming totally hostile to the Patidars at the same time. Similarly, the economic interest has cut across the factional loyalties in as much that the leaders of rival factions are found keeping good 'business relations'.

Factions in Mogri do not work on any political ideology, nor are they party-based. As such, no political party is formally active in Mogri and certainly not at the panchayat.
level. People show interest in party politics only during elections. Their voting behaviour shows that they are guided more by communal affinity or group relations than by political ideology. The Panchayati Raj has, on the one hand, helped to get new leadership emerge and power position redistributed, on the other hand it has perpetuated the existing caste differences and factional rivalries.

In Mogri, where political society is functioning on the principle of bi-polarity(two castes), the minorities have no role to play in the political affairs of the village.