CHAPTER IV

PANCHAYAT ELECTIONS: VILLAGE PAMNAVALI

Let us now consider the phenomenon of power in village Pamnavali. It is interesting to note that first four elections were uncontested. A general feeling was noted that India acquired Freedom in 1947 and Pamnavali in 1982. The explanation of uncontested elections has been attempted through a brief history of the phenomenon of power and its co-relation with social structural conditions. Before doing this it seems relevant to mention that one or the other member of a single Rajput family in the village remained in power position from 1949 to 1982.

The village was a Zamindari village. Lala Hanuman Prasad, Mahesh Prasad, Lala Hari Kishan and Lala Sri Kishan of Jansath (Tehsil Headquarters and 15 Km. away from the village) were the Zamindars. Lala Hanuman Prasad, the eldest of the brothers looked after the village. Whenever he came, he used to stay in a separate house build in the outskirts of the village amidst an orchard. He had friendly relations with a family of Kushwah Rajputs. The basis for his relationship with the family lay in the largest size of landholding with the family in the village. Secondly, the basis of linkage and preference of
Zamindar for this family was that the head of this family was a Government nominated 'Mukhia'. (A village level official nominated by civil authorities during British rule.) His work was of an intermediary between the Government and the people of the village. The head of this family was a cultivator owning 50 bighas of land. The absentee landlord trusted him. He had six sons and a daughter. He was respected and feared in the village on account of his contacts with the Zamindar, the Government officials and his large family. About 1940, the father died and the eldest of the brothers became the head of the family.

Meanwhile, the family grew more and more in power and economic status. The Rajput family began to grow to be the biggest land owners i.e. from 50 bighas it reached height of ownership of 800 bighas of land. According to the respondents, this happened by the following ways -

(1) Eviction of the Tenants by the Zamindar:

The first source of land has been the Zamindar of the village; whenever any tenant failed to pay the rent of the land, the Zamindar evicted him. The Zamindar on account of being closer to this Rajput family gave the evicted land to this family. Through this, this family added 150 bighas land to its existing size of 50 bighas during the period from 1930 to 1947.
(ii) **Partition of India in 1947:**

One of the residents of village Kelawada Hakim Nazir Hussain decided to move to Pakistan. He left his only married daughter behind in India. The Muslim owned 350 bighas of land. He sold 100 bighas to this Kushwah family and left 250 bighas of land for his daughter. Before leaving for Pakistan, this Muslim also asked this Rajput family to take care of his daughter. After two years the daughter and her husband also left for Pakistan leaving 250 bighas land at the hands of this Rajput family. Thus by the end of 1949 this family became the owner of 550 bighas.

(iii) **Married Sister's Family:**

Their sister was married to a boy landlord of village Salawa in Meerut District. He was the biggest land owner of this village. Their brother-in-law was the only son in that family. She became a widow at the age of twenty years. The widow sister called for one of brothers to look after her land. This brother sent a part of his income from the land to his brothers. Though exact amount of money could not be known but it was informed that sufficient money flowed to the family. This income continued for ten years till their niece was married and thereupon the son-in-law of the widowed sister took over the charge
of the family.

(iv) **Through Consolidation of Land:**

Consolidation of land holdings took place in 1963-64. The Assistant Consolidation Officer was provided a separate house by this family, free of rent. He was provided other facilities like wheat, rice, sugar, Khandari allegedly and milk. The A.C.O. paid these obligations by providing them more land on the basis of undue calculation of the price of their land. Approximately 250 bighas of land was added during consolidation of holdings. Thus the family became the owner of about 800 bighas of land in 1964.

(v) With the increase of size of land, technology was adopted simultaneously. This is the first family in the village who adopted the new technology. A tractor was purchased in 1954. Most of their land is irrigated by canal. Also the land which was dry so far could be irrigated by installing a tubewell operated by electricity. Thus the whole of the land became irrigated.

With the increase of the size of land and the adoption of new technology their economy improved by leaps and bounds and this family became the wealthiest family in the village. Besides agricultural income, the sugar cane
purchase centre was also a source of cash income. This purchasing centre was installed in Pannavali village. It purchased sugar cane for Khatauli Sugar Mill. The purchasing centre was supplied sugar cane from different cane growers of several villages. One of the employee of the Sugar Mill works on this Centre and there is one more employee of the Cane Development Society. The third brother in the family was the director of Cane Cooperative Society representing about eight to ten villages. This director could exercise his influence and thereby got additional advantage from the purchasing Centre.

(vi) Marital Links:

The marital links of this family are spread over five districts - Muzaffar Nagar, Meerut, Saharanpur, Aligarh and Bulandshahar, the Union Territory of Delhi and Haryana. All the brothers were married by 1959. Among the six brothers, four brothers were married to ordinary families but the last two were married in resourceful families. The fifth brother-in-law remained Block Pramukh continuously for ten years from 1962-72. The youngest of them is married to the daughter of an Engineer in Irrigation department. Their children are also married in resourceful families. The father-in-law of one of the brother's daughter is a sitting M.L.A. and the father-in-law
of the eldest son of one of the brothers is an ex-M.L.A.

(vii) Other Links:

(1) With Block Development Officials - since one of the members of the family remained Pradhan from 1949 to 1982 and the Pradhan by virtue of his office is the member of B.D.C., he is linked with the Block Officials. Since he is a voter for Block Pramukh election he is linked through Block Pramukh with Chairman Zila Parishad.

(2) With Zila Parishad:

This is the upper most tier of the three tier system of panchayati Raj. Babu Singh was the member of Zila Parishad.

(3) With Local Police:

Police Station is situated at Khatauli town which is 10 Km. from the village. The village had also got a police post in 1960. Since the people of the village approach the police through this family, they have become the middle men between the police and the people of the village. The police officials, whenever they visit the village make it a point to pay a visit to this family where they are well entertained. The police post in the village has one head constable and four constables. The building of the
police post has been built on the land of the Gram Samaj. The Pradhan allotted this land to the police. The police post is just at a stone's throw from the house of this family. The police staff/consider themselves to be at the mercy of the family and they know it very well that they can stay there only by the pleasure of the family.

(4) **Urban Links:**

The family of one of the brother lives at Khatauli town since 1960, the youngest brother lives at Muzaffar Nagar, the District headquarter which is at a distance of 32 Km. from the village and is well connected with road. He lives there since 1959. He started his career as an advocate. He has constructed his house there.

Thus they solve the problems of the people through their different types of links from village to District level.

(5) **Position Held Outside the Village:**

This family holds positions in economic, social and political fields outside the village as well.

In the economic field, they have positions in modern institutions related to agriculture and industry. Their positions related to agriculture...
Cooperative Society, Director of Uttar Pradesh Cane Federation, member of District Cane Council, member of Cooperative Council of U.P., member of U.P. Cooperative Re-organisation Commission, Chairman and Managing Director of District Cooperative Bank, Chairman District Cooperative Federation, Director NAFED (National Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Federation of India). The positions related to industry are President of District Industrial Estate Association and nominated Director of U.P. Financial Corporation, Director of State Bank of India (Lucknow Circle) and on the Boards of -

(a) Swadeshi Cotton Mills, Kanpur.
(b) Upper India Coupar Paper Mills, Lucknow.
(c) Indian Stores (P) Ltd., Calcutta.
(d) Road Master (Cycle) (P) Ltd., Raipur.
(e) Rathee Udyog Ltd., Delhi.
(f) Saru Smelting (P) Ltd., Meerut.
(g) Paliwal Steels and Rainbow Steels Ltd., Muzaffarnagar.

In social field, they occupy the positions such as Secretary - General of District Qaumi - Ekta, President D.A.V. Post-graduate college, Muzaffar Nagar, Founder President, District Cooperative. Medical and Relief Society, a unique body in cooperative sector which is running a charitable hospital for the service of poor persons,
Vice-President International Good Will Society of India, Unit Muzaffarnagar, President B.S.S. Inter college, Village Pamnavali, Muzaffarnagar, Founder President of Cooperative Housing Society, member of District Free Legal Aid Committee, Hony. Secretary, District Bar Association for 3 terms continuously, Patron, District Services Club, President and Zonal Chairman, Lions Club, member District Ex-Soldiers' and Sailors Board. There are many other social bodies and activities with which the youngest brother is associated in different capacities.

The youngest of them have attended important Seminars on 'Form Guidance' in Japan and Korea and presented a paper on the subject on behalf of the country.

In the political field they occupy positions like Ex-President, Distt. Congress Committee, member U.P. Congress(I) Committee since 1974, Ex-member Abhiyan Samitti of U.P.C.C., observer for Re-organisation of Congress Committee in Saharanpur (appointed by U.P.C.C. President) and fought Lok Sabha Election and Assembly Election.

(6) **Education:**

The family is the highest educated one in the whole village. All the six brothers and their children are educated or getting education. The education of the family may be presented in the Table below -
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Illiterate</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>Inter</th>
<th>Graduate</th>
<th>Post-Graduate</th>
<th>Continuin Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother's wives</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brother's daughters</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brother's daughter-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>in-law.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Collected by self.

Thus the table shows that the majority of the members of their family are educated and most of them are above High School level.

(7) **Occupation:**

The members of this family are engaged in a variety of occupation as well. The youngest of the brothers was an advocate upto 1972. One of their sons is an advocate and two of their sons are police Inspectors. One of their sons
owns a crusher and the other two own brick kilns. Thus besides agriculture, they are engaged in business and other occupations as well.

From this emerge two questions (i) whether it was a joint family, (ii) what was the nature of relationship between the members of family in the village and those who have settled in the town.

As regards the joint family, this family remained joint upto 1980. The headship of the family had remained in the hands of the eldest brother. There was common hearth in the family upto 1978. After this each brother's family had separate hearths. Accounts were common. The interaction among brothers and their families remained intimate but it became reduced in case of their sons. If Iravati Karve's definition of joint family is taken into account, it was a joint family upto 1978, if I.P. Desai's definition is taken into account, from the nature of the interaction among the brothers one would characterise it as a joint family. But the truth that the family was joint upto 1978. As a first step the hearth was separated which led ultimately to division of holdings and in a sense it can not be characterised as a joint family. The pattern of interaction among brother's continues to be as intimate as it was, but one notices strained relations among the
sons of the brothers and with their uncles. The youngest who is living in the town frequently visits the village and particularly on the occasion of panchayat elections. His role in the 1982 elections will be described later on.

Village Panchayat Elections:

As has been mentioned earlier that one or the other member of this family was unanimously elected as Pradhan of the village Panchayat from 1949 to 1972. Before the elections, this family used to call four or five elders of the village. These elders were four from Rajput Caste, one from Brahmin, one from Chamar and one from Bhangi caste. First of all the member of this family told them the purpose of the meeting. Immediately after listening the purpose, the eldest brother of the family suggested some names for the Pradhan. Getting a hint the Brahmin immediately proposed one name from their family, others agreed and the election was over. Even no formal announcement of the election was made. After several weeks only, the people of the village could know of the election of the Pradhan.

This situation can be explained in terms of the status of the family, size of family, landownership, education, links outside the village and positions held outside the village. It would be relevant here to compare this family
and other families in respect of the above characteristics.

The pattern of landownership as given in the IIInd Chapter reveals that all the Rajput families were landowners and their ownership ranges from 4 bighas to 250 bighas. The landownership of the Brahmin families ranges from 4 bighas to 65 bighas. There are landless families as well. The landownership of the Chamars families ranges from around one bigha to fifteen bighas, that of Saini's from 4 bighas to 27 bighas and that of only Gadaria is 2 bighas.

Thus it is obvious that no family, other than the land Rajput families holds so much/in the village.

In respect of education within the Rajput caste this family is the highest educated. There are seven post graduates, 7 graduates, 10 Intermediate educated, 18 high school educated, 2 middle and 4 primary educated members in the family besides the fact that eight children are still studying.

As regards outside links this family supersedes all other families of either Rajput caste or other castes in the village as neither any one's family is maritally nor politically linked to such levels as this family. Moreover, this family's links with the police and people
in the town are also more diverse than that of any other family in the village. Thus it is understandable that of a family having six equally capable brothers, numerical strength, vast landholding of 800 bighas, education, outside occupation and links, political links and above all unity of the family should occupy the power position of village panchayat Pradhan.

Information about members of village panchayat indicated that these were also unanimously elected and usually the Pradhan nominated the members of the Panchayat. Invariably the Brahmin was nominated Up - Pradhan of the village Panchayat.

Ist Village Panchayat Election:

Ist village panchayat election was held in 1949. In village Pamnavali there was an unanimous choice of village Panchayat Pradhan. He belonged to the above mentioned powerful family of Rajputs.

Thakur Babu Singh, the unanimously elected Pradhan of the first village Panchayat was educated upto middle standard and was of 40 years of age. He was the third of the six brothers of this family. The family owned the largest land holding of about 800 bighas in the village. He had sufficient leisure time and was engaged in outdoor activities like attending meetings of Cane Co-operatives.
He was elected director of Cane Cooperative Society after the death of his elder brother and remained director till his own death. He was also elected director of Uttar Pradesh Cane Federation for one term. Being a Pradhan he was a member of Block Samiti and also remained a member of Zila Parishad for one term.

The Functioning of the Panchayat:

The Pradhan was engaged in different activities for general development of the village as well as the area. During this term as a Director of Cane Cooperative Society, he got a Kuchha road built up through organising "Shramdan" (donation of labour) from Khatauli to Pamnavali which was later on turned into a pucca road by Cane Cooperative Society and named after him as "Babu Singh Pamnavali Marg".

1) During his term of the Pradhan he also got the link road constructed Pucca. The road links the village to the main road leading to Khatauli town.

2) He was the first Pradhan in Khatauli Block area who got the "Panchayat Ghar" constructed in his village.

3) The main village lanes on which most of the houses of Rajput caste are, were also paved.

4) Seed and fertilizer Godowns were also constructed in the village.
IIInd Village Panchayat Election:

IIInd village panchayat election was held in 1955. This was also an unanimous election. The same person Thakur Babu Singh was again elected Pradhan of the village Panchayat unopposed, for the second term. But he died before this term could be completed and his younger brother Mahavir Singh kept the charge of village Panchayat Pradhan. He was incharge of the agriculture work of his family. Mahavir Singh was a young man of 32 years then and educated upto High School level. He became the chairman of Co-operative Society village Pamnavali, but he was not active outside the village.

Functioning of Village Panchayat:

During this term of the village panchayat no activity was undertaken because one of the brother who was the Pradhan had died in the mid term and the brother who kept charge of the office remained aloof. No activity was initiated by him in the village.

IIIrd Village Panchayat Election:

The third village panchayat election was held in 1961. The mode of election was again unanimous. This time Thakur Mahavir Singh, the fifth of the six brothers was elected Pradhan of the village Panchayat e unopposed.
He was educated up to high school and his age was then 35 years. He was a serious type of person. He talks less and remains silent for the most of the time while in the company of visitors from outside. He keeps distance from the common villagers and is not in a habit of inviting people of his own caste or the other castes to sit with him. His talks with family members, kinsmen and family friends are related to specific matters only i.e. he avoids irrelevant verbalization.

**Functioning of Village Panchayat:**

During this term of the village Panchayat, the work of 'Kharanja' repair was undertaken by the Pradhan. The hitherto unpaved lanes were paved and the existing 'Kharanja' was repaired.

"Babu Singh Smarak Intermediate College" was also established in the village during this term. Previously it was a High School, running in the old building of Primary School of Zila Parishad. In 1965 about 100 bighas of Gram Samaj land was utilized for the college and a new building was also constructed for the purpose. Many new appointments were made in the school and one of the brothers became the manager of the college.
IVth Village Panchayat Election:

The fourth village panchayat election was held in 1972. Thakur Mahavir Singh was again elected unanimously as Pradhan of the village Panchayat.

Functioning of Village Panchayat:

During this term of the Pradhan, he got established Junior High School for girls in the village.

A branch of the District Co-operative Bank was established in the village during the term.

A police post was also established in the village.

Vth Village Panchayat Election:

The fifth panchayat election was held in April 1982. There were two contestants in the election for the position of village panchayat Pradhan. Their socio-economic profiles, the action-sets they formed and the functioning of the village panchayat are analysed below.

The Socio-Economic Background of the Contestants:

The first contestant Mahavir Singh was a Thakur and had been unopposed Pradhan since the third term. He was one of the six brothers of the already mentioned powerful Rajput family which owns more land (800 bighas) than any other family in the village; more education, more
outside links and contacts with higher authorities and political parties than any other family in the village has. He was an experienced person of about 50 years of age educated up to high school level and occupied the position of village panchayat Pradhan continuously for about 25 years after the death of his elder brother Babu Singh. The basis of his seeking power is obviously his family background.

The second contestant was also a Thakur, Mahendra Singh, the eldest son of a large joint family having about 250 bighas of land. He was about 40 years of age and was educated up to primary level. He was a money lender. His family also owns a brick-kiln in the village and they give bricks on credit basis. Moreover, his family was cultivating its land with modern techniques. They had a tractor and much surplus produce was always with them. They were four brothers in the family and put in much manual labour in farming. The basis of his power-seeking seems to be his improved financial position in the recent past. In a sense he may be called a neo-rich person.

An important question emerges why Mahendra Singh could dare to contest in 1982. The causes lay in the socio-economic development in general and socio-economic development
of the family of Mahendra Singh in particular.

Economic Change:

The period following the consolidation of landholdings in 1963-64 is marked with a number of changes in the economy of the whole area and this village in particular. Fields of all the farmers were brought at one or two places. This consolidation provided an opportunity to arrange new technology, irrigation facilities and fertilizers. Before consolidation there was only one tube well in the whole village, after consolidation the number of tube wells increased rapidly. In 1965, there were eight tube wells the number rose to twenty in 1980. These tube wells were operated by electricity. How so much of electricity was sanctioned to the village has at its background the "Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan" movement launched by the then Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. The same is true of pumping sets before consolidation. There was no pumping set before consolidation whereas it rose to 60 in number in 1965-66. This mushroom growth of tube wells and pumping sets can be explained by the fact that loans were available from the Block. These tube wells and pumping sets converted the dry land into wet land.

During this period the number of tractors also increased in the village. Before consolidation there
was only one tractor. In 1970 there were eight tractors in the village and the number rose to twenty by 1980. The consequence of this irrigated land and the use of tractor became the source of high income for the peasants. It was informed that about four or five families could earn income to the tune of seven to eight lacs hard cash during the period, from 1964 to 1980.

It is interesting to note that the family of Mahendra Singh who contested the election in 1982 was one such family.

The net consequence of this economic change was ten times increase in the income of almost all agricultural families in the village. This is also true that the economic development in the village was not evenly distributed. The small land owners and the landless were unable to increase their income at par with the big landowners.

Social Changes:

During this period economic development which has been mentioned above became the basis of social change. Each family which developed economically began to build its identity. Interdependence of families and castes upon each other gave way to independence. This economic development brought rivalries among the families of Rajput castes.
Political Change:

Upto 1982 the village could have the experience of four village panchayat elections, eight parliamentary elections and more than eight Assembly elections. These experiences increased the aspirations for power among different caste groups in the village.

Changes in the Family of Mahendra Singh the Contestent in 1982:

All the four brothers in the family along with their father became capable of doing agricultural work during this period. This family had started a brick kiln which was operating successfully which was also a source of income.

In 1961 the father and only one of his sons were engaged in agricultural work whereas during the 1972 to 1982 period the family had five strong bodied persons to work hard in agricultural operations. After consolidation of holdings the family installed two tube wells and purchased a tractor and one pumping set and made the whole of their land irrigated. They did hard work in agriculture and could earn heavy income from it. As has been already mentioned that this family was counted as one of the family of millionaires. In respect of education the father was illiterate but Mahendra Singh did his education up to primary level, second son up to middle level, the third
(ii) Partition of India in 1947:

One of the resident of village Kelawada Hakim Nazir Hussain decided to go to Pakistan. He left his only married daughter behind in India. The Muslim had 350 bighas of land. He sold 100 bighas to this Kushwah family and left 250 bighas of land for his daughter. Before leaving for Pakistan, this Muslim also asked this Rajput family to take care of his daughter. After two years the daughter and her husband also left for Pakistan leaving 250 bighas land at the hands of this Rajput family. Thus by the end of 1949 this family became the owner of 550 bighas.

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Their sister was married to a boy landlord of village Salawa in Meerut District. He was the biggest land owner of this village. Their brother-in-law was the only son in that family. She became a widow at the age of twenty years. The widow sister called for one of brothers to look after her land. This brother sent a part of his income from the land to his brothers. Though exact amount of money could not be known but it was informed that sufficient money flowed to the family. This income continued for ten years till their niece was married and thereupon the son-in-law of the widowed sister took over the charge
in 1980 the family property was also divided.

Thus other families of the Rajput caste took it as lack of solidarity in the family.

Fifth panchayat elections were held in these changed conditions and Mahendra Singh of Rajput caste contested for the position of Pradhan.

Now a question emerges why only Mahendra Singh contested whereas there were seven or eight families having equal economic status. The answer to this question may be attempted on the basis of the size of his family. He was the eldest of the four brothers in the family. Secondly, two of his younger brothers had became graduates, thus their education and exposure to the outside world was also a cause behind his contest. Thirdly, Mahendra Singh himself was exposed to the outside world. He had run a coal agency at Khatauli town at the distance of 10 Km from the village and there after closing down the agency, he had established a brick-kiln in the partnership of a Khatauli-based Bania. Hence he knew the ways of the outside world. This experience motivated him to contest for power so that his family could get higher status in the village. The increase in the facility of transport in the village had made them come in more contact with the outside world.
Lastly, political awareness of the village through the general elections held so far and the mass media also worked behind the contest. Quick transport facilities to Khatauli and Mawana towns and thence to district headquarterers Muzaffar Nagar and Meerut increased their contacts with the outside world. On account of the being three brick kilns in the village, the bricks of which are purchased by the adjoining villages; selling their agricultural produce outside the village; and the increase in the facilities of transport has made them come in more contact with the outside world.

Thus it may be concluded that this family's disunity and the death of four brothers up to 1980 led to a set back to the family whereas the improved economy, political awareness and extent of exposure led Mahendra Singh to dare fight election against a member of this family.

**Preparation for the Contest:**

Mahendra Singh felt the pulse of the village. He found that most of the persons in the village were dissatisfied with the dominant family. He could know some secrets about the weakness of the dominant family from one of his friends from that family. Not only within the village, in the adjoining villages there was a strong
desire for bringing down this dominant family. Among them there were such people who were sufficiently superior in respect of economy but this does not mean that they were superior in economy to this family, but were overshadowed by the dominant family. They promised their support to Mahendra Singh. These conditions made Mahendra Singh to decide to contest against the dominant family.

Soon after knowing the dates of nomination for village panchayat elections, two persons played a significant role in preparing favourable environment for Mahendra Singh to contest. One of them was a member of the dominant family and was a close friend of Mahendra Singh. Another was Ram Singh from Rajput caste who was influenced by Mahendra Singh since the day he broke the old tradition of Rajputs of this village. There has been a tradition among the Rajputs in the village not to give evidence against any party in the court, if a dispute between two parties is taken to the Court. But Mahendra Singh sent his brother to give evidence in favour of Ram Singh in a dispute with his neighbour Rajput. This person in order to repay the obligation of Mahendra Singh suggested to him and others in the village that he should contest and get support of the people. This breaking of the traditional norm of the Rajput caste was sufficient indicator of Mahendra Singh's capacity to contest for power against the dominant family.
From this day onward, meetings started in the village. One could see several people of Rajput caste and other castes surrounding Mahendra Singh. Among the Rajputs, the neo-rich promised their support to Mahendra Singh. Among the Brahmans, those who were getting economic benefits from Mahendra Singh were the first supporters. There economic gains included more money paid to the Brahmin priest, on the occasion of 'Havan and Katha'. Among the Sainis those who were oppressed on one or the other occasion by the powerful family became the first supporters of Mahendra Singh. Among the Chamars those who suffered exploitation at the hands of the dominant family, promised their support to him. Thus from the day of announcement of the dates of filling in the nomination forms to the date of filing, sufficient promises were made to Mahendra Singh. This support became clear on the day of filing in the nomination form. More than hundred persons accompanied him to the Block headquarters. Mahendra Singh's tractor and one more tractor of Rajput caste were used for transporting the supporters.

Briefly From the day of nomination to the day of withdrawal several attempts were made by the dominant family to make Mahendra Singh withdraw from the contest. Thus they did not do directly. Rather they preferred to send their emissaries to Mahendra Singh. In the first
communication an appeal was made to maintain the unity of the village which according to the perception of the dominant family would be disturbed as a consequence of the contest. Mahendra Singh in turn communicated to them that their communication reflected apprehension of their defeat in the election and conveyed to them his determination to contest. This communication created a dilemma for the dominant family. This family immediately invited two elders of Rajput caste who were economically well-to-do and one Brahmin who was one of the big landholder of the village and sought their advice whether to contest or not. They advised them to contest and boosted their morale by assuring them their full support. This tense situation continued for four days and ultimately the dominant family decided to file a nomination form, went to the Block headquarters and filed the nomination form. Interestingly enough, they were accompanied by about 200 persons belonging to different caste groups. Among two hundred were few big landholders of Rajput caste, few Brahmins and a few Sainis. Few families of Chamar caste who had a respect for this dominant family accompanied them. Two tractors of their own and two others were used for the purpose.

Thus after the expiry of the date of withdrawal contest became obvious with these two contestants in the field. Now the question emerges as to how these two contestants
TABLE 4.2: Socio-economic background of the members of action-set of Mahavir Singh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chidda Singh</td>
<td>Rajput</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>250 Bighas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Prahlad Singh</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>45 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hari Om</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>150 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Komal</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>100 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pradeep</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>100 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pt. Lakhi Ram</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>45 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jugmander</td>
<td>Bania</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>5 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Pt. Prakashi</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>8 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Buddhu</td>
<td>Saini</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>11 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Khacheru</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Landless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Rati Ram</td>
<td>Chamar</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Jumman</td>
<td>Bhangi</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Collected by self

The table reveals that the maximum number of the members of his action-set were drawn from his own caste, but the members of other castes like Brahmins and Bania and lower castes were also included in his action-set. As regards the age of the members, they were also drawn from all age groups ranging from 21 to 70. His action-set cuts across the caste.
**Bases of Linkages:**

The basis of linkage in case of two sons and a cousin Prahlad Singh was family and kinship. The two Brahmin members of his action-set were linked to him on the basis of traditional relationship with the family and they were family friends. Pt. Lakhi Ram had been the up Pradhan in the previous panchayat term. The two Rajput Chidda and Hari Om were linked to him for getting future favours and benefit from Mahavir Singh's contacts with outside officials. Chidda Singh's agricultural land was surplus and was under ceiling, so he was interested to save it with the candidate's help. The two Saini caste members of his action-set worked in his fields and were under a past obligation. Khachevu and Rati Ram Chamar and Jumman Bhangi showed their loyalty on the traditional basis. They have served the family for a long time and were loyal to the family.

**Action-Set of Mahendra Singh:**

The action-set formed by the rival candidate Mahendra Singh consisted of six Rajput members, two of whom were his younger brothers, and Hari Singh, Nahar Singh, Shiv Singh and Ram Singh were also from Rajput caste. Two members of his action-set were from Brahmin caste - their names were Munshi and Ram Swaroop. There was a member of Saini caste named Mawasi in his action-set and a member of
Chamar caste named Mehru. Their socio-economic characteristics are given in Table-4.3.

**TABLE-4.3**: Socio-economic background of the members of action-set of Mahendra Singh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hari Singh</td>
<td>Rajput</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>100 Bighas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ram Singh</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>50 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nahar Singh</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>13 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Munshi</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>33 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ram Swroop</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>32 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Satender</td>
<td>Rajput</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Inter</td>
<td>250 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Brij Pal</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>250 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mawasi</td>
<td>Saini</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>24 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mehru</td>
<td>Chamar</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Landless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Shiv Singh</td>
<td>Rajput</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>50 Bighas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Collected by self.*
The table reveals that 60% of the members of his action-set were from his own caste. It is interesting to note that except his two younger brothers all other members of his action-set belonged to middle age group i.e. were between 40 to 60 years. There were members of other higher as well as lower castes in his action-set. His action-set thus cuts across caste.

**Bases of Linkages:**

His two younger brothers were linked to him on family basis. Nahar Singh was also linked to him on the basis of family and kinship. Hari Singh and Shiv Singh were linked to him on the basis of caste and friendship with the family. Ram Singh's linkage with the candidate was based on past obligation in the form of court evidence, besides caste and family friendship. The two Brahmin members of his action-set Pt. Munshi and Pt. Ram Swaroop were linked to him on account of the kind and sympathetic behaviour of the candidate towards poor Brahmins in the village, Mawasi, Saini was linked to him for his immediate gain of getting membership of village panchayat with the help of Mahendra Singh, Moreover, he had been a victim of the wrath of the family of Mahavir Singh and he was allegedly beaten by the Police at their instance on false charge.
of theft. Mehru, the Chamar member of his action-set was linked to him on the basis of economic obligation in the form of brick supply on credit basis.

If we compare the action sets of the two candidates it is revealed that the action-sets of both the candidates cut across caste. There are members of different castes in both the action-sets. The bases of linkages are mainly caste, family, kinship, economic obligation and traditional loyalties. The power exercised by the family of Mahavir Singh also formed the basis of his linkage with the members of his action-set.

**Mobilization of Voters:**

The first candidate canvassed among the voters through the members of his action-set. They went door to door and asked the voters to vote for the Pradhan so that the peace and development of the village may continue. Among the Thakur voters the prestige of the family was made an issue, the loss of which might cause harm to the village harmony. Among the lower castes the main issue was the power of the family. Chidda was the most active member of his action-set. He remained among the Harijans through many nights persuading them to vote for Mahavir Singh. Pt. Lakhi Ram and other Thakurs called the lower caste
people to them and persuaded them by saying "Mahavir Singh's bother has died recently, if he loses the election what will be his condition. Think of it and vote for him" and "Their family is an important family (Bara Ghar Hai) Vote for them". Sometimes they warned people by saying if they will not vote for Mahavir Singh, the plot allotment orders will go against them. This was the way of canvassing and carrying the campaign of election.

However, the candidate himself did not goto the people for canvassing. When he went to the people once or twice, people began to say "you need not come. We feel ashamed of ourselves to see you come to ask for vote. Every one knows you. Please don't take the trouble. We shall vote for you on our own." He himself felt shame in going to canvass for his election, because he had never faced such a situation before. People came to him on their own accord and assured him of their support.

But the members of his family especially his sons had gone to everybody or sent messages to all important Thakur family heads begging their votes. The ladies of the family have also gone for door to door canvassing asking for vote with folded hands.
It was also reported that the persons who were actively involved in the election campaign distributed money to the Harijans and other lower castes so that they may return their loans taken from Mahendra Singh. It was reported that nearly about Rs. 50,000/- were distributed among the people for this purpose. When the lower caste voters told that they were indebted to Mahendra Singh so they will vote for him, in order to free them from the obligation of Mahendra Singh, this step was taken by Mahavir Singh through his Thakur supporters especially Chidda and his cousin Prahlad Singh.

It was reported that packets of sweets were distributed among the people of the whole village except the supporters of Mahendra Singh. On the eve of election, Ladoo and Puri were prepared and 'Parosas' were sent to the houses of his own caste supporters and to those of his caste and other castes who were in an indecisive state. The lower caste ladies and gents were invited to dine at their place. It was also reported that they had supplied liquor also but not openly. It was Chidda who did most for the victory of Mahavir Singh.

The second candidate adopted door to door canvassing among the higher castes i.e. the Brahmins and Thakur households. Among the voters of his caste, evening and
noon gatherings in his compound also served the purpose of canvassing. His 'Gher' (compound) remained full of people from different castes - the higher caste members sitting on cots and lower caste members either on the ground/on boundary wall of the verandah. The main discussions were centred round the atrocities done by the rival candidate's family for a long time. The tactics used by the other candidate such as free supply of liquor were also discussed and the arrangements for free and full supply of liquor were made for voters of all castes. The candidate, his brothers and the members of his action-set met every body every day to count the number of voters who had assured their support to him. New strategies were evolved to woo the voters whom they thought were in indecisive stage. Liquor was the most important basis of mobilizing the lower caste as well as Rajput caste voters. It flowed in abundance.

The candidate himself went to all wheather of higher caste or lower caste voter and asked to vote in his favour if they wanted to save themselves from the Oppression of the rival candidates' family. Thus the main issues which emerged in the election campaign were appeal to the sentiments against the particular powerful
family of the village, dissatisfaction with the monopoly of this family. In the case of the sitting Pradhan an appeal to caste sentiments and call to save the prestige of the his family were the main issues.

**Determinance of Voter's Choice:**

In the case of Rajput voters, they were divided into two groups, personal and family friendship or enmity determined their choice of a particular candidate. Those who were either jealous or had suffered some loss at the hands of the particular powerful family voted for the second candidate Mahendra Singh. While those who were family friends of the particular family or had some interest which could be fulfilled with the support of this family voted for Mahavir Singh. Almost 50-50 division of Rajput votes was clear. Family and kinship was also the basis of determining Rajput voter's choice. Liquor also formed the basis of voting for many Rajputs.

In case of Brahmin voters, those who had been obliged by this particular family voted for Mahavir Singh and the economically poor Brahmins were sympathetic to Mahendra Singh - the neo-rich who obliged them now and then with easy loans.
In case of the lower castes and scheduled castes, those who felt oppressed and harassed by this family were in the fold of the rival candidate Mahendra Singh. Most of the Scheduled caste voters were under the economic obligation of Mahendra Singh and were willing to vote for him but their choice was diverted to Mahavir Singh by giving them money so that they may return the loans taken from Mahendra Singh. Hence loan (without interest) became the basis of their voting. However, there were many Saini and Scheduled caste voters who took supply of liquor from Mahendra Singh and voted for him.

The Muslims were mostly in favour of Mahendra Singh, because they have led a life of second grade citizens under the oppression of this particular family and wanted to live freely.

Thus it may be concluded that in case of upper castes - caste, friendship or enmity decides the candidate, whereas in case of lower castes money or bribe, liquor serves the purpose of the candidate. Delicious good of 'Puri' and 'Laddoos' also form a basis of getting votes. In this village, the most important factor in determining the choice of the voter was the enmity or friendship with the particular family.
Election Result:

Total votes polled in the 11th village panchayat election were 616. The winning candidate got 277 votes while the loser got 231 votes. Mahavir Singh won by a margin of 46 votes.

Functioning of Village Panchayat:

Some important activities initiated by the present Pradhan may be summarised as under:

i) The Pradhan has got the village 'Kharanja' repaired. Whenever it was not workable, Kharaja was paved afresh. The earth work in the lanes was done through 'Shramdan'. This time, drains were specially constructed along the Kharaja so that water may not harm the Kharanja.

ii) The Pradhan took active part in the distribution of land among Harijans. There was 52 bighas of land belonging to Harijan Kalmyh Vibhag in the outskirts of the village. The Block Development Officer was helped by the Panchayat Pradhan in preparing the list of forty Harijans of Pamnava, Chauscharpur and Galibpur - two other near by villages.

iii) 75 bighas of Gram Samaj land was also distributed to landless persons of all castes including Rajputs, Brahmans, Nai, Saini, Gadaras and Harijans. The Pradhan got a list of landless persons prepared.
Then lots were drawn in the presence of the Tehsildar, Jansath Tehsil and allotment was completed.

The Pradhan also arranged for the distribution of 18 bighas of land of one Chdda Thakur. His land was under ceiling for a long time. This time it was taken from him and that too was distributed among the landless persons. Harijans (both male and female) were allotted 3 bighas per head whereas non-Harijans were allotted one and a half bigha of the land.

All the members of the village Panchayat always attend the meetings. They were sent prior notice with agenda by the Pradhan. The whole village is also informed by beating of drum about the date, time, place and agenda of the village panchayat meeting. The meetings are generally held once in six months. Sometimes when an urgent requirement is there even two meetings are called within a month.

Power Pool:

Besides positional approach there are two other techniques for identifying powerful persons in the village. Thus far only positional approach has been used. Now let us use reputational followed by decision making technique.
Interviews with about 10 persons belonging to different castes revealed the names of persons who have reputation of being in power in the village. The identification was made on the basis of a question i.e. it was asked, "whom do you consider as powerful and known persons in the village?" The Pradhan identified these respondents as knowledgeable persons. The following are the names of powerful persons identified thus.

(1) Bharat Singh, the second brother of the dominant family was identified as having reputation as a powerful person. He was educated upto primary level and remained a Mukhiya after the death of his father. He was reputed for his simplicity and the quality of making his brothers well-known.

(2) Mahabir Singh, the Pradhan and the fifth brother of family is also a powerful person by reputation. Even the people/near by villages come to him with their problems and give weightage to his opinion. He is reputed for his serious nature and straight forward approach to the problem in hand.

(3) Ram. M. Singh, the youngest of the six brothers is also a powerful person in the sense that he had contacts
with many persons at the state and national level. He lives at district Head Quarters but is well linked with the village. Being an Advocate persons of the village not only visit him there but seek his advice in legal matters. He occupies many positions at district and State level in economic, educational and political institutions.

(4) Baboo Lamberdar a Rajput, aged 60 years, has a reputation of being an adviser even to this powerful family of the village. He is illiterate and owns 40 bighas of land.

(5) Chidda Singh Thakur, aged 60 years, illiterate has a large land holding of 250 bighas. He is respected in the village as a big landlord and Harijans are specially influenced by him and respect him.

(6) Budhoo, a Saini, is a respectable person in his own caste. He is 65 years old, illiterate and owns 20 bighas of land.

(7) Rati Ram, a Chamar, is a respectable person of Chamar caste. He is illiterate and has six bighas of land.

(8) Ramvir Singh, a Thakur, aged 40 years, educated
upto Graduate level, having a land holding of 225 bighas, is Block President of Lok Dal. He enjoys the reputation of a leader. It is reported that he is always ready to help the people, accompany them for their work at Block or District level. Thus he is both positional and reputational leader. Even the people of other nearby villages consult and take his help.

(9) Mahendra Singh, a Thakur, aged 47 years, educated upto primary level, having a land holding of about 250 bighas, who was a contestant of Panchayat election 1982. He also enjoys the reputation of a leader. He lends money and supplies bricks on credit basis from his brick kiln and is reported to be ever ready to help the people. He has the reputation of being a "Garib Parvar" type of man.

(10) Pt. Lakhi Ram, a Brahmin, educated upto Middle owns 45 bighas of land. He is 50 years old. He is reputed for his ability as a Mediator. He is respected because of his upper caste also.

Decision making approach was also used for identification of powerful person in the village. It was found that most of the decisions were taken by the reputational and
positional leaders. Thus the same set of persons was identified through the interview with same 10 respondents.

A comparison between the result of three techniques applied for the identification of powerful persons in the village reveals the power-pool. The same set of persons was identified by reputational and decision making technique, the Pradhan and the Panchayat members were included in the positional pd approach. The names and socio-economic profiles of eleven members of village panchayat who won the election are given below:

**Panchayat Members:**

i) Pt. Lakhi Ram a Brahmin, 55 years, his family owns 80 bighas of land and he is educated upto 8th class.

ii) Mahesh, a Thakur, 55 years of age, illiterate owns 50 bigha of land.

iii) Lala Jugmandar, a Bania 47 years old illiterate has 50 bighas of land.

iv) Chote, a Thakur, 60 years old, illiterate owns 50 bighas land.

v) Jasram (Dudhiya) a Saini 45 years old, educated upto 2nd class owns 5 bighas of land.
vi) Budhoo (Khalifa) Saini, 65 years of age illiterate has 20 bighas of land.

vii) Ismail, Luhar (Muslim) 55 years, illiterate and landless.

viii) Sukhbeer s/o (Shotan) Saini, 35 years, primary educated owns 40 bighas of land.

ix) Sukhbeer, Harijan is illiterate, 40 years old with 20 bighas of land.

x) Harchand Harijan, illiterate, is 45 years old with 2½ bigha land.

xi) Pheru Harijan, illiterate, 50 years old owns 6 bighas of land.

Thus a set of 19 persons forms the power pool.

The number of upper caste persons is the highest in the power pool. Out of these nineteen, nine belong to Rajput caste and out of them three belong to the same family, one is a Brahmin, one a Baniya, three Sainis, and four chamars and one is from Muslim minority community. From the point of view of land ownership all the powerful persons except the Muslim (Luhar) are land owners. Three Rajputs belong to the family which owns more than 800 bighas of land. The other six Rajputs own and cultivate land.
ranging from 50 to 250 bighas. The Brahmin owns 80 bighas
the Baniya 50 bighas, the four Chamar powerful persons
own between 2.5 to 20 bighas, while the three Sainis' land ranges from 6 to 20 bighas. As regards age the
range is between 35 and 65 years which indicates that age is not an important factor for being powerful in the village.

From the point of view of education two of the Rajput powerful persons are educated upto primary level, one is Graduate, one a post graduate, and L.L.B. one high School and the other two are illiterate. The Brahmin is educated upto Middle while the Baniya is illiterate. Two Sainis and four Chambers are illiterate and one Saini is educated upto primary level. The only Muslim is illiterate. Education thus is not a crucial factor for power. It is important to mention that the family background, size of a family, land ownership of the family and resourcefulness of the family remain major factors contributing to power in this village.

Factions:

Now let us consider relationship among the power position holders. For studying such relationship between different types of leaders, the concept of faction has been used by earlier sociologists like Dubey (1968), Lewis
(1954), Bailey (1969), Nicholas (1969), and Rao (1968). In the present study the word faction is used in a particular sense already made clear in the review portion.

**Number of Factions in Village Pamnvali:**

Two factions the leaders of which are from Rajput castes, have been identified in village Pamnvali. The leader of 1st faction is the sitting Pradhan and the leader of the second faction is Mahendar Singh who contested for the power position of village Panchayat Pradhan in 1982.

**Faction A:**

Faction 'A' is led by Mahabir Singh, a Rajput belonging to the dominant Rajput family. His socio-economic background has been given already.

The names of his followers are Chidha Singh (Rajput), Prahlad Singh (Rajput), Hari Om (Rajput), Pandit Lakhi Ram, Lala Jugmender (a Bania), Rati Ram (Chamar) Khâcheru (Chamar) and Jumman (Bhangi). Out of them three are Rajputs, one is Brahmin, one is Bania, one is Saini, two are Chamars and one Bhangi.

Thus Mahabir Singh's faction is a multi-caste faction.

**Factor B:**

**Leader** - Mahendra Singh, a Rajput who owns 250 bighas
of land and who contested the 1982 village panchayat election against the dominant family of Rajputs.

The names of his followers are Ram Singh (Rajput), Nahar Singh (Rajput), Hari Singh (Rajput), Brij Pal (Rajput) and Sheo Singh (Rajput), Mawasi of Saini Caste, Munshi from Brahmin caste and Mehru from Chamar caste. This faction also included members of different castes.

If the two factions are compared on the basis of representation of different castes, both have members of atleast four castes and can be called multi-caste alliances.

**Basis of Joining a Faction:**

In village Pamnvali the most important basis of joining a faction seems to be kinship, patron-client ties and self-interest of the member.

In faction 'A' the membership is based on traditional relationship of caste & self-interests of the persons who joined the faction. People of the lower castes were economically dependent on the family since they were given some land by this family. They feel obliged because the family allotted them Gram Samaj land. In Faction 'B' the opposite faction led by Mahendra Singh, the revolt against the oppression of this particular family is the main basis of joining the faction. However, kinship, caste, borrower
money lender relationship and guarantee of protection from the first faction are other important bases of joining this faction.

**Conditions Accounting for Emergence of Factions:**

In village Pamnavali, the basis of formation of factions are four. First is the arbitrary use of power by the particular dominant family of Rajput caste or in other words the reported oppression and exploitation of the poor by this family. The second basis of faction formation in this village is the economic change which took place after consolidation of land holdings in 1963-64. Unprecedented growth of economy of Mahendra Singh's family and motivation of Mahendra Singh for power led to the formation of the faction. Thirdly, the disunity of this family encouraged the faction formation in this village. Lastly, the jealousy with the status of the family also led to the faction formation.

These conditions led to the formation of a faction by Mahendra Singh who contested the 1982 village Panchayat Election for the position of Pradhan. With the emergence of the faction, this family and the dependents and followers of this family began to be recognised as a faction in itself.
Lastly, factions are very old but they have become manifest during late seventies and early 80's.

Factions were active only in village Panchayat Elections. Though the after effects of Panchayat Elections remained fresh in the memory of the people for two or three months. Factions in the village remained more pervasive during the first three or four months and less pervasive during the later period. The disruptive effect was felt particularly when persons of Rajput caste invited only one's faction member at occasions like marriage. An example may be cited. A marriage took place in the family of a member of Mahendra Singh. That family invited faction members only and particularly the dominant family remained uninvited which was unique in the history of the village. The dominant family felt humiliated inspite of the fact that it was in power. This event was interpreted as breaking of the old traditions of the Rajput caste. In order to ease the tension this dominant family took initiative to reconcile with the family in which the marriage had taken place. To achieve this goal, an emissary was sent by the dominant family who became successful in bringing a compromise between the two factions. In this compromise caste was used as a unifier. This was also agreed upon by the two factions that during the elections there is no harm in face to face
contest within the Rajput caste, but after the elections enmity and opposition of each other are to be avoided. It indicates the efficacy of the dominant family in the village.

Functions of the Faction:

Factions in this village give open support and protection to their members whether they are wrong or right in their stand. Faction B's function of protecting its members is clear from an incident. After the 1982 Panchayat elections, a Chamar Sunehra's son beat and allegedly poisoned his wife. This Sunehra had been an open supporter of Mahendra Singh, the leader of faction B. Therefore Mahendra Singh's tractor was sent at once to take her to the hospital at 11 P.M. in the night but she expired on the way to hospital. Intermediate and High School examinations were being held in these days and some of the boys who had come to appear in the examination at Ramnavali College Centre belonged to the village of that lady. They reported the incident to her parents. They lodged a report at the Police Station, police at once came to the village and might have arrested the members of the family but the faction leader manipulated to avoid police action. The police took no action and the dead body of that lady was allowed to be cremated. The whole thing was thus hushed
up with the protection of the faction. Thus it may be inferred that factions function as a protective force for their members in this village.

The only collective activity which occurred after the election was preparing the list of landless persons at the instance of Tehsildar for the purpose of allocation of land to the landless out of the land which is under the trusteeship of Samaj Kalyan Vibhag. It may, however, be noted here that this land has come out as a consequence of implementation of land ceiling Act. This list contained names of those persons also who were known to be followers of the Mahendra Singh's faction.

It is an open question if the followers of Mahendra Singh's group would have been included had there been no faction of Mahendra Singh. This responsive way of the dominant family towards the landless people can also be considered a function of faction formation in the village.

No dysfunctions were reported by the respondents. However, factions continue in the village though not in the same form as they were during the election. Thus the modern politics is absorbed in the traditional system.
Role of Factions in Parliamentary and Assembly Elections in Pamnava:

It was noted that faction members do not compulsorily follow their leader’s choice in general elections. They are more or less free from factional ties to vote for whosoever they deem fit. Political party or caste are the main considerations behind voting for a particular candidate but caste is the supermost one. During the parliamentary elections of 1983 most of the Rajput caste members voted for Congress (I), majority of Sainis voted for B.J.P. on account of the fact that a Saini candidate was contesting the election on B.J.P. Ticket. All voted freely without giving any recognition to any faction.