POLITICS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN RAJASTHAN

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C O N T E N T S

		PAGE
	LIST OF TABLES	i
	PREFACE	iii
CHAPTER 1	THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES	1
CHAPTER 2	RAJASTHAN : FROM FEUDALISM TO DEMOCRACY	22
CHAPTER 3	POLITICAL SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN	49
CHAPTER 4	POLITICS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN RAJASTHAN	107
CHAPTER 5	CONCLUSION	116
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	121

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C E R T I F I C A T E

Certified that this dissertation entitled " Politics and Social Structure in Rajasthan" submitted by Gordhan Ram for the Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University. We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of M.Phil. degree.

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LIST OF TABLES

		Pages
TABLE 1	Major castes of Rajasthan	42
TABLE 2	Party Position in the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1951- 1980	51
TABLE 3	Caste by Party of MLAs Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1967-1972	55
TABLE 4	Caste by Party of MLAs Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1972-1977	57
TABLE 5	Caste by Party of MLAs Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1977-1980	59
TABLE 6	Education by Caste of MLAs Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1967- 1972	64
TABLE 7	Education by Caste of MLAs Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1972-1977	66
TABLE 8	Education by Caste of MLAs Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, 1977-1980	68
TABLE 9	Occupation by Caste of MLAs Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, 1967- 1972	71
TABLE 10	Occupation by Caste of MLAs Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1972-1977	73
TABLE 11	Occupation by caste of MLAs Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1977- 1980	75
TABLE 12	Age structure of Rajasthan Legislative Assembly from 1967 to 1980	77

		Page
TABLE 13	Caste Composition and Regional Distribution in Rajasthan's Major Cabinets from 1951 to 1981	79
TABLE 14	Regional Representation in Rajasthan's Major Cabinets by Caste of Ministers, 1951- 1981	81
TABLE 15	Education in Rajasthan's Major Cabinets from 1951 to 1981	84
TABLE 16	Occupational Composition of Rajasthan's Major Cabinets from 1967 to 1981	86
TABLE 17	Age - structure of Rajasthan's major cabinets from 1967 to 1981	87

PREFACE

This study, entitled " Politics and Social Structure in Rajasthan", is an attempt to understand the nature of democratic politics in the state of Rajasthan. In pursuance of the purpose, character, as well as functioning of political leadership within the democratic institutions legislative - executive bodies, local governing bodies and political parties- has been analysed and explained in the light of socio- historical context of Rajasthan.

Such kind of study assumes an important place in respect of Rajasthan, because the present Rajasthan was created out of merger of 21 autonomous political units and , subsequently, introduced to the democratic political system. But this change in the political system occurred within the traditional social structure of state, and, therefore, politics had to be viewed in the context of social structure. Furthermore, the social structure itself is an outcome of work of historical forces which characterized the nature of social structure of Rajasthan. Hence, a study conducted in the perspective of mutual interaction between the three-history, social structure and democratic political structure- can provide a base for proper understanding of politics in Rajasthan. In view of the very idea , the study consists of five chapters. First chapter sheds light on the theoretical perspectives undertaken in the study. Second chapter takes the note of politico- administrative developments occurred during the

transition from feudalism to democratic era of the state. Third chapter analyses and explains structural and functional characteristics of leadership within the democratic institutions at the levels of state, district and self-government. Fourth chapter presents a systematic theoretical discussion on the interaction between politics and social structure in Rajasthan. Fifth chapter concludes the study as an overview of the preceding four chapters.

My greatest debt is to Dr. J.S.Gandhi my supervisor who took keen interest in my work by encouraging, guiding, constructively criticizing and making invaluable suggestions and improvements. It is to Dr. K.L.Sharma, the Associate Professor in the Centre for the Study of Social Systems that I owe much debt as his initial encouragement aroused my interest in the present study and his work was instrumental in clearly focussing the problem of study . I am thankful to Mr. Shekhar Mehta as I was aided by his appreciable statistical skill and qualification. A debt to Mr. P.K.Chatterjee and Dr. R.A.P. Singh must be recorded, since I took benefits of fruitful discussions with them, as well as of their experience and skill in language.

To Chairman of the Centre for the study of social systems, thanks are due for his kind permission to me to

work on the topic of present study. Let me add thanks to the members of libraries of Assembly Secretariat, Jaipur and Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi who provided me with all the material for the study. Finally I wish to offer my thankfulness to my able typist Mr. H.Chaudhuri who properly typed the manuscript.

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Jawaharlal Nehru University,
15 December 1982.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The contemporary world has been the result of innumerable developments that occurred in the past. But such process found radical changes during the past two centuries. The genesis of such process may be traced to several developments such as the development of the democracy, the struggle within capitalist societies, the rise of nation states in Western Europe and subsequently in other areas of the World, the establishment of Socialist political system, the growth of colonial empires in the nineteenth century and subsequent revolts against them in the form of national liberation movements, the world wars and revolutions of the twentieth century.[1] As a direct outcome of such developments new fields of knowledge emerged for the study of contemporary societies. And there came into being a new branch of knowledge for the study of politico-social relationship in a given society, which is called Political Sociology.

The study of 'Politics and Social Structure' has been the central focus of political sociology. Before taking up this issue more elaborately, it is better to clarify the concepts like 'politics' and 'social structure'.

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[1] T.B. Bottomore, 1977, Political Sociology, London: Hutchinson, passim.

I

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

Politics

Since ancient times, the concept ' politics" has been carrying various connotations. In the works of Plato, Aristotle and Kautilya "politics" had been equated with the acts of political authority, state's relations with the individuals and institutions and also any act done by "state". The emergence of various separate disciplines of social sciences in the late nineteenth and twentieth century led to the specification of political relations as a part of human behaviour in society. And the discipline studying political relations has been identified as "politics", though these relations could not be taken exclusive of other kinds of social relations.[2] Now-a-days the concept " politics" is being used in two senses, i.e., Lexicographical and ordinary. Lexicographers define politics as " science and art of government" which embraces the entire field of political life and behaviour in society- the mutual relations between the state and individuals, between the state and other institutions and between the governments of two states.

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[2] S.M.Lipset, 1972, Politics and the Social Sciences, New Delhi : Wiley Eastern Private Ltd., Introduction, pp.vii- viii.

Ordinarily the concept is often used synonymously with political science, public law, or manipulations and personal relationships in the associations like trade unions, universities, churches and so on.[3]

The concept " politics" here requires a prior- clarification of the concept " polity". In a democratic mode of society polity is a system of all kinds of political behaviour which is found patterned into the triad of institutions- legislature, executive and judiciary. As such "politics" itself is subsumed under the polity of a society. It is a system of those kinds of human behaviour or social relationship which are an outcome of the attempts, collectively, as well as individually aiming at acquisition of power. "By power is meant the ability of an individual or a social group to pursue a course of action (to make and implement decisions, and more broadly to determine the agenda for decision- making) if necessary against the interests, even against the opposition of other individuals and groups." [4] Since this power is found to be vested with the institutional structures- legislature, executive, as well as positions within political parties in a democratic

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[3] Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 1978, New York; The Macmillan Co., vol.12, pp.224-5

[4] T.B.Bottomore, Op.Cit., p.7

polity, the efforts are seen to be concerned in capturing and/or retaining the hold of positions in these institutional structures.

Social Structure

The much debated, as well as extremely fashionable among the social anthropologists since World War II, the concept of " social structure" has attained such a generality as to be applied almost to any ordered arrangement of social phenomena. Referring to building construction in its original English meaning, the word "structure" was widely used in anatomical studies to refer to the interrelations between the component parts of a whole by the sixteenth century. After a delay of centuries its further extension from anatomy to sociology was a logical corrollary of the every general use of organic analogies by the political philosophers, e.g., Hobbes' conception of "state" in his "Leviathan", though he does not use the expression " social structure".[5] With Herbert Spencer's reference to "the inductions of sociology- general facts, structural and functional as gathered from a survey of societies and their changes;"[6]

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[5] International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968, The Macmillan Co. and the Free Press, pp.492

[6] Herbert Spencer,1966, " Prospects of a System of Philosophy" in Jay Rumney, Herbert Spencer's Sociology: A Study in the History of Social Theory, New York: Atherton, pp. 297-303

the explicit idea of the study of social structure emerged as an objective of sociological enquiry. Spencer's anatomical image of the associated terms " structure" and "function" appeared again in the work of Durkheim and later, through him, in Radcliffe- Brown's lectures on Durkheimian sociology under the title of "social structure"[7]. Briefly, in organic analysis society is treated as a kind of living creature, the parts of which can be dissected and distinguished. The "social structure" then, is the mesh of mutual positions and interrelationships in terms of which the interdependence of the component parts may be described. The function of any part is the way it operates so as to maintain the total system " in good health".But this anatomical model becomes extremely artificial for the study of a society because the nature of society differs from that of organism. Apart from this model of social structure, the less clearly defined strand of thought but free of organic overtones is Marx's writing on relations of production as constituting the economic structure, the basis on which is erected a juridical and political super-structure and to which correspond the forms of determined social conscience.[8] It is plainly a metaphor of a building, not of an

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[7] International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Op.Cit.

[8] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,1947, The German Ideology, New York : International Publishers.

organism. In his references to political juridical and religious and philosophical systems, the word " system" is indistinguishable from the uses of "structure","super-structure" and "form" and from the terms added arbitrarily by the more recent sociologists- "infra-structure", " macrostructure" and "microstructure".[9] Engel's specific reference to Morgan's "stage of Savagery"[10] as that stage in which "the social structure is based on ties of consanguinity" lacks a clear conception of the word " structure". And such expressions as " social order", " social system" or " social form " would have served for " social structure".[11]

In simple terms, " Social structure" is a whole which consists of several components- polity, economy, education, religion, culture and so on. These constituents have mutual inter-connections and interactions which result into their inter-dependence. This interdependence of the constituents tends to the realization of a configuration of social relations existing within those constituents. Conversely that configuration directs and regulates the reciprocal functioning of those constituents towards accomplishment of the societal goals. Thus, the whole and its constituents, both, mutually control the functioning and existence of each other.

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[9] International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Op.Cit, p.483

[10] Lawrence H.Morgan, 1963, Ancient Society, Calcutta: Bharati Library.

[11] International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Op.Cit.

At the present a brief and appropriate definition given by Ossowski can be referred[12];

> By structure in its literal meaning we understand a spatial arrangement of elements in which we regard spatial relations as being correlated with some system of relationships between these elements or between particular parts of the whole. In a metaphorical sense structure is system of figuratively interpreted distances and roles of one sort or another. The concept of social structure is treating the whole groups or categories of individuals as elements of the system.

APPROACHES TO POLITICS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Study of politics and social structure has remained a prominent focus in sociological, anthropological and political literatures. Various approaches have emerged through the time for observing such structural realities. Such approaches may broadly be categorised into two :

1. Structural approach ; and
2. Marxist approach

Structural approach

The keynote of structural approach to the study of society is that social structure is an outcome of a number of components arranged in a predecided order and interacting with each other. Every component has its own

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[12] Stanislaw Ossowski, 1963, Class Structure in the Social Consciousness, London : Routledge & Kegan Paul, p.9.

importance for existence of a social structure.

The salient features of structural approach are :

(1) structure is a pattern of configuration coming out of aggregation of components,

(2) there are a number of components arranged in a predecided order ;

(3) each of the components has its respective function for the functioning of the structure, with an interrelationship and interdependence among the components ;

(4) each component has a given place and function, hence the component is an indispensible factor for the very existence of the social structure, but again a component is given certain position and function in the arrangement of several components in order to pursue certain goals for the sustenance of the social structure. Thus social structure has also decisive influence upon its components; and

(5) any kind of change in position and function of a component is bound to result into corresponding change in the social structure itself. Social consists of the components like polity, economy, education, religion, culture and so on. If any change ushers into polity, a change in the total

structure will inevitably occur.[13] As Politics has earlier been considered as a part of political behaviour under polity and as such a system of political relations, it is also one amongst several parts of social structure.

From the above discussion the structuralist approach seems to speak exclusively of consensus in Society. It does not take any note of dysfunction or conflinct which has been noted by subsequent structuralists, and which is the keynote of the Marxist approach. Robert K.Merton and Marrion J. Levy pointed out the other phenomena of 'dysfunction'[14], 'non- function'[15] and 'eufunction'[16]. In the light of facts regarding the above phenomena- a new theory as an outcome of criticism to the structuralists' consensual theory aroused. Coser[17]

13A.R.Radcliffe- Brown,1968, Structure and Function in Primitive Society, London : Cohen & West Ltd., p.190

14Robert K.Merton,1962, Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe: The Free Press, p.105

15Ibid.

16Marion J.Levy,1952, The Structure of Society, New Jersey : Princeton University Press, p.444

17A.L.Coser,1956, The Functions of Social Conflict, Illinois : The Free Press, Chapters 4 and 7.

vehemently advocated existence of conflict in every society and furthermore, presented a list of positive functions of conlict in a society. He argued that conflict is an inevitable process for the existence of society. One finds cooperation in a society because conflict is there.

Marxist approach

Karl Marx propounded dialectical theory of the existence of society and its structure. His analytical tool, i.e., class structure subsumes in itself all other structures in the society. To Marx any other than economic aspect of the society is subordinate to the economic aspect. This he considers as basic structure or fundamental and the rest as the by-products of the former which he calls " superstructure". According to him, social structure is determined by the relations of production. He makes it explicit that ' production' is a social phenomenon as it is produced by social individuals, and, therefore, it should be understood in social content. The basic characteristics of the dialectical approach of Marx are as follows;[18]

(1) economic interests are the basis for all other types of relationships- social, cultural, political, etc;

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[18] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel, Op.Cit., p.23

(2) there are two classes : (i) owners of the means of production (bourgeoisie), and (ii) workers (proletariat) ;

(3) the interests of the two classes clash with each other, as the bourgeoisie exploit the proletariat, and

(4) the bourgeoisie get more than its due share, which Marx names as the theory of surplus value. this causes and accelerates class struggle, which finally leads to revolution and radical transformation of the social structure.

According to the dialectical approach if the basic structure changes, the super structure will automatically change accordingly. If any change in an aspect of the superstructure, e.g., politics is brought about, the basic structure will be affected in no way. For an understanding of social structure according to the Marxist approach the study of its basic structure is indispensible. Mere study of super structure will be unreal and faulty.

After a brief discussion of the above two approaches, one comes to discern some obvious differences between the two. First, the structural approach assumes unity, universality and indispensibility of components in a social structure, while Marx gives primary place to economic structure and secondary place to others. Secondly, the structuralists

perceive consensus as an eternal factor in a society and ignore the existence of conflict outrightly, while Marx bases his theory on class-struggle or persistent conflict between two classes.

As a reaction to the claims of both of these approaches, Dahrendorf provides " coercion theory"[19]. His approach is somewhat different from the above two approaches. According to him, 'change and conflict' have to be assumed as ubiquitous, all elements of social structure have to be related to instability and change, and unity and coherence have to be understood as resulting from coercion and constraint. His theory implies that there are two classes of people, i.e., the group which is coercive and the group which is coerced. The conflict and coercion are found in all the arenas of social life- economic, political industrial, social, cultural, etc. There are the common elements between Marx and Dahrendorf. But further he argues that correspondence between conflict in one arena and the other is not inevitable. The coincidence of economic conflict and political conflict has ceased to exist. Industrial

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[19] Ralph Dahrendorf, 1959, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, p.237.

relations do not dominate the whole society, but are limited to the sphere of industry only.

II

STUDIES ON POLITICS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN INDIA

India, shortly after her independence, adopted a democratic set up of politics i.e., the triad of institutions- legislature, executive and judiciary elected by and representing will of the people. After a few years of that the intellectuals began to study social backgrounds of parliamentarians and legislators. By such studies one can partially understand what type of relationships exist between politics and social structure. W.H.Morris Jones[20] analysed the social background of the members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha as they stood in 1952. The survey of background traits and political affiliations of the members of the Rajya Sabha has been extended by Bhawani Singh[21] upto 1962. In 1953 Venkatarangaiya[22] published the study of the background characteristics of the candidates for the state and union legislatures during the 1952- general elections.

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[20] W.H.Morris-Jone, 1957, Parliament in India, London :Longmans.

[21] Bhawani Singh, 1973, Council of States in India, Meerut : Meenakshi Prakashan.

[22] Venkatarangaiya, 1953, The General Election in Bombay City, Bombay.

S.P.Verma[23] made an account of the social background of the members of parliament from 1952 to 1962. A similar study of the members of the third Lok Sabha was made by Surinder Suri[24]. Ratna Dutta[25] and S.K.Arora[26] also gave meaningful insights into the socio- economic backgrounds of the legislators at the national level.

STUDIES ON POLITICS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN RAJASTHAN

Students in Politics and sociology, both, Indian and foreign made attempts to study politics and social structure in Rajasthan. The attempts started after a few years since the inception of democratic set-up in

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[23] S.P.Verma, 1965, Changing Pattern of Parliamentary Leadership in India (1952-62), an unpublished thesis submitted to the State University of Lowa.

[24] Surinder Suri, 1963, Eastern Economist, vol.V, No.11, January 18.

[25] Ratna Dutta, 1969, "The Party Representatives in the Fourth Lok Sabha", Economic and Political Weekly, Annual Number, vol.IV, Nos.1-2, pp.179-189.

[26] S.K.Arora, 1973, "The Social Background of the Fifth Lok Sabha", Economic and Political Weekly, Special Number, Vol.VIII, Nos.31-33, pp.1433-40.

the state. Though most of the studies have been concerned only to the members of the legislative assemblies in different tenures, some of them have also been oriented to other concerns like formation and functioning of political parties, recruitment of party members, voting behaviour of the people, role of pressure groups and elites, faction formation, rural power structure and so on.

A substantive study has been conducted by Lawrence Shrader[27] who has offered noteworthy analysis regarding the socio-economic undercurrents in the formation of the members of the four successive legislative assemblies and cabinets in the respective periods. Richard Sission[28] made an attempt to study the political factions within the congress party in Nagaur district in the socio-historical context. K.L.Kamal[29] made an enquiry into

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[27] Lawrence L.Shrader, 1968," Rajasthan"in Myron Weiner (ed.), State Politics in India, New Jersey: Princeton University Press Princeton, pp.321-96.

[28] Richard Sission, 1973, "Caste and Political Factions in Rajasthan" in Rajni Kothari (ed.), Caste in Indian Politics, New Delhi : Orient Longman Ltd., pp.175-227.

[29] K.L.Kamal, 1967, Spot Light on Rajasthan Politics, Jaipur : Prakash Publishers.

the ideological orientation of the main political parties in the state, emerging patterns of political leadership, caste in state politics both as an integrative and as a devisive force, interaction between tradition and modernity, factionalism specially within the congress organisation and its reflection in the Government, the nature and extent of the princely and traditional challenge particularly organised on the eve of the Fourth General Elections and so on. C.M.Jain[30] traced all the developments and the tendencies that have appeared right from the inception of the first assembly to the end of the third assembly. The analysis covers both the structure and functioning of legislative assemblies and their impact on the socio- economic life of the people. Shashilata Puri[31] also dealt with the socio-politico- economic backgrounds of legislative elite in the state. H.R.Chaturvedi[32] made an analysis of trend in politics with regard to success of congress party in the state. S.P.Verma and

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[30] C.M.Jain, 1972, State Legislatures in India, New Delhi: S.Chand & Co. (Pvt.) Ltd.

[31] Shashilata Puri, 1978, Legislative Elite in an Indian State : A Case Study of Rajasthan, New Delhi: Abhinav Prakashan.

[32] H.R.Chaturvedi, 1972," Congress Sweeps in Rajasthan Assembly Elections : A trend analysis", Indian Journal of Political Science (Delhi), vol.xxxiii, No.3, July-September.

C.P.Bhambhri[33], in their study of third general elections in the state, attempted to know a pattern of relationship between elections and political consciousness. Iqbal Narain and others[34] conducted a field study of Panchayati Raj leadership in the context of Rajasthan electoral politics. It was launched as post election survey after 1967 elections. Total respondents in the study cover 83 Panchayati Raj leaders at different levels like- panches, sarpanches, pradhans and ex-sarpanches etc. The study singled out Panchayati Raj leadership as a key variable in the determination of voting choices in particular and overall electoral processes in general.

There are some significant sociological studies which dealt with political issues in their sociological perspective. K.L.Sharma[35], while considering

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[33] S.P.Varma and C.P.Bhambhri, 1967, Elections and Political Consciousness in India, Meerut : Meenakshi Prakashan.

[34] Iqbal Narain et. al, 1976, Rural Elites and Elections in an Indian State, New Delhi: The National Publishing House.

[35] K.L.Sharma, 1974, The Changing Rural Stratification System, New Delhi : Orient Longman Ltd., pp.184-204.

power- structure as a part of stratification, revealed that power is, in fact, concentrated in a few privileged resourceful and dynamic families of the upper castes and classes. These are influentials in the villages; yet participation of the lower castes and classes has increased in the contemporary political set-up. B.K.Nagla[36] traced the roots of intra- and inter-party factionalism in the social structure. He also noticed the interlinkage of politics at various levels like national, state, district, panchayat samiti and village etc. and treated the issue of factionism at these various levels.

III

THE PRESENT STUDY

Although the studies mentioned above deal with politics in Rajasthan, yet these have been selective and therefore, partial studies of the state politics. These studies have been limited either to a part- any of institutional structures like legislature, executive, and political parties, or to any of the levels - the state,

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[36] B.K.Nagla, " Factionalism, Social Structure and Political Parties : A Sociological study of Udaipur District in Rajasthan", a Ph.D. thesis submitted to J.N.U., New Delhi.

district and local self- government or have a syncronic view of the politics. Furthermore, these selective studies have also assumed one-sided view of the reality. Some of these studies vehemently advocated the social structure as the determinant of the nature of politics, while a few others have considered politics as an agent of social change, and even of change in the social structure of the state. But neither of these studies could put forth the true form of reality- a dual process of interaction going on between the politics and social structure in the state. Efforts are needed to integrate these selective studies with the latest data available from various sources into a comprehensive model of study of the state politics. And, furthermore, these data need to be used in examining political structures and processes at the three levels- the state, district and local self-government in their respective social structures.

Notwithstanding the criticism of the above mentioned studies, these studies lead to adopt the following hypothesis for testing in the present study :

> Politics in Rajasthan is predominantly governed by traditional- feudal forces.

The hypothesis seeks to emphasize the influence of traditional- feudal forces on the political structure of the state. But an assumption of reciprocal influence is also

inherent in it, which the presentation of evidence from various sources will bring out. The following questions have been formulated in the light of the above stated hypothesis :-

(1) Does the social structure influence the politics ?

(2) Does the politics influence the social structure ?

(3) Or, do both of them have reciprocal influence ?

(4) In case both have reciprocal influence, then which of the two is comparatively stronger ?

In order to have an integrated and comprehensive view of politics, the present study considers it in three dimensions : contextual, structural and operational.[37] The former of these dimensions subsumes the social structure in its entirety, while the latter two are obviously two aspects of politics. Efforts have been made to understand how the contextual dimension influences the operational and structural dimensions of politics. And, in turn, how the operational and structural dimensions influence the contextual dimension. Furthermore, this vice-versa influence of politics &

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[37] For an insighful discussion on the framework of state politics, see Iqbal Narain (ed.),1976, State Politics in India, Meerut : Meenakshi Prakashan, Introduction,pp.i-xi.

social structure has been examined at the two levels- spatial and temporal. Spatial analysis covers an analysis of operation of political structure- political parties, formal constitutional- statutory structures and administrative framework, in the context of social structure at the three levels- the state, district and local self- government. Temporal analysis provides a comparative analysis in terms of period of operation of the political structure in the context of social structure at the above mentioned three spatial levels.

Thus, the model of study embraces entire interaction between politics, social structure and history of Rajasthan. It is the interaction between these three that the state politics assumes a particular nature which is to be followed in the proceeding chapters.

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CHAPTER 2

RAJASTHAN : FROM FEUDALISM TO DEMOCRACY

Feudalism, a well- known phenomenon in the annals of India, has been sustained through the prolonged existence of princely states of the erstwhile Rajputana. The disintegration of Mughal empire and the subsequent desperadations of Marathas and Pindaris impelled these states under the British Paramountcy. The British contacts and the dynamics of events of one and half century influenced their politico- administrative systems. With the independence of India they were revived of their sovereignties and later, merged together to form the state of Rajasthan as a unit of the politico- administrative mainstream of the Indian Union. As one marches ahead to evaluate politics of the state over the past three decades, it becomes necessary to trace its developments in the socio- historical context. In this regard, the present chapter presents an account of transition of Rajasthan from feudal past to the democratic era.

I

This section gives a brief clarification of the concept " feudalism", and a major analysis of feudal system that existed in earlier Rajasthan.

FEUDALISM : CONCEPT AND MEANING

Before making a probe into the nature and dynamics of feudalism in Rajasthan, a little conceptual clarification of the term " feudalism " may help make a better understanding.

The wide usage of the term of " feudalism" in the field of social sciences has by and large been aimed to denote ' a phase of development of society'. In its specific sence " the term denotes " feudal society", a form of civilisation that flourishes especially in a closed agricultural economy.[1] This notion of feudalism, as a stage of development of society is present in the marxist usage. And, there it refers to a type of society and economy characterised by serfdom generally succeeding the economic system based on slavery and preceeding capitalism. In its technical meaning, feudalism is a " social system of rights and duties- based on land tenure and personal relationships in which land (and to a lesser degree other sources of income) is held in fief by vessals from lords to whom they owe specific services and with whom they are bound by

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[1] The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1977, Micropaedia, Vol.iv, pp. 115-16.

personal loyality." [2] The specific- technical meaning of the term brings forth two aspects of the system, viz., institution of vassalage and manorial or seignorial system. As regards the institution of vassalage, feudalism is a " method of government"[3] in which -

1. those who fulfill official duties, whether civil or military, do so not for the sake of an abstract notion of ' state' or public service, but because of personal and freely accepted links with their lords ;
2. the officials receive their remuneration in the form of fief which is hereditary ; and
3. public authority becomes fragmented and decentralised, because various functions are closely associated with the fief rather than the person who holds fief.

In Manorial system, the land lords exercise a wide variety of police, judicial, fiscal and other rights over the unfree peasantry (Serfs).[4]

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Joseph R.Strayer and Rushton Coulborn, 1956, "The Idea of Feudalism", in Rushton Coulborn (ed.), Feudalism in India, New Jersey : Princeton University Press, pp. 4-5.

[4] The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Op.Cit., p.116

FEUDAL SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN

The feudal system in Rajasthan, dating back to eleventh century, was nurtured and cherished through a period extending upto the independence of India. There has been unsettled debate over the issue of origin and development of the feudal system in Rajasthan. But without any doubt the system had been there for a large part of the history of this state. It thus assumes an important place in a discussion of the socio- historical context of politics in Rajasthan.

The " Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan"[5] is considered as an authentic source material on social system of the princely states of the erstwhile Rajputana. Most of the following information owes its roots to this work. The chief features of the feudal system, described by Tod, can be presented as follows :-

The hierarchical structure of society was headed by several dozons of leading princes of Rajputana. Each of the superior houses had the colourful regalia of feudalism : armorial bearing, banner, palladium, kettle-drum, silver-mace, as well as a bard to spread its fame. The great chiefs had under them vassals of

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[5]Col. J.Tod, 1971, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, in 3 volumes.

higher or lower rank, according to the size of the landed estates which they held as fiefs. The obligations of the vassals included military service, attendance on the persons of prince for varying periods, and a number of payments, such as reliefs, escheats, aid, and wardships. The lower houses rested upon sub-division of the great grants, sub-divisions which Tod explicitly termed subinfeudation. This process of sub-division extended to the lowest subdenomination, the charsa, or " hide of land", sufficient to furnish one equipped knight.[6]

The land system

Jagirdars

Tod denoted that class of tenures as the feudal class in which a lord (Thakur) held the land by grant (patta) of his prince.

A large part of land of the states remained under this category of tenure system, e.g., roughtly three quarters of land of the Mewar state was usually held as estates of chiefs.[7]

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6 Daniel Thorner, 1981, The Shaping of Modern India, New Delhi : Allied Publishers (Pvt.), Ltd., pp.274-5.

7 Col.J.Tod, Op.Cit., vol.I,p.195

Bhumias

Along the Jagirdars (landlords), there existed another class of tenures, the Bhumias. These bhumias, scions of the earliest princes of Rajputana, held their lands on prescriptive possession, exempted of any revenue control and fine for investiture, because their grants required no renewal. The only liabilities they had were small annual quit - rent and local service as frontier guards or as a sort of irregular feudal militia. In Mewar, as many as four thousand bhumias persisted in kumbhalmer, the wilds of Chhappan, or plains of Mandalgarh since remotest antiquity.[8]

Khalsa

Khalsa or fisc tenure was under direct revenue measures of prince. In Mewar the central part, some twenty five miles of the state was under the khalsa- forming the crown demesne of the Maharana.[9]

The Government

Legislative authority, while dealing with the state-wide phenomenon, emanated from the prince, his council and his four chief ministers and their deputies. In practice the council of prince had principal concerns like the general peace and threats to the normal functionin

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[8] Ibid, pp.195-7.

[9] Ibid, p.166

of administration. In such a time, the council comprised the chieftains in the association of prince. In quieter time, the general business of the council was to supervise revenue collection and to administer justice in the crown demesne.

In the outlying districts two sets of officials wielded the authority of prince. These officials were : head of garrisons manning boarder posts, and " resident rulers" (a civil officer and a military officer conjoined) of the district. Owing to extreme jealousy of the chiefs concerned with their own prerogatives the civil rulers usually could not exercise their civil powers regarding the distribution of justice and economy of the estates of chiefs. Even in criminal cases the chiefs did not deem necessary to act with the required special sanction of the court of justice of prince. The sitting of the court of justice, within the chief's bounds was considered as humiliating intrusion or equal to sequestration.[10]

Social Order

Owing to remarkable blood ties, a lower house in the feudal setting was a kinsmen of his lord, and even a prince never degraded by marriage with a daughter of a charsa- holder Rajput. The vassals of different blood

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[10] Ibid, pp.166-7, 171.

(to be surely Rajput), being of inferior title Kala Patta (black grant), did not have the kinsmen's strength in the soil even after continually holding for " twenty generation's duration". The other upper castes like Brahmans and Mahajans also had share in power and administration of the states, but the lower castes could never have an access to high posts of this socio-politico- economic system.[11]

The feudal system had sustained through its contacts with the British upto integration of the princely states into the state of Rajasthan. During this period it experienced several politico-administrative developments which are to be observed in the proceeding discussion under the present chapter.

II

This section takes note of politico- administrative developments that occurred in the erstwhile Rajputana through contacts with the British, leading

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[11] Ibid, p. 165

eventually to their integration into the state of Rajasthan.

RAJPUTANA AND BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY

Decline of the Mughal empire opened a way for the rise of Marathas, and subsequently the chaos evacuated the Pindaris to be emanated. The unbridled Marathas and Pindaris invaded and extorted the princely states of Rajputana from the end of eighteenth century to the second decade of nineteenth century. Under these invasions and extortions the institutions like the relationship between the prince and his nobles, the land system, the revenue system and military system were verging towards a collapse of the whole group of these states.[12] At the very time Lord Hastings deemed it urgent to bring all the states under the British protection to rescue them from the destruction and devastation being carried out by the Pindaris.[13] Treaties of alliance between 1817 and 1818 were conducted with the conditions of

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[12] A.C.Banerjee, 1964, " Pertabgarh", The Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta), March, p.15

[13] M.S.Mehta, 1930, Lord Hastings and the Indian States, Bombay : Taraporval and Sons, p.127

protection and defence from the East India Company and the employment of troupes in return for loyal cooperation with the Paramount Power. Besides, the states were assured of independence in their internal matters from the British. And the alliance brought a condition of perfect security to people of the states. Apart from some sporadic military uprisings, the princes and nobles of the states remained loyal to the British power during the Great Revolution of 1857. Disturbances of the Great Revolution excited to only the feudatories, the Thakurs and hereditary nobles to go against their liege chiefs. Since 1858 the states had been transformed from independent allies to the protracted feudatories under the assumption of the direct sovereignty of the vast Empire of the British Crown. For external purposes the territories and subjects of the states were in the same position as those of the Britain.[14] In internal matters the British resident (the political officer in charge of the state) was the real ruler and the " Master"

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[14] K.R.R.Sastry, 1950, Indian States, Delhi, p.22

of the prince.[15]

Under the British Paramountcy, the contacts as well as the interference in the internal matters of the states by the British had significant impact on the politico- administrative institutions of the states in the subsequent years.

THE PRINCELY STATES AND PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATION

The British power categorised the politico-administrative units of India into two, viz, the erstwhile princely states and the so-called British Indian provinces. Princely states of Rajputana formed the former category of autocratic and despotic rulers under the British protection, with the administrative machinaries being antiquated and devoid of needs of people of the states. The British Indian provinces were experimenting with partial, niggardly and yet educative institutions of representative government. They also tended to be responsible since His Majesty's Declaration of 20 August, 1917. National leaders also opened their

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15 G.N.Singh, 1930, Indian States and British India, Benares : Nand Kishore and Brothers, p.50

activities in these provinces for freedom from alien domination, with the institutional behaviours like processions, picketings, boycotts, publications and public speeches etc. Influence of these forces from the British Indian provinces trickled into the princely states arousing gradually discontent against the oppression of rulers, e.g., " Bijolia Movement"[16] in defiance of the increased land revenue imposed by the ruler of Mewar. Later the movement also covered the state of Sirohi. Though this and such other uprisings demanding reduction of revenue taxes and abolition of Begar System were crushed with military power either of the rulers or of the British, these could leave immense impact on the people of the states. Several organisations of the thirties of present century such as praja mandals, praja parishads, Zamindar-Kisan Sabha, Youth League, Bhil Seva Ashram, etc. and later,in 1933, their convergence into the All India States' People's Conference (AISPC) embodied people's aspirations to be associated with the administration with a view to realise the ultimate goal of establishing responsiblegovernments in the states. For this purpose these organisations resorted to the same institutional means as those by the national leaders in the British

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16 Prithvi Singh Mehta,1950, Hamara Rajasthan, Prayag: Indrachand Narang, pp.355-7

Indian provinces. Press also played a significant role in exposing the tyrannies of the rulers and their associates and arousing awakening among the people of the states. In some states the forsightful and dynamic Diwans,[17] (prime ministers), also convinced the rulers of urgency of introducing reforms for people's welfare. Farsigted Maharajas like Ganga Singh of Bikaner also could feel the nerve of time in the period of change and took interest in giving the people their representation in administration. Lastly, the British government exerted influence upon the rulers to seek cooperation of the subject masses at various levels of administration.

Under the various forces a slow process of administrative reforms like the study of English started even before 1950. After 1950 the special efforts were made regarding law and order, justice and jails, criminal and civil laws, revenue system, education, health and local self government etc. During a protracted period since the second decade of present century to 1947,

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[17] The notable among such Diwans, with the name of princely state and the span of their term, are :

i. Dr. Mohansinha Mehta	Banswara State	1937-47
ii. V.Raghvachari	Udaipur	1939-47
iii. Sir Mirza Ismail	Jaipur State	1942-46
iv. K.M.Pannikar	Bikaner State	1944-47
v. C.S.Venkatachari	Marwar	1946-47

only 8 of the 20 princely states created people's legislative bodies. Six of these bodies in the states of Banswara[18], Bharatpur,[19] Bikaner,[20] Jodhpur,[21] Jaipur[22] and Tonk[23] functioned for some years. Two states- Bundi[24] and Udaipur[25] made only proposals for the establishment of such bodies. The remaining states except these six had created Advisory Boards, hardly having any representative element.

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18 Administrative Report, Banswara State, 1923-24, p.6

19 Administrative Report, Bharatpur State, 1941-42, p.2

20 Four Decades of Progress in Bikaner, 1937, pp.70-71

21 File No.C/4/10, Vol.III, Miscellaneous-Representative Advisory Assembly, 1941-47

22 Ishwari Dutt, 1944, Constitutional Reforms for Jaipur, Jaipur : Information Bureau, p.8

23 Administrative Report, Tonk State, 1943-44, pp.4, 66.

24 Administrative Report, Bundi State, 1942-43, p.83

25 Sajjan Kirti Sudhakar (Udaipur), 1941, September 29.

Owing to the persistent power being concentrated in the hands of the ruler, franchise restricted to propertied, tax-paying and educated people and Jagirdars' special representation, the legislative assemblies could not play any significant role in administration of the states.

Undoubtedly, the process of politico- administrative developments under the impact of the British contacts, the national movement and the local as well as other organisations remained slow in the princely states owing to their isolated position autocratic rules and dependency on the British. This process should have been immense after the integration of these states into the state of Rajasthan as a political unit.

INTEGRATION AND RE-ORGANISATION OF RAJASTHAN

The present state of Rajasthan is an outcome of merger of 18 princely states, 2 chiefships and 1 centrally administered unit of the erstwhile Rajputana. The principal states were : Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Sirohi, Jaipur, Alwar, Dholpur, Karauli, Bharatpur, Tonk, Kota, Bundi, Jhalawar, Udaipur, Kishangarh, Dungarpur, Banswara and Partabgarh. The Chiefships of Shahpura and Kushalgarh were under two sovereigns. Chief of Shahpura was under both the Maharana of Udaipur and the British government.

Kushalgarh, also, had two soverigns- the prince of Banswara and the British government. Ajmer- Merwara, a British chief commissioners province was the only centrally administered unit in the Rajputana.

The integration passed through several stages. The first union, " Matsya" consisting of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli was formed on 17 March 1948. Another Union, " Rajasthan" was inaugurated at Kota on 25 March 1948, with the Maharao of Kota as the Rajpramukh. It consisted of nine states and two chiefships- namely Kota, Tonk, Bundi, Jhalawar, Partabgarh. Dungarpur, Banswara, Kishangarh, Shahpura- Lawa and Kushalgarh. Subsequently, the merger of Udaipur into this union brought into being the " United States of Rajasthan" inaugurated on 18 April 1948, with the Maharana of Udaipur as Rajpramukh and the Maharao of Kota as Uprajpramukh. Later, with the merger of Bikaner, Jaipur, Jaisalmer and Joahpur into this Union on 30 March 1949 the new denomination of the Union " United States of Greater Rajasthan" appeared. A new government was formed on 7 April 1949, with the Maharana of Udaipur as Maharaj Pramukh, Maharaja of Jaipur as Rajpramukh and the Maharao of Kota as Uprajpramukh. On 15 May 1949, the Matsya union also merged into the United States of Greater Rajasthan. On 26 January 1950, a major part of Sirohi state, attached with Bombay was

appended to Rajasthan.[26] Thus integrated state of Rajasthan was given the status of a 'B' class state.

Under the re-organisation of states, Abu of Sirohi state and Ajmer- Merwara(the latter Class 'C' state after Independence) were merged with Rajasthan on 1 November, 1956. The Sunnel Tappa of the Mandsaur district of the erstwhile Madhya Bharat was transferred to Rajasthan and the Sironj sub-division of Kota district to the new Madhya Pradesh. Hence, a full-fledged state of Rajasthan appeared in the Union of India.

Thus from the very nature and process of integration of the state, it may be possible to derive certain observations, viz : whether the integration could result into an organic political community or the state sustained with its pre-integration identities. Further, the analysis of physico- demographic features of the state can be of better aid in proping more towards this understanding.

III

This section delineates the physico-demographic features, as well as democratic polity in the state, with the view to seek the nature of interaction between these two in the following chapter.

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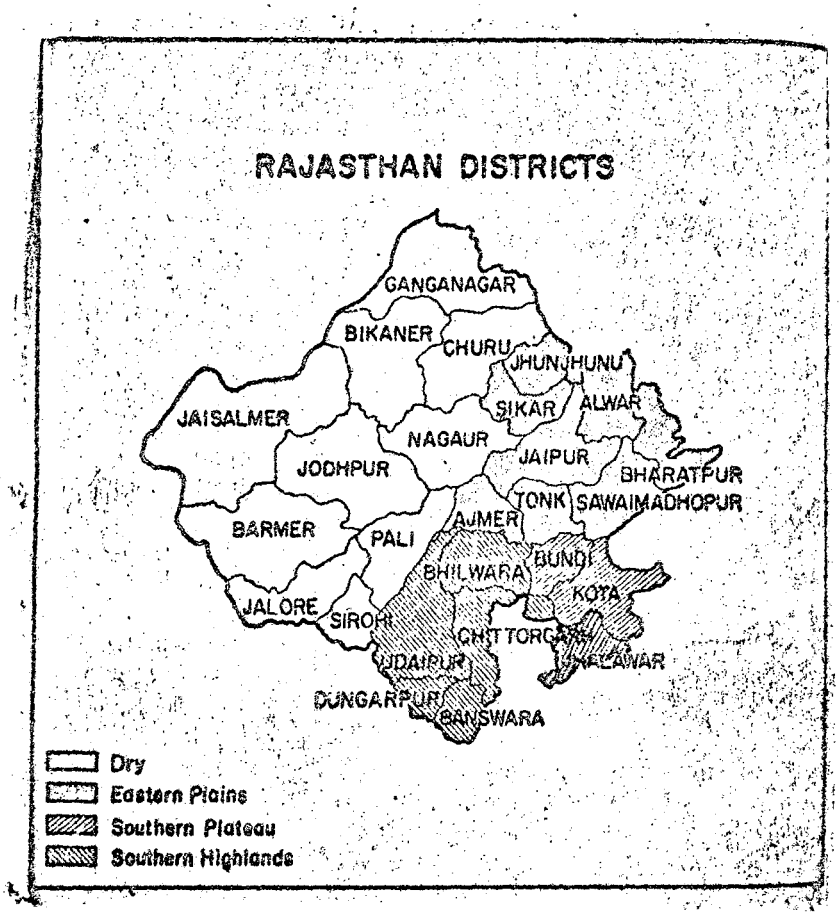
[26] Report on the Administration of the Rajasthan, 1950-51, Jaipur, p.2.


RAJASTHAN DISTRICTS
GANGANAGAR
BIKANER
CHURU
JHUNJHUNU
SIKAR
ALWAR
JAISALMER
NAGAUR
JAIPUR
BHARATPUR
JODHPUR
TONK
SAWAIMADHOPUR
AJMER
BARMER
PALI
BHILWARA
BUNDI
KOTA
JALORE
SIROHI
CHITTORGARH
UDAIPUR
KELAWAR
DUNGARPUR
BANSWARA
Dry
Eastern Plains
Southern Plateau
Southern Highlands

RAJASTHAN : PHYSICO- DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

Rajasthan, i.e., " the abode of princes" has been termed as Rajwara in the familiar dialect of the region, and by the more refined people of the region termed as Raethana which corrupted to Rajputana, the common designation amongst the British for the Rajput principalities.[27]

Rajasthan lies between 23.3' and 30.12' north latitude and 69.30' and 78.17' east longitude.[28] This second largest state of the Indian Union has an area of 3,42,214 sq. km., covering 10.43 percent of the whole country. The districts of Ganganagar, Jaisalmer, Banswara and Dholpur (recently formed) join its north, west, south and east angles respectively. Pakistan bounds it on the west and north-west. Its northern and north eastern frontiers extend in common with the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh upto the river Chambal, and about 200 miles boundary turning from the Chambal to South-eastward demarcates its Jaipur and Kota districts from Gwalior. The southern zig-zag boundary- line running across the central region of India, divides it from Madhya Pradesh and Gujrat.[29]

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[27] Col. J.Tod, op.cit., vol.I, p.1.

[28] Indian Express, 1956, New Delhi, November 1.

[29] Alexander Campbell, 1958, The Heart of India, London : Constable & Co. Ltd., p.90.

The Aravalli Hills, the major geographical feature of Rajasthan, begin in Sirohi district in the Southwest and continue extending north-eastward across the state through Ajmer district and the northern portions of Sikar and Jhunjhunu districts wherein they begin to break up, and finally slope and disappear in the Jamuna river's delta area, West of New Delhi. The Hills divide the state in half. The four historical regions of the state- Dry, Eastern Plains, Southern Highlands and Southern Plateau owe their origin to the Aravalli Hills.[30]

The Dry region, part of the Thar Desert extending across the boarder into Pakistan, comprises the 10 districts- Ganganagar, Bikaner, Churu, Nagaur, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Barmer, Pali, Jalore and Sirohi. Primarily the area covered by the former princely states of Bikaner and Jodhpur. The Eastern Plains region consists of mostly rolling plains of 8 districts of south eastern Rajasthan- Jhunjhunu, Sikar, Alwar, Jaipur, Bharatpur, Sawai Madhopur, Tonk and Ajmer, representing the area historically dominated by the state of Jaipur.

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30 The Rajputana Gazetteer, 1879, Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, Vol.I, pp.10-13.

The Southern Highlands region is formed of the five districts of Southwestern Rajasthan- Bhilwara, Udaipur, Chittorgarh, Dungarpur and Banswara, the area of Udaipur- the major princely state. The Southern Plateau region, surrounded on the three sides by Madhya Pradesh, consists of three districts- Bundi, Kota, and Jhalawar, representing the topological features different from those of the Southern Highlands region.

According to the census 1981 (provisional) Rajasthan has a population of 34,102,912 including 16,353,630 women - 47.9 percent of the total population. Members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes constitute 28 percent of its total population. 7,140,421 persons of the total population are distributed over its 35,795 villages. The urban population in 195 cities and towns forms 20.93 percent of its total population including 11 cities each having a population over 1 Lakh. The growth rate of its population has increased to 32.36 percent from 27.83 percent in 1971. Its per sq. km. density of population has also increased to 100 from 75 in 1971.

Despite the difficulty of unavailability of recent data on the caste structure of Rajasthan, these data from the census 1931 may be more relied upon, for a

lesser degree of politico- economic development took place in this state than in many other states. The data show that the state's caste structure lacks ... any numerically dominant caste. Further, some of its large caste groups are concentrated in specific regions only.

TABLE 1

Major Castes of Rajasthan

Caste	% of population
Jat	9.2
Brahman	7.6
Mahajan	7.4
Chamar	6.8
Bhil	5.8
Rajput	5.6
Mina	5.4
Gujar	4.7
Mali	3.3
Total	55.8

Source : Census of India,1931, 1932, Rajputana Agency, Meerut: Government of India,Vol.xxvii, p.124

The Census 1931 reported 13 castes which combinedly represented 71 per cent of the state's population at that time. Of 9 castes listed in the above table, 3 represent agricultural castes, 2 represent " twice-born" castes, 2 represent scheduled tribes and 1 represents Scheduled caste. Only 4 of 9 castes, i.e. Chamars, Bhahmans, Mahajans and Rajputs are broadly distributed throughout the state. Owing to their low social status, level of economic development and education the Chamars could not act as a state-wide effective caste, while the three " twice-born" castes could do so. All the other castes are concentrated in limited areas of the state. Jats, the largest single caste of the State, are concentrated in the Dry and northern districts of the Eastern Plains regions. The Gujars represent between 4 and 8 percent of the population in the three regions, except the Dry region. The Bhils represent 25 percent of the population in the Southern Highlands region. In the former states of Banswara, Dungarpur and Kushalgarh they constituted 64 per cent, 54 per cent and 84 per cent respectively. The Minas, concentrated in the Southern Plateau and the southern half of the Eastern Plains represented approximately 8 percent of the total population of Southern Plateau region in 1931, but this percentage rose to 10 percent after

incorporation of non-Mina areas of the region into Madhya Pradesh. In the Eastern plains region they, the third largest group representing approximately 8 per cent of the population, concentrated for the most part in Alwar, Sawai Madhopur, and Jaipur districts. The Malis formed from 2 to 5 percent of the population in all the above mentioned regions of the state, except their insignificant numbers in the Southern Plateau region.

Despite the fact that there are many other concentrations of particular castes, the above figures reveal that the distribution of the state's castes like peasant castes, scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes lack state- wide coverage. Above the village level, few castes dominate any area as a majority caste. " Their traditional social organisation was limited horizontally in terms of regions and vertically in terms of social stratification."[31]

Of the much more evenly distributed " twice-born" castes, the Brahmans ranged from 5 per cent to 9 per cent (in the Eastern Plains region) of the population in

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31 Lawrence, L.Shrader,1968, " Rajasthan" in Myron Weiner (ed.), State Politics in India,New Jersey : Princeton University Press, pp.327-9.

all the four regions of the state. The Rajputs in each region vary from approximately 2 per cent to 8 per cent of the population, with their highest concentration in the Dry region. The Mahajan castes represent 3 per cent to 7 per cent of the population in all the regions, except their representation slightly less than one per cent of the population in the Southern Plateau region.

Owing to geographical, historical and political reasons, the three socio- cultural regions, i.e. Mewar, Marwar and Amber - politically dominated by the three seats of Udaipur, Jodhpur and Jaipur still persist their identities. Udaipur, aided by the ruling families' close ties with Bhils of the region, has a historical legacy of persistent resistence to and refusal of any offer of intermarriage with the Mughals, which kept them aloof till the only agreement reached with the British. Jodhpur, having relationship ranging from open defiance to an alliance with both the Mughals and the British, remained distinct. Jaipur also could no more consolidate its links with the other regions of the state, though it entered the sustained relationships with the Mughals and the British.

Rajasthan is primarily an agricultural state. The 79.07 per cent of its total population lives in

villages (census 1981). It covers 13 per cent of the total arable land of India. But the one third of its total area is covered by the desert. It possesses only 1.35 per cent of the total water resources of India. And it is persistently marked by the repeated adversities of famine. The state lacks not only agricultural development but also does it lack the sound industrial base. Despite the immense possibilities of the dairy, woolen and mineral industries, the state does not have sufficient infra-structural facilities for its economic development.[32]

According to the Census 1981, 35.78 per cent of the males and 11.32 per cent of the females have recorded as that of literates in the state. 24.05 percent of the total population constitutes the portion of literates in the state. Thus economic, as well as educational backwardness of the state doesnot seem articulating the personality traits, attitudes, value- preaises and pattern of political culture and socialization congenial to the state's democratic polity.

This variety of physico- demographic features must have a typical interaction withthe politics in

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[32] Yojana (Hindi), 1981, vol.25, No.20, 1-25 December, p.8.

Rajasthan. Before proceeding to make an examination of the above mentioned interaction, a brief consideration is required to delineate the structure of democratic polity in Rajasthan.

IV

DEMOCRATIC POLITY IN RAJASTHAN

With effectiveness of the constitution of Indian Union since 26 January 1950, Rajasthan, as well as other states of the Union, has acceded to the uniform triad of democratic polity, i.e., the legislature, executive and judiciary- the three organs of polity. The uni-cameral legislative body- Rajasthan Legislative Assembly has been formed through the seven General Elections since the first formation in 1952. The people's representatives in this legislative body have been, from time to time, meeting at the Assembly Hall in Jaipur- the capital of the state. They conducted the procedures to enact the legislations with regard to social requirements. Their legislations, so far, enacted by the people's representatives in the Seven Assemblies have been executed by the Council of Ministers- the body emanated from the majority political party in the state's legislative Assembly. These people's bodies consist of the representatives elected through the electoral process. The political parties are the very political groups which involve in competition for

control of positions of power in the above mentioned two bodies through the electoral processes. This competition occurs at different social levels - the state, district and self- government through the electoral processes. The Congress, except for the three years' interlude of the Janata Party, has been sustaining as the legislative party over the past three decades of the democratic polity in Rajasthan. This entire process of the formation and functioning of the people's representative bodies of the above mentioned three levels through political parties constitutes the " politics" of the state.

Thus, Rajasthan has seen a transition from feudalism to the present democratic polity. Since the democratic polity has been established within the social context which continues to be feudalistic, the politics is naturally to be influenced by the feudal past of the state. An analysis of the nature of the present democratic politics can help reveal the impact of the feudalism on the state's politics. Such analysis is to be followed in the forthcoming chapter.

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL SYSTEM IN RAJASTHAN

Politics may be studied in its two major dimensions, viz, structural and operational. Structure of politics consists primarily of political parties, constitutional-statutory bodies and administrative framework. These three components of the structure have an inner- regulatory mechanism, originated in and sustained through a system of their inner- connections and interactions which determine their behaviour and performance, i.e. operational dimension of politics. As such these two dimensions are so interspersed that the one, undoubtedly, transgresses the domain of the other. And this interspersion urges to club them together rather than to bifurcate them artificially.[1] This sort of relationship varies in its nature at different levels such as the state, district, and local self-government. Hence, a proper understanding of the bi-domensional character of politics needs to be developed at these three levels. This very approach has been followed to study the politics of Rajasthan in the proceeding three sections of this chapter.

I

THE STATE LEVEL

This section presents a structural and operational analysis of political parties, legislative assembly and

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[1] Iqbal Narain (ed.), 1976, State Politics in India, Meerut : Meenakshi Prakashan, Introduction, pp.xxxii.

cabinets, and administrative framework in the state.

The political parties

In order to grasp the nature of political parties in Rajasthan, a three- fold perspective - constituted of retrospective, contemporary and prospective- is necessary.

Table 2 reveals political strength and social legitimacy of the political parties over a period of time in the state legislative Assembly. The political parties can be divided into the two categories, e.g., ruling party and the opposition parties alongwith the independents. Of the only two ruling parties- the Congress and the Janata party, the former could win a bare majority in the first, third and fourth Assembly. But it won a thumping majority in the second, fifth and seventh assembly. The Janata Party constituted of the former Swatantra Party, Jan Sangh, Socialist Party and Bhartiya Kranti Dal, earned three- fourth of the seats in the sixth Assembly. The number of the opposition parties decreased at almost each successive Assembly, whereas the proportion of collective representation from the opposition parties in all these six Assemblies shows no predictable shift. The Jan Sangh is the only opposition party which sustained over a period of time. The proportion of the

TABLE- 2

Party Position in the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly

1951 - 1980

(in percent of MLAs)

Party	Year						
	1952	1957	1962	1967	1972	1977	1980
Congress	82 (51.3)	119 (67.6)	88 (50.0)	89 (48.4)	145 (78.8)	41 (20.75)	133 (66.5)
Congress (O)	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)	-	-
Swatantra Party	-	-	36 (20.5)	49 (26.7)	11 (6.0)	-	-
Jan Sangh/ Bharatiya Janata Party	8 (5.0)	6 (3.4)	15 (8.5)	22 (11.9)	8 (4.5)	-	32 (16.0)
Ram Rajya Party	24 (15.0)	17 (9.7)	3 (1.7)	-	-	-	-
Socialist party	1 (0.6)	-	5 (2.8)	8 (4.3)	4 (2.1)	-	-
Praja Socialist Party	-	1 (0.6)	2 (1.2)	-	-	-	-
Krishak Lok Party	7 (4.4)	-	-	-	-	-	-

Contd.

TABLE 2 (Contd.)

Party	Year						
	1952	1957	1962	1967	1972	1977	1980
Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party (Kripalani)	1 (0.6)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hindu Mahasabha	2 (1.2)	-	-	-	-	-	-
C.P.I.	-	1 (0.6)	5 (2.8)	1 (0.5)	4 (2.1)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
C.P.I.(M)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
Janata Party	-	-	-	-	-	151 (75.5)	-
Congress (U)	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (3.0)
Janata Party (Jai Prakash Narain)	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 (4.0)

Contd..

TABLE 2 (Contd.)

Party	Year						
	1952	1957	1962	1967	1972	1977	1980
Janata Party (Secular- Charan Singh)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 (3.5)
Independents	35 (21.9)	32 (18.1)	22 (12.5)	15 (8.2)	11 (6.0)	6 (3.0)	12 (6.0)
Total	160	176	176	184	184	200	200

Sources : (i) Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1972, Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha ke 20 varsha, Rajya Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur, p.13

(ii) Myron Weiner, 1978, India at the Polls: The Parliamentary Elections of 1977, Washington, D.C. : American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, p.102, Bye

(iii) Bye- Election Brochure (1976 and 1977), 1978, Election Commission of India, p.

(iv) Report on the General Elections to the House of the People and the Legislative Assemblies- 1979-80 and Vice Presidential Elections, 1979, 1980, Election Commission of India, vol.I, p.146

independent candidates also shows a gradual decrease in the Assembly. Thus, the analysis, therefore, brings out two facts - first, the prolonged sustenance of the Congress Party and the Jan Sangh and secondly, the gradual decline of the minority political parties, as well as of the independent candidates in the Assembly. These two facts are indicative of the gradual institutionalization of political parties in the state (for detail, see table 2).

The above explanation of political strength and social legitimacy of political parties does not reveal the true form of social legitimacy. Therefore there requires further an explanation of the internal composition of political parties. Lawrence L.Shrader's[1] study of the Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs) elected after the first and the second General Elections, as well as table 3,4 and 5 regarding caste composition of M.L.As elected after fourth, fifth and sixth General Elections reveal that the Congress Party is the only party which represented higher degree of heterogeneity. The four dominant castes- Brahmans, Rajputs, Mahajans and

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[1] Lawrence L.Shrader,1968, " Rajasthan", in Myron Weiner (ed.), State Politics in India, New Jersey : Princeton University Press, pp.338, 339.

TABLE 3

Caste by Party of MLAs

Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1967-1972

(in percent)

Caste	Party								
	Con-gress	Swat-antra party	Bhara-tiya Jan Sangh	Bhara-tiya Kranti Dal	SSP	CPI	Congress (O)	Independents	Total
Brahman	21 (18.2)	3 (9.7)	2 (10.0)	-	2 (33.3)	-	-	-	28 (14.7)
Rajput	14 (12.1)	13 (41.9)	5 (25.0)	1 (10.0)	- (	-	-	2 (33.3)	35 (18.4)
Mahajan	13 (11.2)	3 (9.7)	5 (25.0)	1 (10.0)	1 (16.7)	1 (100)	1 (100)	1 (16.7)	26 (13.7)
Jat	17 (14.7)	1 (3.2)	1 (5.0)	5 (50.0)	1 (16.7)	-	-	1 (16.7)	26 (13.7)
S.C.	19 (16.5)	4 (12.9)	5 (25.0)	2 (20.0)	-	-	-	2 (33.3)	32 (16.8)
S.T.	17 (14.7)	5 (16.1)	-	-	2 (33.3)	-	-	-	24 (12.6)
Muslim	5 (4.2)	1 (3.2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (3.2)

Contd..

TABLE 3 (contd.)

Caste	Party								
	Congress	Swatantra Party	Bharatiya Jan Sangh	Bhartiya Kranti Dal	SSP	CPI	Congress (O)	Inde-pendents	Total
Gujar	1 (1.0)	1 (3.2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (1.0)
Mali	-	-	1 (5.0)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Kayasth	2 (1.7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (1.0)
Yadav	1 (1.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Sikh	1 (1.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Bishnoi	2 (1.7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (1.0)
Kumhar	1 (1.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Unknown	1 (1.0)	-	1 (5.0)	1 (10.0)	-	-	-	-	3 (1.6)
Total	115 (100)	31 (100)	20 (100)	10 (100)	6 (100)	1 (100)	1 (100)	6 (100)	190 (100)

Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1971, Chaturtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Rajya Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur.

TABLE 4

Caste by Party of MLAs

Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, 1972- 1977

(in percent)

Caste	Party							
	Congress	Janata Morcha	Swatantra Party	CPI	CPI(M)	SSP	Independents	Total
Brahman	20 (13.2)	1 (7.7)	-	-	-	2 (100)	1 (12.5)	24 (13.1)
Rajput	22 (14.6)	3 (23.1)	-	-	-	-	2 (25.0)	27 (14.7)
Mahajan	15 (9.9)	-	-	2 (40.0)	-	-	1 (12.5)	18 (9.8)
Jat	22 (14.6)	3 (23.1)	1 (33.3)	-	1 (100)	-	2 (25.0)	29 (15.8)
SC	26 (17.3)	2 (15.3)	1 (33.3)	-	-	-	-	29 (15.8)
ST	19 (12.6)	2 (15.3)	1 (33.3)	-	-	-	1 (12.5)	23 (12.6)
Muslim	5 (3.3)	-	-	1 (20.0)	-	-	-	6 (3.3)
Gujar	1 (0.6)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (25.0)	2 (1.1)

Contd.

TABLE 4 (contd.)

Caste	Party							
	Congress	Janata Morcha	Swatantra Party	CPI	CPI(M)	SSP	Independents	Total
Mali	1 (0.6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Kayasth	2 (1.4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (1.1)
Yadav	2 (1.4)	-	-	1 (20.0)	-	-	-	3 (1.6)
Sikh	-	1 (7.7)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Bishnoi	3 (2.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (1.6)
Kumhar	1 (0.6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Bagri	1 (0.6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Unknown	11 (7.3)	1 (7.7)	-	1 (20.0)	-	-	-	13 (7.1)
Total	151 (100)	13 (100)	3 (100)	5 (100)	1 (100)	2 (100)	8 (100)	183 (100)

Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1976, Panchas Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, Rajya Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur.

TABLE 5

Caste by Party of MLAs

Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, 1977-1980

(in percent)

Caste	Party						
	Congress	Janata party	CPI	CPI(M)	Progressive party	Independents	Total
Brahman	4 (10.5)	16 (11.6)	-	-	-	-	20 (10.9)
Rajput	3 (7.9)	21 (15.3)	-	-	-	1 (20.0)	25 (13.7)
Mahajan	3 (7.9)	18 (13.1)	-	-	-	1 (20.0)	22 (12.0)
Jat	14 (36.8)	16 (11.6)	-	1 (100)	-	1 (20.0)	32 (17.5)
SC	4 (10.5)	18 (13.1)	-	-	-	-	22 (12.0)
ST	2 (5.3)	26 (18.8)	1 (100)	-	1 (100)	-	30 (16.4)
Muslim	2 (5.3)	6 (4.3)	-	-	-	-	8 (4.4)
Gujar	2 (5.3)	3 (2.2)	-	-	-	2 (40.0)	7 (3.8)
Mali	-	1 (0.7)	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Kayasth	-	3 (2.2)	-	-	-	-	3 (1.6)
Yadav	-	2 (2.2)	-	-	-	-	2 (1.1)
Sikh	-	2 (2.2)	-	-	-	-	2 (1.1)
Bishnoi	2 (5.3)	-	-	-	-	-	2 (1.1)
Sirvi	1 (2.6)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Unknown	1 (2.6)	6 (4.3)	-	-	-	-	7 (3.8)
Total	38 (100)	138 (100)	1 (100)	1 (100)	1 (100)	5 (100)	184 (100)

Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1980, Shashtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, 1977, Rajya Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur.

Jats constituted the major portion of all the political parties. Thus, this analysis speaks of the broader base of the Congress party and the sustained dominance of the four dominant castes in the political parties.

From the above analysis, there can further be deduced certain observations : First, the Congress Party and the Jan Sangh are the only parties which have continued over a period of time. The former appears to be the single largest party, representing highest degree of caste heterogeneity in the state Assembly. Seconaly, the four dominant castes in the political parties are overrepresented as compared to their proportion of representation in the total population of the state (for detail, see table 1). Lastly, from the affiliation of the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and the Scheduled Tribes (STs) mostly with the ruling parties it may not be wrong to predict that the very socio- economic existence of these castes acts as a contingent upon their representation through the ruling party. Because the candidates from these castes stand possibly greater chances to win on the ticket from the ruling party.

The above characteristics of the political parties owe their origin to the socio- political developments in the past of Rajasthan. The Congress Party, as well as nearly all early major leaders of the other parties of the state

have significant roots in the Praja Mandal movements of pre-independence days. The Praja Mandal leaders were principally drawn from the Brahman and Mahajan castes from the towns and cities and they represented the non- aristocratic urban elites of the princely states. They primarily aimed at the anti-colonial struggle and employed the Gandhian non-violent techniques, emphasizing unity of all classes and castes. The social origin and ideology of these leaders, as well as the oppressive measures of Government prevented them from developing extensive ties in the country side. Outside the Praja Mandals since 1920s there originated the Marwar Kisan Sabha out of a social reform movement in the Jat region of Jodhpur state. The young Jat elite from this organisation based their ideology and strategy on conflict, class and caste against the Jagirdari system which led to direct confrontation between the peasantry and the Rajput Jagirdars in the countryside. After the creation of Rajasthan, the leaders of the Marwar Kisan Sabha made attempts to unite the Kisan movements of the other parts of the state to launch a state-wide kisan movement. But the state's heterogeneous caste structure, as well as some of the Jat leaders' participation in both the Praja Mandals and the Kisan Sabha movements frustrated that attempt. As the Congress Party was supposed to be opposed by the two groups, i.e., the Rajputs and the Jats in the countryside,

particularly in Jodhpur Division, the ChiefMinister, Jai Narain Vyas opened negotiations with both the groups, before the first General Elections. Ultimately an agreement with the Marwar Kisan Sabha could be arrived at. After the first General Elections the Rajputs also entered the Congress Party in accordance with the Party's policy of broadening the base of its political support. Thus, the dominance of the four castes - Brahmans, Rajputs, Mahajans and Jats in the Congress Party, as well as in the other political parties is a continuity of their socio-political participation in the pre-independence Rajasthan.[3]

The Legislative Assembly and Cabinets

Members of the Legislative Assembly represent the major bulk of political leadership in Rajasthan. Therefore, an analysis of composition of the Assembly in terms of castes, education, occupation, age and sex will provide a general view of the basic characteristics of the state politics. For this purpose, the following analysis includes six Assemblies which have been formed since 1952.

The four politically dominant castes- Brahmans, Rajputs, Mahajans and Jats comprised 63 per cent and 57 per cent of the seats in the first and second Assembly respectively. Based on the 1931 census, these castes

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[3] Ibid, pp. 331-7

constituted only approximately 30 per cent of the state's population. The M.L.As of the Gujar and Mali castes together represented 1 per cent and 4 per cent of the seats in the above mentioned two respective Assemblies, whereas they accounted for approximately 8 percent of the population of the state (for detail, see table 1)[4]. This preponderance of the politically dominant castes is again observed in the fourth, fifth and sixth Assemblies (for detail, see table 3,4 and 5). Hence, the overwhelming representation of the politically dominant castes in the Assemblies indicates the persistence of dominance of the traditional leadership. The Jats showed a bit exception in this regard. They established the political dominance by virtue of their numerical strength in certain regions and economic power. The reasons behind the dominance of the four castes become more apparent as the other factors in the composition of the Assemblies are analysed in the proceeding discussion.

A positive co-relation of social status and education is perceivable through all the Assemblies, as the politically dominant castes preponderate amongst the most highly educated M.L.As in the Assembly. In the first and second Assembly 47 percent to 67 percent of MLAs from four politically dominant castes were graduates (B.A.) and this is substantially larger

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[4] Ibid, pp. 338-9.

TABLE 6

Education by Caste of MLAs

Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1967-1972[a]
(in per cent)

Educational Levels	Caste															
	Brahman	Rajput	Mahajan	Jat	SC	ST	Muslim	Gujar	Mali	Kayastha	Yadav	Sikh	Bishnoi	Kumhar	Caste Unknown	Total by education
No Formal Education	7	-	-	4	6	4	33	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	10 (5.2)
Primary School	-	3	4	-	16	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11 (5.8)
Middle School	4	3	4	12	28	38	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	25 (13.1)
Secondary (High) School	11	23	19	15	19	13	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	32 (16.8)
Higher Secondary School	-	11	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (2.6)
Intermediate (Senior Cambridge)	4	9	4	8	3	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9 (4.7)
Graduation[b]	57	46	62	54	6	17	17	-	-	100	100	-	100	100	-	74 (38.4)
Master's Degree	25	11	8	15	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	19 (10.0)

Contd.

TABLE 6 (Contd.)

Educational Levels	Caste															
	Brahman	Rajput	Mahajan	Jat	SC	ST	Muslim	Gujar	Mali	Kayastha	Yadav	Sikh	Bishnoi	Kumhar	Caste unknown	Total by education
LL.B.	46	23	58	35	3	8	17	-	-	100	100	-	100	100	-	55 (28.9)
Medical Degree	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (1.0)
Engineering Degree	-	3	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (1.5)
Diploma	14	-	4	8	6	13	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 (6.8)
Education Unknown	4	6	4	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	8 (4.2)
Total Number of MLAs	28 (100)	35 (100)	26 (100)	26 (100)	32 100	24 (100)	6 (100	2 (100)	1 100	2 (100)	1 (100)	1 (100)	2 (100)	1 (100)	3 (100)	190 (100)

[a] Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1971, Chaturtha Vidhan Sabha,1967, Rajya Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur.

[b] Graduation, here, is taken as the first degree for higher education, therefore, besides the degree of B.A.,it includes the MLAs holding degrees such as M.A., LL.B., Engineering and Medical.

TABLE 7

Education by Caste of MLAs

Rajasthan Legislative Assembly 1972-1977[a]

(in percent)

Educational Level	Caste																
	Brah-man	Raj-put	Maha-jan	Jat	SC	ST	Mus-lim	Guj-ar	Ma-li	Kay-asth	Yad-av	Sikh	Bis-hnoi	Ku-mh-ar	Bag-ri	Cas-te Un-kno-wn	% of Total by Ed-ucation
No formal education	8	-	-	3	17	4	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	12 (6.5)
Primary School	-	-	-	7	21	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	12 (6.5)
Middle School	4	4	11	7	21	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	23 (13.9)
Secondary (High) School	8	7	6	17	7	13	17	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	8	18 (9.35)
Higher Secondary School	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intermediate (Senior Cambridge)	-	15	6	3	3	4	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9 (4.8)
Graduation[b]	71	63	72	59	21	30	67	50	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	8	89 (48.6)
Master's Degree	38	19	17	21	10	4	17	-	-	-	67	-	-	100	-	-	30 (16.39)

Contd..

TABLE 7 (Contd.)

Educational Level	Caste																
	Brah-man	Raj-put	Mah-ajan	Jat	SC	ST	Mus-lim	Guj-ar	Mal-i	Kay-asth	Yad-av	Si-kh	Bish-na	Kum-har	Bag-ri	Ca-ste un-kno-wn	% of total by educa-tion
LL.B.	50	33	50	34	14	13	50	50	-	-	67	-	100	100	100	31	62 (33.89)
Medical Degree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Engineering Degree	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Diploma	8	11	6	-	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 (4.4)
Unknown	-	-	-	3	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (1.6)
Total Number of MLAs	24	27	18	29	29	23	6	2	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	13	183 (100)

[a] Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1976, Pancham Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, 1972, Rajya Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur.

[b] For clarification, See table 6.

TABLE 8

Education by Caste of MLAs

Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, 1977- 1980[a]

(in per cent)

Educational level	Caste															
	Brahman	Rajput	Mahajan	Jat	SC	ST	Muslim	Gujar	Mali	Kayasth	Yadav	Sikh	Bishnoi	Sirvi	Caste Unknown.	% total by education.
No Formal Education	5	4	-	3	18	10	13	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	14 (7.6)
Primary Education	-	-	-	-	14	50	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9 (4.9)
Middle School Education	-	4	-	16	9	80	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	19 (10.3)
Secondary (High) School	10	16	9	16	9	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	20 (10.8)
Higher Secondary School	-	-	-	-	-	40	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (2.7)
Intermediate (Senior Cambridge)	5	8	5	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (3.3)
Graduation[b]	80	68	86	50	27	60	63	43	100	100	100	100	100	-	-	98 (53.2)

Contd.

TABLE 8 (Contd.)

Educational Level	Caste															
	Brahman	Rajput	Mahajan	Jat	SC	ST	Muslim	Gujar	Mali	Kayasth	Yadav	Sikh	Bishnoi	Sirvi	Caste Unknown	% total by education.
Master's Degree	25	28	27	19	5	20	13	-	-	33	33	-	-	-	-	30 (18.6)
LL.B.	40	28	45	31	18	60	38	29	-	100	100	100	100	-	-	62 (33.7)
Medical Degree	10	4	9	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (3.3)
Engineering Degree	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	3 (1.6)
Diploma	-	-	-	3	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (1.1)
Education Unknown	-	-	-	6	18	10	13	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9 (4.9)
Total Number of MLAs	20 (100)	25 (100)	22 (100)	32 (100)	22 (100)	30 (100	8 100	7 (100)	1 (100)	3 (100)	2 (100)	2 (100)	2 (100)	1 (100)	7 (100)	184 (100)

[a]Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1980, Shashtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, 1977, Rajya Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur.

[b]For clarification, see table 6.

proportion than any other caste group, with exception of the numerically insignificant Kayasth Caste. Excluding the Rajput MLAs, a large number of the other three dominant castes in these two Assemblies obtained law degrees and master's degree.[5] Table 6, 7 and 8 show rather an increase in the proportion of the MLAs from the politically dominant castes who had B.A. degrees, law degrees and Master's degrees. For the Assemblies as a whole, 51 per cent, 45 percent[6] and 37 percent[7] of the total MLAs in the first, second and third Assemblies respectively obtained B.A. degrees. On these three Assemblies the proportion of the M.L.As who obtained master's degrees was 28 percent, 28 percent and 27 per cent respectively.[8] At the above mentioned three levels of education there seemed no significant change in the proportion of the MLAs in the fourth, fifth and sixth Assembly (for detail, see table 6,7 and 8).

Social status and occupation are also found to be highly co-related in the Assembly as the most politically dominant castes have a strong hold on the state's major economic occupations-

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[5] Ibid, pp. 339, 341.

[6] Ibid, p.339.

[7] C.M.Jain, 1972, State Legislatures in India, New Delhi: S.Chand & Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., p.36.

[8] Ibid.

TABLE 9

Occupation by Caste of MLAs

Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, 1967-1972
(in per cent)

Occupation	Caste															
	Brah-man	Raj-put	Mah-ajan	Jat	SC	ST	Mus-lim	Guj-ars	Ma-li	Kay-asth	Yad-av	Sikh	Bi-sh-noi	Su-thar	Caste unkno-wn	Total by occupa-tion
Agriculture	14	49	8	61	50	88	49	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	67	84 (44.2)
Business	17	8	23	4	16	8	17	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	24 (12.6)
Law	43	11	54	23	3	-	17	-	-	-	100	-	100	-	-	41 (21.6)
Journalism	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	1 (0.5)
Teaching	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Medical	4	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (1.6)
Engineering	-	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (1.1)
Ex-Prince	-	20	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 (4.2)
Social work	14	-	12	8	16	4	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	16 (8.4)
Other Professions	4	3	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (2.1)

Contd..

TABLE 9 (Contd.)

Occupation	Caste															
	Bhah-man	Raj-put	Mah-ajan	Jat	SC	ST	Mus-lim	Guj-ars	Ma-li	Kay-asth	Yadav	Sikh	Bi-sh-noi	Kum-har	Caste un-known	Total by occupa-tion
Occupation Unknown	4	6	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	6 (3.2)
Total by caste	28 (100)	35 (100)	26 (100)	26 (100)	32 (100	24 100)	6 (100)	2 (100	1 100)	2 (100)	1 (100)	1 (100)	2 (100)	1 (100)	3 (100)	190 (100)

Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1971, Chaturtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, 1967, Rajya Kendriya Mundranalaya, Jaipur.

TABLE 10

Occupation by Caste of MLAs

Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, 1972- 1977

(in per cent)

Occupation	Caste																
	Brah-man	Raj-put	Maha-jan	Jat	SC	ST	Mus-lim	Gu-jars	Ma-li	Kaya-sth	Yadav	Sikh	Bi-sh-noi	Kum-har	Ba-gri	Ca-ste un-kn-own	To-tal by occ-upa-tion
Agriculture	29	70	6	66	62	74	33	100	-	-	67	100	33	100	-	54	97 (53.0)
Business	13	-	28	-	21	4	17	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	17 (9.3)
Law	42	18	50	24	11	13	13	-	-	-	-	-	67	-	100	23	45 (24.6)
Journalism	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Teaching	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	3 (1.7)
Ex-Prince	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Social Work	8	4	16	7	3	-	-	-	100	50	-	-	-	-	-	23	14 (7.7)

Contd..

TABLE 10 (contd.)

Occupation	Caste																	
	Brah-man	Raj-put	Maha-jan	Jat	SC	ST	Mus-lim	Guj-ars	Ma-li	Kayas-th	Yadav	Sikh	Bi-shnoi	Ku-mh-ar	Ba-gri	Ca-ste un-kno-wn	To-tal by occ-upa-tion
Other Profe-ssions	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Occupa-tion unknown	-	-	-	3	-	9	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (2.2)
Total by caste	24 (100)	27 (100)	18 (100)	29 (100)	29 (100)	23 (100	6 (100)	2 (100)	1 (100)	2 (100)	3 (100)	1 (100)	3 (100)	1 (100)	1 100	13 100	183 (100)

Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1976, Pancham Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha,1972, Rajya Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur.

TABLE 11

Occupation by caste of MLAs

Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, 1977- 1980

(in per cent)

Occupation	Caste															
	Brah-min	Raj-put	Maha-jan	Jat	SC	ST	Mus-lim	Gu-jar	Ma-li	Kay-asth	Yadav	Si-kh	Bish-noi	Sir-vi	Cas-te un-known	Total by occu-pation
Agriculture	10	60	5	78	36	80	37	66	-	-	-	-	50	100	71	91 (49.5)
Business	5	4	17	3	9	-	25	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 (6.5)
Law	25	16	41	13	18	-	25	14	-	100	100	50	50	-	14	37 (20.1)
Journalism	20	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (2.7)
Teaching	-	8	-	3	-	7	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (3.3)
Medical	10	4	9	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 (3.8)
Ex-Prince	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.5)
Social work	15	-	9	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	7 (3.8)

Contd.

TABLE 11 (Contd.)

Occupation	Caste															
	Brah-man	Raj-put	Maha-jan	Jat	SC	ST	Mus-lim	Guj-ar	Ma-li	Kay-asth	Yadav	Sik-h	Bis-hnoi	Sir-vi	Cas-te un-known	Total by occu-pation
Other profes-sions	15	-	5	-	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	7 (3.8)
Occupation Unknown	-	4	9	3	18	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11 (6.0)
Total Number of MLAs	20 (100)	25 (100)	22 (100)	32 (100)	22 (100)	30 (100)	8 (100)	7 (100)	1 (100)	3 100	2 (100)	2 (100)	2 (100)	1 (100)	7 (100)	184 (100)

Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, 1980, Shashtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, 1977, Rajya Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur.

TABLE 12

Age- structure of Rajasthan Legislative Assembly from 1967 to 1980

(in per cent of MLAs)

Age -group	Period of Assembly		
	1967-72	1972-77	1977-80
25-30	7 (3.9)	4 (2.2)	16 (8.9)
30-35	16 (8.9)	17 (9.5)	13 (7.3)
35-40	49 (27.3)	30 (16.8)	30 (16.9)
40-45	43 (23.8)	46 (25.7)	31 (17.4)
45-50	34 (18.9)	39 (21.8)	38 (21.4)
50-55	14 (7.8)	24 (13.4)	18 (10.1)
55-60	9 (5.0)	12 (6.7)	22 (12.4)
60 & above	8 (4.4)	7 (3.9)	10 (5.6)
Total Number of MLAs	180 (100)	179 (100)	178 (100)
	$X_1 = 43.0$	$X_2 = 43.9$	$X_3 = 44.6$
	$\sigma 1 = 8.1$	$\sigma 2 = 8.0$	$\sigma 3 = 9.6$

Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur :-

(i) Chaturtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, 1967

(ii) Panchum Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, 1972

(iii) Shashtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, 1977

agriculture, business and legal practice. And this fact again has been observed in the fourth, fifth and sixth assembly (for detail, see table 9,10 and 11).

With regard to the sex composition, women representatives constituted 1 percent, 5 per cent, 4 per cent, 7 per cent, 11 per cent, 6 per cent and 4 per cent in the seven respective Assemblies.[9] This minor and stagnant political recruitment of women MLAs in the Assemblies may be taken as a reflection of the state's socio- economic backwardness and continuous feudal hold.

In respect of the age- structure of the Assemblies, it has been found that the representation of MLAs with age- group of 35-60 constituted a major part of all the Assemblies[10] (also see table 12). The preponderance of MLAs at the above mentioned age-group may be a result of the preponderance of children and old- people in the state's population wherein the age-group of 35-60 constitutes the major bulk of the population. Partly it may be taken as an impact of the state's feudal and patriarchic past.

Thus, the high social status corresponding with an education of graduation level and, at least, any of the major occupations- agriculture, business and legal practice, masculine gender and age-group of 36-50 are the principal prerequisites for the political leadership in Rajasthan.

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[9] Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur; (i) Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha ke 20 Varsha 1952-1972,(1976) pp. 109-10 ; (ii) Panchan Rajasthan Vidha Sabha 1972 (1976); (iii) Shashtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha -1977(1980); (iv)Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha (1980)- Sadasya Namawali (1981)

[10] C.M. Jain, Op. Cit., p.32.

TABLE 13

Caste Composition and Regional Distribution in Rajasthan's Major Cabinets from 1951 to 1981[a] (in percent of ministers)

Cabinet Code Nos.[b]	Size	Caste Composition										Geographical distribution			
		Brah-man	Raj-put	Maha-jan	Jat	SC	ST	Mus-lim	Kay-asth	Bis-hnoi	Kum-har	Eas-tern Plains	Dry	Sou-thern High-lands	Southern Plateau
I	10	50	10	20	10	-	-	-	10	-	-	30	40	20	10
II	8	63	-	12	12	12	-	-	-	-	-	50	12	38	-
III	9	67	-	12	11	11	-	-	-	-	-	56	11	33	-
IV	8	63	-	12	12	12	-	-	-	-	-	50	13	37	-
V	9	44	-	22	22	12	-	-	-	-	-	33	22	33	11
VI	10	50	-	20	20	10	-	-	-	-	-	40	20	30	10
VII	6	50	-	33	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	67	16	16	-
VIII	11	27	9	27	18	9	9	-	-	-	-	45	18	18	18
[illegible]	10	20	10	-	10	10	10	10	10	1	10	30	31	30	10
IX	8	25	12	12	12	-	12	12	12	-	-	25	37	25	12
X	14	29	7	14	7	7	7	14	7	-	7	29	21	36	14

Contd.

TABLE 13 (Contd.)

Cabinet Code Nos.[b]	Caste Composition [a]											Geographical Distribution			
	Size	Brah-man	Raj-put	Maha-jan	Jat	SC	ST	Mus-lim	Kay-asth	Bis-hnoi	Rum-har	East-ern Plains	Dry	South-ern High lands	Southern Plateau
XI	10	20	10	-	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	30	30	30	10
XII	7	14	14	14	29	14	-	14	-	-	-	29	43	14	14
XIII	8	25	13	25	25	-	-	-	13	-	-	13	50	38	-
XIV	12	25	17	25	17	8	8	-	-	-	-	50	17	8	25
XV	7	14	-	43	14	14	14	-	-	-	-	43	14	29	14
XVI	6	17	-	17	33	17	-	-	17	-	-	33	33	17	17
Total %	143	36	5	19	17	9	4	3	4	1	1	39	25	26	10

[a] Sources : i. Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1972, Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Ke 20 Varsha, Rajya Kendriya Sudranalaya, Jaipur, pp.162-9

ii. INDIA(Year Book), 1973-1982.

[b] I. April 1951 to First General General Elections
II. April 1952 to October, 1952
III. November 1952 to April, 1953
IV. April 1953 to November, 1954
V. November 1954 to November 1956
VI. November 1956 to Second General Elections
VII. April 1957 to November, 1960
VIII. November 1960 to Third General Elections
IX. March 1962 to April 1967
X. April 1967 to July 1971
XI. July 1971 to March, 1972
XII. March 1972 to October, 1973
XIII. October 1973 to Sixth General Elections
XIV. March 1977 to Seventh General Elections
XV. June 1980 to July 1981
XVI. July 1981 to November 1982.

TABLE 14

Regional Representation in Rajasthan's Major Cabinets by Caste of Ministers, 1951- 1981[a]

(in per cent)

Region	Cabinet Code Numbers[b]																
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	Total percentage
								BRAHMANS									
Eastern Plains	3	4	5	4	2	4	3	3	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	33 (62.3)
Dry	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3 (5.6)
Southern Highlands	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	10 (18.9)
Southern Plateau	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	7 (13.2)
														Total			53 (100)
								MAHAJANS									
Eastern Plains	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	8 (29.6)
Dry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	4 (14.8)

Contd.. p. 18

TABLE 14 (Contd.)

Region	Cabinet Code Numbers[b]																Total %
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	
							MAHAJANS										
Southern Highlands	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	14 (51.9)
Southern Plateau	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (3.7)
														Total			27 (100)
								JATS									
Eastern Plains	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	1	5 (22.7)
Dry	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	1	17 (77.3)
Southern Highlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Southern Plateau	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
														Total			22 (100)

[a] Sources : (i) Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1972, Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha ke 20 Varsha, Rajya Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur, pp.162-9

(ii) INDIA (Year Book) 1973- 1982

[b] For Cabinet Codes, see table 13.

As cabinet comprises the state's top leadership, an analysis of composition of major cabinets may be more revealing of the characteristics of leadership in Rajasthan.

Table 13 reveals continuous dominance of the three politically dominant castes- Brahmans, Mahajans and Jats through all the 16 cabinets undertaken for study. The representation of these three castes in the cabinets is many times higher as compared to their representation in the legislative party, Legislative Assembly and population of the state (for comparison, see table 1,3,4, 5 and 13). The representation of Brahmans and Mahajans in the cabinets came from throughout the state, notwithstanding their major concentrations in the Eastern Plains and the Southern highlands respectively. The representation of the Jats has been concentrated in the Dry region of the state (for detail, see table 14). These concentrations of the three dominant castes in the cabinets accord with the nature of regional distribution of these castes in the state's population. The representation of SCs was, for the first time, included in the second cabinet and ever since it remained below half of their representation in the Legislative Party and Legislative Assembly. In the eighth cabinet the STs and the Rajputs were represented for the first time. Ever since the Rajputs have gradually become the fourth

TABLE 13

Education in Rajasthan's Major Cabinets from 1951 to 1981[a]
(in percent of ministers)

Cabinet Code numbers[b]	Education										
	Size	Secondary School	Higher secondary School	Intermediate	Graduation	Master's Degree	LL.B.	Engineering	Diploma	Private	Unknown
I	10	10	-	-	80	-	30	-	-	-	10
II	8	25	-	-	63	13	38	-	-	13	-
III	9	22	-	-	67	11	33	-	-	11	-
IV	8	12	-	-	50	-	12	-	-	12	-
V	9	33	-	-	67	22	56	-	-	-	-
VI	10	20	-	-	80	20	70	-	-	-	-
VII	6	17	-	-	83	17	67	-	-	-	-
VIII	11	9	-	-	91	18	64	-	-	-	-
IX	8	12	-	-	75	25	38	-	-	-	12
X	14	7	-	7	79	14	64	7	7	-	-

Contd..

TABLE 15 (Contd.)

Cabinet Code Numbers[b]	Size	Education									
		Secondary School	Higher Secondary School	Intermediate	Graduation	Master's Degree	LL.B.	Engineering	Diploma	Private	Unknown
XI	10	10	-	-	90	10	80	-	-	-	-
XII	7	14	-	-	86	29	71	-	-	-	-
XIII	8	13	-	13	75	38	75	-	-	-	-
XIV	12	8	-	-	75	33	42	-	17	-	-
XV	7	-	-	-	28	28	43	-	-	-	43
XVI	6	-	-	-	83	50	67	-	-	-	17

[a] Sources : (i) Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur, 1972, Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha ke 20 Varsha, Rajya Kendriya Mudranalaya, Jaipur.

(ii) INDIA- 1973 - 1982

[b] For Cabinet Codes, See table 13.

TABLE 16

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF RAJASTHAN'S MAJOR CABINETS

from 1967 to 1981[a]

(in percent)

Caste	Cabinet Code nos.[b]							
	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	Total
Agriculture	3 (21.4)	3 (30.0)	2 (28.6)	3 (37.5)	3 (25.0)	-	1 (16.7)	15 (23.4)
Business	-	1 (10.0)	-	1 (12.5)	-	-	1 (16.7)	3 (4.7)
Legal Practice	4 (28.6)	4 (40.0)	3 (42.8)	4 (50.0)	4 (33.0)	3 (42.8)	2 (33.4)	24 (37.5)
Ex-Prince	1 (7.1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (1.6)
Politics	6 (42.9)	2 (20.0)	1 (14.3)	-	1 (33.3)	1 (14.4)	1 (16.7)	12 (18.7)
Unknown	-	-	1 (14.3)	-	4 (8.4)	3 (42.8)	1 (16.7)	9 (14.1)
Total	14 (100)	10 (100)	7 (100)	8 (100)	12 (100)	7 (100)	6 (100)	64 (100)

[a] Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur -

(i) Chaturtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha,
(ii) Pancham Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha,
(iii) Shashtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha

[b] For Cabinet Codes, See table 13.

TABLE 17

AGE- STRUCTURE OF RAJASTHAN'S MAJOR CABINETS FROM 1967 to 1981[a]

Age group	Cabinet Code Nos.[b]							
	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	Total (%)
41-45	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	6 (9.4)
46-50	7	3	3	5	2	-	-	20 (31.2)
51-55	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	19 (29.7)
56-60	3	1	1	-	1	1	1	8 (12.5)
61-65	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	3 (4.7)
66-70	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2 (3.1)
Unknown	-	-	-	-	2	3	1	6 (19.4)
Total	14	10	7	8	12	7	6	64 (100)

[a]Source : Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Jaipur: (i) Chaturtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha,1967 ; (ii) Panchan Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha,1972, (iii) Shashtha Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, 1977.

[b]For Cabinet Codes, see table- 13.

dominant caste in the cabinets. The representation of the Brahmans in cabinets since the eighth cabinet shows a gradual decrease which may be taken as a general broadening of the castebase of the state's cabinets. The major factors behind this transition in the caste base of the cabinets were : the emergence of non-Praja Mandalist ministers, and the culmination of the process of assimilation of the Rajput aristocracy in the Congress party, though it was still partial. The representation of SCs was included in the Second Cabinet.

It has been observed from table 15 that a major part of the ministers in the cabinets obtained B.A. degrees, law degrees and master's degrees. Table-16 reveals that most of the ministers had agriculture and legal practice as their major occupations. The first 9 cabinets represented the ministers who were born between 1900 and 1919[11], i.e. they composed the age-group of 35-60. Most of the Ministers in the cabinets formed between 1967 and 1981 composed the age-group of 46-55 (for detail, see table 17).

Thus, the analysis of the cabinets also re-exphasizes

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[11] Lawrence L.Shrader, Op.Cit., p.348

the fact that the traditional leadership, including the newly emerged Jat leadership, has been dominating over the past three decades of the democratic politics of Rajasthan. This fact may also be observed from the analysis of the bureaucratic pattern in the state.

The Bureaucratic Pattern

Bureaucracy is a machinary for the implementation of decisions taken by the political leadership. As such a treatment of bureaucratic pattern with regard to its orientation, constitution and interaction with political leadership may further help understand the politics of Rajasthan.

Despite the fact that the princely states were abolished and the democratic institutions had been created, yet initially the state had to adopt the " regulatory bureaucracy"[12] in which the recruitment of personnels was overridden with considerations of traditional status and family influence rather than individual merit.[13] In an effort to convert that regulatory bureaucracy into the " developmental bureaucracy"[14], the state Public Service Commission was instituted for selection of administrative

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[12]The " regulatory bureaucracy" is primarily aimed at to carry out the rules and regulations from the political authority. It had been a part of the political organisation of princely states existed in earlier Rajasthan.

[13]S.V.Kogekar and R.L.Park, Reports on the Indian General Elections 1951-52, p.225

[14]The "developmental bureaucracy" is aimed at to carry out the developmental programmes decided by the political leadership for the socio- economic development of masses. It is a characteristic of " welfare state".

judicial and police personnels which helped to provide a common bureaucratic pattern of administration at different levels of the political organisation in the state. There have been a series of developmental programmes like Cooperative movement, Rajasthan Canal Project and many others for the welfare of masses, but the inter-and intra-regionalism among the political leadership have, to a large extent, left even the new pattern of bureaucracy with ineffectiveness. Hence, the historicity of social structure, the composition of political leadership and the level of socio-economic development have combinedly shaped the nature of bureaucratic pattern in Rajasthan.

Thus, the above mentioned composition of all the three major parts of the political structure- the political parties, the Legislative Assembly and Cabinet and the bureaucratic pattern reveals the traditionalization of the democratic politics in Rajasthan. But the above structural analysis needs to be undertaken in terms of the operational dynamics which exposes the way of functioning of the traditionalized character of the state - politics.

On the eve of the first General Elections the Rajput - aristocracy and the Congress Party were the only two sources of political leadership in Rajasthan. The Rajputs continued their earlier differentiations of

multi- autonomous princely states, as well as their often regionally limited class loyalties. In the first general elections the Kshatriya Mahasabha- the central coordinator of the jagirdari class extended its support to the broad coalition of Rajput candidates from several parties, as well as independent candidates. The regionally limited Ram Rajya Party under the leadership of the Maharaja Hanumant Singh of Jodhpur could sweep 31 of the 35 seats of M.L.As in Jodhpur Division. But by the end of 1953 the Rajputs had been divided into the small and large jagirdars with regard to the settlement of issue of resumption of jagirs. In the third General Elections there emerged the Swatantra Party under the leadership of the Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur. It was the second largest party in the second and third Assembly, though it was also limited mostly to the Eastern Plains. With the decrease in the strength of the Swatantra Party in the fifth General Elections, the Rajput aristocracy lost for ever any party representing their interests in the state's Assembly.

With respect to the Congress the intra-party factionalism has characterized the party since its very creation in Rajasthan. The three regional factions - Udaipur, Jodhpur and Jaipur headed by Maniklal Verma, Jai Narain Vyas and Heeralal Shastri respectively prevailed upto 1954. These factions involved in conflict to form the

first ministry of the state. And, later, it was the persistence of this conflict that the ministry headed by Heeralal Shastri- Home Minister- Sardar Patel's nominee was displaced within a few weeks after Patel's death in 1950. Thereafter the ICS rule preceded the next ministry- headed by Jai Narain Vyas. In the first General Elections Vyas was defeated from two constituencies of his region, by the Maharaja of Jodhpur and by a Jagirdar. But soon he won a by-election from the eastern plains and replaced the chief minister, Tika Ram Paliwal from the Eastern Plains. It was the decision of merger of a group of 22 Rajput Jagirdars in the party that the Jat faction was compelled to coalesce with Udaipur faction and the second generation leaders[15] of the Eastern Plains to cause downfall of the chief minister Vyas, against Mohanlal Sukhadia in 1954. This change of leadership was fundamental to set the pattern of three factions in the party : the Jat faction was consisted of the members from the Marwar Kisan Sabha and Bikaner Praja Parishad, Udaipur faction was headed by Maniklal Verma and Mohanlal Sukhadia and the Vyas faction was centered in the Eastern Plains having concentration in the old Jaipur State area. Sukhadia did represent the Jat group, as well as different regions in his ministry, but excluded the Rajputs- an integr part of the Vyas faction. And only around the second General elections he included Khet Singh Rathore, a Rajput, as a deputy minister in the ministry.

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[15] Those Praja Mandalist leaders who were born during the emergence of Praja Mandals in 1920s and 1930s have been mentioned as the second generation leaders.

During the second General Elections the chief of Pradesh Congress Committee (PCC) - Jai Narain Vyas and the chief minister Mohan Lal Sukhadia had dispute over the allocation of party tickets and the party High Command had to arbitrate the matter. After the Elections in 1959, the inclusion of Maharaja Harish Chandra of Jhalawar in the cabinet was resented by the Jat faction and the three Jat cabinet ministers tendered their resignations which were not accepted. Before the third General Elections the former three chief ministers- Jai Narain Vyas, Heeralal Shastri and Tika Ram Paliwal joined hands to dislodge Sukhadia from power.

During the third General Elections the Chief minister Sukhadia and the PCC Chief Mathura Das Mathur (from the Jat faction) involved in confrontation over the selection of the candidates in Jodhpur district. The Jat ministers also threatended to resign against Sukhadia's negotiations with princely families for political cooperation. The final stage of the nomination of candidates was marked by the tension between the Jat faction and Damodar Lal Vyas - an important leader from the Eastern Plains. The Vyas faction was given the nominations only in Jaipur district - the citadel of the Swatantra party. During the campagning Vyas was joined by Shastri and Adityendra and he openly criticized " corrupt congressmen" in the name of " People's Congress." [16]

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[16] For detail, see Hindustan Times, 1961, 16 October, p.14.

He was expelled from the party after the Elections and soon his dealth followed. After his dealth, the Vyas faction became defunct. There had also arisen differences between the chief minister Sukhadia and Maharaja Harish Chandra and Kumbha Ram Arya (latter a Jat leader). The differences resulted into the resignation of Kumbha Ram Arya and subsequently, of Harish Chandra in 1966. Both the leaders formed " Janata Party" with the support of a sizable Jat and Rajput members who had also left the Congress Party.

During the fourth General Elections the Swatantra Party, Jan Sangh and Janata Party made alliances. Since no party could get majority, the Swatantra party - Jan Sangh- Janata Party alliance formed a United Democratic Front in collaboration with the alliance of SSP-PSP- CPI-CPM to form the ministry. But as a single largest party- the Congress was called to form the ministry. This caused the outbreak of violance which culminated into the imposition of President's rule in the state. Soon after the normalcy was restored, Sukhadia formed his ministey which also included Jagirdars, jamindars and ex- princes. Owing to the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi's annoyance over Sukhadia's support to the " Syndicate"[17] member Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy for the Presidentail candidature, Sukhadia

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17 The group of Morarji Desai and others who supported N.S.Reddy against Mrs. Gandhi's candidate V.V.Giri for Presidential Candidature in 1969, and, later, they formed the Congress (O) was organised as " Syndicate".

was replaced by Barkattullah Khan from the Dry region in 1971. Differences were present between Khan and Girdhari Lal Vyas- the PCC Chief from the Eastern Plains.

After the fifth General Elections the rivalry between Khet Singh Rathore (Rajput) and Paras Ram Maderna (Jat) in the district Congress Committee involved conflict between the two groups at all the levels of the party organisation. Both of them were from Jodhpur District. In 1973, Khan died. Haridev Joshi from the Southern Highlands (Banswara district) became chief minister. He represented various castes and regions in his ministry. But during his term of office the dispute over the issues of granting developmental funds led to the formation of three regional factions : the Eastern Rajasthan, the Western Rajasthan and the Southern Rajasthan.[18] The representatives from the districts of Kota, Bundi, Jhalawar, Alwar and Sawai Madhopur accused the chief minister for giving their region step- motherly treatment and objected against the special grants given only to 32 per cent tribal population of Dungarpur and Banswara. The demand for the establishment of the High Court Branch in Jaipur was opposed by the ministers from the Western and Southern Rajasthan unti it was accepted in 1976.

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[18] The " Eastern Rajasthan" stands here for the Eastern Plains and the Southern Plateau regions, the " Western Rajasthan" for the Dry region and the " Southern Rajasthan" for the Southern Highlands region.

After the sixth General Elections, the Chief Minister-Bhairon Singh Shekhawat was accused by the Jat leaders of giving no representation to the agricultural castes in his ministry. The paradon was also that the Jat MLAs from the Janata Party calluded with MLAs from the Congress Party to form a common forum of their interests.

After the seventh General Elections the Chief Minister, Jagannath Pahadia from the Eastern Rajasthan could not even extend his cabinet fully because he was being opposed by the " dissidents" led primarily by Chandan Mal Vaid and Heeralal Deopura from the Western and Southern Rajasthan respectively.[19] In July 1981 Pahadia was replaced by Shiv Charan Mathur from the Southern Rajasthan. He is also being opposed by Chandan Mal Vaid and Narendra Singh Bhati both from the Western Rajasthan and Kamala Beniwal from the Eastern Rajasthan. And it is only in the very recent past that he had to reshuffle his ministry.[20] Thus , the factions of caste and region have always been remaining in the Congress Party, though the Party High Command has attempted for a number of times to remove the factional leaders from the state's political scene.

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[19] Dinman, 1981, 19-25 July, pp. 18-19

[20] Times of India, 1982, 18 October, p.5.

Factionalism is not absent among other minority parties, but there it has been mostly the resultant of ideological differences and interest- conflicts among the elites from the traditionally higher castes because they do not represent the true social structure of the state.

Briefly, thehistorical legacy of the feudalism, caste and region has been primarily responsible for the factionalism in the political leadership of Rajasthan.

II

THE DISTRICT LEVEL

This section explains structure and process of political organisation in terms of political leadership, political mobilization and political participation at the district level in Rajasthan.

Richard Sisson[21] has analysed the development of the Congress Party in Nagaur District of Rajasthan since 1952 to 1963. His finding is that the general pattern of

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[21] Richard Sission, 1973, " Caste and Political Factions in Rajasthan", in Rajni Kothari (ed.), Caste in Indian Politics, New Delhi: Orient Longman Ltd., pp.175-227

political support in the Congress Party in Nagaur district and Jodhpur Division has been set by conflict between the Lok Parishad and Jat elites out of which the party was created. This conflict resulted from competition for control of positions of power in the institutions of local government primarily Municipal Boards, in the Congress Party organisation, and in the allocation of party tickets for the second General Elections (1957). The Lok Parishad strived for to maintain the positions of power which they had assumed since the very inception of the district congress committees. The Jat group desired to transfer the base of political support from the Jat Community and the Marwar Kisan Sabha in the Congress Party. The Lok Parishad maintained supremacy in the party organisation until 1954. But the Jat group ultimately succeeded in establishing permanent control over the party organisations at the district level, as well as over certain 'permanent' positions in the state ministry. Since 1952 the major change in the composition of the Tehsil Congress Committees, the District Congress Committees and the district Congress Committee executives has been marked by the decrease of the urban castes and the constant increase of rural based Jats. This expansion of Jat participation and assumption of control in the Party organisation by the Jat group at the local level has been reflected in the pattern of representation from the district on the Pradesh Congress Committee.[22]

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[22] Ibid, pp. 193-7.

The factional conflict, coalitions and structures of political support became more crystallysed in the competition for the party tickets prior to the Second General Elections. And these phenomena set the pattern of factional alignments in the Congress party for ever. To show their social legitimacy these factions resorted to various techniques at the time of ticket allocation for elections. Often each faction put its candidates for each constituency. Sometimes the same candidate was made to stand from two constituencies and sometimes a candidate was from other caste than the dominant caste of the faction.[23]

The opposition to the Congress Party in Nagaur District had been confined largely to the Rajput community and to groups associated with them by traditional loyalities and obligations. And it has been more a function of politicization of social conflict between Jats and Rajputs in the rural areas rather than it was aimed against the Congress. The Rajputs have been fragmented to a large extent on the basis of the former jagirs in which there had been a long tradition of feuds and mutual suspicion between them. As it has been mentioned earlier that despite the efforts of organizing them on a common platform of the Kshatriya Maha Sabha they could not be organized to the state-wide level. In actuality the Congress party itself

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[23] Ibid, pp.200-5.

has supplied a large part of its own opposition in the General Elections. The certain groups within the Congress party which did not get tickets for elections opposed to the official party candidates to maintain or enhance their position within the party organisation vis-a-vis other competing groups. In addition, the congress opposition has also been pursued as an electoral strategy for attracting votes of a caste away from the candidate of opposition party in order to enable the dominant candidate of the congress to win the election.[24]

The politics of ticket allocation has politically mobilized the various caste groups; first, those which were within the party but inactive and, secondly, which were outside the party. And this political mobilization involved the political participation ofall the major castes and communities. Moreover, almost all of the politically active castes and communities have experienced intra-caste competition in the General Elections.[25] The intra-caste competition has been more a phenomenon of segmentory character of social organisation

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[24] Ibid. pp. 206-7

[25] Ibid. pp. 211-13.

like heterogeneous caste structure, status difference and geographical segmentation of the people in Rajasthan.

The above conflict and the resulted thereof changes owe their origin to the differences of structure of political support, the character of the elites and the aims of political leadership from the each group. The Lok Parishad was composed of different urban caste groups, and it lacked cohesion of the members. The Jat elite based its support on a single dominant caste and transformed it into a cohesive political group in the new political order. The Jat group developed cohesive district level elite whereas the Lok Parishad could not do so. The Lok Parishad conceptualized leadership in terms of " good of the state as a whole", but the Jat group conceived it in terms of responsiveness to their community.

In a study of composition of the political leadership - MPs and MLAs, Pradhans, Sarpanches and members of the District Committees and executives of the Congress, Jan Sangh and Janata Party in Udaipur District, it was noticed that a major part of the political leadership of the district had been constituted by the three upper castes- Brahmans, Mahajans and Rajputs.[26] These three castes also preponderated in higher

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[26] B.K.Nagla, 1978, " Factionalism, Social Structure and Political Parties : A Sociological study of Udaipur District in Rajasthan", a Ph.D. Thesis submitted to J.N.U., New Delhi.

education, as well as in major occupations- agriculture, business and legal practice.[27] The two major parties- the Congress and Jan Sangh have functioned rather as two factions because the upper castes have been dominating the leadership in the district and neither of these two parties faced any antagonism in its internal composition.

The non- antagonism of politics in Udaipur is a function of social structure of the district. In Udaipur Bhils constitute 20 percent of the total population.[28] But as they are economically backward and socio-culturally isolated, their political activities have remained limited only to the reserved constituencies. Following them are the three upper castes- Brahmans, Mahajans and Rajputs comprising 33 per cent of the total population of Udaipur.[29] Thus, they are numerically preponderant, as well as of high social status. Since the other castes like the untouchable castes and agricultural castes have remained fragmented, neither of them posed any challenge to the political dominance of

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[27] Ibid, pp. 90,91, 251,274,277, 279-81.

[28] Census of India 1931,1932, Rajputana Agency, Meerut: Government of India, p.221.

[29] Ibid.

three upper castes. Whereas the numerical preponderance and economic power of the Jats in Nagaur district have turned down the dominance of the upper castes from the Lok Parishad.

Thus, in the above discussion it has been seen how the difference in the social structure of the two districts- Nagaur and Udaipur have a direct bearing on their respective political set up.

III

THE LOCAL SELF- GOVERNMENT

This section deals with the nature of political organisation at the local self-governmental bodies- Zila Parishad, Panchayat Samiti and village Panchayat.

It has been observed that most of the Pradhans - members of Udaipur Zila Parishad were from the three upper castes- Brahmans, Mahajans and Rajputs.[30] In an enother sample of study, it was found that all the pradhans belonged to the higher castes.[31] In Bargaon Panchayat Samiti of Udaipur, 80 per cent of sarpanches were from

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30 B.K.Nagla, Op.Cit., p.90

31 Iqbal Narain et. al., 1976, Rural Elites and Elections in an Indian State, New Delhi: National Publishing House, p.40

the three upper castes as mentioned above who had higher education, as well as higher economic position.[32] Moreover, the only candidates contesting for the offices of Pradhans and Up- pradhans who were supported by the local jagirdar of his family could win.[33] It shows an absence of institutionalization of political parties and the determining role of feudalism in politics at the local level.

In an assessment of the role of primordial groups in the two villages of Bargaon Panchayat Samiti, it was observed that Delwara village had been marked by the dominance of upper castes in the village power structure. Of the two political parties- the Congress and Jan Sangh, the former was divided into three factions which cut accross the caste lines and structure of the each faction was horizontal. The two politically active factions had links with their respective leaders at the Panchayat Samiti and District levels.[34] Conversely, the three primordial groups of Bhuwana- the Gametis, Dangis and upper castes did not cut accross the caste lines and were vertically structured. Of the three patterns of leadership- the traditional leaders, caste leaders and formal leaders, the former two patterns of leadership

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32 B.K.Nagla, Op.Cit., p.92

33 Ibid, p.303

34 Ibid, pp. 338-9.

had enough scope for functioning. The formal leaders of the statutory Panchayat leaders and political parties did not carry any significant importance in the village affairs.[35]

The difference in nature of politics in the above mentioned two villages has resulted from the difference in their social organisation. The numerical preponderance of the upper castes, high social mobility and occupational diversification had been major forces to politically mobilize the people of Delwara.[36] Whereas the socially and economically backward Gametis (Bhils) and agricultural caste- Dangis preponderated the politics of Bhuwana which witnessed little of social mobility. Consequently Bhuwana retained the traditional leadership of few upper caste members and the caste groups functioned as primordial groups.[37]

Furthermore, in the six villages of Jaipur, Bharatpur and Sikar districts of Rajasthan it has been observed that the key influential families from among the ex- zamindars and the upper castes have their influence over the village power structure. Generally these influentials compete for power among themselves. Because they are quite resourceful and dynamic in the village affairs.[38] Summing up, the above discussion at the 3 levels of political organization- the state,

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35 Ibid, pp.341-6.

36 Ibid, pp.325-7.

37 Ibid, pp.339-41

38 K.L.Sharma, 1974, The Changing Rural Stratification System, New Delhi : Orient Longman Ltd., pp.203-4.

district and local self- government discloses the fact that the traditional leadership of Brahmans, Rajputs and Mahajans, as well as the newly emerged Jat leadership has been dominating the politics since the very creation of democratic institutions in Rajasthan. The three traditional components of social structure- caste, geography and feudalism in their communion, as well as individually have functioned to perpetuate the traditional leadership, and to provide the state politics with the characteristics like factional conlitions, alignments and competition for political support in the major political parties of the state. At each succeeding higher level of political organisation the combined role of the above three structural components can be perceived as being increased, whereas it is their individual roles which become intensive at each succeeding lower level.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN RAJASTHAN

It has already been posited in the preceding chapter that politics is a bi-dimensional system which attains realization through operation of (political) structure. But such realization can be perceived in a given context. It is social structure which presents that context for the very existence of politics. Obviously, then, the politics becomes a sub-system within that social structure. And at this level of analysis, politics essentially appears to be three dimensional- contextual, structural and operational.[1] Since the very operation of political structure within a given social structure generates a reciprocal interaction between the contextual and operational dimensions, it is natural that the context will influence the operational dimension, as well as the structural dimension and vice versa. This mutual influence occurs at all the levels of politics- state, district and local self- government, but with varying degrees. An integrated study of mutual influence of the three dimensions as noted above is thus basic to meaningful interpretation of politics in Rajasthan.

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[1] Iqbal Narain (ed.), 1976, State Politics in India, Meerut : Meenakshi Prakashan, Introduction, p.xix.

I

SOCIAL STRUCTURE : THE DETERMINANT OF POLITICS

Since social structure directs functioning of its political sub-systems to carry out the desired societal goals, the historical segmentary character of social organisation has commanded an immense impact on the politics in Rajasthan. The components- caste, geography and feudalism have operated both individually, as well as in their communion at all the aforesaid three levels of the state politics. And, furthermore, operation of these components varies at the levels of individual conscience, social discourse and norms of political behaviour.[2]

The social organization of Rajasthan is characterized by several hierarchically arranged caste-groups. None of these caste groups has ever had numerical dominance, rather the groups are often marked by intra-group differentiations. The natural barriers to mobility created by the Aravalli Hills confined these groups and sub-groups into the fourgeographical regions- the Dry, the Eastern Plains, the Southern Highlands and the Southern Plateau which present at least three socio- cultural structures, i.e., Marwar, Mewar and Amber . The feudal system consolidated these three socio- cultural structures, as well as, further, localised the differentiation of the groups and sub-groups within small and large- feudal units. It is because the political authority in the feudab system was fragmented into

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[2] Ibid, Introduction, pp. xxiii- xxiv.

several autonomous foci of power. Though there have been linkages between local units and the succeedingly higher units of the groups and sub-groups, yet the geographical structural divisions, as well as feudalism tended to perpetuate their localized and autonomous operations. This social organization has been still persisting primarily because of less socio- economic- political development of the state (for detail, see chapter 2).

Under such existence of the state's fragmented social organization, the democratic politics was incepted to select political leadership through the electoral processes. This kind of selection needs mobilization of masses for political support and such mobilization can be possible through mobilization of social groups. In Rajasthan the only available traditional caste groups and sub-groups aided with geographical and feudalist feelings have been mobilized by the political parties. Thus, the general practice is that selection of political leaders occurs through such kind of mobilization. Therefore, the political institutions at all the levels of politics- the state, district and local- self government represented the traditional social structure of the state. The historically privileged social, economic and political status of ' twice-born'

castes have aided these castes to carry on their political dominance over the centuries' old deprived castes in the democratic political system of Rajasthan. And, thereby, these politically dominant castes- Brahmans, Rajputs, Mahajans and Jats[3] have consolidated their status which continuously provides them strong hold in the state politics.

Since the political elites have also represented the heterogenous social structure of the state wherein no caste group is numerically dominant, they are compelled to make caste - coalitions and caste- alignments in the political institutions. Thus, these coalitions and alignments became characteristics of the various formal constitutional and statutory institutions and party-organisations. The Congress Party represents a higher degree of heterogeneity and, therefore, it has been characterized by factionalism.[4] The political parties other than the Congress have been functioning as political

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[3] Although the Jats have never enjoyed the traditional ' status' of the other three politically dominant castes, they could emulate them in the present democratic system by virtue of their numerical preponderance in certain regions and the improved economic condition from the land- reforms after the independence of India.

[4] Richard Sisson, 1973, " Caste and Political Factions in Rajasthan", in Rajni Kothari (ed.), Caste in Indian Politics, New Delhi : Orient Longman Ltd., pp. 175-227.

factions because composition of those parties represents lesser degree of caste heterogeneity and political leaders in those parties have desire to capture the power, and that desire kept them united. The Rajput aristocracy have also remained unorganized in the state politics as they have status differentiations amongst them, i.e., among the large jagirdars on the one hand and between the large and small jagirdars on the other.[5]

The formation of the factions within the political institutions hinges upon the structural components which provided the political parties with vehicle of mobilization of political support. And as the factions desired to extend their political support, they resorted to various techniques to get the party tickets for the candidates of their own choice and mobilized politically active and inactive castes.[6] This competition of factions for political support involved maximum participation of caste- heterogeneity in the state. Hence the inter-caste and intra-caste differentiations became manifest in the politics.[7] No caste could maintain a total Cohesion in politics, except

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[5] Ibid, pp.206-9

[6] Ibid, pp.198-9

[7] Ibid, pp. 212-13.

for the Jats having relatively greater cohesion.[8] But at each level of political organisation the subordinate units of castes and sub-castes have been organized into mutually exclusive support groups. And, moreover, it is seen that the higher the level of political organisation, the wider the caste base of political support it has. Each of the subordinate units at local levels has been found to have been alligned with one of the factions at the higher level.

The three structural components have operated indivioually and in their communion at all levels of politics. The Rajput aristocracy has experienced divisions based on region and feudalism. In the Congress Party factionalism has been characterized either by caste or by region or by the communion of both. Individually caste has functioned as ' vote- bank' which assures a candidate of the support of voters from his own caste. Regionalism has been persistent phenomenon since the creation of Congress Party and has frequently occurred on the issues of sanctioning development funds. Since the first General Elections the influence of feudalism has been seen at the state level political organisation and which seems more prominent at the lower levels (for detail, see chapter 3).

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8 Ibid, pp.218-22

The operation of three structural factors at the levels of individual conscience, social discourse and norms of political behaviour shows no remarkable change even after three decades of democratic politics in the state. Individual mentality and pattern of social relations are still on the same track.[9] The little changes in the characteristics of caste like weakening intensity of untouchability and so on are not mere consequences of the politics, but changes in educational and occupational patterns contributed more than the politics. Moreover, the politics has exploited the feelings of people on the basis of caste, region and feudalism. Sometimes politics seems to be fanning " casteism" and " regionalism" and " influence of feudals".

Thus it seems that the traditional structural factors of society have traditionalized the entire politics in Rajasthan.

II

POLITICS : AGENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

As the interaction between politics and social structure is reciprocal, the operational and structural dimensions also effect, modify and even change the social structure. And there are " social changes" as

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[9] For detail see Iqbal Narain, et. al., 1976, Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan : A Case study in Jaipur District, New Delhi : Impex India, p.278

connequences of politics. Although the social structure has immensely influenced the politics in Rajasthan, certain changes are also stealthily making their way into the social structure itself in the wake of political process.

The major ' social change' resulting from the democratic politics may be said to be the political mobilization of caste groups and sub-groups, and widening of the participation of masses in the political processes. The political mobilization through factionalism promoted the true representation of heterogeneity of the social structure and provided the political authority with social legitimacy. This change has been occurring through mobilization of traditional groups of the society, though it seems to be against the spirit of democratic politics. But it is only through the political mobilization of the traditional groups that the " modernization of politics" takes place. Secondly, the institutionalization of political parties and bureaucratic pattern is also important in the context of feudal society of Rajasthan which is groping towards modernization in all the fields- social, cultural, economic, educational, political and so on.

All these changes are indicative of the fact that forces of political modernization are at work.

Thus, the political dominance of the castes of traditionally higher socio- politico- economic status and the politicization of traditional social groups show

little of secular politics and social changes in Rajasthan. Here it appears that the socio- economic backwardness of the state might have facilitated the traditionalization of politics within the democratic frame. Economic betterment[10] and its resultant social and educational enhancement may enable the hitherto socio- economically handicapped people to articulate their interests and convert themselves into political pressure- groups. In this respect the Jats of Marwar and Shekhawati regions have set precedent which the other castes- Gujar, Kurmani and Mina are yet to set.[11]

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10 A. Bhatt, 1975, Caste, Class and Politics, Delhi Manohar Book Service, pp.161

11 Iqbal Narain, et. al., 1976, Rural Elites and Elections in an Indian State, New Delhi : The National Publishing House, pp. 23-24.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The present study is an attempt to understand the nature of politics in Rajasthan. It has been assumed that politics is a social phenomenon which exists, operates and is characterized within a given social context. Social structure provides politics with that context and, that is why, politics can only be meaningfully understood by knowing the nature of interaction between politics and social structure. From this view of the politics, effort has been made to integrate a number of selective studies of diverse types and foci, alongwith the latest institutional and the published data into an appropriate model of comprehensive study of the state politics. These data from different sources have been used to examine the political structures and processes at the three levels- the state, district and local self- government- in their respective social structure. In brief the study gives answer to the questions : What is the nature of interaction which has been going on between the politics and social structure in Rajasthan ? Who influenced whom, in what manner, how much and why ?

Under the constitution of Indian Union the centuries' old feudal Rajasthan has, with other states of the Union, acceded to the triad of democratic polity- legislature, executive and judiciary wherein the former two organs have been basic to the entire structure and process of democratic politics in the state. Politics is a system emerged out of legitimate

attempts of political parties, as well as individuals through mobilization of people for acquisition and/or retention of the governing power vested with the democratic institutional structures. This system of politics within the framework of democratic polity has been functioning in the traditional- feudal social structure of Rajasthan over the last three decades. Social structure is that whole which consists of the several constituents- polity, economy, education, religion, culture, etc. inter-connected and interacting reciprocally to the realization of a configuration of social relations existing within these constituents and, conversely, that configuration directs and regulates the reciprocal functioning of these constituents towards accomplishment of the societal goals. Hence, each of these constituents, as well as social structure, are indispensable for the existence of each other and this indispensability of their relationship implies that any change either in the position and/or function of a constituent or in the societal goals is bound to bring a change [redacted] in the entire social structure. Apart from this structural- functional assumption, the Marxian interpretation considers economy as the infra-structure- determinant of social structure in the entirety of its all other [redacted] constituents. Changes only in this infra-structure will cause changes in social structure. The present study has pursued rather a synthesis of the above mentioned two approaches to understand the nature of interaction between politics and social structure in Rajasthan.

In pursuit of the present study, politics in Rajasthan has been taken as a sub-system of the social structure and treated in the three dimensions- contextual, structural and operational. The political structure, composed of the three components- political parties, formal constitutional- statutory structures and administrative framework, operates through political mobilisation of the traditional social groups. These social groups have been carved out by the structural components of society- caste, geography and feudalism which have provided the social structure with a segmentary and fragmentary character in divisions and sub-divisions. This character of the social structure has been inherited to, as well as influenced by the politics of last three decades in the state. The major resultants of the interaction between the politics and social structure are as follows :-

(1) The politics represents the caste, regional and feudalistic character of the social structure because these three structural components of society have been basic to the very traditional groups which have been mobilized for political support by political parties in Rajasthan.

(2) Except for the Jats, the other three of four politically dominant castes- the Brahmans, Rajputs and Mahajans have been perpetuating their dominance in the politics because these three traditionally higher castes still maintain the " summation of statuses" - ritual, political, economic, educational etc.

(3) The political partiesin the state have mobilized various segmentations and fragmentations of traditional social groups which have been crystallized as a result of inter- and intra-caste competitions, factional coalitions and factional alignments in political organisations at the levels of the state, district and local self- government. This shows that the entire politics has been traditionalized through the operation of democratic political structure in the state. The three structural components of society- caste, geography and feudalism have operated in their communion , as well as indivicually at the levels of individual conscience, social discourse and norms of political behaviour. The politics of the three decades does not show any marked change in the operation of the structural components at the levels of individual conscience and social discourse. The little changes at these levels have been more the result of economic and educational changes rather than of mere politics. At the third level, i.e, norms of political behaviour, politics has been a cause of " casteism", " regionalism" and " feudal influentials" in the political mobilization of the people.

(4) Despite the above mentioned determining role of social structure inthe shaping of politics, the political mobilization and participation of the different strata of masses, the inter-and intra-caste competitions, the institutionali- zation of political parties and bureaucratic pattern are

also themselves indicative of a slight shift of politics from its traditional pattern to a secular one. As such, it reflects " modernization of politics" in the state.

(5) As evidenced by the case of political dominance of the Jats of Marwar region, one may like to speculate that economic betterment of the traditionally deprived people may function for their social and educational uplift. And this will help them to articulate their interests through various pressure groups and, finally, stride towards the greater political modernization of the state.

Although the present study provides an integrated view of the state politics, there are some aspects which have not been attended to in this study, viz., role orientation of political elites, manner of campaigning, voting behaviour, rural vs. urban politics, politics linked with economic interests of people in the more and less developed areas of the state, etc. These aspects are expected to be undertaken in the subsequent research with a greater availability of time and other resources.

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