

---

## HARYANA: A PROFILE

Annapurna Sharma\*  
Moti Lal Nehru College, Delhi University, Delhi  
Email: annapurna.rbs@gmail.com

### 1.1 Historical Background

In order to understand the present Haryana it becomes necessary for us to have glimpses of its past though briefly as this work is focusing more on political dimensions of the state rather than historical. For this purpose I have divided political history of Haryana in three parts. The times from Indus Valley and the Vedic civilization to medieval times, the British period up to the present times. The attempt is to analyse the malaise in the present Haryana as a consequence of its past legacy.

The Haryana is a land of ancient civilization. Excavation work was first of all undertaken by General Cunningham in 1862. Since then many more attempts in this direction have been made by the Archeology Departments of Punjab & Haryana governments. The Departments of Ancient Indian History and Archeology of Punjab and Kurukshetra Universities have undertaken excavation work at Banawali in Fatehabad district, Siswal in Hissar district, Mitathal in Bhaiwani, Rakhi Garhi in Jind and Balu in Kaithal district. Excavations at Agroha in Hissar district shows that the town was well planned. In popular belief it is held that it was the capital of Maharaja Aggrasen the only ruler from the Aggarwal Community. Ashoka set up a stupa in Topra in Ambala district which was shifted to Kotla in Delhi by Ferozeshah Tuglaq in 1356. Proof of rice cultivation in Indus Valley Civilization is claimed to have been found in Daultpur village in Kurukshetra district.

Sugh in Yamuna Nagar district deserves special mention to underscore the antiquity of Haryana. Surghna is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim of seventh century, as a town of three and a half miles in circuit, the capital of a kingdom & a seat of considerable learning, both Buddhist & Brahmanical. General Cunningham in his Archeological Survey Report of 1863-64 describes the village of Sugh as "one of

the most remarkable positions that I have seen during the whole course of my research.”

Panipat is another town of antiquity in Haryana. Three most decisive battles of northern India known as “Battles of Panipat” were fought here.

Delhi being the capital of the country, could not permit a powerful state to emerge on its periphery Bharatpur state being the only exception. In the composite Punjab, the Punjab region had a number of comparatively viable states which Haryana region had a few ‘nawabis’, petty fiefdoms euphemistically describe as states in the gazetteers of the British times. In 1901 Patiala, the Kapurthala and Faridkot in the Punjab region had the annual revenue of Rs. 57,11,549, Rs. 1,31,000 and Rs. 4,23,000 respectively while the corresponding figures for three states in Haryana region Patudi, Loharu and Dujana were Rs. 60,359, Rs. 66,000 and Rs. 77,170 respectively. The rules of three states were in a state of perpetual crisis.

Every horde of invaders was bound to pass through a part of Haryana region on the way to the battle ground of India at Panipat, with Delhi as the ultimate goal. Placed in the path of successive invasions the people suffered endlessly. Thanesar was sacked by Mohammed of Ghazni in 1014 A.D. Timur entered into Haryana region from the side of Rajasthan. This March lay thorough Fatehabad, Tohana, across the Ghaggar, through Kaithal & Panipat to Delhi which he sacked on Dec 26, 1398. (the Imperial Gazetteer of India).

In 1738 Nadir Shah’s invading horde swept over the area and defeated the Mughal army at Karnal in 1739 and sacked Delhi. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a part of the region was held by Mohammedan tribes of whom the chief were the Johias around Hanumangarh and Bhattis around Rania, Sirsa and Fatehabad. The Bikaner annals tell of the struggle between the Hindu Raiputs with the Johias & Bhattis for the possession of the tract around Sirsa.

Another important historical event which needs mentions here in the context of Haryana is the revolt of 1857. The people of Haryana rose against the British in the

uprising. After the uprising was quelled, there followed a period of severe repression. A number of people were put to death in the region. The nawab of Jhajjar and Raja of Ballabhgarh were executed for organising resistance against the British Rao Tula Ram of Mahendergarh emerged as a new during the revolt. He escaped to Kabul where he breathed his last. Villages which participated in the uprising was heavily fined. The entire region was terrorised. Worse still, the region was detached from the Delhi province and tagged to the Punjab region. Thus, Haryana region became as socio- cultural backyard of Punjab region and was severely discriminated against in matter of development till it acquired statehood in 1966. This explains Haryana's backward nature in terms of its socio-politico-cultural dimensions.

The region, which is now known as Haryana was captured by the East India Company on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1803 from Daulat Rao Scindhia<sup>1</sup>. During the first war of independence in 1857, people of Haryana played a very significant role. After the revolt was crushed and the British Empire was re-established, the Nawab of Jhajjar, the Raja of Ballabhgarh, and the Rao Tula Ram of Rewari was deprived of their territories and the territories were handed over to rulers of Nabha, Jind and Patiala of Punjab as a reward of their loyalty to the British Empire. Consequently, Haryana was separated from the north-western frontier province and tagged with Punjab in February 1858 as a political punishment for the participation of its people in revolt of 1857. As a result, Haryana remained a part of Punjab from 1858 to November 1966 till Punjab was reorganized on linguistic basis.

As Haryana was aligned with Punjab by the British colonial regime, this administrative change could not bring out the socio-cultural and linguistic affinity of the former to the latter. The region has maintained its distinct identity in the sense that historically Haryana has never been a part of Punjab. Thus people of Haryana have never been *Punjabis* in the sense that people of both the states historically had a different kind of identity both in cultural and linguistic terms. The distance between the two regions also widened as the region comprising of the present state of Haryana

was consistently neglected in terms of development as compared to the region of Punjab<sup>2</sup>.

The colonial administration systematically neglected agriculture in the region in the sense that the irrigation facilities were provided in other parts of Punjab through the development of network of canals but the region of Haryana was neglected because the south western part of the state is almost a desert and considered beneficial for raising good quality cattle and also for a ensured continuous supply of soldiers to the British Army from a backward agriculture based economy<sup>3</sup>.

Initially the demand for separate state of Haryana was supported mainly by the political elites of Delhi. Pirzada Mohammad Hussein of Muslim League from Delhi was among the first who advocated the demand. It was further supported by Congress,

Although its support for linguistic reorganization of provinces was further motivated by its desire to weaken the support base of Unionist party in Punjab.

Lala Deshbandhu Das Gupta, a Delhi based lawyer and Sir Chhotu Ram also supported the demand, although the latter's stance kept changing. It was Sir Chhotu Ram who gave the idea of "*Vishal Haryana*" during the early phase of 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to him, Hindi speaking region was never a part of Punjab because from the day of its inclusion in Punjab, the region is lagging behind in political, economic and cultural terms. So, it was essential for the region to be recognized as a separate entity in the sense of a separate state. In a way if one goes by chronologically, the demand of a separate state for Hindi speaking areas was older than the demand for Punjabi Subaitself.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the economic deprivation, the elite from Haryana region also felt deprived from their proportionate share in the power structure in undivided Punjab that came into existence after partition. The introduction of Sachar formula regarding declaration of Punjabi as compulsory for teaching in Hindi speaking region further accentuated the feeling of deprivation. The distinct proximity to Delhi and western Uttar Pradesh along with the feelings of relative political and economic deprivation led to the idea of *Haryana Prant* or enlarged province of Delhi during first quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

It was during this period that, the Akalis demanded the creation of a *Punjabi Suba* which was to be a territorial homeland for the Punjabis. As religion was not acceptable to be the basis for

the separate statehood even then by the Congress, so they took recourse to the demand for a separate *Suba* in the name of the Punjabi speaking people. Although, the genesis of the demand for *Vishal Haryana* dates back to pre-Independence period, but it gathered momentum only in the post-independence period and it was the acceptance of the demand of Punjabi Suba backed by strong mass movement that led to the creation of Haryana. There was no strong mass movement for the demand of *Haryana Prant* and whatever support it had was mainly confined to 10 articulate sections of peasantry and educated classes. These classes considered it essential for the advancement of their interest. It was, however, opposed by Jan Sangh and some factions of Congress who drew their support from the urban areas. Urban leadership considered the demand as detrimental for their interests. Thus, they supported the demand of Maha Punjab or enlarged state consisting of Punjab, PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh.

The state of Haryana was constituted on the recommendation of the Sardar Hukum Singh Parliamentary Committee formed on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1965. Acting on the recommendations of the Hukum Singh Committee the government of India on 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1966 set up the Shah Commission under the chairmanship of Justice J. C. Shah, to divide and set up the boundaries of Punjab and Haryana. The Commission submitted its report on 31<sup>st</sup> May, 1966. According to the report the districts of Hisar, Mahendergarh, Gurgaon, Rohtak, and Karnal were to be a part of the new state of Haryana. Further, the tehsils of Jind (district Sangrur), Narwana (district Sangrur), Naraingarh, Ambala and Jagadhari were also included. The Commission recommended that Kharar tehsil including Chandigarh should also be a part of Haryana<sup>5</sup>. On the basis of Shah Commission report, the Indian government passed Punjab reorganization Act, 1966 on 18<sup>th</sup> September, 1966. According to the Act, the area of the Haryana was to be as follows<sup>6</sup>:

The districts of Hisar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal and Mahendergarh  
The Jind and Narwana  
tehsils of Sangrur district

The Ambala, Jagadhari and Naraingarh tehsils of Ambala district

The Pinjore circle and also the part of the Mani Majra circle of Kharar tehsils of Ambala district

Table No. 1:1

## Haryana's Area &amp; Population in 1966

Districts	Area (in kms)	Males	Females	Population	Density (people/km)
Hisar	13,891	8,27,658	7,12,850	15,40,508	111
Rohtak	6,040	7,51,225	6,69,166	14,20,391	235
Gurgaon	6,086	6,59,432	5,81,274	12,40,760	204
Kamal	7,964	8,04,769	6,85,661	14,90,430	187
Ambala	3,702	4,85,110	4,00,675	8,85,785	231
Jind	2,712	2,50,63	2,14,20	4,64,873	164
Mahendergarh	3,474	2,83,95	2,63,90	5,47,850	158
Totals	43,689	40,62,797	35,27,746	75,90,543	173

Source: Haryana-online.com

Table No. 1:2

## Basic Information about the State

Date of Establishment	01.11.1966
Capital	Chandigarh
Area	44,212 sq. Km
Area under Forest	1,553 km <sup>2</sup>
No. of Districts	21
Largest City	Faridabad
Latitude	27 deg 37' to 30deg35'
Longitude	74 deg 28' to 77 deg 36'
Altitude	Varies from 700 to 3600 ft above Sea Level
Population (2001).	21,082,989
[Population Density	477/km
Male population	11,327,658
Female population	9,755,331
Sex Ratio	861
Literacy Rate	68.59
Per Capita Income	Rs 15,721 (2003)
Per Capita Income (03-04)	Rs 57621
Religion	Hindus 78 percent, Sikhs 18 percent, Muslims 4 percent
Official language(s)	Hariyanvi, Hindi. Punjabi and English
Urbanization Ratio	29 percent
Time zone	IST (UTC+5:30)
Temperature	Max 47 <sup>0</sup> C; Min 5 <sup>0</sup> C to 9 <sup>0</sup> C
Average Rainfall	455 mm (annually)
National Highways	656 km

Source: [http://www.haryana-online.com/History/history\\_1966-.htm](http://www.haryana-online.com/History/history_1966-.htm)

Haryana was finally carved out on the linguistic basis after bifurcation of Punjab state on 1 November, 1966 under the State Reorganization Act of 1956. The Hindi-speaking eastern region of Punjab state was declared as *Haryana Prant* and Punjabi speaking western portion remained as Punjab. Chandigarh has been declared as Union Territory and the capital of both the states. Although Kharar tehsil and Chandigarh was given to Haryana by Shah Commission, constituted to demarcate the boundaries of Punjab and Haryana. But, the then Prime Minister under pressure from Akali leaders who were not ready for the transfer of Chandigarh to Haryana was declared the joint capital of both the states. Again under pressure of Akali leaders according to Indira Gandhi Award, Chandigarh was rewarded to Punjab and Abhohar and Fazilka to be transferred to Haryana. Chandigarh was due for transfer to state of Punjab in 1986, according to Rajiv-Longowal Accord, but the transfer has been delayed, and pending. On the basis of the agreement, the parts of the Hindi speaking areas of Abohar and Fazilka which are currently the parts of Ferozpur district of Punjab to be transferred in Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh<sup>7</sup>. The issue of capital was left unsettled by the union government in a way, which still continues as a bone of contention between both the states. Many commissions, awards and Punjab Accord followed by three commissions have proved almost futile to sort out the problem.

## 1.2 Economy

Haryana's economy has a significant agrarian component. Haryana is one of the largest contributors to the food grains pool of the central government. Cotton, sugarcane and oilseeds are the main commercial crops which have triggered the pace of growth of a number of agro-based industries. It is basically an agricultural state and about 70 percent of its total population depends upon agriculture for their living. State being a beneficiary of green revolution process of late 1960s is self-sufficient in food grains production and has taken a big lead over most other states in agricultural production especially of food grains as it contributes to the central pool 40 to 45 lacs

tones every year, which is the second largest in the country<sup>8</sup>. Its 73.9 percent of the net sown area is under irrigation.

About 86 percent of the total geographical area of the state is cultivable, and out of which 96 percent has already been brought under plough. The cropping intensity in the state is nearly 170 percent.<sup>9</sup> Haryana has Asia's biggest Agricultural University, known as Chaudhary Charan Singh Haryana Agricultural University (HAU) at Hisar. The institute has made immense contribution for the advent of 'Green Revolution'. Haryana, along with Punjab being called the 'Grain Bowl' of India.<sup>10</sup>

The major crops of Haryana are wheat, rice, sugarcane, cotton, oilseeds, gram, barley, corn and millet. There are two main types of crops in Haryana, known as: Rabi and Kharif. The major Kharif crops of Haryana include rice, jowar, bajra, maize, cotton, jute, sugarcane, sesame and groundnut. For kharif crops the ground is prepared in April and May and the seeds are sown at the beginning of rains in June and harvested by the beginning of November. The major Rabi crops include wheat, tobacco, gram, linseed, rapeseed and mustard. The ground for these crops being prepared by the end of October or the beginning of November and the crops are harvested by March.

There is a network of canals and an effective lift irrigation system for the arid areas of the state. About 75 percent of the total cultivated area in the state is being irrigated, wherein the tube wells or pumping sets contribute for about 50%. Canals are the lifeline of Haryana agriculture.<sup>11</sup> Western Yamuna canal is the main irrigation canal of Haryana, which irrigates the areas falling in districts of Kurukshetra, Karnal, Jind, Sonapat and Rohtak. Besides, Gurgaon canal from the river Yamuna irrigates parts of Gurgaon and Faridabad districts. Further, the districts of Bhiwani and Mahendragarh are irrigated by the Jui, Bhiwani and the Jawahar Lal Nehru canals. The Bhakra canal from the river Sutlej irrigates the district of Hisar

and Sirsa. The total area which is irrigated by canal water is 21.40 lakh hectares.<sup>12</sup> Irrigation facilities in the state have been amplified by the government while providing subsidies on minor irrigation works. The number of tube wells and pumping sets has also increased; besides, sprinkler irrigation system has also been encouraged.<sup>13</sup>

Dairy farming forms an essential part of Haryana's rural economy. Haryana has been known as the 'milk pail' of India. Dairy products are a major part of the routine diet of Haryana's people. Animal husbandry is an integral constituent of diversified agriculture. In the state, a vast network of milk producer's societies has been set up in order to provide farmers a good price for their dairy products and to help them in marketing. About 1500 milk societies are currently working along with seven milk plants in the co-operative sector situated in Jind, Bhiwani, Ambala, Rohtak, Hisar, Ballabgarh and Sirsa. Asia's best dairy research institute known as the National Dairy Research Institute (NDRI) is in Karnal and which has been upgraded to the status of 'Deemed University'.<sup>14</sup> Haryana is the habitat of the world famous 'Murrah' buffaloes. Buffaloes constitute 45 percent of the total livestock and contribute for 80.5 percent of the total milk production. Further the new breeds of 'Haryana' cow and 'Murrah' buffaloes are being developed by NDRI, Karnal and Central Institute for Research on Buffaloes, Hisar. Besides, the horticulture and vegetable farming are also being encouraged.

According to 2001 census the state has shown a marked trend towards urbanization as total percentage of urban population has gone up to 29 percent by 2001, which was 24.6 percent in 1991. Faridabad is the most urbanized district whereas Mahendergarh is least urbanized. But this growing urbanization does not have much effect on the politics. The urbanization in Haryana is more a result of its proximity to national capital of Delhi and less to the autonomous process or internal economic growth as in Gujarat and Maharashtra. Haryana has two industrial towns of Gurgaon and Faridabad. The proximity of Haryana to international airport, the four national

highways passing through the state and the modern infrastructure available at the industrial estates contributes to make Haryana the first choice of entrepreneurs for their development projects. One third of state's area falls under the national capital region and even the farthest spot in Haryana is only 7 hours drive from capital. With its rapidly increasing population, Delhi has become a major consumption center of industrial products coming from Haryana. Haryana's economy is developing at a very fast pace. The structural composition of state economy has witnessed significant changes since the formation of Haryana as a separate state. There has been a considerable improvement in manufacturing sector which occupies the second important place in its economy after agriculture and allied sector.<sup>15</sup>

With 1.4 % of the total area and less than 2 % of the country's population, Haryana is one of the leading states in terms of per capita income.<sup>16</sup> Haryana's economy is constantly gaining strength and heading towards new heights of development. The structural composition of state economy has witnessed significant changes. Since its inception, there has been a considerable improvement in manufacturing sector which constitute the second important component of the state economy after agriculture and allied sector. Haryana has become one of the three most progressive states of India with an impressive track of achievements in the field of agriculture, business, tourism, information technology, automobile industry and overall development. Though it is a small state in geographical terms, and its compact size has also contributed in its development.

The state has experienced sharp economic advancement, through development of agriculture; industries, trade and creation of good infrastructure. Its achievements in the industrial sector have also been quite exceptional during the four decades of its inception. The number of large, medium and small scale industries has gone up rapidly. Haryana produces more than 75% of total number of passenger cars, 50 % of tractors and 60% of motor cycles manufactured in the country. Besides, it also introduces more than 30% of refrigerators and 25 % of bicycles and sanitary-wares manufactured in the country annually.

The state also ranks first in all-over India regarding the production of passenger cars, motor cycles, tractors, sanitary wares, GI pipes, gas stoves and scientific instruments. Further, Haryana has been able to attract sizable investment from multinational companies, large business houses, foreign investors, non-resident Indians (NRIs) etc. The state already has more than 530 projects with foreign technical/financial collaborations. To mention only a few Maruti Udyog, Escorts, Hero Honda, Alcatel, Sony India, Whirlpool India, Proagro PGS India, Bharti Telecom, Perfetti India, TDT Copper, Carrier Aircon etc. Some major units in the public sector are HMT Ltd., National Fertilizers Ltd., Bharat Electronics Ltd., IDPL, among others.

Since the beginning of economic liberalization and de-licensing policy of government of India during 1991, as many as 2313 industrial entrepreneur memorandums (IEMs) have been filed for setting up of industrial units in Haryana. Haryana is at sixth place in the country regarding filing of IEMs. Only five states namely Maharashtra, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh which are very big in size and have plenty of natural resources are ahead of Haryana. The percentage of implementation of IEMs in Haryana is about 48 per cent against an all India average of about 35 per cent.<sup>17</sup>

### 1.3 SocialDemography

Thestate does not have a history of either caste-wars or any serious communal conflicts especially the rural population in particular never has been engrossed in communal violence. Similarly, caste conflicts also have never been very well-defined in the state.<sup>18</sup> Majority population of the state is rural and the society is caste-ridden. The state population consists of two categories in terms of caste and class composition. Further, in class composition, we have the agricultural and non- agricultural divide. In terms of social demography the agriculturalist castes constitute the largest groups in Haryana society, as it comprises about 55 % of its total population. The Hindu Jats are the largest caste in this segment. They constitute more than 20 % of the population of the state. Other major castes according to Census

2001 in this group are: Ahirs 5%, Gujjars 3%, and Rajputs 4% of the non-agriculturist castes, Punjabis are also in considerable strength. Punjabis, the so called refugees, who migrated from Pakistan due to communal tension at the time of partition, constitute a major chunk of urban population. They are seven per cent of total population and are too perceived as a caste group of the non- agriculturist cases. Punjabis are also in considerable strength.<sup>19</sup>

Besides, as per the 1991 Census, the state has 5.8 % Sikh population. The total Sikh population in the state is 11, 70,662 as per 2001 Census, including 6, 18,558 men and 5, 52,104 women, and is largely concentrated in areas contiguous to Punjab. The Sikh population lived mainly in Dabwali, Rori, Ellenabad, Sirsa, Ratia, Fatehabad, Safidon, Jundla, Jagadhari, Yamunanagar, Sahabad, Pchowa, Naggal, Ghula, Assandh, Ambala City, Naraingarh, Nilokheri, Tohana, Kalayat, Indri and Thanesar. Political observers believe that Sikhs in the state are largely divided in to two groups—the older lot which is anti-Congress and therefore pro-INLD and the younger generation that is willing to go with anyone who helps in the creation of a separate Gurudwara Management Committee in the state.<sup>20</sup>

Further, according to the 1991 Census, the state has 4.6% Muslim population. However, majority of them lived in southern Haryana popularly known as Mewat. Major source of their income is agriculture and they are mainly cultivating peasants. In the Mewat region Meos are the dominant community.<sup>21</sup> Hathin, Touru, Ferozpur Zirka and Nuh assembly constituencies are Meo dominated constituencies located in the close vicinity of Delhi. Some Muslim presence is also found in Chhachharuii assembly constituency of Yamunanagar district along with Panipat district.<sup>22</sup> In addition, 51.62 % of total Muslim population in Haryana found residing in Gurgaon district alone which accounts for 34.40 % of the total population of the district. Further, 19.68 % of them residing in Faridabad which is 10.17 % of the total population of the district.

In caste terms, the scheduled castes constituted 19.75 % of the total population in Haryana as per 1991 census. 37 castes come under the category of SCs in Haryana and Chamars are the most numerous, Balmikis, Dhanaks, Mazhabi and Khatiks are the other constituent groups in the category. It has been observed that Chamars among SCs in Haryana dominate the scene because they have captured the number of seats in state assemblies. Their numerical strength, benefits drawn from government affirmative action and the subsequent better economic condition allowed them access to modern education and opportunities for mobilization and politicization.

#### 1.4 Sub-Regional divisions of the State



Territory wise Haryana is a small state. For administrative purposes, the state is divided into four divisions-Ambala, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Hisar and 47 sub-divisions. There are 21 districts, 70 tehsils, 43 sub-tehsils, 119 blocks, 81 cities, 94 towns and 6764 villages. Haryana is a landlocked state of north India and is surrounded by Uttar Pradesh (UP) from eastern side, by Punjab on its western side. Besides, Uttrakhand, Himachal Pradesh and Shivalik hills on located its northern side along with Delhi. Rajasthan and Aravali hills on its southern side. The 1,553 sq. km of its area is covered by forest. Geographically Haryana has four key features namely:

- Shivalik hills are located to the northeast of the state and are source of the rivers like Saraswati, Ghaggar, Tangri and Markanda.
- Ghaggar Yamuna plains are divided in 2 parts – the higher one is called '*Bangar*' and the lower one is called '*Khadcir*'. These plains constitute the largest part of the state.
- Semi-desert sandy plains are located in the southwest of the state and comprises the districts of Sirsa and parts of Hisar, Mahendergarh, Fatehabad, Bhiwani and also shared border with Rajasthan.
- Aravali hills are located in the south of the state.<sup>23</sup>

The state has 15 parliamentary seats namely 10 Lok Sabha and five Rajya Sabha along with 90 assembly constituencies. Out of which 2 Lok Sabha and 17 assembly constituencies are reserved for SCs. Earlier the state used to have nine parliamentary and 81 assembly constituencies but their number was raised to the current level by the Delimitation Order of 1976.

Assembly Seats:	90
Lok Sabha Seats:	10
Rajya Sabha Seats:	5

Table No.1:3 Assembly Constituencies

1	Kalka	46	Ellenabad(SC)
2	Panchkula	47	Adampur
3	Naraingarh	48	Uklana(SC)
4	Ambala Cantonment	49	Narnaund
5	Ambala City	50	Hansi
6	Mullana(SC)	51	Barwala
7	Sadhaura(SC)	52	Hisar
8	Jagadhri	53	Nalwa
9	Yamunanagar	54	Loharu
10	Radaur	55	Bhadra
11	Ladwa	56	Dadri
12	Shahabad (SC)	57	Bhiwani
13	Thanesar	58	Tosham
14	Pehowa	59	Bawani Khera(SC)
15	Guhla(SC)	60	Meham
16	Kalayath(SC)	61	Garhi-Sampla –Kiloi
17	Kaithal	62	Rohtak
18	Pundri	63	Kalanaur(SC)
19	Nilokheri(SC)	64	Bahadurgarh
20	Indri	65	Badli
21	Karnal	66	Jhajjar (SC)
22	Gharaunda	67	Beri
23	Assandh	68	Ateli
24	Panipat (Rural)	69	Mahendergarh
25	Panipat city	70	Narnaul
26	Isharana (SC)	71	Nangal Chudnry
27	Samaikha	72	Bawal(SC)
28	Ganaur	73	Kosli

29	Rai	74	Rewari
30	Kharkauda (SC)	75	Pataudi(SC)
31	Sonipat	76	Badshapur
32	Gohana	77	Gurgaon
33	Baroda	78	Sohna
34	Julana	79	Nuh
35	Safidon	80	Ferozpur Jhirka
36	Jind	81	Punhana
37	Uchana Kalan	82	Hathin
38	Narwana(SC)	83	Hodal (SC)
39	Tohana	84	Palwal
40	Fatehabad	85	Prithla
41	Ratia(SC)	86	Faribad NIT
42	Kalanwali(SC)	87	Badkhal
43	Dabwali	88	Ballabgarh
44	Rania	89	Faridabad
45	Sirsa	90	Tigon

Source: Haryana-online.com

Table No. 1:4

Lok Sabha Constituencies<sup>24</sup>

Ambala	Faridabad
Kurukshetra	Mahendragarh-Bhiwani
Karnal	Gurgaon

Sonepat	Hisar
Rohtak	Sirsa

Source: Haryana-online.com

In Haryana, it is difficult to divide the entire state into geographically contiguous and politically meaningful regions. So, the administrative regions have been used to analyze the patterns of voting behaviour by the scholars. Haryana has 21 districts and four administrative regions and roughly five electoral belts. Mewat is 20<sup>th</sup> district of Haryana, which was created from Gurgaon on 4<sup>th</sup> April 2005 in Haryana. It is bounded by Gurgaon on the North, Rewari on the West and Faridabad on the East. Mewat is populated by the Meo an agriculturalist caste. Palwal became 21<sup>st</sup> district of Haryana which was a part of Faridabad district and earlier of Gurgaon district. Palwal has been declared 21<sup>st</sup> district of Haryana on 30th march 2008.

Four administrative regions are as following:

1. Rohtak
2. Ambala
3. Hisar
4. Gurgaon

1. Rohtak Region – Jat Belt: This region or division consists of Rohtak, Sonapat, Panipat, Karnal and Jhajjar (Jatland) districts.

2. Ambala Region i.e. Urban Region: This region or division consists of Ambala, Kurukshetra, Panchkula, Yamunanagar and Kaithal districts. The second belt or administrative region consists of the advanced areas along with grand trunk road (GT road) from Ambala to Faridabad, parts of Karnal. In terms of caste configuration it consists of Banias, Brahmins, Rors, Ahirs, Sikhs and refugees from Panjab (Pakistan).<sup>25</sup>

3. Hisar Region: This region or division consists of Hisar, Bhiwani, Fatehabad, Jind and Sirsa districts. The third belt or administrative region known as Mewat in which

62 % of population is composed of Muslims. The Muslim dominated constituencies are located in Faridabad and Gurgaon districts.

4. Gurgaon Region: The regions or divisions consist of Faridabad, Palwal, Gurgaon, Mewat, Mahendergarh and Rewari Districts. The forth belt or administrative region is known as Ahirwal dominated by Ahirs or Yadavas are middle level agricultural caste, which dominates in the Ahirwal region. The belt comprises Rewari, Mahendergarh and parts of Gurgaondistricts.

### 1.5 Politicalpeculiarities

Haryana politics has certain peculiar characteristic features. During four decades of its electoral history, the state has not been able to develop the attributes of a coherent party system. In Haryana, be it the electorate or the politicians, nobody seems committed to a particular party. The electorates of the state lack a developed political culture in terms of their political choices and affiliations to different political parties.<sup>26</sup> It's not the ideology which is important for their political alignments but the personality cult along with caste cleavage, rural urban divide and so on.

#### 1.5.1 Exta-party Alliances or Cross PartyLinkages:

The most significant peculiar feature of the state party system in Haryana is the“Extra PartyAlliances” or Cross Party Linkages in which leaders of different political parties serve each other's interests. Under Extra-Party alliances two patterns of alliances emerge-the formal alliances and the real alliances. Formal alliances are made at Party level to gain political strength, but real alliances surpass formal alliances in order to gain individual interest.In 1996 the formal alliance was between HVP (under the leadership of Bansilal) and BJP on the one hand and between INLD (under the leadership of Chautala) and BSP on the other. But the real alliance was between Congress's Hooda & HVP's Bansilal. This informal alliance was so strongly felt that in 1996 Rohtak assembly elections the slogan was “*Neeche Ganja Uppar Panja*”. S. Ram was contesting for assembly from HVP and he was bald old man. *Neeche*

*Gangja* referred to S. Ram. It meant vote for S. Ram in assembly elections and *Uppar Panja* referred to Congress which meant vote for Parliamentary elections.

#### 1.5.2 Factionalism:

The Politics of defection has always remained a defining feature of electoral politics in Haryana. Although, it is a universal phenomenon in Indian politics, but Haryana Politics has given new magnitude to the politics of factionalism, and the state is widely considerable as the cradle of politics of 'Aya Ram Gaya Ram'.<sup>27</sup> After the reorganization of the state in 1966, the then Congress President of Punjab Bhagwat Dayal Sharma was made its Chief Minister. Soon after the first assembly elections of state held in March 1967, B.D. Sharma became the Chief Minister. While selecting the Council of Ministers, although, Congress high command tried to provide fair representation to almost all dominant castes but their leaders like Chaudhary Devi Lal (a Jat), Rao Birender Singh (an Ahir) and Chand Ram (a Scheduled Caste) were neglected. So, they defected from Congress and formed United Front. Their defection led to the fall of 13 days old B.D. Sharma headed Congress government and Rao Birender Singh became the chief minister from the United Front. Rao Birender Singh also had to submit his resignation twice in the eight months rule. During November 1967, defections and counter-defections took place almost every day.<sup>28</sup>

Rao Birender Singh (Haryana Vishal Party leader) led government also developed cracks very soon. Devi Lal faction defected from the government and joined group led by B. D. Sharma, in the effort to ensure the downfall of Rao's government, as he dropped Devi Lal's main supporters Chand Ram and Mani Ram Godhara from his Cabinet. Politics of defections ultimately led to the imposition of President Rule on 22 November, 1967 as a result of dismissal of Rao's government.<sup>29</sup>

The game of defections was there to stay. During mid-term assembly elections of 1968, Congress again won the elections. But that time Congress high command appointed a relatively new Jat leader Bansi Lal as the new chief minister. B.D.

Sharma along with his 15 supporters defected from Bansi Lal led government, which forced him to form a large size Cabinet.<sup>30</sup> Besides, in 1977, when Janata party won with a landslide majority, the chief minister Devi Lal was asked twice to seek the vote of confidence.<sup>31</sup> Above all, during 1980, Haryana state politics set new paradigms to defection phenomenon of electoral politics due to overnight defection of Bhajan Lal led Janata party government to Congress party which converted the Janata ministry into Congress ministry .

Even during February 2005 and 2009 assembly polls, factionalism was on the forefront especially in Congress. Every district was having its own chief ministerial candidate. After 2009 assembly polls five of the six PIJC MLAs defected to Congress unconditionally and helped it to form government on its own.<sup>32</sup> The politics of “Aya Ram and Gaya Ram’ was initially seen as corrupt practice and mere electoral opportunism for gaining office. In the opinion of the defectors, this was in fact not mere opportunism, but the course of electoral politics taking its natural shape in Haryana politics. And there seemed nothing wrong in it, if everybody wanted its share in political cake in terms of representation especially in Haryana.<sup>33</sup>

### 1.5.3 Significance of theCaste:

Next to Bihar caste exercise the single most important influence on politics of Haryana. Politics of Haryana has always been dominated by middle level dominant peasant castes, especially the Jats. Jats constitute majority of the total population in the state they are largest owners of agricultural land. All the chief ministers, except two, of Haryana hailed from this caste. Jats are numerically, large, economically strong, culturally confident and politically most powerful. Caste is the real player which determines the electoral behavior of the people. There is a local saying, “*Jat ki BetiJatKo,JatkaVoteJatKo*”, which reflectsthepsycheofHaryana’speople.

Caste considerations are very strong and are deeply rooted. Political organization are formed around the major castes.

Caste cleavage is a dominant factor in the politics of Haryana, which is comparable with Bihar.<sup>34</sup> The main influences have always been of personality, caste and military service along with the sense of class-consciousness on the people, due to its being essentially a land of soldiers.<sup>35</sup> These influences can be explained in terms of their alignments with army and the importance attached to the caste in recruitment process. Jats and Ahirs have provided excellent soldiers and have developed a respect for strong/macho personality and caste solidarity. Despite being middle in the Varna system or caste hierarchy<sup>36</sup> the Jats would qualify as the dominant caste as they are numerically strong and are land owners. Caste factor plays such an important role in the politics of the state. The same can also explain the reason why Mrs. Sonia Gandhi's foreign origin does not hold much importance for them because according to them "Jat Ke Aye To Jatni Ho Gayi",<sup>37</sup> means that when a women get married to men belonging to a particular caste she ultimately becomes a member of that particular caste irrespective of her own caste or community before themarriage.

Caste configurations have always played a key role in dictating and defining Haryana politics. Right from ticket distribution to casting of crew for canvassing to allocation of portfolios, caste patterns have defined the designs of political masters. Besides, there have been cleavages like rural-urban, agricultural and non-agricultural and Jat versus non- Jat which are part and parcel of a broader process known as electoral politics process. Although these cleavages are no more as important as they were dufring the initial years of its politics. These daysperformance and good governance are also being taken into consideration both by parties andelectorates.

#### 1.5.4 Lack of a coherent party system

The state has not experienced a stable party competition and a long term or stable alignment of voters to their particular parties, despite the high rate of electoral participation. Congress has been perceived as a weak force in the region especially during pre-independence period. However, Congress has ruled the state more than any other party. Haryana has witnessed 12 legislative assembly elections. Congress has formed the government in the state as many as seven times\*\*\*, whereas only five times the state has been ruled by the coalitions of various political parties especially from the period 1996 to 2005. If one came out to find a reason according to Prem Choudhary, it is due to legacy of Sir Chhotu Ram's Unionist party, which had a pro-British outlook kept the Haryana alienated from mainstream political culture and resulted in lacking of a strong ideological basis. This is against this backdrop that in Haryana people keep changing their political loyalties and affiliations in almost every election. It can be attributed to changing alignments of the social groups as well as the political class in the state.

Politics in Haryana has not seen many new political entrants since its early phase. The game of electoral politics in Haryana more or less has remained in privilege of Congress on the one side and the peasant parties like Unionist party, Zamindara League, Lok Dal or INLD and BJP on the other side. There have been some other parties which have, from time to time, been floated by discontented individuals from major parties like Congress when they left the party. These parties have proved vote splinters for their parent party rather than marking their own electoral presence. Besides, these parties also have proved the short spell in the politics of the state, but at times have enjoyed short stints in power politics like Vishal Haryana Party, Haryana Vikas Party. Haryana Janhit Congress is the most political entrant of Haryana politics.

At present, the things have changed to a great extent and Congress is no more a weak force in the state as it has been owned by agriculturist castes too. At the state level, it is dominated by leaders from agriculturist castes. Congress is thus no more being perceived as Brahmin-Bania, not Jat and pro-Urban party. The perceived notions about the party in Haryana have changed to a great extent over the years. Besides, the

major distinction of the committed support base of the two main political players namely Congress and INLD are no more as distinct as they were. Now, both of these parties are deriving their electoral support both from rural and urban areas. At present, BJP, BSP and HJC are the minor players in Haryana politics. The left parties do not occupy much space in political arena of the state. Apart from the lack of a coherent party system, anti-incumbency factor has been very strong in politics of Haryana. No single government except Congress has enjoyed two consecutive terms except Congress from 1968 to 1975 and now from 2005 and 2009 onwards. In the words of Pratap Bhanu Mehta, anti-incumbency factor can be explained in two context, 'first people expect a lot from the government and secondly they expect very less and can easily afford the cost of changing leadership time and again.\*\*\* But at times it is also important to note that people are not left with another option but to choose one or the lesser evil. For the people of Haryana identity politics matters much than party politics.

#### 1.5.5 Emergence of PeasantBourgeoise:

Like Punjab, the state of Haryana is different in many respect from the other states of the Indian union. On the one hand it represent a fusion of primordial loyalties of caste with politics whereas on the other hand it is the vanguard of the 'Green Revolution' due to which its per capita income has also gone up far ahead of most of the other states. In fact the state has taken a big lead over most other states in the production of food grains and its contribution to the central pool has become highest.

However, the 'Green Revolution' has not been entirely without its quota of problems, while it has helped in attaining self-sufficiency in food grains, it has not been able to bring about any desirable changes in the socioeconomic and political power structure in the countryside. Socio-economic inequalities still persist. The hope that with modernization and development there would take place a steady and rationalization of policies and that the new identities would gradually take the place of caste consideration has been completely belied. Haryana is a state, where good economy has not been followed by goodpolitics.

The tremendous increase in agricultural production in the state is attributed generally to the Green Revolution. The term Green Revolution refers to the improved methods of cultivation based on the use of new high yielding varieties of seeds, fertilizers & agricultural machinery.

Green Revolution has not evolved the entire state. It is mainly restricted to the districts of Karnal, Kurukshetra & parts of Ambala. Farm income rose sharply in this region. The number of agricultural labours in this region is much more than elsewhere in the state of Haryana. Therefore, it was here that the spark of radical politics should have appeared. However, it was in this region that industry & other developmental projects were encouraged by the State, thereby counterbalancing government could not stop the emergence of 'peasant bourgeois'.

Concentration of Green Revolution in certain areas is of crucial importance to us in order to understand the role of 'peasant bourgeois' in state politics of Haryana.

Peasant Bourgeois as a phenomenon to GREEN REVOLUTION. This phenomenon has determined the political pattern & electoral behaviour of the state.

Undoubtedly, there has been a tremendous increase in the agricultural yield but the peasants have not been benefited proportionally. While a handful of rich farmers have become richer, the large mass of peasantry increase debt-ridden.

#### 1.5.6 Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Divide:

The caste groups in Haryana consist of non-agriculturist high castes, the agriculturist castes, Backward Castes (BCs) and Scheduled Castes (SCs). The non-agriculturist high castes include Baniyas, Khatrias and Aroras, which are mostly urban trading castes. These have been supporting either Congress or BJP and always opposed INLD and its incarnations considering it as a party of the rural based agriculturist castes in general and of Jats in particular. In Haryana most of the Brahmins are rural based peasants but they have been counted among non-agriculturist castes.

Among the rural based agriculturist castes the Jats constitute about one fifth of the total population and is the major caste. Jats have been mobilized by Sir Chhotu Ram against Congress and in favour of Unionist party. Traditionally Jats perceived Congress as anti-rural, anti-agriculturist and anti-Jats party as well as pro-urban, high caste, backward castes and scheduled castes party on the other side. Out of the remaining agriculturist castes the Gujjars, Kambojs, Sainis, Rors and Rajputs have usually supported the Lok Dal due to the same reasons except when the Congress field a candidate belonging to these castes.

Besides, Ahirs and Bishnois are the other agriculturist castes. Ahirs have been voting for Congress since the merger of Vishal Haryana Party in Congress in 1978. The Bishnois have been voting for Congress since 1980 after the defection of their leader Bhajan Lal into Congress from Janata party as he had been successful in projecting himself as a leader of non-Jats and served as chief minister from 1979 to 1986 and 1991 to 1996. Now they have his HJC (BL) to support.

In agrarian socio economic environment of Punjab and Haryana, the socio-political and cultural trends were determined and decided by peasant land owning classes commonly known as *Zamindars*. The word *Zamindar* in Punjab and Haryana implies for any land owner however small even as the term in its literal meaning connotes the owners of very large estate. "The British administrators provided a constitutional basis for this usage and also enlarged the scope of its definition in 1900 by the enactment of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act which created 'statutory casteism' by designating certain castes as 'agricultural tribes', with the result, that the word *Zamindar* also came to stand for a member of any statutory caste.<sup>38</sup> In this region, these *Zamindars* comprised of the Jats, Rajputs, Pathans, Sayyeds, Gujjars, Ahirs, Bilochs, Rors, Moghals, Malis, Togas, Sainis, Chauhans, Arains, Gaud Brahmins and Qureshis.<sup>39</sup>

The agricultural and non-agricultural divide is mainly seen as a contribution or legacy of Sir Chhotu Ram<sup>40</sup> and the party led by him namely the Unionist Party, which mobilized peasantry. That is why the agriculturist castes especially Jats and Ahirs for long remained anti-Congress. Initially peasant castes (especially the Jats) have been led by the Sir Chhotu Ram through Unionist Party. After reorganization of state, these peasant castes initially supported the Congress because they lacked in terms of a viable alternative. After the emergence of Lok Dal during 80's and its leader Chaudhary Devi Lal in context of protest against Rajiv-Longowal Accord<sup>41</sup> through Haryana Sangarsh Samiti in the name of Nyaya Yudh, the peasant castes got an alternative and start supporting it which led the decline of Congress. In Haryana, almost every caste has its own set pattern of voting behaviour and political affiliations. A good example can be the slogan "Jat Ke Beti Jat Ko and Jat Ka Vote Jat Ko" signifies that a voter in Haryana is first a member of a particular caste than anything else.<sup>42</sup>

It has been observed that the dominance of agriculturist castes elite in power structure of the state since its inception and even before could be attributed to their economic power, numerical strength, demographic distribution, political awareness and social status in rural caste hierarchy. Consequently, their dominant position in village social power structure has bestowed them with the capacity to exert influence upon the decision-making process to promote their own interests.

Dominance of middle class peasantry has remained a distinct feature of politics of Haryana. Peasant classes have always been dominant in the state. Caste configuration always has played an important role in politics of India. Before 1967. Upper castes have dominated the Indian political scene. After 1967 there were middle classes / castes but during the decade of 1990s and onwards it's the turn of lower castes which have assumed the central role and now it is common scenario in politics of India both at national level as well as state level. But when one talks about the politics of Haryana, caste configuration here represents a different kind of compilation. In the

state there are no sharp lines between upper castes and lower middle castes unlike the other Hindi speaking north Indian states.

The politics of state is never characterized by upper caste dominance of Brahmins and Rajputs. Due to socio-economic reasons there have been conflicts between Brahmins and peasant castes (especially Jats) as none of them were ready to accept the superiority or dominance of each other.<sup>43</sup> Besides, whatever status the Brahmins enjoyed earlier went down further with the spread of Arya Samaj Movement especially among Jats during 1920s, which took them away from Brahminical roots. This particular aspect can explain for the weak basis of Brahminical ideology and less appeal for the ideology of BJP to people of Haryana. The BJP or its earlier incarnation Bharatiya Jan Sangh have always been viewed as a party of upper caste urban Hindus and that explains as to why the party finds itself unable to expand its base in the state despite the fact that majority population of Haryana is Hindu. The Mandir factor has also never worked in the state. Haryana remained unaffected even during early 1990's when there was a pro-BJP wave in Hindu Heartland. Rath Yatra undertaken by BJP related to Ram Janambhumi issue did not appeal to the people of Haryana. BJP is seen as a National party in Haryana and it needs to be regionalized in order to expand itself.

Agriculturist castes have adopted the strategy of entering different political parties in general and Congress in particular, which have enabled them to gain dominance in power structure. It has been further observed that these castes during pre-reorganization period happened to be satisfied with one or two seats in Punjab government/cabinet have started struggling to attain number one position in every sphere especially after the formation of state. In fact, the political game of 'Aya Ram- Gaya Ram' along with drama of defections and counter defections can be explained in the light of this struggle of caste forces to occupy maximum share of political power.

The agriculturist versus non-agriculturist castes divide for a considerable period of time was a major poll plank in Haryana politics. Due to emergence of inter-caste contradiction, however, it has lost its salience. Jats versus non-Jats divide has become

more important. However, agriculturist versus non-agriculturist divide continues to influence Haryana politics to some extent due to shared common economic interests of agriculturist castes as peasants.

### 1.5.7 Dominance of Jats as DominantCaste:

Jats are the most dominant caste in the state. The community is scattered throughout the state but the main concentration is in districts of Hisar, Rohtak and Kaithal the area referred as Jatland. Jats are politically dominant and the dominance is established mainly due to the ownership of land. The concept of Dominant caste illustrated by

M.N. Srinivas<sup>44</sup> suits well to the Jats of Haryana in the given context, as they are not only numerically and economically stronger than any other caste and also live up to another criterion of the dominance i.e. position in the social hierarchy as they do not correspond to a low ritual status. As for their numerical strength, Jats constitute about 20 % of total population and also are the largest owner of the agricultural land. This caste has provided the state with maximum number of the chief ministers and MLA's. Besides, they are the biggest beneficiaries of the Green Revolution and implementation of the land reforms.

In Punjab and Haryana which are mainly the agrarian states the category of dominant caste is being seen in relation to the amount of agricultural land possessed by a particular community. The other peasant lower ranked castes were "seen in relation of servitude to the land owning Jats who were the single largest receivers of services from the other castes."<sup>45</sup> Although the social status of Jats is difficult to determine in terms of *Varna* system or caste hierarchy as they are not considered the twice born castes.<sup>46</sup> Among the peasant classes, Jats used to determine the contours of socioeconomic cultural and political life especially in rural Haryana. However, situation now has changed to a great extent. The respective caste strength of the major agricultural and non-agricultural castes according to the 1931 census was as follows:

Table No. 1.5

Numerical Strength of different Castes in various Districts of Haryana in Terms of Percentage Population of the Total Population in 1931

District	Jat	Rajput	Chamar	Brahmin	Bania	Meo	Ahir
Hisar	28.48	16.82	9.55	5.62	7.46	0.07	1.36
Rohtak	36.80	7.10	9.15	9.67	5.95	0.02	2.68
Gurgaon	11.45	6.72	12.73	7.95	4.38	19.54	12.80
Karnal	15.20	13.22	9.00	8.58	6.32	0.08	0.27
Ambala	16.28	10.81	11.48	5.57	2.24	0.29	0.24

Source: Prem Chaudhary, Veiled Women: Shifting Gender Equations in Haryana, 1880-1990, OUP.

The table demonstrates that Jats constituted the single largest caste group in Haryana region as a whole except one district i.e. Gurgaon which is a Meo and Ahir (both peasant Castes) dominated region. The peasant landless or small land holding castes have an allegiance to Jats except Rajputs who have followed different social ethos in social and economic relationships.<sup>47</sup>

Table No. 1:6

The Caste-Wise Breakup of the Village Proprietorship for the Districts of Hissar, Rohtak and Karnal

Caste	Hissar	Rohtak	Karnal	Total of Three Districts	Percentage
Jats	310	385	83	778	52.77
Rajputs (Hindu)	45	27	47	119	8.06

Rajputs (Muslim)	58	25	-	83	5.62
Christian	68	-	18	86	5.83
Gujjars	8	7	49	64	4.33
Brahmins	15	27	12	54	3.66
Banias	37	3	-	40	2.71
Ruchadas	30	-	-	30	2.03
Rors	29	1	-	30	2.03
Ahirs	-	25	-	25	1.69
Pathans	16	-	-	16	1.08
Sayyads	5	3	6	14	0.94
Bishnois	10	-	-	10	0.67
Sheikhs	4	3	-	7	0.47
Miscellaneous	53	24	42	119	8.06
Total	659	530	286	1475	100

Source: Prem Chaudhary, Veiled Women: Shifting Gender Equations in Haryana, 880-1990, OUP.

The table shows the categorization of different districts of Haryana according to the caste of majority of proprietors. The table depicts the caste-wise break-up of the village proprietorship for the districts Rohtak, Karnal and Hisar whereas the record of Gurgaon and Ambala is not specified. Prem Chaudhary has provided Tehsil-wise data for Gurgaon (for 1903-1909) regarding proprietorship of different caste group's.

The Ahirs were predominant in Rewari. Jats in Palwal, Meos in Nuh and Firozpur Zirka. Rajputs were scattered all over Gurgaon with more concentration in Rewari, Nuh and Palwal.<sup>48</sup> Regarding Ambala district, tehsils of Ropar and Kharar were under the dominance of Jat proprietorship and in tehsils of Jagadhari and Pipli, Rajputs owned about 1/4<sup>th</sup> of land. Besides, the land owned by Gujjars, Sayyads, Brahmins and others spread all over the region. In Ambala and Gurgaon districts,

there were two or three large agricultural groups in tehsils and villages but they did not enjoy over-all dominance throughout the district.<sup>49</sup>

In Haryana, the socio-religious superiority of Brahmins did not exist as they were not as strong in Haryana as they were in other regions of India. The caste system in Haryana and Punjab is very complex. Peasantry especially the Jats perceive themselves as occupying the position of a giver, the one who provides grain to other communities and does not render any service in return.<sup>50</sup> It was in this backdrop that middle class peasantry rejected to accept the Brahmanical superiority and project and perceive themselves as superior than every caste in the village hierarchy. Due to the weak position of Brahmins and the subsequent lesser influence of Brahmanical Hinduism,<sup>51</sup> the socio-cultural ethos in the state created ample space for the evolution of its own kind in terms of its socio-cultural norms, practices and attitudes which were different from other regions of the country.<sup>52</sup> The relatively weak status of Brahmins thus explains in a way predominance of the peasant castes like Jats.

The remark in 1901 census that “there is no caste above Jat”<sup>53</sup> retains its significance in rural Haryana even now. Such unique position enjoyed by a single caste i.e. Jats defined and shaped the attitudes and patterns practiced in rural Haryana. The customs (hegemony) followed by dominant castes has been adopted by almost all the castes and have acquired the acceptance and projection of being the customary practices of the region. Although there existed and continues to exist the difference of attitudes as dominant peasant culture was not a homogeneous one.

A combination of factors like landownership, relative prosperity and the extensive political mobilization in the pre-independence period helped the peasantry in general and Jats in particular in emerging as the part of ruling elite. Zamindars in common parlance in the state again are a very wide category consisting different peasant castes. These peasant castes namely Rors, Ahirs, Gujjars have a status

equality (roti-beti ka rista)<sup>54</sup> in the sense that they eat and smoke collectively. Thus, such ethos prevalent in the social set up of the state has created a distinctive dominant peasant culture. The acceptance of this culture as popular culture has accorded it a dominant position.

Table No. 1.7 Caste Profile of Chief Ministers of Haryana

Name	Party	Tenure	Caste
B.D.Sharma	INC	1.11.1966 - 23.3.1967	BRAHMIN
Rao Birender Singh	VHP	24.3.1967- 20.11.1967	AHIR
Bansi Lal	INC	22.5.1968-30.11.1975	JAT
Banarsi Das Gupta	INC	1.12.1975-30.4.1977	BANIA
Devi Lal	JP	22.6.1977-28.6.1979	JAT
Bhajan Lal	JP	29.6.1979-5.7.1985	BISHNOI
Bansi Lal	INC	5.7.1985-19.6.1987	JAT
Devi Lal	LOK DAL	17.7.1987-2.12.1989	JAT
O.P. Chautala	JD	2.12.1989-22.5.1990	JAT
B.D.Gupta	JD	22.5.1990-12.7.1990	BANIA
O.P. Chautala	JD	12.7.1990-17.7.1990	JAT
Hukum Singh	JD	17.7.1990-2.3.1991	JAT
O.P. Chautala	JP	22.3.1991-6.4.1991	JAT
Bhajan Lal	INC	23.7.1991-9.5.1996	BISHNOI
Bansi Lal	HVP	11.5.1996-23.7.1999	JAT
O.P. Chautala	INLD	24.7.1999-5.3.2005	JAT
B.S.Hooda	INC	5.3.2005-2009	JAT
B.S. Hooda	INC	5.3.2009 onwards	JAT

Source: Vivek Yadav, (2003), 'Haryana: Social Coalitions, Political Strategies, *Journal of Indian*

Electoral politics in Haryana has remained centred around the slogans of agricultural versus non-agricultural and Jats versus non-Jats. While the Jats can take pride in stalwarts like Sir Chhotu Ram, Ch.Devi Lal and Bansi Lal and the only non-Jat who stands up to their stature is the three time Chief Minister Bhajan Lal. O. P. Chautala and now Bhupinder Singh Hooda are the leaders of second generation.

During 4 decades of electoral politics, non-Jat chief ministers of the state hardly have completed their term, Bhajan Lal being a significant exception who remained the chief minister for 11 years despite coming from a small community of Bishnois, primarily confined to some pockets in Hisar, Fatehabad and Sirsa. Bhajan Lal was successful in cashing on an anti-Jat sentiments and rallying non-Jats around him. No surprise then that he and his family have won from Adampur segment repeatedly despite Jats being the dominant caste in Hisar. Besides, after Bansi Lal, B.S. Hooda is the only chief Minister holding the office for the second consecutive term.

The significance of caste as a determinant factor in the electoral choice makes it imperative for parties to assess caste patterns before deciding a candidate. Aware of the factor caste groups drive a hard bargain.<sup>55</sup> Then there are sub-caste khaps who wield a lot of influence among the Jats and voting patterns hence have a bearing on electoral decisions.

Not surprising, there are a sizeable number of assembly seats that see a particular community getting tickets in elections after elections. For instance, in 73 general category assembly constituencies in the state, the Jats usually have been candidates for all the parties in the fray for 25 to 35 constituency including Pai, Naultha, Kilo, Meham, Badli, Naggal, Bahadurgarh, Kilana, Badhra, Rohat, Julana, Narwana, Uchhana kalan, Dadri, Tosham, Loharu, Bhattu Kaian, Ghirai, Dharba Kalan and Rori. Ahir candidates have been preferred in Jatusana, Rewari, Ateli, Salhawas and Mahendergarh constituencies. Meo candidates have been put up from Nuh, Ferozpur Jhirka, Taouru and Hathin. The Ror candidates have been contesting from Nilokheri and Pundri, the Gujjars from Mewla Maharajpur and Samalakha and at times from Narnaul and Sohna as well.

The Rajput candidates have been contesting from Gharaunda and at times from Rajaund constituencies whereas the Brahmin candidates have been contesting from Yamunanagar and Bhiwani. The urban constituencies of Jind, Rohtak, Panipat, Sirsa, Karnal, Sonapat Gurgaon and Hansi are normally reserved for Punjabis and Banias. Results buttress the rationale behind caste based distribution of tickets, though there

have been exceptions when a minority candidate has scraped through due to division in dominant caste votes or of coming together of sundry minorities.<sup>56</sup> There was a time when Jats constituting one fourth of the state's population in the state exploited the number to emerge as a powerful political entity which they continue to be but not solely on the basis of numbers. Haryanavi society, which is highly divided also have certain other divisions too, which defines the politics of the state.<sup>57</sup>

#### 1.5.8 Rural-Urban Cleavage:

Haryanavi society demographically can be broadly categorized as rural and urban. Although, the state is mainly of rural character and only about 1/5<sup>th</sup> of its population lived in urban areas. But the rural-urban divide regarding the political leadership used to be a major political orientation in the state as a legacy of pre-independence days. The urban voters have been supporting both BJP and Congress and the rural voters are divided between Congress and INLD. For the urban voters, INLD is pro-rural party and for rural voters BJP is a pro-urban party. However, Congress is now being perceived as a party which caters to the interests of both urban and rural voters.<sup>58</sup> It is difficult to divide the entire state into geographically contiguous and politically meaningful regions. So, while using the constituency level caste break-up of population, scholars of electoral politics to analyze the patterns of voting behaviour have divided the state into four administrative regions.<sup>59</sup> These regions are : rural - Jat, rural-south, rural-north, urban. The first region comprises of 35 assembly constituencies with high concentration, of Jat population. Even though Jats being the most dominant caste of the state were scattered throughout the entire region but their demographic concentration is in the districts of Bhiwani, Jind, Sonapat, Rohtak, Jhajjar and Hisar. The area is popularly known as Jatland. Apart from this area, several tehsils and villages are being dominated by this caste throughout the state. Traditionally it was known as an anti-Congress bastion.<sup>60</sup> However, over the yearsthe

leadership composition of Congress has changed along with the political thinking and attitude of the people of the region towards the party. Congress is no longer known as the Brahmin-Bania and pro-Urban and pro-upper caste party and so the region is no more seems to be anti-Congress bastion at least for the ongoing decade.

Congress has done well in the state before 1977 than in 1991, again in Lok Sabha polls of 2004 and 2009 and assembly polls of February 2005 and 2009. The majority of Congress can be explained either as a result of anti-incumbency, due to misrule of a particular government or the absence of viable alternative. Jatland can be seen as the newly acquired support base of the Congress. Because during pre-independence period Jats have been led by Unionist Party of Sir Chhotu Ram and afterwards by Lok Dal under the leadership of Ch. Devi Lal. This belt although placed centrally in terms of the availability of water and land resources but is very much awakened in terms of political participation and providing leadership to the state since pre-independence days.<sup>61</sup>

The second region or rural-south has a high number of Ahirs and Meos with some constituencies having a significant number of other castes like Gujjars. The region popularly known as Ahirwal is dominated by Ahirs or Yadavs which is an agricultural caste. The belt comprises Rewari, Mahendergarh and parts of Gurgaon districts.<sup>62</sup> The Ahirs are the main landowning caste along with the dominant caste of the region, though recently have been declared as a backward caste. The Ahirs of the state have the equal social status as enjoyed by Jats, Gujjars and Meos or the Muslims. The Meo dominated constituencies are located in Faridabad and Gurgaon districts. The region known as Mewat, in which 62 % of population is composed of Muslims, touches the boundaries of neighboring states of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.<sup>63</sup> Their voting choice is determined mainly by their internal factions. Since electoral preferences are prone to change.

The Rural-North or the third region consists of 23 assembly constituencies and has a relatively higher concentration of scheduled caste population. In some of the constituencies there is significant number of Sikhs. Besides, there are castes like Rajputs, Rors which are also influential in the region.<sup>64</sup>

The fourth administrative region or urban area consists of the advanced areas along with Grand Trunk Road from Ambala to Faridabad, parts of Kamai. In terms of caste configuration or social demography consists of Baniyas, Brahmins, Rors, Ahirs, Sikhs and refugees from Panjab (Pakistan). It is traditionally a pro-Congress bastion.<sup>65</sup>

In a way all these clusters /Zones/electoral belts /administrative regions differ from each other in one way or another.

The quest for power in Haryana is still restricted to those representing the rural elite, even if they are not living in rural areas but their identification still remains with the rural castes and communities. These castes and communities also do not disown them as their leaders. The antagonism between urban and rural population have reduced to great extent these days, which used to be a major electoral plank, on which Sir Chhotu Ram had emerged as an undisputed leader of peasantry in composite Punjab. The reason for the reduced antagonism can be explained in terms of expansion of urban sector and more and more rural masses migrating to the urban areas.<sup>66</sup> The antagonism with time came to be represented by the opposition between the Congress and the Unionist party in Punjab. The Unionist party emerged as a strong political player in the politics of Punjab with its supporters mainly consisted of peasants both big and small. Ch.Chhotu Ram floated the idea of AJGAR, a united force of peasant castes combining Ahirs, Jats, Gujjars and Rajputs.<sup>67</sup>

In terms of rural-urban cleavage, state has regional patterns of voting. For instance Congress draws important support from both rural and urban areas but it always draws more support from urban areas as compared to rural areas as its urban vote is

always higher by three percent from its rural vote. INLD case is different as along with its noteworthy presence in both urban and rural, it draws more support from the rural areas.<sup>68</sup> As far as BJP is concerned, its base is more prominent in urban areas than the rural areas and draws its support mainly from uppercastes.

Although in Haryana, as mentioned above, there is lack of strong sense of party identification but amongst the available political outfits INLD or Lok Dal is mainly considered pro- rural, pro-Jat, pro-poor party and Jats are considered as its main supporters. The recent trends are somewhat different as a significant segment of Jat community are changing their alignments- TNLD always gets more support from rural areas.<sup>69</sup>

Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) is essentially a regional political party of the landowning Jats of Haryana in particular and of agricultural castes in general. There was a time when it was presumed in the state that if someone was a 'true jat', he/she always have to be a supporter of the INLD. But if a Jat supported the Congress, there was something wrong with the person.<sup>70</sup>

The above mentioned shift was first visible in February 2005 assembly elections. It is important to note that Congress drew its support cutting across the boundaries of caste cleavage, rural-urban and agricultural and non-agricultural divisions. Strong emergence of Bhajan Lal (a Bishnoi), provided Haryana with Jat versus Non Jat divide, who has served the state with his three terms of Chief Ministership. The Congress high command's decision regarding the appointment of Jat Chief Ministerial candidate during 2005 and retaining the same in 2009, is the ample proof of the fact that how deterministic role Jat community has been playing in the politics of the state- Besides, Congress does not want to lose its newly acquired support base as the *Jatland* was traditionally referred as anti-Congress bastion.

### 1.5.9 Absence of Assertion of Weaker Sections of Society or Absence of 'Mandalization':

Assertion of dormant identities, which has been a defining feature of Indian politics during the decade of 1990's, is one of the aspect which distinguishes the politics of Haryana especially when compared with its neighbouring states namely Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as it has been absent in the state. Despite the sizeable population of scheduled castes i.e. 19.75, according to Census 1991, they are not dominant in the state, especially when compared with the peasant middle castes. The proportion of SCs in Jhajjar district is about 17.77 %. A large majority of them i.e. 82.29 % lived in rural areas.<sup>71</sup>

When compared with their counterparts elsewhere, fewer Dalits in Haryana have owned land. As compared to the national average of 28.17 % only 11.86 per cent of them were registered as cultivators in 1981. By 1991, this figure further came down to 8.07 %.<sup>72</sup> Understandably, even those who own land are owners of small and marginal holdings. A large majority of them are landless and work as agricultural labourers. Invariably, they are also indebted to their upper caste employer farmers. Though, older structures of dependency, such as the *jajmani* system, have declined, but their dependence on the locally dominant castes still has not seen any radical change.<sup>73</sup>

Notwithstanding the overall marginal status of the Dalits population in Haryana, there have been some important changes. The reservation policy has helped some of them to move into secure jobs. At the village level also, their representation in Panchayati Raj Institutions as a result of 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act (1992) has given them a sense of importance. Using these new opportunities, some of them have been able to move out of the villages. However, unlike neighbouring Punjab or Uttar Pradesh, Dalits of Haryana do not have any history of social mobility or political assertion during the pre-independence period. The area around Jhajjar was

particularly under-developed until the separate state of Haryana was formed in 1966 there were few opportunities of employment outside the villages.

Reformist movements like the Arya Samaj too did virtually nothing for them. Unlike in Punjab where the Arya Samaj is opened schools for Dalit children, the Arya Samaj movement in Haryana almost completely remained a Jat affair. Most of those, who espoused the cause of Arya Samaj in the area, were among the Jat peasantry, who had an experience of working with the Indian army or could get some education/ employment outside the villages.

SCs have been considered the vote-bank of Congress for long but the elite of SCs have been persuaded by other political parties too in the recent years. The SCs are not a united force as they are sharply divided and demographically dispersed. Wherever they are in minority, they are prone to atrocities and exploitation of upper castes, especially of peasant castes. No single instance can be explained more nicely the situation than the carnage on October 15, 2002 or Dulina episode in which five Dalits were lynched to death in front of police post. Apart from this incident, there has been a series of instances.

Ethnic identities are more complex in the state due to stratified nature of caste system with its castes and sub-castes. The group constitutes a sizeable population of the state. Their numerical strength is large enough to exercise considerable political clout and can influence the decision making at various occasions in the political process. However, due to certain socio-economic forces they are not able to do the same. Socially and politically they are marginalized and prone to exploitation and discrimination from so called upper castes especially the middle class peasantry.

BSP does not make very much presence in politics of the state and haven't been able to mobilize and protect the interests of Dalits. It lacks strong leadership in the Haryana, which is very important for proper mobilization of these castes. Although, there is Kumari Selja, who have emerged as a Congress leader the recent past belong to the same community. Even though things have changed over the last four or five.

decades and it is not easy to take Dalit voters for granted, rural life in most pockets of rural Haryana continues to be visibly Jat dominated.

Dalit politics continues to be rather weak in the region. The BSP currently has one MLA (Deputy Speaker) in the state assembly and also had one MLA in the last assembly. Besides in 1998 it was able to get one of its candidates elected to parliament as well. However, the party has been able to perform well only in those constituencies where Jat domination is comparatively weak. For example, despite it being a reserved constituency, the performance of BSP has never been noteworthy in Jhajjar or the neighbouring districts, which fall in what is locally known as the Jat belt along with other 16 reserved assembly constituencies. And it seems that BSP is more interested in its electoral gains rather than providing a qualitative change to their lives<sup>74</sup> BSP needs to opt for a more rigorous approach. The backward castes here as elsewhere are landless, oppressed and target of attack by the privileged sections of society, along with machinery of state. In a way, one can say that the state of Haryana has not experienced what Yogendra Yadav calls the second democratic upsurge or the impact of Mandal commission on the politics.

The power politics in Haryana has been dominated by certain families. Those who came to dominate the political space in Haryana were mostly the ones who became prominent at the time of advent of Arya Samaj movement in Haryana and had participated in freedom movement. Although the families of Bansi Lal and Bhajan Lal are the exception as they came into prominence only after the formation of the state.<sup>75</sup> The central factor responsible for the rise of these families to political prominence is the caste as all of them except Bhajan Lal belong to Jat community. Besides, all of them came from rural background except Bhagwat Dyal Sharma. Jat hegemony hardly left any space for the upper castes to play any significant role in state politics.<sup>76</sup>

There arise an important question, why could not even a single family of SCs or BCs, the second largest community of the state after Jats, attain the status of a noted family of Haryana, provided there being senior leaders from these communities and some of them being the contemporaries of these Lal's too. None of the Dalit leaders could make it to top position of the chief minister, even though, they had long political careers, had been the members of both the state assembly and parliament and also became cabinet ministers both in the centre and in the state.<sup>77</sup>

Besides, these senior politician, there are other politicians from the community who could not even attain the status of strong Dalit leaders. Except Ch. Dalbir Singh, whose next generation is in politics, none other single leader could gain prominence in the politics of the state.<sup>78</sup> These leaders have the credentials of elite education and long political experience. However, they also reached at the top position in party organization but for a short while. But none of them had been in position to seize top position in the state or dominate state politics.<sup>79</sup>

#### 1.5.10 Electoral Participation of Women:

Women are enfranchised members of the political system, yet they have remained second class citizens in terms of political participation and as holders of power. They exercise voting right in large number, but when it comes to enjoying power positions or occupying prestigious political offices; they lag far behind the men. Women's representation in parliament and in the state legislative assemblies has never gone beyond 8 % to 10 % respectively. They are at a great disadvantage in power politics. Their numerical strength is also marginal in decision-making. It is in this backdrop that the studies of political participation of women and factors which have relegated them to the marginalized position in political arena have become relevant.

As far as the participation of women in Haryana politics is concerned, they play a very limited role in the political arena. The state is backward in terms of social

progress as there is still the tradition of *Purdah Partha* (veil system) and child marriage along with the prevalence of *Khap Panchayats* and honour killings.<sup>80</sup> One explanation can be given in terms of adverse effect of repeated attacks of invaders on the region due to which the state have developed a different kind of socio-culture pattern like the degraded status of women due to their confinement mainly in the four walls of house. The reason can explain to an extent the limited role of women in electoral politics. Haryana was a backward region and continues to be a culturally backward society despite the tremendous economic development. The society is caste ridden and of feudalistic character.

PS Verma<sup>81</sup> is of the view that in Haryana politics the participation of women is very little. The Congress is the only national party along with some regional parties which have given tickets to female candidates but CPI and CPI (M) have never sponsored them movement is limited only to some pockets of the state and has always remained weak. He further maintains that although the number of female political participants have increased over time but their entry and position in politics of the state still largely dependent and proceeded by the male members of the family. The study undertaken by Ranbir Singh<sup>82</sup> entitled as 'Women Politics and Developing Nations—A Case Study of An Indian State Haryana' shows that a very small number of women have come forward to become members of political parties and very few of them have shown the active involvement in active politics in terms of being office bearers and participating in public meetings and addressing them. Although, some of them have been able to become office bearers of women cells which exists mostly on paper.

However, women working in the women organization having affiliations to leftist parties have been active. They have led the agitations regarding various social causes but due to limited support bases of these parties their participation and impact has

remained limited and localized. The agitations on social and political issues of general concern have been supported actively by the large number of women both from urban and rural areas. In some pockets of Kurukshetra, Bhiwani and Rohtak district women have supported actively the anti-liquor agitations launched in 1993 by Bhartiya Kishan Union, Arya Samaj, Khap and Sarvakhap Panchayats. But the movement failed to make an impact on decision-making due to lack of organizational and popular support and insensitivity (lack of political will) on the part of government. The pressure, however, made the Haryana HVP-BJP led government to impose complete prohibition in the state after 1996 elections.<sup>83</sup>

In 2005 also women especially from rural areas of Jind and Sonapat have participated in incidents/agitations and *dharna* (picketing) followed by Kandela (A village in Jind district) episode (in which people were agitating regarding the relaxation of electricity bills of farmers led by Bhartiya Kisan Union) and also in *Bandh* related to Gohana Sugar Mill (2005) they have participated with great zeal. But one thing was common and apparent in case of majority of women that whatever they were doing just doing on the guidelines given by their husbands or the elder male members of the family.

Earlier also women had participated in a significant manner when Haryana Sangarsh Samiti under the leadership of Chaudhary Devi Lal being launched during 1985-87 against Punjab Accord as it was being considered the injustice done to Haryana. Further, women constitute the least politicized and mobilized group. The state has one of the worst sex ratio in the country where males are buying brides for themselves from poorer states and it seems that the day is not more far when there would be '*Panchalis*' (A wife with more than one husband) in their homes as they are in parts of Punjab.<sup>84</sup>

A state where women Sarpanch acts as mere rubber stamps having their Sarpanch *Patris* (husband) exercising their rights. Politics is not considered their arena, here comes the distinction between public and private domain. Before the implementation of 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment Acts the participation of women in the elections of local

government institutions has mostly remained confined to voting actually. Moreover, females themselves too have been reluctant to contest elections.

The situation seems to be changing in urban areas but in rural areas, they (women) still act as signing authority and everything else being taken care of by their husbands. Very less number of women could have headed the Gram Panchayats and Municipal Councils. However, the provision of 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment Acts have enabled them to get 2/3 representation in the local bodies but could not make them to translate the representation in real empowerment in the sense that they hardly play any significant role in decision-making. The role of women Sarpanch in majority of cases remains confined to voting in the elections of members of Panchayat Samiti and that of the women members of Panchayat Samiti and Municipalities to voting in the elections of office bearers of these bodies. They hardly participate in deliberations and decision-making process.

The participation of women in assembly elections has increased in a significant way in spite of the reluctance of political parties to allot them party ticket due to perceived notion of lack of win ability of female candidates.<sup>85</sup> Only a few women from politically influential families and those having linkages with influential political leaders at the national and state level could manage to get party tickets.<sup>86</sup>

On a positive note, significant number of women contest election as independent candidates, even the criminalization of politics during 1987 and 1991 failed to most of them. The number of females as independent candidates kept on increasing elections to elections. The role of women in other activities such as, addressing public meetings have also been very marginal. Recently they have voters especially the female voters to exercise their voting rights and also acting as agents. The conservative backward political culture of Haryana has been the main barrier/bottleneck in the way of their active participation in politics.

Over the years, the participation of women in voting has registered a noticeable crease. There was marked decline in the voting turnout of women in 1991 elections and the same can be explained in the backdrop of criminalization of politics during that period. But there was significant rise in their turnout in 1996. It was felt in the backdrop of 1996 verdict that a fairly large section of women voters have begun to take independent decision while exercising their voting rights. But still majority of them especially in rural areas continued to vote in accordance with the direction given by the male heads of their families due to lack of their political articulation and economic subordination in Haryana's male dominated society. Further, political parties have begun to highlight the problems related to females in their election manifestoes and in election campaigns because they have come to recognize the need for wooing female voters.

More interestingly, the pre-condition for women to get registered as voters is considered marriage in most of the families.<sup>87</sup> It is strange that after getting married suddenly, the male members of family realized that she also needs the representation in political terms (the voting right) but before marriage there was no end for that even if she was more than 18 years already. Haryanvi women are least politicized and mobilized in substantial terms. However, women failed to get equate representations in the political sphere.

The share of women in Haryana assembly during 1968-1996 has been 4.44 % to 8.64 %. There was a sharp decline in membership of women in Haryana assembly in 1972 elections but there was a marginal improvement during 1977 elections. Poor representation of women can be explained or may be seen as a result of failure of political parties to give adequate share to them in terms of allotment of party tickets for contesting elections. Women as independent candidates do have meagre chances to win.

An over view of proceedings of Haryana assembly reveals that women MLA's do not take active part in its deliberations. Among the women legislators there were only a

few who have been active participants in the activities of the house. To name some of them, Prabha Jain, Kartari Devi and Shanti Rathi of Congress Party, Sushma Swaraj and Kamla Verma of Jan Sangh/BJP, Chandravati of Lok Dal and Krishan Gahlot of HVP have been the active participants in the deliberations of the house. No women have ever become the Chief Minister of the State.

The chief ministerial system of government at the state level hardly leaves any scope for the MLA's to become the decision makers and especially for the female MLAs. The female ministers does not have much say in critical decision making whatever influence they exert depends upon their personal equation with the CM. The key decisions being taken by chief ministers, members of cabinet. It could be said that despite the increased political participation their share in political power has only been very restricted. That is why the women of the state could not get major benefits from the government.

There are, however, some bright prospectus which may lead to empowerment of women in the state in the long run through the provision of free and compulsory education for girls and other incentives given for their development. As the state of affairs stand today, the increased political participation has so far not able to made any perceptible change in the socio-political milieu of the state. The cases of rape, molestation, kidnapping, eve teasing, female infanticide and feticide, dowry death and neglect of female child have been very much an ugly and painful component of the experience of women in state.<sup>88</sup> Despite the legal provisions the daughters are still have failed to get their share in the property of theirparent.

Apart they (women) are the worst victims of Khap Panchayats (Panchayats which laid down the rule and regulations for the various castes to be followed) regarding "Gotra" (kinship) issue. They do not spare anybody be it Dharshna of Jondhi village in Jhajjar or Sonia of Asanda or anyone else for that matter, same holds for owner flings, they care only for the maintenance of their so-called Bhaichara<sup>89</sup> (Brotherhood) and

Chaudhrahath (dignity and honour of Caste). They do not bother about the future of the family they are ruining because at times Gotra and caste becomes more important than someone's life. These so called Chaudhary's (elder males in villages) want to save their daughters as boys has already gone out of their hands.<sup>90</sup>

The women need a proper kind of politicization and mobilization. Although, the women do exercise their voting rights but not with the sense of political efficacy which can make a difference for the betterment of women in the state. There is hardly any notion of substantive equality. The state of affairs can partly be explained by the feudal culture of Haryana's caste ridden; male dominated traditional and conservative society. The subordinate economic status, backward political consciousness and weakness of women's movement in the state also account for the situation.

There are many factors responsible for such a disappointing state of affairs of women's participation in the politics of the state. Political roles are shaped by socio- cultural nuclear/fabric in which people live and Haryanavi women have to encounter many obstacles because of traditions, prejudices and social conditions of the society. Due to age-old traditions and attitudes, women are disadvantaged and discriminated. Their role is mainly confined to their homes. Social traditions suppose them as a part of the households not as a part of the public life. Politics is still regarded as Men's affairs and political life remains a manly/masculine activity.<sup>91</sup> In a male (Patriarchal and feudal) dominated society like Haryana, power is usually enjoyed by men in every field and at every layer of the society. As the political field is mainly concerned with power, naturally women are kept out of politics. It appears that men like to retain their monopoly of power and do not want to encourage women to join politics.<sup>92</sup>

Most women themselves are also unwilling to get engaged in political activities. There is a certain role perception especially among the rural women that certain things are not proper for them to do and politics is one among them. Traditional and conservative outlook of women also confines them to the domestic chores. The

environment of the housewives does not encourage them to take part in politics and the child rearing and family responsibilities hardly left time for their active participation in political activities.

Keeping in view the low participation of women in active politics as legislators, it's imperative to understand the nature and scope of their participation in order to grasp a true picture of democratization process and to overcome the various hurdles coming in the way of women's participation. Emancipatory efforts on the part of government cannot be effective and adequate unless and until women themselves become more conscious and aware of their rights and entitlements. Education can play a vital role in bringing desirable qualitative changes among them and make them well equipped in terms of knowledge and capacity.

There is need to change attitude not only of women but also of patriarchal structure for the empowerment of women. We are living in a culture of silence but there is need to speak and change attitudes and mentality. Women's empowerment will foster decision-making and action through collective process enable women to make informed choices and to impart information of their rights and entitlements in society. Reservation of seats for women in the legislature and various decision-making bodies and its effective adoption and implementation with commensurate functioning power can be helpful to an extent. Political parties must encourage women to take part in political activities by providing them important offices in the party hierarchies, allotting them party tickets to contest and after winning including in cabinet while allotting important portfolios.

The political parties should also ensure a representative proportional inclusion of women at every level and in decision-making body of the party organizations. This will enlarge the scope of eligible women candidates and enhance their political efficacy. Further, women on their own should develop a positive attitude towards politics. Women should not confine themselves to the four walls of their houses but should come out of their homebound commitments and the traditional role assignments and spare time to take part in political activities. There is need for qualitative changes in socio-cultural and political structure of the society so that

more women take active part and interest in politics. It is hoped that in the due course of time the changes in the socio-political structure of society will take place and more and more women will compete with men to find a space for themselves in political arena.

The women's representation in the 15th Lok Sabha has increased, as there are 59 MP's as compared to 45 in 2004. Their representation is a little over 10 per cent of the total strength of the 15<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha; nonetheless, this number is too small considering the total population of India.<sup>93</sup> Over the years, the gender ratio in parliament has not improved despite the political parties' tall claims to give greater representation to women.<sup>94</sup>

The Bill providing for 33 per cent reservation for women in the Lok Sabha and the state legislatures has been pending for years in the absence of an all-party consensus. When UPA government introduced the bill last time, regional parties like the Rashtriya Janata Dal and the Samajwadi Party played a spoilsport. This time also there is no dearth of opponents despite the fact that ruling UPA seems very much interested for the cause. On the positive note, the bill has been passed in the Rajya Sabha, but has a long way to go to become a reality.

There could be one more option apart from the constitutional amendment, for instance, if all political parties agree to reserve one-third of the seats for women in parliament and the state legislatures, a simple amendment to the Representation of the People Act will do. This could be the best possible way to empower women — a formula which was approved by the Election Commission. We must have more women MPs and MLAs to help improve their status and give them their due in our male-dominated society.

It has been argued that the pace of urbanization and modernization in the state is somewhat slow. The state has also been viewed with low levels of political efficacy. Till its emergence as a separate state, Haryana was merely on the periphery of Punjab

politics. The state is also somewhat backward in terms of social progress.<sup>95</sup> Traditional structures of caste communities, joint family system, and *Khap Panchayats* are still having their social hold over the electorates of Haryana and an independent youth power free from it to emerge. The most of the women voters still remains proxy voters as they vote on the guidelines given by their men folks. Over the years, the conversions from politics to business and vice-versa has increased manifold and keep rising. Besides, electoral malpractices seem to have reduced considerably due to pro-active role played by election commission of India. The bogus voting and use of muscle power have reduced, but the money power still continues to play an important role in the whole mechanism of electoral politics of Haryana. Haryana's economy is doing quite fine but socially and politically lot needs to be done.

The most positive side of the politics of Haryana is the absence of communalism. In Haryana there is no large Muslim population and whatever is there, is concentrated largely in Mewat region i.e. southern part of the state. In the state there is no history of communal violence and the same may explain the weak hold of BJP in Haryana, although it enjoys some clout among Punjabi-Hindus. There also is a sizeable population of Sikhs in Haryana along the border of the state with Punjab. There is also no incidence of communal violence between Hindus and Sikhs. Reasons could be given in terms of contribution of Sir Chhotu Ram for the mobilization of different castes and communities. Besides, the leaders, who spearheaded the Arya Samaj movement and participated in freedom movement in the state, also contributed to the cause of communal harmony among different castes and communities.<sup>96</sup>

There are some other peculiar features of the party system in Haryana:

- 1) The organisational structure of all the political parties has been weak.
- 2) Haryana has a non-ideological and pragmatic party system because except the BJP, no party has been ideology based in Haryana.

- 3) Political parties are personality based The Congress means Hooda, INCO stands for Chautala and the HJHC for Kuldeep Bishnoi. Only BJP is not a personality based party.
- 4) Political Families are very significant in the party system of Haryana. It is Hooda family in Congress, Chautala family in INCO and Bhajan Lal family in HJHC. Earlier it was Bansi Lal Family in HVP.
- 5) Factionalism is an important feature of all the political parties of the state. Congress has Hooda, Birender Singh, Shailja and Rao Inderjit Singh factions. BJP is also faction ridden like Ram Bilas Sharma's faction and Abhimanyu.
- 6) Both National Parties Congress and BJP are not autonomous in taking decisions. Whenever Cong, wins majority, the leadership issue is decided by High Command. Even the BJP unit is very weak. All major issues are decided by the Central unit of the parties.
- 7) Monoculture political system in which all the power are concentrated into the hands and the Chief Minister and the members of his family.

These peculiarities of the party system of the state have to be understood in the context of its historical, geographical, social, cultural, economic and political milieu.

#### Conclusion:

In this chapter, it has been argued why I have chosen Haryana as my case study as the peculiar features of the state are of crucial significance in the study of State Party Systems in India. In order to understand present Haryana it becomes necessary for us to have glimpses of its past, demography and economy. The majestic malls of Gurgaon are mistaken as marks of modernization and urbanization. However, the fact of the matter is that the pattern of urbanization and modernization has been very slow as compared to its neighbouring state of Punjab.

The economic advancement of the state can be understood in the backdrop of green revolution however this led to a permanent political divide between the agriculturalist and non-agriculturalist communities. The agriculturalist community has institutionalised itself in the form of INLD and the non-agriculturalist

community keeps oscillating between the Congress and BJP. Green revolution has also resulted in the emergence of “peasantbourgeois”.

Haryana has been fortunate in the sense it has not witnessed either the so called Mandalisation or Kamandalisation which waved almost the entire north India in early 1990s setting an unstable electoral politics. This can be seen as positive side of the politics of Haryana as there is absence of communalism however the negative side of the politics of Haryana is caste-ridden politics leading to the institutionalization of notorious groups like KhapPanchayats.

#### References:

1. Ranjan Kumari, *Gender Work and Power Relations*, New Delhi: Har-Anand Publication, 1998, p.24.
2. <http://www.haryana-online.com/History/1947-1966.htm>, retrieved on: march14, 2006, from:<http://www.haryana-online.com>
3. Prem Chaudhary, *The Veiled Women: Shifting Gender Equations in Haryana, 1880-1990*, NewDelhi: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 13-14.
4. Bipin B. Sinha, ‘Origin and Development of the Idea of Haryana Prant’, *Kurukshetra University Research Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1967, pp. 99-103.
5. Haryana’, retrieved on: November 18, 2005, from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haryana>.
6. ‘Haryan’, retrieved on: November 20, 2005, from: <http://www.haryana-online.com/History/1947-1966.htm>.
7. D. R. Choudhary, ‘Punjab Accord in Haryana’, in Gopal Singh, ed, *Punjab Today*, New Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House, 1987, p.348.
8. <http://www.haryana-online.com/agriculture.htm> retrived on: November 20, 2005, from: <http://www.Haryana-online.com/agriculture.htm>.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid*
11. *Ibid*
12. *Ibid*
13. *Ibid*
14. *Ibid*
15. *Ibid*
16. *Ibid*
17. *Ibid*
18. Vivek Yadav, *loc.cit.*
19. *Ibid*
20. Vibha Sharma, ‘Sikhs, Muslims set to Play Crucial Role’, *The Tribune*, January 19, 2005.
21. Surinder S. Jodhka and Murli Dhar, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
22. *Ibid*
23. <http://www.haryana-online.com/geography.htm>&<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haryana>,retrieved on July 15, 2005.
24. The new delimitation rules, applied in the Indian General Elections 2009 for the first time, have created a new constituency in Haryana in the form of Gurgaon. The old constituency of Mahendergarh has now been merged with Bhiwani and named as Bhiwani-Mahendergarh parliamentary constituency, so, the total number of parliamentary constituencies i.e. then, remained unchanged.
25. Bhupendra Yadav, ‘Haryana: Three Contenders’, *Frontline*, April 19, 1996, p.42.
26. D. R. Choudhary, ‘Politics of Haryana, in T. R. Sharma, ed, *State Politics in India: New Challenges of Politics in Indian States*, New Delhi : Uppal Publishing House, 1986, p.163
27. .Vivek Yadav. *Op.cit.*, p.2.
28. Chaman Lal Jhamb, *Chief Ministers of Haryana*, Chandigarh: Arun Publishing House, 2004, p. 68
29. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.
31. J. R. Siwach, 'Haryana Social Dynamics and Politics of Defections', in Iqbal Narain, ed., *State Politics in India*, New Delhi: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1976, p. 421.
32. Four HJC Lawmakers Join Congress in Haryana (Roundup) retrieved on: November 9, 2009, from: [http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/four-hjc-lawmakers-join-Congress-in-haryana-roundup\\_100272383.html](http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/four-hjc-lawmakers-join-Congress-in-haryana-roundup_100272383.html)
33. Vivek Yadav, *op. cit.*, p.2.
34. Shiv Lal, *The Election Archives*, New Delhi, 1972, p. 92.
35. Subash C. Kashyap, *The Politics of Power-Defections and State*, New Delhi: National Publishing House, 1974, p. 159.
36. *Ibid*
37. A common saying in Haryana.
38. Chaudhary, Prem, *Veild Women: Shifting Equations In Haryana, 1880-1990*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994, p.36.
39. *Ibid*
40. Shiv Lal, *loc. cit.*
41. N. S. Gahlot, *Trends in Indian Politics*, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1998, p.86.
42. P. S. Verma, 'Profile of the Legislative Elite in Haryana', in T. R. Sharma, ed., *State Politics in India: New Challenges of Politics in Indian States*, New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1986, p.199
43. Prem Choudhary, *op.cit.*, p.42.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 41
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, p.36
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*, p.40
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*, p. 44
52. *Ibid.*, p. 45
53. *Ibid.*, p. 44
54. *Ibid.*, p. 46
55. Hitender Rao, 'Jat, Non-Jat, Can't Caste it Aside', Hindustan Times, January, 12, 2005
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. Ranbir Singh, 'Social Cleavages and Political Alignments in Haryana', in Paul Wallace and Ramashary Roy, eds, *Indian's 1999 Elections and 20th century Politics New Delhi*, Sage Publications, 2003. P. 353.
59. Vivek Yadav, *op.cit.* 2003, pp. 145-147.
60. Bhupendra Yadav, *loc.cit*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*
65. Bhupendra Yadav, *loc.cit*
66. Bhim S. Dahiya, *Power Politics in Haryana: A View from the Bridge*, New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2008, p.252.
67. *Ibid.*
68. Vivek Yadav, *op.cit.* p 15
69. The support base of Congress among the dominant community i.e. Jats have strengthened over the years. According to NES 2009 Congress have been able to get 17 percent point, which was a constituent of core support base of INLD.
70. Jodhka, SS and Dhar, Murli, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. Ranbir Singh, 'Anatomy of Atrocities on Dalits in Haryana', *Mainstream*, Vol. XLVI, No. 373, September, 2008.
74. S. K. Rajalakshmi, 'Oppressed and Marginalized', *Frontline*, May24,2005, p.25.

75. Dahia, *op. cit.*, p.249.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*P. 250
80. Ranjan Kumari, *loc.cit.*
81. P. S. Verma, *loc. cit.*
82. Ranbir Singh 'Political Participation and Share of Women in Political Power and Decision- making—A Case Study of Haryana', a Paper Presented at an International Round Table on '*Women, Politics and Development*', No, VIII, in Centre for Women Studies and Development, Punjab University, Chandigarh, August 17-21,1993, p.1.
83. *Ibid.*
84. Social Sciences
85. *Aaj Tak News*, 'Visesh', 9:30 p.m. May 11,2005.
86. Hitender Rao, 'But Where are Women?' *Hindustan Times*, January 17,2005.
87. P. D. Sharma and Ramesh Kumar, 'Legislatators in an Indian State of Study of Social Characteristics', *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11, November,1992 pp. 1004-1005.
88. Sidharth Singh, 'Voter's List Has Few Misses in Chief Minister Terf, *Times of India*, January30,2005.
89. Saira Mehezes, 'Where is Susheel Kumari?' *Savi*, July,1993, pp.80-83.
90. Prem Chaudhary, 'Caste Panchayats and the Politicizing of Marriage in Haryana: Enforcing Kinship and Territorial Exogamy', *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, Vol. 38, No.1 & 2, January-August, 2004, p. 28.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Jharta Mohan, 'Marginalization of Women in Politics: A Study in Himanchal Pradesh', *Research Journal Social Sciences*, Vol 13, No. November 1, 2005, pp. 25-39.
93. *The Tribune* 'Women in Parliament: No Major Change in the New Lok Sabha, (2009), May 21.
94. *Ibid.*
95. Ranjana Kumari, *loc.cit.*
96. *Ibid.*