

REPRESENTATION OF INDIGENOUS FOLK IN THE ERA OF 'POST-TRUTH' POLITICS: WITH REFERENCE TO NATIVE COMMUNITIES AND CASTE-DYNAMICS IN HARYANA

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Current social dynamics: Silent Chronicling of Migrations:

Haryana was, till lately, a prosperous agricultural state that post-independence and liberalization had as easily jumped on the bandwagon to industrialization. It nestles the Millennium city Gurgaon, nuzzles the industrial hub Faridabad but may yet illustrate the face of Indian farmer to those who visit the National Capital Region(NCR).

The dominant native community of Haryana, the *Jats* is not a normative Hindu community but comprises of Hindu/Muslim and Sikh peasants who vouch for community more than religion. Their unique culture and peculiar societal framework unlike regular Brahmanical one is seldom recognized, expectedly from the institutional tendency to homogenize. A steady neglect of the needs of this particular community to the advantage of most other groups has led to dissatisfaction and disenchantment with the system. The government rather than responding sensitively to the justified demands has alienated the community through its reactionary stance post general elections. The apathy is symptomatic of political opportunism as the government has shown its tough attitude only after ensuring complete socio-political isolation of the said community.

Cultural Hegemony: Folk versus Mainstream:

The policy framework of Haryana has been pro-migrant from the beginning, as the state was carved out of Punjab to ease internal tensions of Punjab where Hindu and Sikh aspirations regarding socio-cultural, linguistic and holistic development had come into conflict. Haryana had to take in a substantial migrant community in the exodus from Pakistan (as part of Indian Punjab) during the Partition of India as well as during the turmoil leading to state reorganization from post-partition Punjab during Punjabi Suba movement. The academic exploration apprehends the inevitable and perhaps, natural attempt of migrants to grasp more political power and work towards establishing a cultural hegemony with increasing economic and social prosperity and the role of media in perpetuating mainstream and hegemonic ideologies while neglecting folk/rural concerns are significant matters assessed.

The steady marginalization of native communities has been an outcome of pro-migrant policies of central government during mass migrations of refugees from West Pakistan (in earlier resettlement plans that put the resources of state including land to the disposal of immigrants) and later, Kashmir migrants (through reservation etc.), existing reservation policy that favours not just SCs but also OBCs who had comparable land rights and social clouts in Haryana like Yadavs and above all, because of decimation of agrarian economy.

The state stays deprived of any acknowledgement on how it offered a peaceful sanctuary to the refugees fleeing Pakistan and entering India during the ordeal of partition- a deliberate omission dictated by national policy that needed to hide the change in demography and soaps that were to be offered by the state as compensation to refugees who had suffered due to consensual agreement towards partition of India. Haryana was a buffer state as part of/ the Indian side of Punjab. This new policy that starts with a 'white paper' only adds insult to the injury by not just continuing to deny this recognition but also in depriving the native community of attention it is in dire need of at this moment given severe agricultural crisis and the fact that this community is primarily an agrarian community given to farming. Yet this small state continues to harbor a majority of in-migrants settling down here from other states like J & K and Punjab and neighbouring countries from Nepalese to Rohinghyas.

The most worrisome factor is that the migrations to Haryana despite being considerably larger than in other states have been taken for granted or assumed and not overtly acknowledged, despite historical figures and statistics revealing massive ingress in form of immigrations and in-migrations from across the national borders as also state borders. This has been, of course, to facilitate seamless resettlement of Pakistan/Punjab refugees and absorption in the mainstream Haryanvi life. Above all, while earlier pro-refugee stance of the authorities seemed related to humanitarian concerns and accountability, the recent one seems to be motivated by the desire for a kind of hegemonic order.

However, this persistent silence over migrations has today led to emergence of the vicious politics that seeks to isolate the native ethnic community of the state. The extent of mainstreaming can be gauged from the fact that lately, the people of the migrant communities launched a vehement anti-Jat campaign on the pretext of the jat agitation wherein the Jats demanded to be included in the list of beneficiaries of reservation- the campaign much hyped in media and by leaders of ruling party was called '35 versus 1' (Thirty five versus One) wherein Jats were the target of a trans- community alliance of reserved categories and immigrant 'suvarnas'.

Indigenous community: Seditious or Disenchanted?

The riots in Haryana in 2016 are antithetically termed as 'state-sponsored' by Jats and 'Jat reservation riots' by the state.

In the eye of the storm is reservation demand made by Jats. Mostly touted in the name of Jat community, this demand actually includes reservations for Hindu Jats, Jat Sikhs, Muslim Jats, Mulla Jats, Rors, Bishnois and Tyagi Brahmins- seven different groupings. The political drift, currently witnessed, is to playoff the acknowledged backward classes against the community that wishes to be included in the pail. It is understandable why Yadavas, Gujjars and Sainis are opposing the inclusion of Jats, as they do not want their share in the pie to be reduced as they can already see how great the margin has become with Jats.

The two slogans that have become resonant cries in Haryana today: '35 versus 1' and 'One Haryana, one Haryanvi' are two sides of the same coin and underline growing polarization and caste tensions in an erstwhile peaceful province. The former denotes all thirty five communities residing in Haryana except for one which implies Jats. This is the alternative way of life to that always proposed by Jats who took upon themselves to be mascots of all 36 communities of Haryana including refuge seekers.

The authors see these not as mere culmination of the tug-of-war between Brahmanical forces of orthodox Hinduism on one hand and liberal Hinduism such as the one practised by Jats on the other, but as a herald of 'alarm-bell to' a greater subterranean ongoing war between the Jats and self-proclaimed high-caste Hindus who have succeeded in pitting the 'lower-castes'(at the moment OBCs and scheduled castes through constitutional recognition) against Jats who occupy a rather indeterminate position in the caste matrix having characteristics that donot allow them to be dismissed so easily. The whole scenario must be seen in conjunction with resurgence of fundamentalist forces throughout India.

The incumbent 'Khattar government' raised the slogan 'Haryana Ek, Haryanvi Ek' (all Haryanvis area single community) to efface all difference, though this kind of vocal effacement of diversity aims at marginalizing the Jat identity or effacing its importance

and peculiarity primarily to the advantage of migrants and disadvantage of Jats and only symbolically to equality.

The state government chose a suitable time, metaphorically killing two birds with one stone, whereby the migrant community equipped with political mandate accomplished the feat of claiming a 'Haryanvi' descent or at least identity for this dominant immigrant community (oxymoron is apt here as amongst all migrant communities the Punjabis dominate and acknowledge their demographic strength) and also paid lip - service to ethnic harmony. Therefore, the socio-economic and political factors that may be supporting the current government actions ranging from exercises Sedition Act, coming out with caste-based census, changing reservation policies, using provisional ordinances in favour of government before bills are cleared or legislations passed may be investigated.

Why rethinking migrations in context of Haryana is important is to create a proper credit statement for the state to counter rampant negative publicity fanned by emergent social order and also to salvage the position of the native ethnic group.

Natives of Haryana: Seditious or just Disenchanted?

The social fault lines have never run so deep and the fissures never so glaring as for the past two years, especially after a political event touted on media as 'Jat agitation'. There

is added propensity to represent the 'local' population through the lens of urban Hindu despite the fact that 66 per cent of Haryanvi population is rural. The particular circumstances have had a mammoth impact on the collective consciousness and socio-political psychology of the native communities of the region and have led to mutual distrust amongst and within natives and refugee groups. The international academia may take cognizance of the issue to understand the lingering effects of partition of India, mass movements of population and the need to claim a new homeland after resettlement.

Since, there is an agricultural crisis; Jats who are primarily farmers are forced to ask for accommodation in education/jobs where raging competition along with reservations make it tougher for Jats who belong to rural belt.

It may be remembered that during the Mandal Commission(1990), Jats had refused to take reservation as Ch. Charan Singh, a pre-eminent peasant leader had stressed upon self-reliance and mettle of Jats all through 1970s and later. This was a time of agricultural prosperity and Dahiya khap in fact, by consensus declared that Jats will not demand reservation. A *Business Standard* report marks the 'contrast' from earlier stand of Jats to refuse an inclusion in 'the castes covered under 27 per cent reservations for OBCs'.

Over the last two decades, much has changed though, including the rural landscape and social fabric of villages. Post-Mandal Commission Report (1990), both the SCs and

BCs who have availed of reservation benefits have moved to greener pastures. In the villages, the ancillary workmen and field helps have all moved out and hard to find. Those that are still residing in the villages, refuse to lend a hand or work in their traditional calling. With subdivision of landholdings, increased mechanization and intensive farming, agriculture has turned un-sustainable. The government policies have done little to ameliorate the situation.

The root cause of disenchantment of Jats lies in severe crisis in agricultural economy that has turned into a struggle for survival for this native community but instead of addressing the plight and understanding the grievance, the government has chosen to take a pronounced anti-Jat stance under pressure created by a lobby of migrant leaders. While, a pro-democracy discourse of Haryana has been marginalized in favour of pro-Brahmanical discourses through literature and media, a pro-urban Hindu resettlement plan worked in socio-political and economic policies of the state. Jats never practised strict religious biases advocated in caste system. They belong to all three religious groups- Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs- a common fabric of shared ethnicity keeping them together.

Thus, their social dynamics has always made the dominant hegemonic powers of the nation uneasy, especially as they have inhabited regions close to power centres from Agra to Delhi. With change in demography of Delhi and Haryana, ethnic community and its ethos are under threat with rise in right-wing politics.

Presently, a drift towards centralization and effacement of diversity is being witnessed. The interests of the peasant-proprietor have been sacrificed to the hegemonic interests. There is a steady neglect of justified demands with use of state force, suppression and then, the events inevitably spiraling to violence for self-preservation as which took place in February 2016 so that the people who had always registered peaceful protests could be finally, conveniently dubbed as rioters. Similarly, in absence of assurance of disinterested, exactly 40 natives have been indicted under Sedition Act.

'Post-Truth' Media Reporting of Haryana

It is an axiom that with emergence of right-wing governments in almost all nations, the world has been plunged into what is being called the 'post-truth' phase of media reporting and politics. India is hardly an exception as a campaign of maligning Haryana through biased reporting has been launched. The bad name accrued to the state is imputed to Jats while any credit settled to the account mostly of Banowal-Jhangi- Sindhi Punjabi immigrants.

In an online report published by *the Hindu* with the title 'With a non-Jat CM, the community is feeling more excluded' the reporter Vikas Vasudeva claims that the 2014 Assembly elections have added to the vulnerability of dominant local ethnic community, "Earlier, members of the Jat community did not go for jobs as they were

landholders and employment was never their priority. But in recent years due to urbanisation and industrialisation many of them (Jats) sold their land. Now, they feel that through reservation they could get some kind of a foothold in the administration". Moreover, as the leaders of the ruling party and the CM are from migrant community they are unsympathetic to the needs of Jats. The media claims that Haryana has never had non-Jat CMs earlier though are unfounded. As the very first CM was Pandit Bhagwat Dayal Sharma, who was followed by Ahir-Yadav leader Rao Birender Singh, after which there was President's rule followed by Bansi Lal's (Jat leader with secular approach) tenure. Next, there was again a suvarna- Banarsi Das Gupta. This was followed by President's rule once again succeeded by Bansi Lal's government that was again succeeded by Bhajan Lal, a Bishnoi led cabinet with Banarsi Das Gupta again ruling in 1990. There was one more President's rule in the state followed by Bansi Lal, Om Prakash Chautala, Bhupinder Singh Hooda and now Manohar Lal Khattar from Punjabi community. It is remarkable that, the state has accepted CMs of all communities including 'suvarnas and 'backwards' to those of affiliate forward communities of Jats like Bishnois. However, trouble has begun in the state, only as a migrant became CM of the state. This is more because of policies, discursive politics and perceived intentions of the incumbent government rather than due to the community of the Chief Minister. The evidence of which is in the fact that the migrants have availed government jobs greater than their population percentage in Haryana.

Rural-Urban Divide

The Census Report issued by government of India for the state of Haryana in 2011 highlights that about 62.15 % of people live in rural areas, while only 34.79% of people live in urban areas. A decadal growth rate of 10 per cent has been recorded in rural Haryana but the urban areas have shown an astronomical decadal rise of 44.25 per cent. The Highest urban decadal growth rate of 236.45 per cent has been registered by Gurgaon district indicating an alarming trend whereby urbanization is taking over the rural way of life. Though, these migrations earmark Haryana as a progressive state, there is lack of acknowledgement of the many merits that make Haryana a chosen place of settlement by people across the country.

This also indicates both rural to urban migrations and migrations across states in which people are migrating to Haryana (Gurgaon is part of Haryana that fall under NCR) rather than from Haryana to other states. Migrations from rural to urban areas are usually due to lack of amenities, facilities and opportunities which must be provided since neglect of the hinterland is directly related to lack of attention to native communities. Also, growth of urban population puts great pressure on resources of a state as space, water, air all are put to the disposal of immigrants. To draw out an effective and balanced plan of development and understand the needs of people in the state- a demographic profiling with socio-cultural history of the subjects is important.

The lack of migratory profiling of the state is a proof of the relative neglect of the state in this regard. There is a definite need of the migratory profiling as the different needs of an increasingly heterogeneous population have to be understood as also, the concerns of the largely rural native population that has little place in the development plans of the state or the centre.

Some Radical Questions

Haryana seems to have been earmarked for experiment towards Hindu hegemony. In Haryana, most migrants have government support since they belong to majority Hindu community and are better bearers of Hindu religion than the natives who despite being Hindus have never been devout in matters of religion belonging to the maverick Jat and allied farming/farm-dependent communities. In Haryana, unlike Assam, it is the migrants who are being promoted at the cost of the natives. The call is not for a citizen register as that in Assam of 2018 but a migratory profiling that may help take objective and disinterested decisions. Of course, it is of utmost importance to safeguard the rights and privileges of natives when migrants are allowed to settle as otherwise, the native culture and socio-economic structures suffer as made obvious in case of Haryana. Political caution in this regard is better than desperate remedies later on. In fact, only socio-political hypocrisy will be made evident if at this stage the needs of native population and dominant farming community of Jats is ignored, and later on after the

socio-cultural collapse the government at some later day may step in to rescue the historical legacy, and folk tradition and culture of the region.

Migrants from Pakistan in Haryana and Bangladesh in Assam are fallout of persisting problems after partition of India in 1947. Bangladesh was the more neglected area of a 'moth-eaten Pakistan' that Muhammad Ali Jinnah had lamented about and separated from the Punjab Pakistan in 1971 after Indian government intervened.

To be able to compute the socio-economic costs incurred by the state due to migrations over the years since 1966 when it was carved out of Punjab and became a repository of migrants spilling in from Punjab due to Punjabi Suba and Khalistan movements to the watershed time in history of India when Punjab was divided with Pakistan being carved out of West Punjab. In fact, another significant forced migration in 1990s of Kashmiris also saw influx of displaced upper-class Hindu migrants pour into Haryana. While in earlier phases, the publication of data related to caste and community was banned in Haryana, the injunction was revoked recently by the incumbent BJP government in the state.

Parallel to this development is the issue of social harmony and syncretism. Haryana's syncretic ethos has helped assimilate migrants from all over the country as it has accommodated waves after waves of migrants who have been displaced forcibly as also immigrants streaming-in voluntarily. However, lately the migrant populations has

become so significant that it is affecting the socio-cultural environment of the state. The increasing upper-crust Hindu majority that has had a bitter experience of persecution in their native states with its collective memory and narrative of violence and discursive hatred of the communal other have started to dominate the otherwise secular agrarian consciousness of the state.

That such a secular agrarian consciousness actually existed is noticeable in popular leadership of pre-partition Punjab and post-independence politics of peasant leaders like Deenbandhu Chhotu Ram and Tau Devi Lal, respectively. Even Chaudhary Charan Singh had great influence on affairs of UP and Haryana where similar native communities and cultural ethos reigns. While these early leaders called for Hindu-Muslim-Sikh peasant alliance, AJGAR (Ahir-Jat-Rajput peasant network) and based their political approach on Urban-Rural Divide, the current day discourse is based on communal divide and primarily religious bigotry or caste polarization.

The migrants, especially from Punjab and Sindh of Pakistan, assert that they came as refugees in Haryana and today, they are a prosperous lot by dint of their hardwork. There is no reference to relief, rehabilitation and compensation that the migrant community received during the resettlement. They claim themselves to be Haryanvi completely denying the historical context that forced them to migrate and in the same process deny the sanctuary they found in this peaceful state of Haryana and acceptance they found amongst the natives.

They are hailed as 'purusharthi' - men with prowess rather than 'sharanarthi' as asylum-seekers by the politicians.

Similar zeal in praise of the native community is found wanting as urbanites and well-off establishment seldom understands the struggle involved in getting access to education in villages and lack of amenities and facilities.

The White paper issued by Government of Haryana in 2017 mentions 15 communities included in BCB and lists 78 communities under BCA. It is worth noticing that though other communities with land and practising agriculture or related professions like Gujjars, Yadavas, Ahirs, and Sainis have been included in BCB list without a resistance from Jats, these same landed castes are resisting against reservation of Jats.

1. Why was there a brotherhood of 36 in Haryana? What were implications of this brotherhood and what did the other communities gain by joining brotherhoods initiated by Jats and centred on agrarian economy?
2. Why did Jats have a brotherhood with other castes when they were dominant?
3. Does the catchphrase 'Group of 35' community versus 1 community pronounce a collapse of agrarian social structure patronized by Jats? Does it signal that farm dependent communities do not depend on Jats now and is this not a death-knell for agrarian social structure?
4. Why did Jats not oppose quota being offered to Sainis, Gujjars, Yadavas and Ahirs during Mandal Commission though most other 'suvarnas' were openly hostile to them?

5. Why are Yadavas and other OBCs opposing inclusion of Jats in Backward Category when they are also agrarian communities and understand the current agricultural crisis?
6. How much share do Arora- Khattris avail as Haryana domicile though ironically, they have earlier availed Rehabilitation and resettlement benefits as non-Haryanvi Hindu migrants from Pakistan?
7. How much share do 'suvarnas' get through Ex-Servicemen/EBC/Haryana domicile quota?
8. What is 35 versus 1 in terms of population per cent?
9. What is the basis of denying an inclusion to Jats when Yadavas get reservation in UP and Bihar where they are dominant communities?
10. What is the basis of denying reservation to Jats when 'suvarnas' and mainstream media claims them to be backward and all who are 'culturally and educationally backward' are constitutionally recognized as 'backward'?
11. Why are Jats not represented as 'Hindu'(s) when their religious counterparts are specifically identified as Jat Sikhs, Mulla Jats and Muslim Jats?
12. Why is the inclusion of Jats a matter of resentment for most other communities? Is it because they are seen as matchless competitors by those above and below in social hierarchy or is it due to the egalitarian ethos of the community that has offered strongest rivalry to Brahmanical dictates?

Above all, how is the democratically elected government able to isolate a community that must have played an important role in its election and that is admittedly the 'dominant' group is a question that must be satisfactorily answered and why paradoxically, should a democratically elected government come down with an iron-hand on its own subjects/electorate is again a question worth exploring. It would imply that as voters the said community has become irrelevant; that the government is not constituted by people coming from the dominant social group or at least, that the social group did not consider 'community' an issue when it voted- all three or any one may be the answer to the key question.

Political Paradox: Polarization to Homogenization?

The native social dynamics in Haryana with peasant-proprietor at the centre has always made the dominant hegemonic powers of the nation uneasy, especially as they have inhabited regions close to power centres from Agra to Delhi. With change in demography of Haryana, ethnic community and its ethos are under threat with rise in right-wing politics.

Though the OBCs(Backward Castes) of Haryana have vocally protested against Jats demands, it is the migrant community and upper caste Hindus who are actually using their political power to repel the movement.

As Historian BS Nijjar asserts, 'Socially, the Jat occupies a better position, which is shared by the Ror, the Gujjar, and the Ahir, all four eating and smoking together. He is of course far below the Rajput, from the simple fact that he practises widow marriage' (51). He further observes, 'The Banya, with his sacred thread, his strict thread, his strict Hinduism, and his twice-born standing, looks down on the Jat as a Sudra' (51). Nijjar observes that acceptance of 'karewa' is one reason why Jats are not given the same recognition by brahmins as Rajputs(49). Karewa is associated with levirate marriage was permissible in this sect. These reasons combine to make Brahmin community wary of Jats who do not accept the doctrines of *Manusmriti*, the orthodox Hindu code book.

The continued Hindu migrations to Haryana have created a massive change in the demographic profile of Haryana with a decisive shift towards Brahmanical Hinduism. Where cross-religious and community living was centred on agricultural programme and economic sustainability fostered by brotherhood upheld by the dominant Jat community, it was now to be replaced by caste schism that is an essential part of mainstream Hinduism. Rehabilitation and Resettlement records reveal that the Jat community allowed the refugees to settle down without much hostility even in the villages. Moreover, had it not been so, the migrants would have been forced to go further down the country into other states. However, now with much greater prosperity of all other classes, the old brotherhood has broken. Moreover, with growing political clout of the migrants, there is a resurgence of fundamentalist discourse that aims at schism rather than integration.

State Apparatuses: at whose services?

Peaceful protests began in 2015 as BJP that had promised a quota in reservation, began to backtrack on its promises. The situation turned violent in February 16 as advocates of this community in Rohtak occupied in a sit-in were attacked and the police opened fire on the gathering without issuing a warning killing atleast 30 men. In the evening, a local MLA with Deputy Superintendent of Police, both of Punjabi refugee descent, visited the hostel of a local University at Rohtak and segregated Jats from non-Jats humiliating the Jat students. The news spread like wild fire in the surrounding villages where villagers flooded the cities of Rohtak and Jhajjar. Instead of sympathizing with peaceful Jat protestors the government adopted a suppressive attitude by opening fire on a peaceful protest and heckling innocent students. This led to violence in which arson and looting took place with anti-social elements gaining the most and inimical groups succeeding in drawing negative publicity to Jats.

An internecine riot took place as situation went out of control aggravated by politicians of the incumbent government. It was perhaps for the first time in the history of this serene state that army was called in to suppress the local population. Though, fury abated, great loss of life and property took place during the short period. But the greatest loss is, perhaps, intangible- it is the irreparable loss to community brotherhood in the region. Caste polarization, divisive politics and discourse of hatred have turned a

safe haven turned into a sorry state. Excessive Brahmanical approach/Hindu-fication has seeds of caste-ism which is a schismatic ideology and damages social harmony.

The international, national and regional significance of the chain of incidents and kernel 'event' –the Jat agitation cannot be gainsaid considering that in its aftermath at least thirty young men from the native community have been charged and convicted now in 2018 under Section 124-A (sedition) of IPC(See Sukhbir Siwach. Indian Express). Sedition is a serious charge that indicates treason and activities that may amount to harming the nation. If this is the scenario of a state of which a major chunk falls in National Capital Region (NCR) and which has the proud distinction of contributing a majority of international players and soldiers to the nation.

As 'Jat agitation' is directly related to reservation policy of the state, it automatically becomes a socio-economic, political and ultimately an ideological issue. The agitation could be contained with a sensitive approach rather than inimical one. Unfortunately, the notorious local MLA from whose OSD and nephew goods looted during the agitation were recovered was given a state ministry in appreciation for his role in the riots by the Khattar government- is it then, only a coincidence that both the CM and the minister of state belong to the migrant community as also the infamous police officer.

The study perceives far-reaching impact of the political climate that has incited violent protest from dominant native community of the state and reactionary handling of the protests by the state government of the same.

Now, folk is distinctive and mainstream is homogenous- in reference to people, culture or language. The state apparatus to use a Marxian concept always works towards homogenization. From schools to courts, the institutional attempt is to direct the movement of social life towards following the mainstream ideology and serving the vested interests of the dominant group-whether ideologically or through coercion.

E Sreedharan discusses Antonio Gramsci's perception of 'the capacity of a dominant class to articulate its interests'(279) so that these appear to be the common interests of the larger society. This is done by assuming 'political, intellectual and moral leadership'(279). This leadership is being assumed by extremist Hindu groups in Haryana with severe caste and religious biases especially, through a steady campaigning against khaps- the democratic bodies now galvanizing only Jats but earlier drawing participation from all local communities. Hegemony is exercised for 'social control'(279) this necessitates an 'erosion of old beliefs by overcoming the sources of hegemonic power such as individual will, intellectuals, political parties, churches, schools and media'(279). The reigning discourse in the country has overestimated the two-nation theory. It suggests that partition was a 'necessary evil' as Hindus and Muslims are separate nations.

Louis Althusser speaks of 'repressive state apparatus' like the police and army and the 'ideological state apparatus' like media. Both have been directed to monitor Jats. Their own institutions and customs like 'khap panchayats' are being called to question in courts on different levels and on different issues and little is being done to understand the context or dynamics of which this native community is a part.

Reconfiguring for a balanced Development

First, instead of vying for the negligible job sector, Jats, the indigenous and pre-dominant community of Haryana need to concentrate on getting better opportunities in education. However, since the government has always shown a lopsided development plan oriented towards urban growth, they have given up hope and thus, keeping their traditional inhibitions regarding asking for government support are driving for reservations.

The social problem could be steadily resolved by Phase-wise un-scheduling of castes in this state that have already become strong, but the ruling party instead took recourse to divisive politics pitting Dalits and OBCs on one hand and traditional 'suvarnas' on the other, against Jats.

While most communities enviously guard their share in reservation pie, a point here to consider is whether this job pie is significant enough to fight for, since, a look at the panoramic picture of employment in the state reveals that the total share of government jobs in job sector or employment percentage itself is quite miniscule as most people are self-employed or serving in other organized sectors or even unorganized sector. This job share is decreasing by the day as the government is relying on outsourcing as well as on contractual employment which is counted as employment during most surveys, but is otherwise voidable.

Here, SC/ST and OBC communities have benefitted greatly. Especially, the OBCs in Haryana like Yadavas and Gujjars who have had land rights similar to Jats but were socially and culturally more backward than the Jats. In the aftermath of Mandal Commission when constitutional clause commending reservations for 10 years was extended indefinitely in favour of reserved sections during the tenure of Congress government of VP Singh. The agitations during this time against extension of reservations were ignored. This was also the time when Jats refused to avail of reservations quoting their self-sufficiency. In fact, some of the *khaps*- grassroots decision-making panchayats of Jats- declared that the community was progressive and relied on merit. However, decades down the line and with the dismal economic situation of agricultural sector in India and recent anti-farmer policies in Haryana, the community has realized that it is a matter of survival for them as lack of reservations combined with traditional agricultural orientation and status of farmers has rendered them utterly helpless on social and economic fronts. With decreasing size of land-

holdings, poor policy-decisions, high input costs and low global acceptance of Indian farm produce, farming is not sustainable even in a state like Haryana which was thus far considered to be one of the most prosperous agricultural states.

Conclusion

Haryana seems to have been earmarked for experiment towards Hindu hegemony. In Haryana, most migrants have government support since they belong to majority Hindu community and are better bearers of Hindu religion than the natives who despite being Hindus have never been devout in matters of religion belonging to the maverick Jat and allied farming/farm-dependent communities. In Haryana, unlike Assam, it is the migrants who are being promoted at the cost of the natives. The call is not for a citizen register as that in Assam of 2018 but a migratory profiling that may help take objective and disinterested decisions. Of course, it is of utmost importance to safeguard the rights and privileges of natives when migrants are allowed to settle as otherwise, the native culture and socio-economic structures suffer as made obvious in case of Haryana. Political caution in this regard is better than desperate remedies later on. In fact, only socio-political hypocrisy will be made evident if at this stage the needs of native population and dominant farming community of Jats is ignored, and later on after the socio-cultural collapse the government at some later day may step in to rescue the historical legacy, and folk tradition and culture of the region.

Migrants from Pakistan in Haryana and Bangladesh in Assam are fallout of persisting problems after partition of India in 1947. Bangladesh was the more neglected area of a 'moth-eaten Pakistan' that Muhammad Ali Jinnah had lamented about and separated from the Punjab Pakistan in 1971 after Indian government intervened.

The current decisions by the establishment declaring the 'facts' and the old decision withholding the 'facts' and bringing it in public domain seem to stem from an impulse to isolate certain groups and polarize the people on basis of communities but ultimately, to benefit the pro-religion anti-egalitarian rightwing politics. Ironically, as the study reveals caste-polarization and community- isolations aid moves towards religious and demographic homogenization. This situation can be improved by conducting a migratory profile of the state and drawing a fair and objective credit and balance statement regarding the native community vis-à-vis the migrants. This profile can be a reliable guide for future policy decisions.

Recommendations: The Road Ahead and Future of Brotherhood

The natives need a sympathetic government at the centre and state. There is also a need for media empathizing with agrarian demands that is able to relate it to social issues. Above all, the policy should be guided by broader development issues rather than mere capitalist interests. In Haryana, the politics should take cognizance of urban –rural

divide. Above all, it is essential to take the aspirations of local communities into account while promoting the migrants.

As 2011 Census fails to mention caste and religious statistics due to prevalent ban since 1960s on publication of communal statistics, the database should be again filtered for required information on population percentage of various castes and communities.

The exercise conducted in September 2017 in government offices should be also performed at schools and institutions of Higher Education in government and private schools in rural and urban areas both- it would help assess the relatively advantaged and disadvantaged communities as far as access to quality education is concerned.

Earlier, government notification on land- delimitation exercises- may be studied and the information pertaining to beneficiary communities and communities that lost land in the process be published.

Government notification since 1947 pertaining to transfer of land rights to government from farmers for rehabilitation of migrants in regions of Punjab that were transferred to Haryana post-1966 may be highlighted and put on record.

Government notification since 1966 pertaining to transfer of land rights to government from farmers for rehabilitation of migrants may be highlighted and put on record.

Government notification since 1966 pertaining to transfer of land rights to government from farmers for development of infrastructure from point of view of Central

Government or mega-projects that are not beneficial to state or farmers but are capital-driven projects contributing towards urban/cosmopolitan development.

Since, the next census will take place in 2021, it should be ensured that caste-wise population break up is calculated and displayed.

It must be ensured that migrants beginning with at least 1945 must admit that they migrated to Haryana and their former homes be mentioned. This will also help understand the change in demographic dynamics and socio-economic politics of all states involved.

A fair balance sheet may be drawn that may act as a springboard for future policy initiatives and actions.

End notes

The first Census after partition was done in 1951.

Many 'indigenous colonists' also now returned from Montgomery, Lyallpur, Sheikhpura, Shahpur and Bahawalpur and even Sind and Multan who had 'canal irrigated' who had left colonies away in Pakistan.

See Punjab Evacuee Ordinance IV of 1947.

Administration of Evacuee Property Act, 1950.

East Punjab Refuugees Rehabilitation(Buildings and Building Estates) Act , 1948.

Displaced Persons(Compensation and Rehabilitation)Act, 1954.

The term 'conspiracy of silence' may have been first used in Austria-Hungry in 1854.

In 1971, a new wave of migrants followed the Indo-Pak war as persons from East Pakistan poured in from Bangladesh into West Bengal and thereafter, moved towards primarily the capital region and surrounding peaceful states.By 1973 there were 6 million refugees in India.

(Letter dated 20th September , 2017 with subject 'Deletion of religion, caste, etc. from all Government records. Letter no. 10839-4GS-62/26792 dtd. 20.8.1962 issued by the state of Punjab .)

The Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act, 1954(<https://www.vakilno1.com/bareacts/displapersn1954/displapersn.html>)

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