#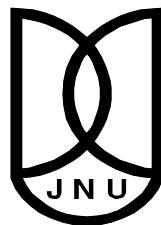 Urbanism and Changing Socio-Political Structure of Caste Panchayats in Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh: A Geographical Study of the Jat Khaps

Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University

for the award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

RUCHIKA SINGH

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI-110067

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जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
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School of Social Sciences
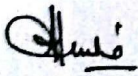**New Delhi-110067**

Date: 2| July, 2017

DECLARATION

I, Ruchika Singh hereby declare that the thesis entitled **"Urbanism and Changing Socio-Political Structure of Caste Panchayats in Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh: A Geographical Study of the Jat Khaps"** is based on my original research work under the supervision of Prof. Sachidanand Sinha. I hereby submit this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctorate of Philosophy** of this University. This study has not been submitted in part or full for any other diploma or degree of any other University to the best of my knowledge.

Ruchika Singh

CERTIFICATE

It is hereby recommended that this thesis may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Prof. Sachidanand Sinha
Supervisor

Centre for the Study of Reg. Dev.
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

Prof. B. S. Butola
Chairperson

Chairperson
Centre for the Study of Reg. Dev.
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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GLOSSARY

Aika:	Unity
Bhai:	Brother
Bhaichara:	Brotherhood
Bhanji:	Niece, Sister's daughter
Bhoomi:	Land
Chaupal:	A common meeting place in a village
Dehat:	Rural Area
Ghunghat:	Veil
Huqqa:	Smoking Instrument
Izzat:	Honour
Janam:	Birth
Khera:	Native Village
Kul:	Dynasty
Lehnga:	Heavy Native Skirt
Mantri:	Secretary in an Organisation/ Minister in a Government
Panch:	Member
Parampara:	Tradition
Parvara:	Remote ancestors of a family
Pradhan:	President
Qaum:	Community
Up-Pradhan:	Vice-President
Samaj:	Society
Samajik:	Societal
Panchayat:	Meeting
Baithak:	Place to sit, generally the outer part of house for males of the family
Rishtedaar:	In-Laws
Rishteydaari:	Relation with the In-Laws

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

If space and time are both social and objective, then it follows that social processes have a role to play in their objectification. It therefore becomes important to study the ways in which social space and time get shaped – interact, enmesh or distanced from each other in different historical and geographical contexts.[1]

Khap is, predominantly a socio-political organisation of Jats in northern India, a traditional institution or assembly (or panchayat) of dominant landed caste in the region. When space is both the medium and the outcome of social processes[2], there is a need to explore as to how on the space of Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh Khaps of Jats are surviving while in other regions the caste panchayats are being vanishing in the wake of the modern rational-legal system. So it is important to know: what exactly are these panchayats? What has been their role in the society and, how they continue to co-exist within a modern political system and how they enforce and implement decisions to exercise influence over a vast population in rural area.

Each process of development has its own manifestation on the processes of social change. Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, both having benefitted from the agricultural package of Green Revolution, experienced different trajectories of development and also due to the specificity of regional politics, the process of urban spread and its integration with the upper levels is different in two regions. The economic advancement in Haryana is directly being translated into the state level politics; while in Uttar Pradesh, being a big state with diverse nature of dominant caste group in different regions, the economic advancement is not being translated

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[1] David Harvey (1990), 'Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination', *'Annals of the Association of American Geographers'*, vol.80. no.3, p. 418-434

[2] Edward Soja, (1997), "The Socio Spatial Dialectic" in Trevor Barnes and Derek Gregory (ed.) *Reading Human Geography: The Poetics and Politics of Inquiry*, Arnold Publication, London, pp 244-256.

into the political domain with similar force. In spite of similar cultural heritage and geographic expansion, the administrative boundaries provide different platforms to the community to respond differently in the two regions. Hence, the socio-political organisation of the Jats, in both the states, had undergone a modification in the range of influence or in the range of issues being deliberated by these khaps. It is important to understand changes in the socio-political-economic characteristics of space in order to analyse the survival and authority/legitimacy of khaps or to resituate the re-emergence of khaps to assert their dominance which is under threat due to urban impulses.

The "hidden hand" of khap panchayats is seen as most evil things that happened in Haryana in the recent past – Critics have asked whether these all-male, unelected village/caste councils should be allowed to exist in modern India? While the Supreme Court and other have questioned their legalities, social scientists feel that "we cannot ignore them; we cannot wish them away"[3]. All this debate raised the issue of the existence of a traditional institution in times of modern democracy. Why do Khaps still exist in these times of formal parliamentary democracy in India? Why the elected Panchayats have little scope in the matters of governance that are otherwise usurped by Khaps for dispensing (in) justice in inhumane, illegal and unconstitutional manner?

Despite of all socio-economic and political transformations over the years, why is this that the hierarchy and domination rooted in the khap has never become irrelevant? And how is this dominance legitimized or accepted by the new members? What are the conditions which provide them legitimacy? It is important to explore that what are the basic resources which facilitate dominance of members in village community? So it is important to examine the acceptance of Khap in relation to the socio-economic factors in the society and to analyse how and why khap became such a force not only at provincial level but also first and foremost at the local level. excerpts

The jats clearly emerge as the 'dominant caste' in social, economic and numerical terms, as well as in the emerging politics of the region[4]. In India where politics is

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[3] Excerpts of Anand Kumar, a professor of sociology at Jawaharlal Nehru University form 'Does India Still Need Khap Panhayats? On 23 –Oct – 2012 (https://india.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/10/23/does-india-still-need-khap-panchayats/) accessed on 20 Jan 2015.

[4] Prem Chowdhary, (1987), "Socio-Economic Dimensions of certain Customs and Attitudes: Women of Haryana in Colonial Period", *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol.22, No. 28,, pp 2060-66.

mass based, and caste-structure provides one of the principal organisational cluster, Khap, being an institution of historically dominant caste, in modern time started interfering in state politics. This hampers the smooth functioning of the system by putting social pressure. It sets a cycle of being dominant in political sphere which leads to the control of economic resources and then reasserts their social dominance. But urbanism influences the way of life, and provides more opportunities and more options, which is not just limited to the cities and as the pattern of urban living diffuses beyond the limits of the urban area, which led to the spread of economic resources and power, began to usurped the hitherto dominance of the traditional castes in the predominant agrarian and hierarchical social order. It is therefore important to study the structure of change in the dominance of the traditional Panchayats of jats under the light of centrifugal influence of urbanism.
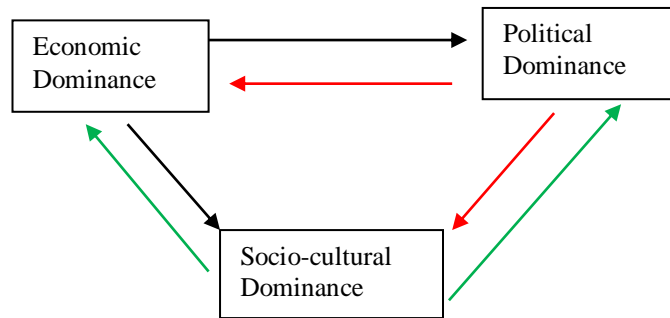
Figure 1.1: Components of Social dominance
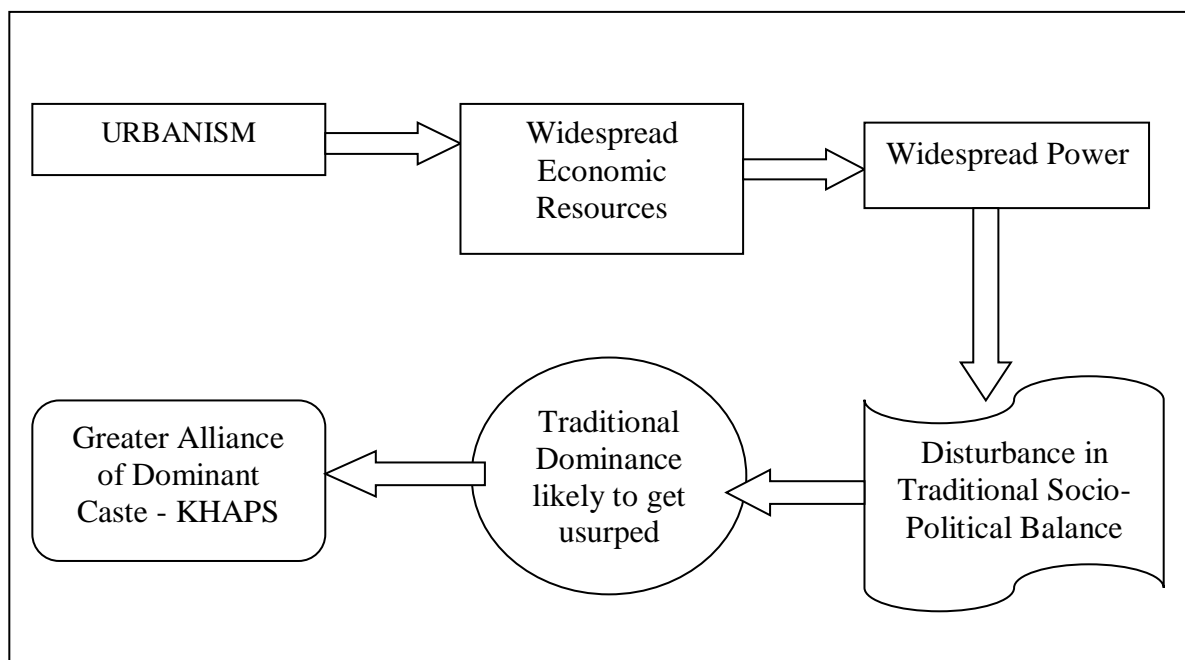
Figure 1.2: Structure of Change and Continuity of dominance in the wake of urbanism

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It is important to understand the social causes of the spatial configuration of the Jat socio-political organization, namely Khap Panchayat, with the fact that processes which will be studied are constructed, reproduced and changed in a way which necessarily involves distance, movement and spatial differentiation.

1.2 BRIEF PROFILE OF JATS

The Jats, a peasant caste, are organized into exogamous, patriclans. Today they are divided into three religious sections, namely Hindu, Muslim and Sikh. The Hindu section of the Jats still retains many features of a tribal social organization. In northern India the Jats form the bulk of population in the eastern districts of the Punjab and in the north-western India and central-eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, particularly in Rohilkhand division and in the central doab of the rivers Ganges and Yamuna. They are also found in central India in the former state of Rajputana, in Sind (now in Pakistan) and some northern areas of Kashmir. Some Jat settlements can also be seen in the state of Delhi and in the districts of Aligarh, Mathura and Agra in Uttar Pradesh.[5] In all these places the Jats are tied to the land and are agriculturists and husbandsmen *par excellence*. Writers such as Crooke, Ibbeston, Risely and Baden-Powell have discussed some of the ethnological and sociological problems connected with the Jats, notably their origin and various theories concerning it, their ethnic affiliations with the Rajputs, Gujjars and Ahirs, their customs of widow-marriage, polyandry and taking wives from the other castes, the custom of *bhaichara* (brotherhood) and its bearing on the clan fraternities, and their tribal political organization. With regard to the communal life of the Jats, their village settlements to be among the most strongly constituted; often there is a considerable clan feeling, and not infrequently, much pride of descent from some noted ancestor, to be found among them. There is always a co-sharing or joint claim to the whole village area.

1.2.1 DISTRIBUTION OF JATS

Dominant caste[6], which wields predominant economic and political power, in the region is 'The Jats', as they are numerically stronger, Economically stronger

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[5] Pradhan, M.C., (1966), "The Political System of Jats in Northern India", Oxford University Press P.11

[6] Concept given by M.N.Srinivas (1959), "The Dominant Caste in Ramura", *American Anthropologist,*, vol 61.

(monopoly over land ownership, and most other castes are in servitude to them and Jats stood as single largest receiver of services from all other castes), and also maintain ritual hierarchy as they did not follow any low caste rituals (and accepted ritual superiority of Brahmin did not exist here and after the propagation and acceptance of Arya Samaj, the Brahminic position further declined).[7] Schwartzberg identifies that in defining the caste region of India there is no other variable as important as the specific dominant caste in these areas.

Dominant caste of an area cannot be determined on the basis of number alone, as the fig. no-1.3 shows the distribution of most numerous caste or tribe in areas studied by Schwartzberg shows that in large number of district of Uttar Pradesh caste 'Chamars' are the most numerous group but nowhere it is safe to assume that they are the dominant caste. Hence fig no-1.4 here shows the distribution of dominant group excluded of Scheduled caste and tribe groups, helps to overcome the deficiency of number of criterion alone. The picture emerges from this map here shows that in Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, there is dominance of Jats.
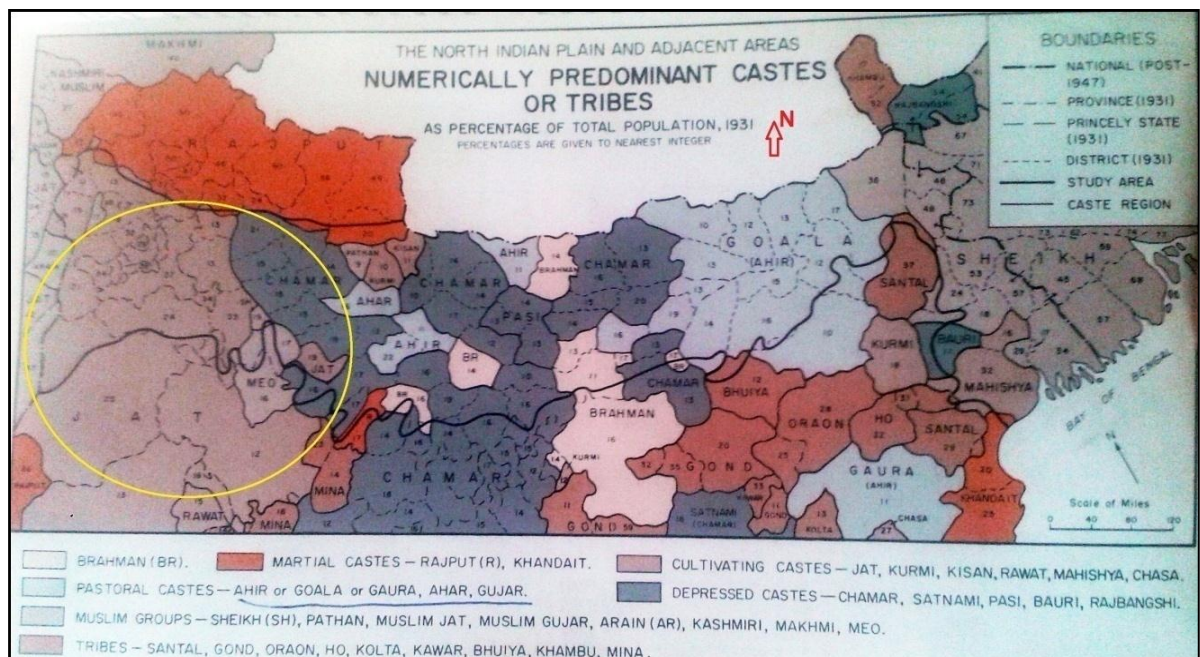
Figure 1.3: Numerically dominant Caste of Tribes in North India given by J.E. Schwartzberg.

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[7] Prem Chowdhary, (1987), *op. cit.* p 2064.
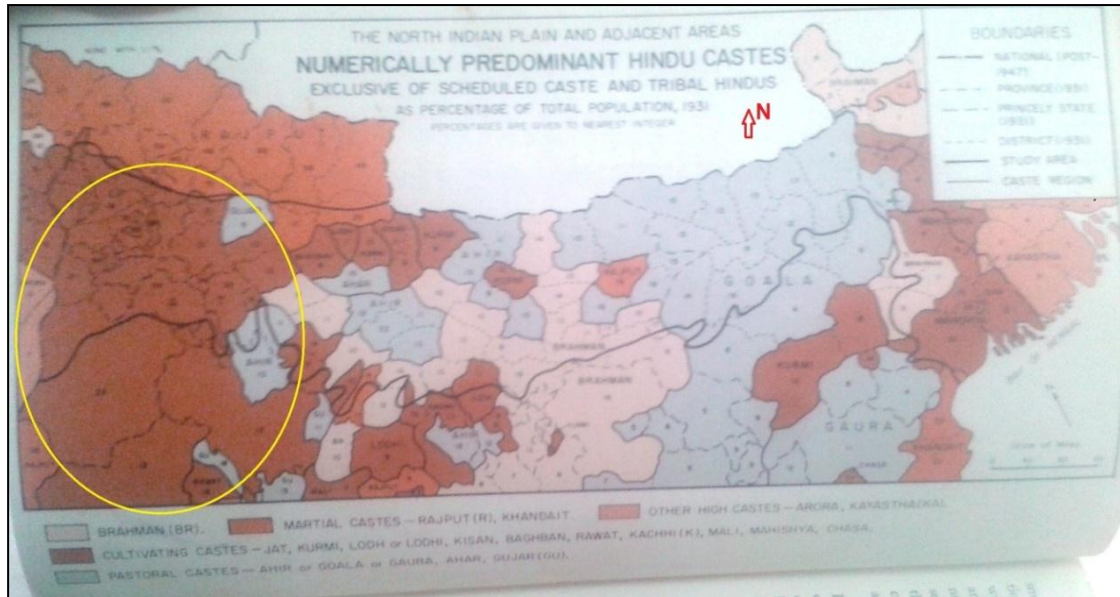
Figure 1.4: Numerically dominant Hindu Caste exclusive of Scheduled caste and Tribes in North India given by J.E. Schwartzberg.
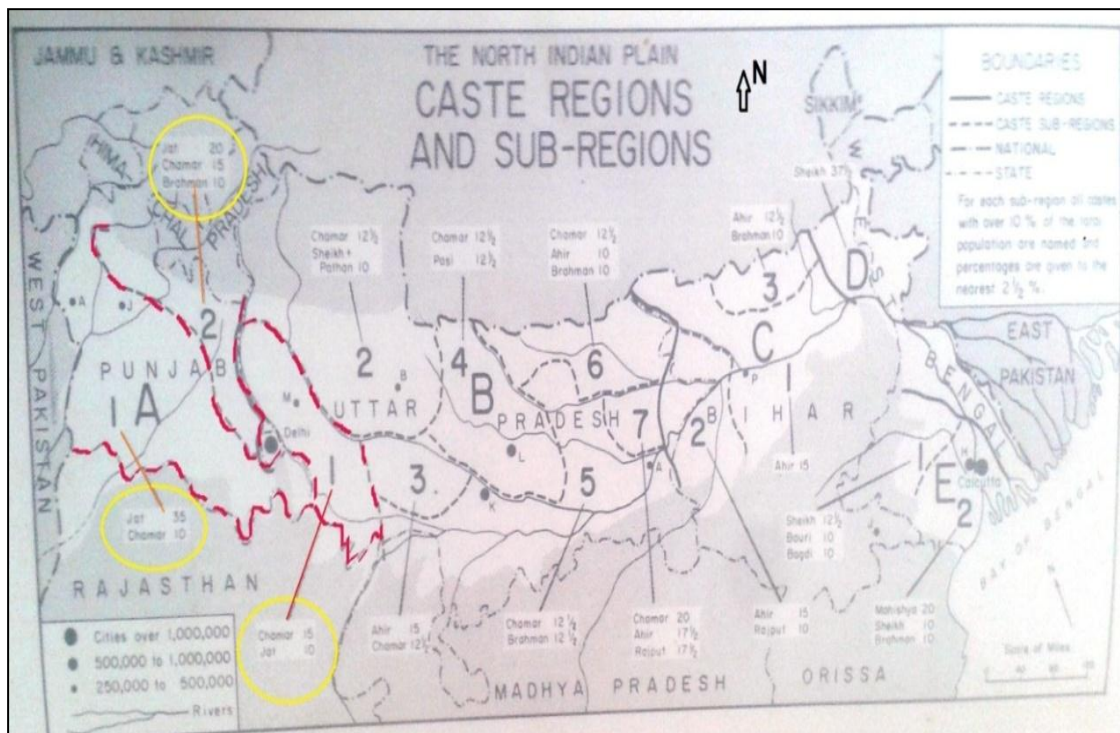
Figure 1.5: Caste regions in North India as given by Schwartzberg.

The fig. no-1.5, showing the Caste Regions of India by Schwartzberg, makes picture clear that villages in Region A, which is coterminous with the plain portion of Punjab, Haryana and the adjacent irrigated regions of Ganganagar in Rajasthan, Jats have high

proportion of total population. The Jats outnumbered all others in 1931 in every district, with very high mutual exclusivity. Also in Region B-1, which is an eastward extension of the area over which Jats are the dominant landowning caste, this sub-region is apparently a frontier of relatively recent Jat expansion.

1.3 KHAP PANCHAYATS

Jat clans have a compact geographical area of their own. The villages in which a clan is settled are organised into clan council, and the area under its jurisdiction is called the Khap.[8] Khap is only a kind of territorial socio-political organization which gives legitimacy to ethos of particular dominant caste. The khap is a territorial unit and may contain villages belonging to more than one clan. It is also a political unit with a hereditary head man called *chaudhary* and in some khaps an hereditary post of secretary called as *wazir* (secretory), who keeps records of the proceedings of the khap council.[9] It is assumed by the members of Khap Panchayats that the body is autonomous from the State and claim to represent all members of that particular community.

Khap Panchayat means the panchayat of the villagers who belonged to the same *gotra*, thus different *gotras* had their own Khap Panchayats. These khap Panchayats are different from the caste panchayats[10], as in caste panchayats all members of the particular caste can take participation, while the khaps are *gotra* specific and also at some places area specific (as several gotra together make a khap). Khap Panchayats generally comprise of and correspond to different gotras of Jats. The popular perception about *gotras* is that they are based on the common ancestor's name. That is why people belonging to the same *gotra* are tied together with a feeling of a family and brotherhood. The term *'got'* denotes an exogamous section and has besides a religious meaning, signifying in case of *Brahmans* and *Rajputs*. R. S. Sharma, in 'Origin of State in India', defines term *'gotra'* to mean *'gaushala'* means cowherds and suggests that it evolved during the *Rigvedic* period. Since Rigvedic society was

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[8] Pradhan, M.C. (1966), *op. Cit.* pp 21.

[9] Dorothy M. Spencer, review of (1968) "The political System of the Jats of Northern India by M.C. Pradhan" The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol 27, No 3 (May 1968) pp. 664-665

[10] This was observed by the author in the field and also propounded by the D.R. Chaudhary (2014) in book *Khap Panchayats and Modern Age* by National Book Trust, India.

basically a cattle rearing community, it indicates that the formation of gotras must be along economic lines[11]. Within Jats, the term *'got'* practically means his clan, his tribe or sect. It is this *got* with him that affects his marriage and forms for him his exogamous site.[12] Every Jat clan is exogamous, i.e. every man must marry into his own tribe, no man can marry into his own clan, otherwise would be regarded as incest. It is the caste that is recognized by the society at large, but it is the sub-caste that is regarded by particular caste and the individual.[13] A Khap may comprise from 12 to 84 villages, and may be known as, *Chaubbisi* (24 village), *Battisi* (32 village) or *Chaurasi* (84 Village) Khap on the basis of their jurisdiction over the number of villages. Some of the examples of Khaps are the following:

Ghatwala Khap, with shrine of Late Dada Ghansi Ram Ji Malik in Ulhana Village in district Sonipat of Haryana, which is the first head village of this khap and the head is popularly known as 'Badey Dada' (Elder Grandfather), second head seat is in village Lissad of Shamli in Uttar Pradesh, and the head here is popularly known as 'Chhotey Dada' (Younger Grandfather). These are also known as Malik Khap on the basis of the Gotra. *Desh Khap*, is a khap of *Chaurasi Gaon* (Or 84 villages), with head seat in Baraut in Uttar Pradesh. This is also known as Tomar khap on the name of the Tomar Gotra of the Jats. *Baliyan Khap* is another *Chaurasi* village Khap, with headquater at Sisauli in Uttar Pradesh. *Hudda Khap*, in Rohtak with head village, Khidwli and main village, Sanghi in Rohtak at present have 36 villages. *Jakhar khap* has 38 villages in and around Rohtak. Bhainswal Battisa khap has 32 villages around Shamli.

The strength of this or such political organisation lies in its firm base in the "**kinship structure** and its **local contiguity** or close connection with the territorial framework at all levels.[14] These two things mainly enabled this organisation to persist and function

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[11] Sharma R.S. (1987), "Origin of the States in India (D.D. Kosambi Memorial Lecture), Dept. of History, University of Bombay Publication, Bombay.

[12] Bahadur,K.P. (1978) Revised by Bingley A.H., "History, Caste and Culture of Jats and Gujars",Ess Ess Publication, New Delhi. P 121

[13] Adrian C. Mayer (1960), 'Caste and Kinship n Central India: A village and its Region', London: Routledge and Kegan Paul p 270.

[14] M.C. Pradhan(1966), *The Political System of the Jats of Northern India*, Bombay: Oxford University Press. (p 21).

over long period of time. And this is how this social organisation is creating its influence over the space 'khapland' as the territory of their dominance.

Kinship Structure is very important to understand the authority of khap, which is can be introduced with the simple illustration of the below mentioned figure. This system explains how, their power in terms of *diktas* they giving out percolates upto the all village levels, due to this deep rooted territorial framework. It is this deep core rooted structure, that despite of socio-economic-political changes over the years, hierarchy and domination rooted in this khap system has never become irrelevant.

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│  │        │   │ (3-5     │   │ (Minimal │   │ (Maximal │   │          │  │
│  │        │   │generations)│  │lineage,6-10│ │lineage,10-15│ │          │  │
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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐               │
│  │ Village  │ → │ Thamba   │ → │  Khap    │ → │ Sarva    │               │
│  │Panchayat │   │Panchayat │   │Panchayat │   │  Khap    │               │
│  └────┬─────┘   └────┬─────┘   └────┬─────┘   │Panchayat │               │
│       │              │              │         └──────────┘               │
│   ┌───┴────┐    ┌────┴────┐    ┌────┴─────┐                              │
│   │7 villages│  │12 Thamba│    │Several Khaps│                           │
│   │  form    │  │  form   │    │   form     │                           │
│   └─────────┘   └─────────┘    └──────────┘                             │
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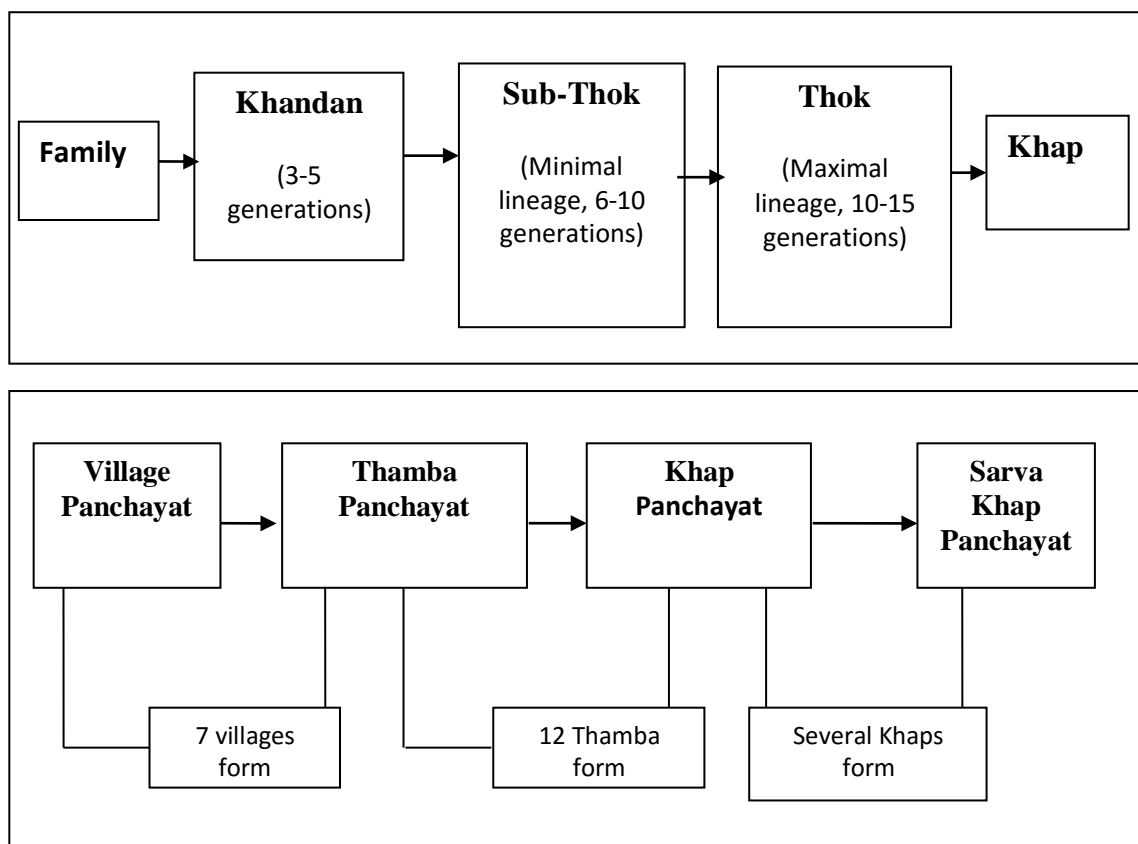
Figure 1.6: Simple illustration of the Khap Kinship and Spatial Structure

The customs, traditions and institutions of any society have their own strength and act as a survival mechanism for the society.[15] The Khap Panchayat, like the caste system is a traditional institution engaged primarily in dispute resolution and in regulating the behaviour of individuals or groups in rural North India. The Khap Panchayats resolve

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[15] Chaudhary, Sarvesh, 'Expanding the paradigm of Legality: An Appraisal of Panchayats and the Customary law in Haryana', (www.icdeolhpu.org/journal/sarvedsh_chaudhary.pdf)

disputes of wider concern within their operative territory. Khap panchayat are part of rural social architecture and have existed in the past.[16]

1.4 URBANISM: A WAY OF LIFE

Urbanism in this study is considered as the way of life[17] and avoided the assumption that urbanism is limited to the cities or is typical of all persons in them. Urbanism is considered as the way of life and is differentiated from urbanisation as a process, and the essence of urbanism here is a pattern of living which can and does diffuse beyond the limits of urban areas.

Urbanism in my study is not the lifestyle which comes to the lives through the expansion of urban space, even without expansion there are certain type of traits which do come in rural area. The centrifugal influence of urban life is penetrating in all areas of contemporary societies where urban symbols are ubiquitous which derive the continuous rural urban interaction and due to the networks which are there, so there is a constant change in lifestyle of rural people.

There are certain specific symbols of the urban life that can be seen and enumerated. One of these would be the streets in a village, whether they are paved, drained and lighted, and the condition of roads in the vicinity. The place may or may not have water supply system. Adherence to or departure from traditional housing and house furnishings, and the amenities in these houses indicate urban or rural orientation. The kind of stores and the goods offered reflect urban influence or its absence. Anderson explains the outreaching or "centrifugal" influence[18] of urban life as penetrating in all areas of contemporary societies with the ubiquitous urban symbols and identifies a number of the distinctive elements of the urban way of life which have influence on the hinterland too by providing the wider range of alternatives for individuals in most aspects of living and involves the availability of wide range of services and alternatives in terms of types of work, educational facilities, medical facilities, modes

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[16] Bhupendra Yadav, (2009) "Khap Panchayats: Stealing Freedom?" *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol.44, No. 52, pp 16-19.

[17] Writh, Louis, (1938), "Urbanism as a Way of Life", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol 44, no.1 pp 1 – 24

[18] Anderson Nels, (1970) "The Urban Way of Life" in "Urban Sociology: Contemporary Readings" ed by: Fuad Baali and Joseph S. Vandiver ACC Meredith Corporation, New York pp 94 to 100.

of travel, voluntary organizations, types of people, housing, food, clothing, and so on[19].

In the work places of rural localities town influence can be seen in the extent to which machines are used to supplement or replace handwork. Most tests are focused on the homes, the percentage of homes with refrigerators, washing machines, bath rooms, telephones, etc., or the extent to which newspapers; periodicals, radios, or television sets are found there. Looking at the people on the street, their dress and deportment; these tend to reveal rural or urban orientation.

To look for and tabulate such symbols of the urban way of life is to tacitly recognize the outreaching character or urbanism, sometimes called the centrifugal influence of urban life. Insofar as these influences disturb the stabilities of rural life, there may be local resistance to them. Some of these influences may be regarded as intrusions, threatening local traditions and undermining local moral and social values. The urbanite is less concerned about traditions, and he is quite ready to accept change in those artifacts or behavior forms which stand as symbols of urbanism He tends to be devoted to the mode in which change itself becomes institutionalized. The mode, incidentally, in its influence on rural life, is the most dynamic symbol of urbanism[20]. This does not apply to the city alone; the scale of urbanism can also be applied to villages, towns and to their respective populations.

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

India is predominantly an agricultural and rural country. An overwhelming majority of people live in the countryside and from the time immemorial the village has been a basic and important unit of assertions of the traditional institutions in the form of social enforcement of traditionally rooted values, which exhibits its own spatial manifestations. The changes in the traditional spheres under the impact of centrifugal

[19] Lewis Oscar, (1970) "Further Observations on the Folk-Urban Continuum and Urbanisation with Special Reference to Mexico City" in "Urban Sociology: Contemporary Readings" ed by: Fuad Baali and Joseph S. Vandiver, ACC Meredith Corporation, New York. pp 123 to 131 (p 128).

[20] Anderson, Nels () 'The Urban Way of Life', in book *Urban Sociology: Contemporary Readings* ed by Fuad Baali and Joseph S. Vandiver, ACC Meredith Corporation, p.108

forces of urbanism, generates the forms of socio-structural and political discords and conflicts which disturbs the domination of the traditional structure.

The change in the traditional structure seems to be deriving out of the strains which originate primarily from the conflicts between the demands imposed by the new situation and the inertia of those elements of our social structure which are most resistant to the necessary changes[21]. The contradiction is not with the condition itself rather it is the disparity between the estimates of the way things are and the notions the way things ought to be.

Though it is a popular belief that due to modernisation, the traditional authority which was enjoyed by the *panchayats* is an absolute anachronism, it is interesting to note that such a traditional method of arbitration exist to this day. When Modernity creeps into the old traditions then it brings accretion and transmutation of traditional forms[22]. 'Modernity' is to be understood in this study as a process of rendering the feasible gradual transformation of human life from what it has been into what we choose to make it. No traditional society can purely be traditional nor can a modern society be purely modern. When Rudolph speaks about how modernity makes its space through assimilation, then the larger argument here is that traditional societies proceeds through a transitional stage in which the traditional cultural forms have necessarily to undergo syncretic changes, and these changes will come through the contestations and conflict within the domain of traditional societies[23].

The forces of urbanisation uncovers the traditional spaces for the exposure, which brings these spaces near to the dialectical processes of homogenisation and differentiation, integration and fragmentation, universalisation and particularization[24]and this translates the contradiction over the space which is initially governed by the traditional systems. These changes and the processes brings various opportunities and new ways of living for some, while for others these changes are the

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[21] Parsons, Talcott (1967), "Sociological Theory and Modern Society", Free Press, New York.

[22] Yogendra Singh,(1986), "Modernisation of Indian Tradition", Rawat Publications, Jaipur.

[23] Rudolph I Lloyd, Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, (1967), "The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India". The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. p.8

[24] Kellner Douglas, 'Theorizing globalization,' *Sociological Theory*, vol. 20 (2002):295–305, p. 300.

source of insecurity and threat to their traditional domination and traditional way of life.

This social system, which is produced by the relation of interdependence between individual or group through social practices which involves the structural rules and resources, brings the structuration of the social system which is produced and re-produced through the interactions[25] and wherein the temporality[26] is very much integral to the structuration of the social system. As all social reproductions in the system are grounded in the knowledge of application and reapplication of the rules and resources which are situated in the particular social context and, with the change in the knowledge with time, all interactions in every circumstance have potentiality of change.

With the changing time, the certain traditional relations and structures of domination and privilege have been transformed or challenged while certain traditional norms have sustained, this instigate the contradictions between well-entrenched traditional practices and newly evolved socio-cultural codes. This structuration of the modes of system reproduction generates the social contradictions which are resulted from the opposition of the structural principles of the traditional social system, these structural principles necessarily includes the institutionalized set of interconnections that govern the social reproduction[27].

These changes have replaced the traditional certainties by the new anxieties and concerns, and under this change most of those on the losing side of prospects incline to maintain and perpetuate the old traditional structure, which at least assures their life securities and their dominance. This domination is the result of the way of life, based on the social identities, social relations, social organisations and structures, which was carried forward by the society from the long time, and which is based on the

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[25] Giddens, Anthony (1979), 'Central Problem in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis', The Macmillan Press Ltd. London p. 66

[26] Giddens, Anthony (1979), *op cit* p.199

[27] Giddens, Anthony (1979), *op cit* p.200

disproportionate distribution of control and influence, which constitutes by the dominant sections of the society[28].

The dominance of the *khap panchayat* which operates as 'territorial – political unit' and 'social organisation' in the Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh has also gone through the process of change and adjustment under the increasing influence of urbanism in which the rural society which was governed by the traditional norms and rules are 're'-situated in the governance zone of newly created and developed modern institutions which are more democratic in nature. This whole change brings the necessity to explore the various grounded facets of the traditional khap panchayats in contemporary time of crisis.

1.6 EMERGING ISSUES

- What exactly are these panchayats, what has been their role in the society?
- Why Khaps are there, where they are? Why Khaps of Jats are surviving while in other regions the caste panchayats are being vanished with modern legal system?
- Why do Khaps still exist in these times of formal democracy in India and exercise influence over a vast population in rural area? Why the elected Panchayats had little scope in the matters of governance that are otherwise usurped by Khaps for dispensing (in) justice in inhumane and unconstitutional manner?
- Despite of rapid socio-economic and political transformation over the years, why the hierarchy and domination rooted in the khap system has never become irreverent?
- How is dominance legitimized or accepted by the new members? What are the basic resources which facilitate dominance of members in village community?
- Whether khaps are being revived to maintain identity and dominance? Or whether the development processes further went on to re-establish or assert the dominance of hitherto dominant section, which now see weakening of traditional power both as electoral politics in which number started playing role and also in which non–dominant castes penetration is occurring.

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[28] Christine B.N. Chin and James H. Mittelman, 'Conceptualizing resistance to globalization,' in *Globalisation and the Politics of Resistance*, ed. Barry K. Gills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000, pp 29–45, pp. 31–32.

Question arises here

Whether, Khap is a reflection of the process of urban spread, which generates multiple forms of socio-structural and political discords and conflicts, as with this traditional caste composition and socio-political balance get disturb and authority of hitherto dominant section is likely to get usurped, so this dwindling structure of dominance brought together the khaps and a greater alliance of Jats to reassert their dominance and to maintain their identity?

Is that the question of survival or the intensity of dominance which is getting feeble now brings all khaps forward? With the urban expansion, the influence is been reached to the villages which disturb the traditional structure, and new emerging trends and lifestyles challenged the old dominant structure based on caste-class society.

Under this critical framework I proposed following objectives and research questions.

1.7 OBJECTIVES

1. To explore the territoriality of khap panchayats and to study the organisational and functional structure of Jat khaps over space.
2. To examine the changes in the nature of territoriality, structure and functions of khaps under the influence of urbanism.
3. To explore the factors influencing the territorial effectiveness and relevance of khaps over the time.
4. To explore the spatial manifestations of khap 'reflections' over the crisis emerging out of changes in their traditional domain.
5. To explore the differential impressions of khaps over rural & urban spatial settings.
6. To understand the dynamics of space, caste, generation and gender and their relationship/association with Jat Khaps.

1.8 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What are the socio-structural features of Khap?
- What are arena from which khap is taking issues to handle?
- What are the changes in the issues being taken up for judgment by the khap with time?
- What are the spatial distinctions in socio-economic-politico characteristics in Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, namely, on the parameters of: Level of Education, Workforce Participation Rate, Sex Ratio, Child Sex Ratio, Level of Urbanisation and land ownership?
- How the centrifugal forces of urbanism affect the territorial nature and structure of Khaps?
- What are the implications of the khap decisions and impact of the khap jurisdiction on the head village, interior village and near urban village?
- How the perception of people varies with the place of residence?
- What are the issues being dealt by the Jat Khaps of this region?
- How the Khaps of the region work on day-to-day life of people in area?

1.9 SOURCEs AND MODES OF DATA/INFORMATION

The study is divided into various levels of enquiry, in which first level comprises of the state and district level, for which the data was obtained from the various secondary sources. The second level of enquiry is primarily based on the data and information based on the field through field visits, observations, narratives, attending meetings and field based questionnaire. The list of sources used is:

- Census of India 1991, 2001 and 2011.
- Khap documents contained by secretaries of the Khaps.
- Historical Sources on Khap (Khap Dastavez, Jat Itihaas) mainly with the secretory of Baliyan Khap of Shoram village, head secretory village of all khaps of north India.
- Primary Survey (Key Informants, Khap Meetings, Questionnaire, Individual Interviews and Group Discussions, Observations, Narratives).

- Local Newspapers[29] are consulted to explore the local people's imagination and perception of khaps.

1.10 METHODOLOGY

Regions within states are not merely politico-administrative instituted constructs but are also imagined or constituted in historical, geographic, economic, sociological or cultural terms, so a highly localised region-based approach is being adopted which enable to *reframe the whole debate* and also to *interrogate the cogency of conventional formulation.*

Methodology will be based on certain parameters of internal cohesion and disruption of internal cohesion by the mechanism of urban spread**.** Methodology strictly maintains the confidentiality and anonymity of the informants. Mixed method approach[30] – qualitative and quantitative, is used for the study, which includes:

1. Narrative building based on the focused group discussions and interviews.
2. Information from Key Informants.
3. Temporal Analysis of Khap Documents available with the secretaries of various Khap.
4. Recordings of the ongoing Khap meetings, observations and Narratives based on that. Meeting descriptions are presented with the images and sketches.
5. Individual interviews and group interviews of khap leaders.
6. Study of Two Khaps from each state to inspect the functions and issues dealt by them.

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[29] News constitutes a particular kind of discourse, which have a kind of economic, political, social, or psychological aspects of space and it provide the perspective to explore how local people perceive a phenomena and how they create its image in local area and to explore the local spatiality and specifications under which the crisis is perceived by the khaps due to local contacts, may be social, economic, cultural contact with modern and urban institutions. This orientation provided important insights into the conditions of news production and into the uses or effects of mass media reporting at local level.

[30] In the first issue of *Journal of Mixed Methods Research,* Tashakkori and Creswell (in, Editorial: The New Era of Mixed Methods. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 3–7., p. 4) define mixed methods as "research in which the investigator collects an analyses data, integrates the findings and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches and methods in a single study or program of inquiry."

7. Villages on the development corridor lines and also the interior villages were taken to study and see to the change in level of association with the khap and also to capture the experience of living in the khap value dominated villages.

8. Primary survey is conducted to understand the varied perceptions of the rural urban people on the khap.

9. Spatial analysis of the certain chosen characteristics of the region.
   Indicators:

   a) Literacy Rate
   b) Education Level
   c) Workforce Participation Rate
   d) Sex Ratio
   e) Child Sex Ratio.
   f) Level of Urbanisation,
   g) Land Ownership

Adopting a highly localized approach to bring out regional distinctiveness invariably involves the in-depth study of an entire range of factors that make a political situation in the way it exists.

The biggest support on the field was the openness of the approach adopted, as the structure of the methods and organisation of the study was modified from time to time according to the requirements of the field.

1.10.1 Analysis of Quantitative Data:

- Literacy Rate =

$$\frac{\text{Total number literates}}{\text{Total population above 7 Years}} * 100$$

- Workforce Participation Rate =

$$\frac{\text{Total no. of workers in the 15 to 59 age group}}{\text{Total population in the 15 to 59 age group}} * 100$$

- Sex Ratio =

$$\frac{Number\ of\ Females}{Number\ of\ Males} * 1000$$

- Child Sex Ratio=

$$\frac{Number\ of\ females\ in\ 0\ to\ 6\ year\ of age\ group}{Number\ of\ males\ in\ 0\ to\ 6\ year\ of age\ group} * 1000$$

1.10.2 Analysis of Qualitative Data:

Analysis of the qualitative data, starts from the first day of the field, involves the organisation of data into manageable unites by synthesizing it into various themes and it involves the searching of the pattern and to present the information in a manner to satisfy the objectives. The analysis of the data involves the procedure of transcribing and transliterating the data, coding the data and organisation of the data into several themes and categories to interpret and report the pattern, it also involves description of people behave and interactions, and it involves the reflective response of my experience of the field.

It is mainly based on focus group discussions, and ethnographic elements, dominant stories being carried by media and researchers accounts, bases of episodes by newspapers. How local people look at this institution and created its image in local area.

1.11 RESEARCH DESIGN

The spatial analysis of the khap structure and change in the nature and function of the socio-political organisation of jats is carried out at three levels of areal aggregations:

    i) At macro level states of Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh is selected for the study, which is based on the information of the distribution of jats in the study of caste regions provided by the J.E. Schwartzberg.

    ii) At the meso level study is based on the selected sample districts (which have strong hold of the khaps in their day to day life) for the study of the problem raised, based on the secondary data. This also takes the account of the study of the four khaps which is cluster of number of villages, at times ranging from 24 to 84.

    iii) At the micro level the study is based on the selected villages, based on their location, three from each khap, and the information from

12 villages is collected for the study. Several other villages were also taken into consideration for the purpose of the khap head interviews and group discussions to understand the extensive and elaborative social spread of the traditional panchayats.

1.12 SAMPLE DESIGN:

In order to study the socio-political structure and territorial framework of the Jat khaps and to understand the intricacies of the change, four sample khaps, based on the purposive sampling, were selected to study. The criterion to select the khaps for this study is (i) based on the territorial aspect of the khap, i.e. number of village under their jurisdiction, (ii) on the basis of the two different types of khaps, namely the gotra khap i.e. in all the villages there is dominance of single gotra of the jats, and the area khap, in which two of more gotras are together form a khap, and (iii) based on the major changes adopted by the khap in recent times.

Table 1.1: Sample khaps of the Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, for the study

FOUR KHAPS	CRITERIA OF KHAP SELECTION	WESTERN UTTAR PRADESH	HARYANA
	Based on number of villages under jurisdiction (key informants based)	*Desh Khap* (Tomar Gotra Khap) Located around Baraut with 84 villages	*Meham Chaubisi Khap* (Area Khap and one of the very significant of Haryana khaps) Located at Meham with 24 villages
	Based on Gotra and Area classification	*Bhaiswaal – Battisa Khap* (Area Khap) Located around Shamli with 32 villages	*Satrol Khap (Beyalisa Khap-42)* (Adopted certain changes) Located between Hansi and Jind with 42 villages
	Based on major changes adopted		

Sample Villages – three from each khap – were taken to study the nature of the khap and influence of urbanism on the khap structure. The selection of the villages was purposive only those villages were selected which were under the criterion of the head seat of the khap, Thamba or tapa of the khap, more heterogeneous and episodic, and interior village (on the basis of the distance from the nearest statutory town). All together 12 respondents were interviewed from each village on the basis of four social groups and one educated and uneducated persons from each social groups, two to three women were also interviewed from each village (though most of the women were too reluctant to speak out), Khap or clan head and Village Panchayat Pradhan was interviewed from each village. In total 144 interviews were conducted and analysed for the study.

Khap Villages Studied	Desh Khap	Bhainswaal Khap	Meham Khap	Satrol Khap
Khap Head Village	Patti Chaudhran, Baraut	Bhaiswaal	Meham Rural	Bass
Near to Urban Centre + Varied Population Composition + More Episodic	Bijrol	Silawar	Nindana	Mundhal
Far From Urban Centre	Ranchhar	Thirwa	Gurawar	Sorkhi

Likert Scale: To understand the differences in the perceptions of khap, samples from the rural and urban areas were drawn. Primary survey was carried with the help of questionnaire, which takes the account of the various aspects of the perceptions of rural and urban people related to the khap. The samples for this study are drawn from the four villages and four urban centres, namely:

Rural	Samples	Urban	Samples
Ranchhar	40	Baraut	40
Thirwa	40	Shamli	40
Gurawar	40	Rohtak	40
Sorkhi	40	Meham	40
Total Rural Samples	160	Total Urban Samples	160
Total Samples		**320 Samples**	

The sample collected for the study of the perception of rural and urban people on the khap is drawn with the equal representation of Jat and Other (which includes Non Jat population) social groups, the sample represents equal proportion of the both social groups in various age groups and education level group to record the perceptions of samples with unbiased approach. Structure of the rural and urban samples collected for the study is:

Table 1.2: Distribution of samples.

| | SAMPLES | | |
	JATS	OTHERS	TOTAL
SECTOR			
Rural	80	80	160
Urban	80	80	160
Total	**160**	**160**	**320**
AGE GROUP			
Above age 50	48	48	96
Age 35 to 50	56	56	112
Age 20 to 35	56	56	112
EDUCATION LEVEL GROUP			
Illiterate	20	32	52
10 And Below	56	40	96
Upto 12	52	52	104
Graduation & Above	32	36	68
ASSOCIATED WITH KHAP			
Yes	52	36	88
No	108	124	232

Group Discussions: Sample villages were taken from some of the other khaps (other than four above mentioned) for the group discussions to understand the elaborative and extensive territorial framework of the khaps and to understand the difference in the nature of the various khaps. Though the discussions were also conducted in the 12 above mentioned villages of the selected khaps, but to understand the intricacies of contradiction involved over the larger space of khap domination, group discussions from other khap villages were also conducted, which include:

Village	Location	Khap
Hilwari	Baghpat (Baraut)	Desh Khap
Malakpur	Baghpat (Baraut)	Desh Khap
Koori	Baghpat (Chhaprauli)	Chhaprauli Chaubisi Khap
Nangal	Baghpat (Chhaprauli)	Chhaprauli Chaubisi Khap

Village	Location	Khap
Sisauli	Muzaffarnagar	Baliyan Khap
Budhana	Muzaffarnagar	Baliyan Khap
Bohar	Rohtak	Nandal Khap
Khidwali	Rohtak	Hooda Khap
Narela	Delhi	Khapra Khatri Khap
Palam	Delhi	Palam 360

Figure 7: Figure showing the conducted group discussion by the author in the premises of Nandal Bhawan with Hookah (smoking pipe) being the central to the discussion

Figure 8: Author with the family of the one khap head of Rohtak. (from the extreme right, Head of the khap, Wife of the Khap head, Daughter-in-law of the khap head, daughter of the khap head, and th author) Figure 9: Huge architecture of Nandal Bhawan at Bohr Village (highway)

1.13 STUDY AREA

Khap is predominantly a socio-political organisation of Jats in northern India, so the districts, both from Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, under its most influence are being taken for further study. Rohtak, Jajjar, Hisar, Bhiwani, Jind, Sonipat in Haryana

and Muzaffarnagar and Baghpat in Western Uttar Pradesh. The area is being chosen on the basis of contiguity and similar cultural heritage shared by the region, being predominantly a Jat area or Khap Land with strength and hold of Jats in the region.

Study Area
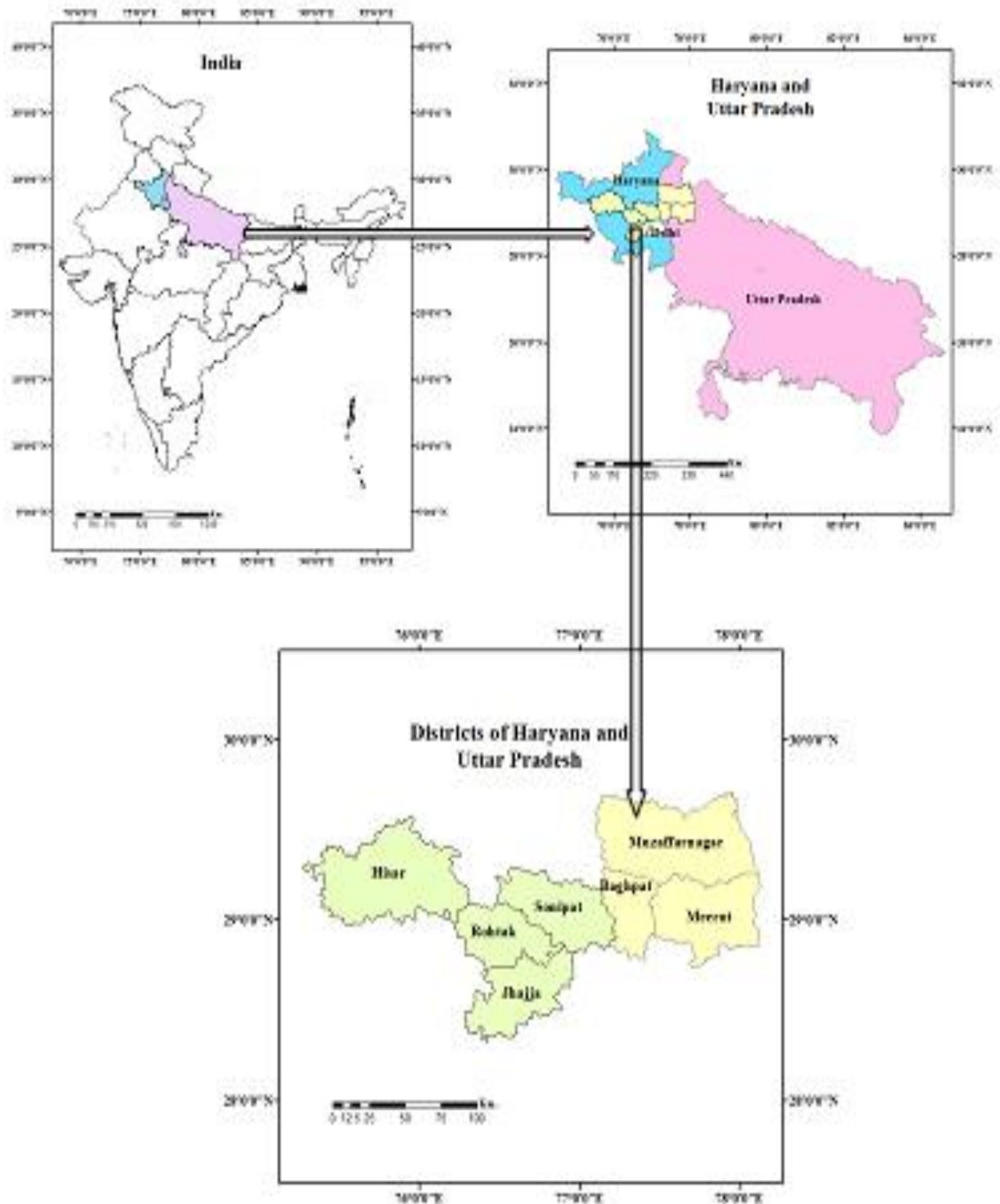
The work tries to understand the functioning of Khap with keeping Rohtak in the Centre and other districts, namely, Hisar, Bhiwani, Jind in west and Sonipat, Baghpat and Muzaffarnagar in its east; as in Rohtak the strength and hold of Jats is there and also this district was an acknowledged "centre" of the Haryana region in all political matters.[31] The districts with the present khap seats are being chosen for the study from both the states.

The villages lie across the recent development of corridors [from Delhi – Sonipat – Panipat (89 Kms), Delhi – Bahadurgarh – Rohtak (70 Kms), Delhi – Shahadra – Baraut (56 Kms), Panipat – Shamli – Muzafffarnagar, Rohtak – Hansi – Hisar, Hansi – Narwana – Jind] will be taken to conduct field in regard to observe the spatial manifestations over Khaps.
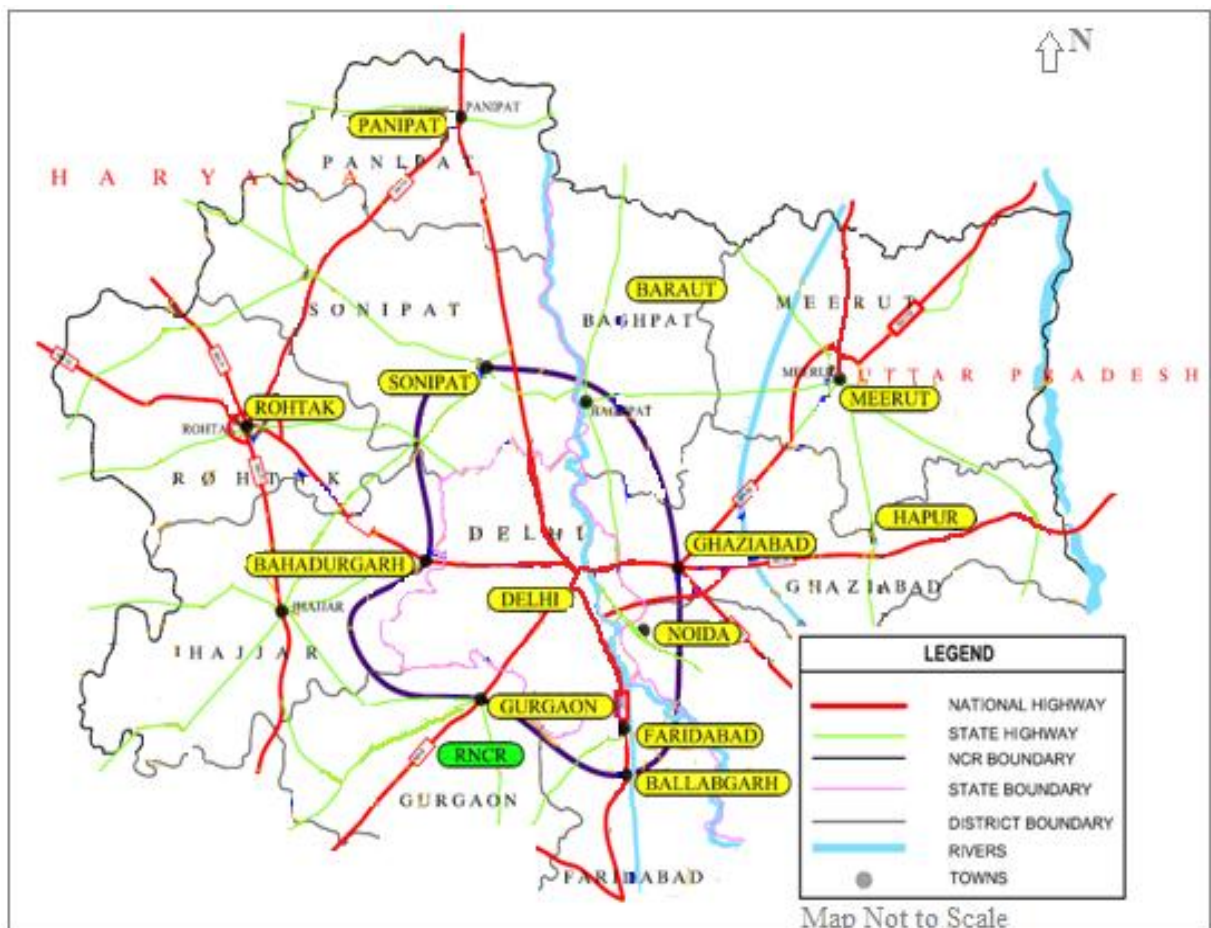
Figure 1.9: National Highways and State Highways in the Study Region.

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[31] Prem Chaudhary (1984), "Punjab Politics: The Role of Sir Chhotu Ram", Vikas Publication Pvt. Ltd. House, p. 3

1.14 RATIONALE BEHIND STUDY

The study brings out the geographic dimensions of the khap domination in Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, with the understanding of the systematic spatial and kinship arrangement over the space. The study tries to bring out the emerging conflicts within the traditional domain of the khap, under the influence of the changes which centrifuge by the urban way of life over the space.

The work tries to understand the social causes of the spatial configuration of the Jat socio-political organization, namely Khap Panchayat, with the fact that processes which will be studied are constructed, reproduced and changed in a way which necessity involves distance, movement and spatial differentiation. Each process of development has its own manifestation on process of social change. The work will try to see the dynamics of development processes in which we could resituate the re-emergence of khap.

This study involves the systematics study of the social life in order to understand the causes and consequences of the human action; it elaborates the effect of human action on the structure of the social institution.

1.15 LIMITATION OF STUDY AND CHALLENGES IN ACCESSING THE FIELD:

The study though reflecting very significantly on the various issues related to the territoriality, nature and structure of the Jat khaps and also involves the analysis of the change ushered by the urban way of life in the khaps. But it has its own limitations, as the study was conducted in the time when in the western Uttar Pradesh and in Haryana, Jats were under the attack due to 2013 Muzaffarnagar Riots and due to boiling of Haryana by the Jat reservation movement. This not only limited the field approachability but also at times forced the interviewee to manipulate and exaggerate certain situations which are driven out of anger from the ongoing turmoil in the region.

The restrictive response of women on the khap questions, also hinders the study to analyses the women perception on the khap, as out of more than 100 women asked only 8 to 10 women filled the questionnaire, as most of them claimed has no or little

understanding of the functioning of these panchayats, as they have heard but never seen the functioning.

The law related to the restriction of women involvement in the *chaupal panchayat* (generally the meeting place of the village but, the meetings conducted here is also known with this name) hinders my *chaupal* observations, and I have to rely on the information given by the informants. As in one of the village Meham, I tried to attend the *chaupal* meeting but was not allowed and so I have to leave the meeting.

My identity as a woman restricts my involvement in various '*baithaks*' (male domain of house) meetings or ongoing male talks in the houses I stayed. This restricts my *baithak* observation upto a level to be reported. In the field I have to take help of male colleagues for the *baithak* and other only male premise observations.

My identity as a Jat woman at times helped me to situate myself with khap heads easily and helped Khap associated members to open up about the ground realities of the jat villages, but this also hinders my easy accessibility to the non-jats of the village, at time while interacting with the Non-Jats in the village I have to hide or manipulate my own caste identity to have the khap understanding from Non Jat point of view.

The village society is very close, and at times this closeness forced the interviewee to manipulate the answers, under the pressure of the people around. As in many cases I observed that the kids and the young boys surrounded me in my field, which at times restricts the respondent to provide the limited opinions about the khaps. At times I was accompanied by the male member of the khap head (or clan head) family member, not by my choice but by theirs, as by this the head clearly conveys his dominance and also wanted to limit my field investigation.

The survey conducted gives the implication that most of the respondents concealed their job status, as in spite of indulging in other activities (which I come to know by staying in village and by making frequent visits time and again in the same village) people just reported me their work status as cultivator, this I understand under the light of the fact of the reverse decision of the supreme court to take the OBC status back from the jats, so most of them can be heard by saying that due to these surveys our status of OBC is being challenged in court.

The sample villages were very difficult to arrive at times, which can be understood with one of my experience. I was not allowed to enter in the village after knowing my affiliations from JNU, as I tried to access that village after 9th Feb 2016 JNU case.

1.16 CHAPTER SCHEME

In order to examine the raised issues and to situate the perspective the research is divided into a total of seven chapters.

The second chapter consists of the comprehensive review of the available literature on the khap panchayats, village society and change in the traditional institutions. This chapter traces the course of research in the field of social aspects of the traditional panchayats and tries to establish the various researched perspectives on khaps and deals with the research gaps and raised issues by the various literatures.

The third chapter introduces the area and provides the outline of the various socio-economic indicators at the district level and also emphasis the temporal analysis of the space with the change over the time. This brings out the exploration of the changes over the space in the particular time and reflects the implications of the changes in the chosen indicators on the traditional social organisation, khaps in this study.

The nest three chapters present the main body of the study. The fourth chapter, based on the qualitative primary survey, represents the spatial extensions of the khap panchayats and elaborates the social and political characteristics of the jat khaps. This also talks about the involved complexities of the structure. The chapter is an elaborative effort to represent the imaginative territoriality of the khaps. The chapter brings out the intricacies of the well spread spatial structure and deep rooted kinship construction of this traditional organisation, based on the well-established and clearly defined components of the structure, which enables these Panchayats to assert their control on the territorial extensions.

The fifth chapter presents an analytical insight into the structural, functional and territorial changes in the khap panchayats. It describes changes and its implications on the structure of the traditional organisation with the help of the observations and narratives derived from the interviews and group discussions. The chapter is an effort to bring out the changes in the various aspects of the khaps under the modern

influences and try to establish the reasons for the continuation of this age old institution. This chapter further elaborates the impact of the change impulses on the functions and territorial adjustments which are derived out of the changing needs of the regions with the time. It also provides the insight into the factors which influence the existence and relevance of the khaps in the contemporary times.

The sixth chapter deals with the representations of the perceptions of people on the khap panchayats. The analysis is based on the social and spatial division of the study. It tries to bring out the associations of the people with the khap and based on the likart scale the perception of people is analysed in this chapter. This chapter is an attempt to establish rural-urban attitudinal differences on the acceptance of the khap.

The seventh chapter narrates the emerging discussion and tries to establish the raised issues related to the contradictions and conflict which are associated with the advent of urbanism in the rural sphere of life, and try to establish the spatiality and temporality of the change and continuity in the khaps with the interventions of the urbanism.

Chapter 2

An Overview of Literature

2.1 SPACE AND SOCIETY

Geographers use the term '*spatiality*' to denote this understanding of the intertwining of the social and the spatial, which makes clear that society and space are simultaneously produced[1]. Social organizations and the individuals within them are 'in' space and their interactions have spatial manifestations.[2] The Spatial' does not exist as a separate realm. Space is a Social Construct and all the social processes necessarily take place over space, so in order to understand 'geography', it is necessary to understand society.[3] Anderson conceptualized societies as '*imagined communities'*.[4] Society is a deceptively simple term; in geographic sense, societies are broad social formations that encompass geographical or territorial divisions. Societies are often produced through a sense of sameness or shared identification. Demarcating a given social group as a society presumes a sense of sameness- a shared sense of identification, interests or belonging at a particular geographic scale.[5]

Developing a sense of place is not simply an effective response, but it also involves a growing sense of what place demands of us in our attitude and actions, in fact, "how we imagine a thing…affects our conduct towards it". Place serves as a stabilizing

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[1] Keith, M. and Pile S. (1993), 'Place and the Politics of Identity', Routledge, London.

[2] Robert Sack, 'Societal Conception of Space', in *Geography Matter! A Reader* by Dorren Massey and John Allen (et.al.).1984. (page 34-47)

[3] Dorren Massey, (1984) 'Introduction: Geography Matters' in *Geography Matter! A Reader* by Dorren Massey and John Allen (et.al.).

[4] Anderson (1983), first used this term to describe nations, imagined community both acknowledges the way members of society identify and reproduce a sense of sameness with each other, while at the same time recognizing the limitation of this identification.

[5] Cindi Katz (2012), 'Social Systems: Thinking about Society, Identity, Power and Resistance', in (ed.) *'Key Concepts in Geography'* by Nicholas J. Clifford, Sarah L. Holloway, Stephan P. Rice and Gill Valentine; Sage publication.

factors of personal identity.[6] In India, Caste plays an important role, where Jati norms and culture shaped character and prescribed rituals, occupational, commensal, marital and social conduct, and, Jati organisation and authority enforced them; such social homogeneity resulted in a sense of exclusiveness and identity that tended to subsume all social roles to that of jati members.[7] The caste system continues to play important role in the Indian system of social stratification, as caste being rooted in a segmental and particularistic universe of social intercourse and social relationship. Caste, as a system of local primary relationships, kinship bonds and loyalties does get deeply involved in political processes; it is politically exploited, being the *only available social group to begin with*; Caste, have been increasingly mobilized for obtaining political support both at the state and national levels of political participation; and as a component of social stratification it influences politics in India through functioning and emergence of dominant castes. With increasing emphasis on primordial regional symbolism in political articulation, political elites increasingly come under pressure to reflect the regional norms and identities from which they derive support; *hence the formation of caste associations* and corporate groups based on traditional social networks has become rampant.[8]

Caste associations are paracommunities that enables members of castes to pursue social mobility[9], political power, and economic advantage; organises what appears to be a politically illiterate mass electorate,[10] hence plays important role in *primordiality*. The state of Haryana is in the clutches of the Casteism as nowhere else, as in other place caste system got refuge in the politics, while in Haryana, he clearly expresses that caste is being nurtured in the family system, the school or colleges provide caste the veneer of respectability, the educated also look up to caste

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[6] Britta Kuhlenbeck (2006), 'Space as Discourse in Japanese Story', HJEANS, Vol 12, No ½ (first of the two issues) pp175-85

[7] Llyod I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph (1967), 'The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India', University of Chicago Press. p.30.

[8] Yogendra Singh (1978), 'Essays on Modernisation in India', Manohar Book Service, pp.52-56.

[9] Caste panchayats prohibits and obstructs and always negotiate other's mobility. Here, mobility means seeking greater social space for themselves in relation to the relatively higher caste and tend to prohibit any such tendency in which any other caste group become mobile.

[10] Rudolph and Rudolph (1967) op. cit.

associations and leaders for acknowledgement and recognition, subsequently, caste flourishes in every institution of Haryana, even the educational institutions, government offices, and hospitals are also perceived through the caste prism, and not just its politics[11].

Caste tension is not new in this part of the country. The khaps enjoy not merely political support but also play a dominant role in local politics so as to ensure that the authority of the rural elites continues to be upheld. The patronisation of khaps by the political parties seems to be the result of the hegemonisation of caste relations over the polity, whereby the political actors themselves firmly believe and support institutions like khaps and their actions. All major political parties lend them clandestine support[12]. Candidates regularly put up by the panchayats by consensus mostly in the constituencies where the panchayats approve or disapprove of the parties' nominees. Unlike the Hindi-speaking states, where the traditionally upper landed castes maintain their electoral presence albeit diminished in the post-Mandal era, in Haryana (like in the case of Jat Sikhs in neighbouring Punjab) it is the non-twice born Jat community divided on the basis of g*otra* that dominates politics and the economy due to their numerical strength (one fifth of the population) and land ownership (more than half of the cultivable land)[13].

Different societies produce qualitatively different conception of space and time.[14] In the agrarian society, the norms as seen to be operating were necessarily in relation to the amount of land that was held in possession of a particular caste. Seen as such the jats clearly emerge as the 'dominant caste' in social, economic and numerical terms, as well as in the emerging politics of the region. This ubiquitous domination by a single caste set the tone and shaped the customs and attitudes followed in rural

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[11] Bhupendra Yadav (2000), 'Haryana's Rising Critical Insider (s)', *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol 35, Issue no 50, pp 4383-4385.

[12] Neerja Ahlawat, The Political Economy of Haryana's Khaps, *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 47, Issue No. 47-48, 01Dec, 2012, pp.15-17.

[13] Ashutosh Kumar, Assembly Elections 2009 in Haryana: Exploring the Verdict, Economic & Political Weekly, january 2, 2010 vol xlv no 1. p.20.

[14] David Harvey (1990), 'Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination', '*Annals of the Association of American Geographers*', vol.80. no.3, pp.418-434

Haryana.[15] At local level the *Jats*, with their three fold domination in the social, economic and numerical spheres were easily mobilized[16] and form their socio-political organization known as *Khap Panchayats*.

Khap Panchayats operate as 'territorial – political unit' and 'social organization'. Social organizations are often territorial. "Territoriality" here does not mean the geographic location and augmentation in space of a social association or of its individuals. Or maybe it implies the attestation by an association or a person for the sake of the association that a range of geographic space is under its impact or control. Though all individuals from social associations involve space, not every single social association make such territorial statements. The social authorization (or institutionalization) of such attestations as property rights, political domains or regions of partnerships and establishments give the setting important to social realities to show distinctive spatial appearances. The form such territorial structure takes and the functions they provide depend on the nature of particular political economies.[17] Every social arrangement builds target originations of space and time adequate into its own particular needs and reasons for material and social propagation and sorts out its material practices as per those originations.

Social orders tend to produce solid bonds to the places they involve and to legitimize these ties through social associations and techniques[18], Khaps are also doing the same. On the historicity of khaps, Suraj Bhan Bhardwaj argues that these Panchayats have for all intents and purposes no legitimate or protected (constitutional) rights. Generally, these Panchayats guarantee authenticity credited to some long recorded custom or certain social traditions[19]. This 'recorded allocation of authenticity' by socially and financially upward portable ranks is not another peculiar phenomena and

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[15] Prem Chowdhary (1987), 'Socio-Economic Dimensions of certain Customs and Attitudes: Women of Haryana in Colonial Period', *EPW* Vol.22, No. 28. pp 2060-66.

[16] Prem Chowdhary (1984),'Punjab Politics: the role of Sir Chhotu Ram', Vikas Publication House Pvt. Ltd. p.3.

[17] Robert Sack,(1984) "Societal Conception of Space", in *Geography Matters! A Reader* by Dorren Massey and John Allen et.al. Cambridge University Press. pp. 34-47.

[18] Robert Sack, ibid. p.42

[19] Suraj Bhan Bhardwaj (2012), 'Myth and Reality of the Khap Paanchyats: A Historical Analysis of the Panchayat and Khap Pnchayat', *Studies in History*, JNU, New Delhi.

it has increased terrible significance in contemporary circumstances[20]. One can argue here that, the rise of successfully functioning organizations can't be forced on society, however are the result of a society's successive historical development of the society and fabric of institution. The making of institutions, that are trusted and seen as "valid" according to social actors pivots to some degree on decision and timing in connection to the heavenly body of financial, social and political parameters.

For a faction to operate successfully over an extended period of time it must meet three conditions: (1) it must be sufficiently cohesive to act as a unit (2) it must be large enough to act as a self-sufficient unit ceremonial group and (3) it must have sufficient economic resources to be independent of other groups. The outstanding characteristics of jat leaders are the possession of wealth, good family background, a reputation for being charitable and giving elaborate feasts, advanced age, education, influence with towns-people, free time to pursue the interests of the group, humility, hospitality, trustworthiness, speaking ability, and the support of a large extended family.[21]

2.2 VILLAGE SOCIETY AND CASTE ASSOCIATION

India is predominantly an agricultural and rural country. An overwhelming majority of her people live in the rural areas. And from the time immemorial the village has been a basic and important unit in the organization of Indian Polity.[22] No Indian village is socially self-contained and its inhabitants interact not only with their co-villagers, but maintain equally important relations with fellow-castemen scattered often over a wide area. One of the characteristic features of the Indian society is the wide spread of caste ties which link person living at a considerable distance and constitute in their totality a network of social rights and obligations extending over hundreds of square miles.

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[20] Susan Bayly (1999), 'Caste, Society and Politics in India: From 18th Century to Modern Age', Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

[21] Oscar Lewis (1958), *'Village Life in Northern India'*, University of Illinois Press. Oscar. p.115.

[22] S.C. Dube, (1955), *'Indian Village'*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Oxford University Press, London. . 01

Change has occurred in society; but change of society is absent. Caste, as an empirical reality, can be relocated in the form of jatis in a specific rural and urban context[23]. "Each caste has its particular rank, defined by tradition and public opinion, and each one maintains it at all costs, or strives to advance itself"[24].

It is hard to stick the term caste to any sociological reality as it has been stuck to excessively numerous social elements-endogamous communities, a class of such communities, an arrangement of social association alludes to exceptionally stratified social framework[25]. The phrase, "the caste system of India" is best taken to refer to that set of ideas about society that many people of India share and that they use systematically in governing their social relations. Salient among these ideas is the view, implicitly held and sometimes explicitly expressed, that most social relations should be hierarchically arranged[26]. This caste system used to work in regional framework[27], but modernization and democratic polity brought the process of horizontal unity[28], and further creation of caste association resulted in Pan-Indian Castes.

With the new forces, of emergence of the larger markets and decline of the village based subsistence production, urbanization and above all the rise of democracy based on adult franchise; the caste based mode of social production, the jajmani system's sustainability started breaking down, with widespread acceptance of new value like equality, self-respect and human dignity, in a changed scenario of socio-economic reality and as a apathy pointed out by the Srinivas that caste itself got a new lease of

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[23] Louis Dumont (1980), *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications*, The University of Chicago Press. Chicago and London.

[24] Emile Charles Marie Senart (1930), *Caste in India*, translated by E. Denison Ross, London, pp.18.

[25] David G. Mandelbaum (1970), *Society in India*, Vol. 1, Continuity and Change, London: University of California press, pp.209.

[26] Louis Dumont (1980), *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, pp.29

[27] Selig S. Harrison (1956), "The challenge to Indian Nationalism", *Foreign Affairs*, p.626.

[28] M.N Srinivas, (1952), *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.213-214.

life through realities of democratic polity, but caste as a system got died- though he also maintained that caste as a system is dying but individual caste is flourishing[29].

Indian society is characterized by the division and hierarchy[30]. Here, regional identities are getting stronger but the content of the regional identities are also changing[31]. Despite of all this, caste continued to define the socio-economic status due to rural base of majority of population and these change do brought differentiation in social space over the geographical space.

A thousand villages or so constitute a culture-area, or at least a sub-culture-area, and the rural community within this region invariably has a number of common cultural characteristics and social forms and values. The village is a territorial unit, the smallest but most significant among territorial groups in the organisation of the village communities. Dubey in Shamirpet, 20 miles way from Hyderabad, noted two types of council of the different castes (or caste panchayats, deals with breaches of norms and traditions) and Inter-Village Council.[32] A typology of peasant societies must also include as a variable the role of kinship, that is, the extent to which the society is organised on a kinship basis.[33] Lewis found the multi village panchayat of the dabas gotra of 20 villages, which was further divided into smaller units of two, three and four villages. A multi village panchayat widely acknowledged as *chokhla* in Rajasthan, a study was conducted by Chauhan in his study analyzed that through collective actions, the *chokhla* helped to maintain some control over its members. Sachchidanand, talked about the multi village panchayat among the Munda tribe and discovered two institutions in particular, Hatu panchayat and Parha Panchayat, and analyzed that while with the inception of statutory panchayats and courtrooms these panchayats were in procedure of rot, the persuasive individuals in the Munda society

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[29] M.N Srinivas, (2003), "An Obituary on Caste as a System", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 5, pp. 459.

[30] K. S Singh, (1992), *People of India- An Introduction*, Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India, pp. 73.

[31] K. S Singh, (1992), *People of India- An Introduction*, Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India, pp.2.

[32] S.C. Dubey (1955), '*Indian Village*', Routledge and Kegan Paul, Oxford University Press, London (pp 01).

[33] Oscar Lewis, (1958), '*Village Life in Northern India*', University of Illinois Press, p 326

attempted to resuscitate the panchayats by changing their organization and capacities to address the difficulties of the circumstances. Murti attempted to dissect the conventional panchayat arrangement of the Badagas of the Nilgiris and found the presence of a panchayat in light of four-level framework (i.e. at apex Four Nad Panchayat, Nad Panchayat, Village Panchayat and Finally at local level Hamlet Panchayat), and this framework forces possess more importance than a modern democratic institutions as here, individuals all around recognize the requirement for the continuation of this customary arrangement of organization at the grass root level.[34] Dubey mentioned that one can not regard Indian Village community as static, timeless and changeless. Time and interplay of historical and sociological factors and forces have influenced the structure,organization and ethos of these communities in many significant ways. According to him religion & caste, landownership, wealth, position in government services & village organization, age, and distinctive personality traits (like sex,education, urban contacts and political affiliations) are the six major factors contribute towards status differentiation in village community[35]. Structural change is a product of social interaction, in which pressures are felt, advantages perceived, and responsibility recognized[36].

Oscar Lewis (1958), emphasized that the small groups or factions, have their positive aspects for community development work as: (1) they provide readymade communication channel to the people. If a village-level worker reaches even a single leader in each faction, his message is sure to reach all the families of the village. (2) They provide ready-made cooperative groups for community projects, and thereby obviate the greater amount of work that would be necessary in a less organized and more individualistic type of society. (3) The organization of leadership on a faction basis provides for a much closer representation of the people than is possible in that more sophisticated and monolithic type of political democracy of some modern western nations which is based on delegated authority. In view of this, it may be

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[34] A. Mantra Murti (1981), 'Traditional Panchayat System of the Badagas of Nilgiri', TheIndian Journal of Political Science, Vol.42, No.3. pp 48-61.

[35] Raymond Firth (1951), 'Elements of Social Organisation', London. p.85.

[36] Dubey, S.C.(1955) op.cit. *p.10*

desirable to build upon the present faction organization a sense of wider community loyalties rather than to destroy the traditional organization. [37]

Over a vast piece of the nation these castes are welded together for common life in the economy and civics of countryside communities. Normal support of day to day life, prescriptive privileges of monopolist administration, and particular events for showing and enjoying superiority over some other caste groups, considered low, made village group were or less an agreeable civic unit. Obviously this congruity was not the concordance of parts that are similarly esteemed, however of units which are thoroughly subordinated to another[38].

2.3 SITUATING WOMEN IN THE PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

In Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh the traditional institution which is funded along the caste lines and further divided on the basis of the gotras and sub gotras within a caste that claim to be descended from a common ancestor and so considered themselves as family, follows the compulsive exogamy, prohibiting marriage within the same clan as this act is considered as incest. The drastic post-colonial changes in the social and economic aspects of Haryana lead to a capitalist consumerist thrust which have had a most constraining effect on women so also have the socio-legal changes. The independent state's intervention on behalf of women through the enactment of the Hindu Code Bill 1955-56 relating to the question of inheritance and marital affairs has exacerbated the need and urgency for control over women.

Khaps time and again comes out with the decisions of lowering the age for the marriage as a solution to crimes against women such as rape. A Sarv Khap Panchayat in Sonepat[39] comes out with the resolution that divorce should be considered a social crime, and the offending party should be ostracized by the village. The time and again assertions of the khap panchayats on the choices of marriages derived from the two important reasons, first, is the first is the impact of the abysmal sex ratio, which is an aftereffect of rapid female sex selective abortions, disregard of girl baby children and

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[37] Oscar Lewis, (1958) op.cit. p.151

[38] G.S Ghurye, (1969), *Caste and Race in India*, Popular Prakashan. Bombay.

[39] www.hindustantimes.com/.../Khap-Panchayats.../Article1-942790.asp. (Accessed on November 22, 2012).

neglible but still prevalent female infanticide. The second is that it is just women in this male-commanded society who have freely confronted the might of the Khap Panchayats and are daring to their writ[40]. There is internal tussle among different clan groups for claiming higher or equal status to maintain their status against difficulties and disintegration emerging from within and outside. The subject of demonstrating exceptionally petulant and welcoming the anger of the standing on the off chance that it has not watched certain standard guidelines of family relationship and exogamy, likened with status and chain of importance. This extraordinary marriage showcase, aside from different reasons, has come about number of men staying unmarried in Haryana. In Census, 36.24 fpercent of men in the classification of 15-49 age (the purported regenerative or eligible age) were appeared to be unmarried. In locale like Rohtak, the rate for classification was as high as forty four[41].

Just as the drastic post-colonial changes in the socio-economy of Haryana leading to a capitalist consumerist thrust have had a most inhibiting effect on women so also have the socio-legal changes. The independent state's intervention on behalf of women through the enactment of the Hindu Code Bill 1955-56 relating to the question of inheritance and marital affairs has exacerbated the need and urgency for control over women.

Despite the widespread acceptance of *ghunghat*, a few disgruntled voices do exist. Some women do privately complain of *ghunghat*. They along with village men justify its retention on the basis of their 'culture' and 'tradition'. This culture defined as dehati (rural) culture, at the heart of which is the woman in *ghunghat*, is necessarily seen against the other, i.e. *shehri* (city) culture. A combination of factors, both historical as well as contemporary are needed to explain this perceived sharp dichotomy that is linked to the persistence of this custom in Haryana. Part of this explanation lies in the abject poverty and stunted agrarian economy of the British days in Haryana which were responsible for certain historically determined social and cultural norms inherited by the rural populace even after independence. The subsistence level

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[40] Kaur, Ravinder,(2010) 'Khap Panchayat, Sex Ratio and Female Agency,' *Economic and Political weekly*, vol XLV NO 23, pp 14-14 (p.14)

[41] Chowdhry, Prem (2009), "First Our Jobs Then Our Girls': The Dominant Caste Perceptions on the 'Rising' Dalits", *Modern Asia Studies*, vol 43, No.2 pp.437-479

economy of this arid and deficit region had come to be reflected in the austere, simple food habits, dressing and living standards[42]. The necessarily limited, coarse diet meant that anything apart from a barely adequate and economical vegetarian meal was considered extravagant; a virtue was made out of sheer necessity; coarse, rough and multipurpose ordinary household requirements made up the austere life-style while any ostentation was ridiculed. Since life-style, dressing and cuisine are general accepted barometers of civilization and culture, Haryana came to represent a region severely lacking in these so-called 'fine aspects'[43].

The enrollment of women in the higher education is on rise in Haryana, but this admission to the institutions of higher education does not lead to the empowerment of women, as the education institutions from schools to college level in Haryana are organised along the caste lines, which can be seen from the prevalence of the Jat, Ahir, Vaish, Gaur Brahmin educational institutions all over the space from last 70-80 years, and these are the part of the process of modernization of the caste. And these caste based educational institutions turned the student into confirmed castiest[44].

Females in spite of being indispensable part of any society are not given that status, rather they are considered as the subordinated class of the society. The work for women is too decided, which includes the repetitive, interruptible, no-dangerous task that do not require extensive excursions and even in these types of tasks the degree of women participation depends on the compatibility of the child care responsibilities and work[45].

Women are probably going to make critical commitment when subsistence exercises have the accompanying qualities: the member is not obliged to be a long way from home; the undertakings are generally dull and don't require riveted fixation; and the

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[42] Prem Chowdhry (1986) 'The Advantages of Backwardness: Colonial Policy and Agriculture in Haryana', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, (Oct- Dec. 1986), vol. 23, no. 3. pp. 236-88.

[43] Prem Chowdhry, (1993) 'Persistence of a Custom: Cultural Centrality of Ghunghat' *Social Scientist*, Vol. 21, No. 9/11. pp. 91-112.

[44] Bhupendra Yadav (2000), 'Haryana's Rising Critical Insider (s)', *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol 35, Issue no 50. pp 4383-4385.

[45] Judith K. Brown (1970), "A Note on the Division of Labor by Sex", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 72 No. 5. pp. 1073-1074.

work is not perilous, can be performed in spite of intrusions, and is effortlessly continued once hindered[46]. Supply side clarifications from human capital hypothesis contend that men and women pick distinctive occupations as a result of the sex division of work in the family. Female are relied upon to assume essential liability for providing care in families, and expect that this obligation will compel their contribution in paid work[47].

In rural areas, most of the families still adhere to the age old traditional norms in which women confinement to the house are considered to be the symbol of status. Rohini Nayyar in her article argues that in the Indian context, both economic considerations and socio-cultural norms are likely to determine female employment. Women belonging to the low income families, landless labourers or farmers are forced, as a response to their family needs, to seek employment. Poverty is an important factor which influenced female participation rate. There is another factor which is also inversely related to the female participation namely, landlessness[48].

In order to analyse the reason behind female seclusion and segregation, among several reasons like regions, religious tradition, caste and class, Barbara D. Miller had taken region into account and analyse the impact of regional factor in order to explain the reasons behind female seclusion and involvement of women in labour participation in rural India. Seclusion of females is related to the economy and its demand for female labour[49].

Besides low female labour participation, there is another factor at work promoting the 'imposition' of female seclusion. The factor is culture, which intercedes between female work and female way of life, just as it intercedes amongst environment and the sexual division of work . In India, the northern Brahmanic culture complex is the to a great extent predominant ideological drive, and it is the Brahmanic culture complex

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[46] Judith K. Brown (1970), "A Note on the Division of Labor by Sex", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 72 No. 5. pp. 1073-1074.

[47] Louise Marie Roth (2004), "Engendering Inequality: Processes of Sex-Segregation on Wall Street", *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 19, No. 2. pp. 213.

[48] Rohini Nayyar (1987), "Female Participation Rates in Rural India", *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 22, No. 51. pp. 2211.

[49] Barbara D Miller (1982), "Female Labor Participation and Female Seclusion in Rural India: A Regional View", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 30, No. 4. pp. 782.

that is the model tried to when caste endeavor to raise their status and when singular families acquire riches. Indeed she concentrates on the point that in the North the withdrawal of females is more unavoidable and rehearsed universally. In the south it is not so strict[50].

In those areas where there has been a more intensive programme of agricultural development, it is likely that female participation rates are lower than elsewhere. This is particularly true in India, where there is a high degree of unemployment and under-employment leading to the withdrawal of women from the labour market, in order to give the males an opportunity of finding work first. This has been termed 'sexual dualism'[51].

However the problem is not that female participation rate are really low. But that even when women are working they are not categorized as such. This, in turn is, due to the fact that neither society nor the women themselves perceive their role in society as anything but marginal in the economic sphere. Rural labour markets are highly segmented, more due to socio-cultural factors than economic considerations and that despite the lower wages for women workers, employers have a greater preference for male workers. This preference stems from social prejudices and social sanctions imposed on the women, preventing their free participation in productive work[52].

Kamla Nath in his article, by using the census data, shows that the work participation rate of urban women is significantly lower than that of rural women. He made the analysis that economic development, with its accompanying urbanization, spread of education and growth of modern organized industries accompanied by the progressive decline in the work participation rate of women[53]. In the Indian context, the traditional upper class/caste norm of excluding women from labour outside the family acts as the barrier for their entry in the labour force. Being oriented to work in caste specific occupations may at times make women pull out or be pushed out of the labour market.

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[50] Barbara D Miller , ibid, p.793

[51] Rohini Nayyar (1987), "Female Participation Rates in Rural India", *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 22, No. 51, p. 2212.

[52] Rohini Nayyar (1987), ibid, p. 2214

[53] Kamla Nath (1968), "Women in the Working Force in India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 3, No. 31, p. 1206.

Wherever women do manage to pull themselves out of these social restrictions, lack of education and skill formation relegated them to the lower rungs of the job market as unskilled casual workers. The influence of economic differentiation, caste structure and the nature of family interact with one another in the formation of female workforce[54].

2.4 SPATIAL MANIFESTATIONS OF SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS

Jats are closer to the socio-economically dominant caste groups—Brahmins and other forward castes— their separate states on an assortment of pointers, for example, per capita utilization consumption, destitution status, instructive fulfillment, and word related status, when contrasted with the current socio-economically disadvantaged groups—Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and the Dalits and Adivasis (or Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes—SCs/STs)[55].

Jats not exclusively do they have preference over "backward" groups, yet they additionally appear to have united their relative position contrasted with less privileged groups. Subsequently, the account of "the ground slipping underneath their feet" is to a great extent in light of discernments and has minimal experimental help in the information[56].

Social organizations and the individuals within them are 'in' space and their interactions have spatial manifestations.[57] The Spatial' does not exist as a separate realm. Space is a Social Construct and all the social processes necessarily takes place over space, so in order to understand 'geography', it is necessary to understand

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[54] Shakti Kak (1994), "Rural Women and Labour Force Participation", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 22, No.3/4, pp. 43.

[55] Ashwini Deshpande, Rajesh Ramachandran, Economic & Political Weekly, Dominant or Backward? Political Economy of Demand for Quotas by Jats, Patels, and Marathas,may 13, 2017 vol liI no 19, Page 81

[56] Ashwini Deshpande, Rajesh Ramachandran, Economic & Political Weekly, Dominant or Backward? Political Economy of Demand for Quotas by Jats, Patels, and Marathas,may 13, 2017 vol liI no 19, Page Page 82

[57] Robert Sack, "Societal Conception of Space", in *Geography Matter! A Reader* by Dorren Massey and John Allen (et.al.).1984. (page 34-47)

society.[58] Social organizations are often territorial. Territoriality here does not mean the area and expansion in space of a social association or of its individuals rather it implies the statement by an association or a person for the sake of the association that a zone of geographic space is under its impact or control. The social enforcement (or institutionalisation) of such declarations as property rights, political domains or regions of partnerships and foundations give the setting important to social certainties to show distinctive spatial signs. The structures such regional structures take and the capacities they give rely upon the idea of specific political economies. Social orders tend to manufacture solid binds to the spots they involve and to legitimize these ties through social associations and methodology.[59] Every social arrangement develops target originations of space and time adequate into its own particular needs and reasons for material and social generation and sorts out its material practices as per those originations; yet social orders change and develop, they are changed from inside and adjust to weights and impacts from without target originations of space and time must change to suit new material practices of social reproduction.[60] Verifiable allocation of authenticity by socially and monetarily upward versatile castes is not another wonder and it has increased terrible significance in contemporary circumstances.[61]

Though both the regions develop through the extent of green revolution, but the process of urban spread and its integration with the upper levels is different in two regions. The economic advancement in Haryana is directly being translated into the state level politics where Jats are in majority and in out of total 10 Lok Sabha constituencies of state, 4 are won by Jats in the state in 2012 elections. While in Uttar Pradesh, being a big state with diverse nature of dominant caste group in different regions within, the economic advancement is not being translated into political domain with this force. So in spite of similar cultural heritage and geographic

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[58] Dorren Massey, (1984) "Introdduction:Geography Matters" in *Geography Matter! A Reader* by Dorren Massey and John Allen (et.al.).

[59] Robert Sack "Societal Conception of Space", in *Geography Matter! A Reader* by Dorren Massey and John Allen (et.al.).1984. (page 34-47)

[60] David Harvey (1990), 'Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination', *'Annals of the Association of American Geographers'*, vol.80. no.3, p. 418-434

[61] Susan Bayly (1999), 'Caste, Society and Politics in India: From 18th Century to Modern Age', Cambridge University Press.

expansion, the administrative boundaries provide different platform to the community to perform differently in the two regions.

Another most important spatial aspect of these caste associations of Jats is that these grew in the close vicinity of National Capital Territory, which should be read with the context of development with expansion of urban spread in the region, experienced due to being in the surroundings of Delhi. So here, the question emerges that what is the insecurity among the locals with this expansion of urbanization. While the expansion of other big cities have not created or reasserted this much strong traditional associations, for instance, Mumbai expanded till Pune, Thane and Navi Mumbai; and Kolkata too have not experienced the emergence of such strong caste panchayats during the expansion.

2.5 KHAP PANCHAYAT AS AN IDENTITY ISSUE

The panchayat is the most seasoned type of debate handling practice in rural areas of India. Be that as it may, such training is not one of a kind to India as it were. Or maybe it is an old practice and is discovered everywhere throughout the world in one shape or the other. In Persian it is known as Majlis. In Poshto it is called Jirga, in Bangladesh it is called Shalish and in Arabic it is known as Sulha. These sorts of conventional panchayats are likewise found all through the Indian subcontinent. They are called by different names at different places like Khap in Haryana, Pal among Meos of Haryana and Rajasthan, Hatu panchayat and Parga panchayat among the Munda tribe of Jharkhand, Peddala Panchayats (elders) in Vishakapatnam district, Kula caste panchayats elders in east and west Godavari distict of Andhra Pradesh respectively. This sort of conventional local justice system has been the reason for regulating country equity in the Indian subcontinent sine the antiquated circumstances. Despite the fact that they are called by various names, yet their primary qualities are pretty much a similar that is casual and limited. These panchayats settled question in a modest and provoke way guaranteeing quick, shabby and reasonable equity in similarity with nearby traditions, conventions and culture.

It can be portrayed as an indigenous establishment of conflict resolution of numerous groups. Its impact is presently limited to countryside largely and its significant part is represented by traditions, conventions, standards of ethical quality and ethos. The mass of rustic India still stays customary, moderate and dedicated to its way of life.

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Their devotion to panchayat as a customary social foundation procures them a feeling of pride, some of the time prompting ethnocentric states of mind, which others think that its hard to acknowledge. The provincial society hones a mix of standards and ethos unordinary to others, yet this mix offers shape to a composite culture and a nearly weave society.

Sanjeev Kumar[62] in his paper, Historicising the Khap Panchayat, explained the historicity of the khap panchayats, that in colonial period in order to collect land revenue smoothly the East India Company had introduced a modified *Mahalwari* system called *gram vyavastha* or village settlement in the areas of the later Punjab province which eventually came to encompass present day Punjab, Haryana, parts of western Uttar Pradesh (UP), Himachal Pradesh, etc. he further explained that at the very first look this *gram vyavastha* (village system) looks very similar to the permanent settlement. But unlike the latter, in this type of settlement, the revenue responsibility was fixed with one or two of the existing bigger landed magnates and they were also given the accountability of collecting land revenue from other peasants and they got almost all the powers and jurisdictions, which were enjoyed by the *zamindars.* These landed elites, within a larger context of proprietary peasants, got so much power that they came to control the socio-political life of their area of jurisdiction. With the introduction and expansion of local self-government, these landed elites became dominant institutions in themselves. It is these landed magnates who are dominating the khap panchayats of today.

The Khap Panchayats for the most part comprise of capable components of the prevailing castes. They are loaded with resigned senior residents who wish to be considered as upholders of traditions of villages, states of rustic culture and patriarchs public morality. Along these lines, they have an incredible hold both at the nearby and state level. Everybody needs to be in their great books and nobody needs to pester these effective components. These prior days' trustworthy bodies have now turned political[63]. It is through them that "the most backward social perspectives" are tried to be actualized. Their grim message is that the caste characterized Lakshman Rekha not

[62] Sanjeev Kumar (2013) 'Historicising the Khap Panchayat', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol xlviII no 6. Page no.5.

[63] Chaudhary, D.R. (2014), "Khap Panchayat and Modern Age", National Book Trust. New Delhi.

to be broken. Since time back, the presence of Khap Panchayats has been defended for the sake of safeguarding the respect and estimations of the community to maintain the sacredness of age long traditions and practices by managing the lead of individuals. These Panchayats takes after a specific "code" which is an unwritten law for them[64]. In the recent past it has been observed that Khap Panchayat are being actively dominated by retired army officers or civil officers who use it as platform to project their own political image.

Khap Panchayats, the earlier credible bodies with a social outlook is now highly politicized. In the name of preserving the Indian culture, they are perpetrating crimes and therby nurturing a culture of crimes for descendants.[65] On the pretext of safeguarding culture and tradition, the Khap Panchayats are being harnessed to gain political mileage and to exploit the ignorance of the local populace by creating mass hysteria.[66] Rapid changes in the objective qualities of social space and time are both confusing and disturbing, precisely because their revolutionary implications for the social order are so hard to anticipate. Trend of the collapse of traditional roles are, 'especially troubling'. But societies change and grow, they are transformed from within and adapt to pressures and influences from without objective conceptions of space and time must change to accommodate new material practices of social reproduction.[67]

Bhupendra Yadav[68] mentioned that these customary panchayats have a few quirks and one of them is that they are for the most part male establishments. Their allure and adequacy are gigantic on the grounds that capable components of powerful castes normally take an interest in their thoughts and stand guarantors to their choices. The punishments the traditional panchayats hand out for the transgression are archaic. The

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[64] Kavita Kachhwaha (2011), 'Khap Adjudication in India: Honouring the Cullture with Crime', International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences, Vol 6, Issue 1&2, Jan – June/July – December (combined issue).

[65] Kavita Kachhwaha, ibid.

[66] Suraj Bhan Bhardwaj (2012), Myth and Reality of the Khap Paanchyats: A Historical Analysis of the Panchayat and Khap Pnchayat', Studies in History, JNU.

[67] David Harvey(1990), 'Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination', 'Annals of the Association of American Geographers', vol.80. no.3, p. 418-434.

[68] Bhupendra Yadav, (2010), op.cit.

way the caste panchayats address issues and decide matters smacks of vengeful patriarchy, and unmindful of social justice. Transgressions of village norms, rural culture and public morality keep taking place all the time. However, around the election time the intense and powerful of the overwhelming caste in khap panchayats activate forcefully.

Khap Panchayats are extremely old. However, they pulled in the consideration of researchers just when the electronic media highlighted some of their decisions which violated the human rights. These diktats can negatively influence the human rights of people. These choices were primarily identified with relational unions which damaged the conventional good set of principles, particularly the idea of town bhaichara (fraternity), gotra bhaichara (faction fellowship) or Khap Bhaichara (fraternity of people having a place with same Khap, meaning equality inside the Khap), which frame the premise of group amicability in Indian villages, particularly those in northern India[69]. Presently the expert of these Khap Panchayats has been tested by current foundations.

Bhupendra Yadav[70], successfully captured the reasons behind of public ire on khaps:

A. *Dearth of academic research*: We don't know them is due to dearth of academic research on khaps so we hate them as we hate some stereotypical "others" i.e. we assume the "others" can never be our friends because we feel they are differen from us and we don't know them enough.

B. The functionaries of caste and khap panchayats have not endeared themselves to civil society by their over bearing behaviour or *autocratic decisions*.

C. They are also connected to the universal phenomena like *universal avoidance of incest.*

This sort of neighborhood casual equity framework has been the reason for managing rural justice in the Indian subcontinent sine the antiquated circumstances. They have assumed a main part in "social service" by decision on issues, for example, women education, prompting land being donated for the reason. There are cases of their part in the development of preclusion, imperviousness to the emergency regime and state

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[69] Pradhan, M.C. (1966). "The Political System of the *Jat*s in Northern India", OUP, Oxford. page no 59
[70] Bhupendra Yadav, (2010), op.cit.

mistreatment on different events, additionally settled long standing family fights backpedaling to the eras, attempted endeavors to check the discomfort of female foeticide, advance young girl education, control malpractices in marriage, keeping up the profitability of land and furthermore attempted to advance inter-caste fraternity. They keep on being gotten upon to dole out judgment, particularly by poor people, for whom it is a shabby, snappy and successful method for settling conflicts.

In 1980s, Mahendra Singh Tikait started using Pnachayats as a Platform to discuss the grievances of farmers. They were vocal against the administration and even violent when provoked." Today, the panchayats are neither talking about agriculturists' issues nor their conventions. They are centered just around how to spare their clansmen from the 'other group' and an antagonistic organization. Pundits have asked whether these all male, unelected town committees ought to be permitted to exist in present day India? While the Supreme Court and others have questioned their legality, Social scientist and law experts – Anand Kumar, Prof. of Sociology in JNU – say, "we cannot ignore them; we cannot wish them away. While the role and prestige of these groups are shrinking in some ways, as younger generations become exposed to more modern idea through urbanization and the media, they often have staunch supporters in legally elected local politicians. Khaps are wanning at the social level, but are getting rejuvenated by political parties in our country. Politicians want to cash in on 'primordial ties' to garner votes, so after every election these groups get more powerful. Politicians seldom back these khaps publically, but they have an implicit agreement to support each other."

Data about the numbers, statistic dissemination and particular political impact of existing khap is elusive, however scholarly specialists say these institutions can be more effective than locally chose panchayats. "Khap appears to do well in the zones where politically chose panchayats are feeble" – Rani D.Muller, Prof. at school of William and Mary, additionally composed a book Village level democracy in India. Not every person concurs with the most astounding court's proposals to weed out these institutions with a few supporters contending that they have social esteem. Madhu Purnima Kishwar – Prof. at Centre for the Study of Developing Societies in Delhi – "There are plenty of tyrannical police officials, plenty of incompetent and corrupt judges in India, who pass very retrogressive judgment. But no one says ban the police and the law courts. By what right do they demand a ban on khaps, simply

because some members have undemocratic views? She said that most 'educated elite' in India don't know anything about the vital role played by these 'age-old institutions of self governance'. Khaps can play a positive role in society, like in Bibipur village of Haryana, local khaps came forward with anti-feticide campaign." Chowdhary argues that the effectiveness of statutory panchayats remained "shallow" whereas traditional panchayats have made their presence felt on social issues. The main work of traditional panchayats revolves around the issues threatening the peace of villages, disputes over poverty and inheritance and sexual/ marital transgressions.

Individuals from this unlawful, parallel institutions of "equity and justice" regularly summon an all-made party that hunches around a "chabutra" in the town (smoking Hookah some of the time symbolizes fraternity) desiring of taking fast, one-sided and incontestable judgments on various issues like social transgressions, marriage, offenses, property rights, legacy, or with respect to circumstances debilitating serenity in the village.

Khap Pradhans are of conclusion that these khap panchayats do equity and don't report choices in as opposed to those articulated in the modern court of Law., which is as per them is tedious, include colossal use and have procedural issues like the annihilation of confirmation and witness antagonistic vibe, and each trial can tested by the other in higher court, so legalities leave individuals unsatisfied and raise greater threatening vibe between two groups that could proceed for a considerable length of time. Since these choices don't include triumph or thrashing of any of the fighting party, there is degree for both the parties to agree to the judgments of the khap panchayats without proceeding with their antagonistic vibe.

The existence of factions, the persistence of kinship loyalities, the absence of village wide leadership, and the limited identification with larger groups, present some hurdles for community development. It is essential that all those connected with village work understand the complexity of village social organization so that they can utilize that organization most effectively in the attainment of their goal. If those sponsoring community development work desire to encourage the breakdown of factions and the development of village-wide and nation-wide loyalities, the first step must be to become aware of the existing factions, their nature and dynamics. To ignore these factions, or, just as bad, to admit that they exist and then forget about

them will simply help to perpetuate rather than eliminate them. It is only in action programs around common goals that factionalism can be reduced and perhaps eventually eliminated.[71]

Notwithstanding, the inquiry that stimulate after the presentation of the modern legal system and other popularity based organizations was that now individual could express his or her craving and could get question settled without the weight of gotra, position or group, why and how were the khap panchayats to keep on being important? Reception of stringent lawful measure is the need of hour; however that by itself won't suffice. The reason is: Attitude, "Established throughout the hundreds of years by the medieval and patriarchal set-up, changing the outlook of the general population today is harder than the hardest thing on the planet (Kulkarni 2010).

2.6 CHANGING TRADITIONAL SPATIAL ASPECTS OF 'KHAPLAND': RISE OF CONTRADICTIONS

'Society' and 'Space' gives identity to each other and the mushrooming Khaps in the Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh gives the region an identity of 'Khapland'. The region possessed certain characteristics of development, and typical social structure, which prevailed through ages, which contextualise the growth and effectiveness of Khaps in modern times. The caste panchayats in the region can assert in a more powerful manner in the region as here the dominant caste outnumber other communities and take an advantage of being numerous and resourceful. Jats are not lingering behind—not even in government occupations—but rather they are managing structural moves in their livelihoods because of the agricultural crisis. Jodhka proposes that it is not the underestimated Jat cultivator, but rather the upwardly portable Jat elite who are articulating the interest for quantities; the Jat tip top would prefer not to be stuck in agribusiness and feel unfit to rival upper ranks in urban zones[72].

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[71] Oscar Lewis (1958) '*Village Life in Northern India*', University of Illinois Press. Oscar. Page 151.

[72] Ashwini Deshpande, Rajesh Ramachandran, (2017). Dominant or Backward? Political Economy of Demand for Quotas by Jats, Patels, and Marathas", *Economic & Political Weekly*, vol 52 no 19, p. 89.

The province of Haryana represents the rapid improvements and strengthening of prevailing cultivating communities in the post-Independence period; it likewise typifies the dwelling together of worldwide free enterprise and defiled feudalism. After detachment from Punjab in 1966, Haryana has remained a transcendently Hindu state with Jats as the prevailing position. Today with a for each capita wage of Rs 92,327 (2011), it beat the rundown of the states on that score, aside from Goa with Rs 1,32,719. In any case, the appropriation of income and riches is extremely unequal – the Jats have excessively cornered the advantages of quick monetary development, and their pioneers, with the benefits of influence and pelf, try to keep whatever is left of the group in their thrall[73].

Haryana's post-colonial socio-economy comes in sharp contrast to the colonial times when it had remained one of the most back- ward and underdeveloped regions of British India. The needs of imperialism had given very low priority to any improvement of agriculture and British irrigation policies had kept this region starved of this basic requirement, which is the crucial determinant of agriculture. The 45 years of independence have, however, situated the rural women of Haryana in a different rural set up. The introduction of wide-reaching agro-economic changes has successfully catapulted this region from a backward subsistence level economy to be the second richest state in India[74].

Jats, being negligible agriculturists, have not exclusively been skirted by the procedure of monetary advancement however have been additionally minimized by it. This is on the grounds that they couldn't exploit the Green Revolution due to their small and uneconomic land possessions, couldn't enter present day callings because of absence of scholastic capabilities and couldn't take up some different occupations because of caste pride. Their parcel has been made significantly more troublesome by the procedures of progression, privatization and globalization. Their disappointment

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[73] Anand Teltumbde, (2012). "Haryana's Rapist Regime", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol xlviI no 44, p.A135.

[74] Prem Chowdhry, High Participation, Low Evaluation Women and Work in Rural Haryana, A-122 Economic and Political Weekly December 25,

with political administration has made these pauperized farmers look in reverse rather than forward[75].

As examined above, while fast globalization and progression has demonstrated productive for some Indians in urban areas and towns, it has demonstrated less fruitful in giving open doors in rural zones, particularly for young fellows. In state of Haryana, unemployment is overflowing among young fellows. Accordingly, youthful unemployed men are progressively subject to landed senior citizens who likewise control the khap panchayats. Chowdhry contends that 'the help of unemployed… men to the working of the caste panchayat is obvious in issues managing the rupture of marriage standards, similar to regional and faction exogamy or position endogamy .' The motivation behind why youthful unemployed men bolster khap panchayat directs is that they are frequently 'defenseless against the charge of undermining/effeminacy' since they can't satisfy the 'provider' part expected of them in their groups . Accordingly, they look for acknowledgment 'by supporting/partaking and actualizing the choices of the overwhelming standing male initiative who make major decisions at the customary panchayat' so as to keep up neighborhood authority . The suggestions however are more extensive and gendered. Chowdhry talks about how the conduct of young fellows in contemporary Haryana has regularly prompted guardians training their girls significantly more nearly inside the family. At the point when a young fellow is unemployed, his positionality inside the group is built as needs be (that is, his youth ends up noticeably reached out in many regards). Youthful unemployed men are comprehended to be reliant (mental and monetary) and under the broadened observation of the neighborhood administration of the senior citizens. Chowdhry composes that, the unemployed male section of Haryana society has been the real supporter and implementer of such choices… [they] are probably going to see the transgression of marriage standards in a more dangerous manner. It has much to do with the break of caste and customary norms as with the patriarchal worry with manliness. Since they have the prevalent general assessment with them, they get

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[75] Ranbir Singh, quoted in Neha Dixit, 'A Taliban of our very own,' *Tehelka* vol. 6, no. 32 (15 August 2009), online:

http://archive.tehelka.com/story_main42.asp?filename=Ne150809a_taliban.asp, accessed: 15 September 2013

excessively on edge, skirting on the aggressive, when conventional standards in marriage are ruptured or when other caste young girls are tried to be brought into their position overlap or surprisingly more dreadful if their caste girl wed across caste, class and status lines[76].

In the meantime, and rather amusingly, Chowdhry traces that young fellows have additionally embraced utilization practices and qualities related with the urban male populace, which 'has implied new models of conduct and way of life [and] better approaches for investing energy and cash. So while they make preparations for change inside their groups, youthful unemployed men in rustic ranges are likewise receiving utilization designs related with the west that they are progressively presented to in their regular day to day existences by the expanding globalization in India. Changes in utilization designs among young fellows are fiscally bolstered by older folks in the khap on the condition that young fellows do as directed by the khap panchayat. The relationship turns into a recurrent one, at the end of the day one of reliance and topsy-turvy control relations for male older folks.

Neerja Ahlawat[77], elaborates the views on the story of economic development of Haryana which has not being translated into the corresponding gains in the social sphere as the people persistently remained exposed and subjected to traditional institutions and their regressive practices and further elaboration leads to the development of the argument that this created the paradox in the state which clearly indicates that how development can sometimes be a misnomer if it does not change 'unjust' cultural thoughts and practices based on the traditional institutions. Bhupendra Yadav[78] argues that Haryana is demonstrating the sprouts of the conceivable outcomes of the arrangement of the 'critical insider' among different segments of the general public of Haryana. These people assume a critical part in giving scholarly and good authority to the general population. However, these 'critical insiders' and people who have practiced the 'right to exit' are unfortunately

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[76] Chowdhry, (2005) op.cit.

[77] Neerja Ahlawat, (2012), 'The Political Economy of Haryana's Khaps, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 47, Issue 1, pp 47-48

[78] Bhupendra Yadav (2000), 'Haryana's Rising Critical Insider (s)', *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol 35, Issue no 50, pp 4383-4385.

excessively few in the socio-cultural scene in Haryana. Thus, the impression made is that Haryana needs advancement; that it has no cutting edge scholarly people worth specifying.

J.S. Yadav[79] explains that how the processes of democratization, relative economic independence, and other forces of modernization have loosened the rigidity of traditionally segmented rural society in Haryana. He further elaborates that these traditional structures have been able to confine some of these extra-community forces and has been adapting, adjusting and reorganizing it-self in the face of new situations. He explains that the system of universal adult franchise has supplemented a new dimension to the traditional power structure of the community, and the judicial and executive powers of the statutory panchayats further affected the power pattern. The relative economic well-being and the new power patterns have made the villagers less dependent upon each other, which eventually weaken the social bonds of caste membership, kinship and brotherhood bonds, which in turn disturb the traditional system. He further establishes that the traditional rigidity of pana, tholla, and other kin and caste groups has slackened and the formation of groups on the basis of interest-orientation has tended to increase. But he also emphasis in last that the contemporary context of the traditional bases of kin and caste affiliations have not become totally irrelevant as these groups have transformed into the interest-oriented factions on non-traditional bases.

The recent development of corridors from sprouting from the Urban have created a kind of insecurity in the dominant structure of Jats, as emanating new lifestyles due to proceeding urbanization threatened the traditional authority of Jats.

So this Khapland should be read with the context of development and the specificity of regional politics. The expansion of urban spaces raises the crises of certain deep rooted values of the society which are patriarchal in nature and against urbanism itself. So agrarian community of dominant caste in the region feels threatened by certain waves of development and in-migration and hence in reflection to this insecurity, they revive the dying structure of khaps to re-assert their power and dominance.

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[79] J. S. Yadava (1968), 'Factionalism in a Haryana Village', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 70, No. 5, pp. 898-910.

2.7 DISCUSSION

The literature survey brings out the socio-political aspects of various social organisations. The extensive literature survey brings the various issue related to the political aspect of the khaps and their involvement in the State politics, and also try to situate women in the patriarchal space which is guided by the norms and rules of khaps. The literature also raised the issues that the economic development of the region is not being translated in the social sphere and people remained exposed to the regressive practices of the khaps. The preliminary work of M.C. Pradhan act like the elaborative guide to understand the extensively engraved institution on social and spatial front.

The literature open up the insight that the space is changing rapidly in the modern times, these changes brought development to the region, which at times can be the misnomer as the changes are not able to uproot the 'unjust' cultural practices. The present study is an attempt to understand that how the waves of modernity created a kind of crisis in the agrarian economy over the time and, how this crisis act as the thrust to re-establishes these institutes in more vigor manner in order to achieve the desired goal of the domination over the space which is slipping out of the hands of these khaps due to the influence of urbanism. The study provides a detailed account that how in order to re-establish and re-affirm their presence over the space, these institutes undergo the urgency of change, to make themselves 'survive'. This study is an attempt to explore the un-raveled spaces of the contradictions created by the new ways of the life which brings in change and by the traditional forces which are more rigid to change in order not to loose their control.

The current study adds to a significant dimension of research with the geographical exploration of the structural and territorial aspects of the traditional socio-political caste panchayats of the jats. The study is exploratory in nature, and first of its kind to understand the 'imagined territorialities' of the khaps and also explore the nature of changing imagination/perception about the territorial control of these traditional institutions. The study provides the geographical understanding of the changes that are driven by the forces of the urbanism and which are seen as the threats by the traditional structure of domination.

Chapter 3

Dynamics of Socio – Economic Characteristics

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of the pattern emerges out of the distribution of any phenomena over the geo-plane, is of prime concern for the geographers as it helps not only in identifying the present distribution pattern but also expresses the future spatial trends as well[1]. Everything happens somewhere, and this suggests that all the actions are necessarily embedded in place and may be in turn affected by their placement[2]. To understand the social life it is important to understand the spatial and temporal arrangements of particular social actors[3]. Space changes with time and this temporality of spatial arrangement is important in understanding the change in social activity and interaction.

In space nothing can disappear completely, what came earlier strengthen the next and so it is necessary to understand that the space occupies its arrangement and processes within a time frame[4], so spatial arrangements of various characteristics need to be elaborated in the specific time frame. The temporal analysis of the spatial characteristics is significant to study as it shows that how the spatial arrangement of the dimensions of coexisting differences emerges or getting translated over the space in specific time. This chapter deals with the changes in the spatial attributes with the increase of urbanism, with in the specific time. As urbanism is not only limited to the

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[1] R.C. Tiwari, (1979) "Spatial Distribution and Types of Rural Settlements in the Lower Ganga-Yamuna Doab" *National Geographer*. Volume XIV. No.2 pp.129-146

[2] Abbott A. (1997) "Of time and space: the contemporary relevance of the Chicago School". *Social Forces*. Vol 75. pp 1152

[3] Logan JR.(1978) " Growth, politics, and the stratification of places." *American Journal of. Sociology*. Vol. 84 pp.404–416.

[4] Lefebvre, Henri (2002) The production of space, in ed Michael J. Dear and Steven Flusty, "The spaces of Modernity: Reading in Human Geography", Blackwell Publisher, USA, pp 131 - 141 (p134)

cities or limited to the persons of cities so its effect can be traced out beyond the limits of the urban areas. Anderson explains the outreaching or "centrifugal" influence[5] of urban life as penetrating in all areas of contemporary societies with the ubiquitous urban symbols and identifies a number of the distinctive elements of the urban way of life which have influence on the hinterland too by providing the wider range of alternatives for individuals in most aspects of living and involves the availability of wide range of services and alternatives in terms of types of work, educational facilities, medical facilities, modes of travel, voluntary organizations, types of people, housing, food, clothing, and so on[6].

The area under the khaps and the profile of villages within their ambit is changing continuously. Change is the most commonly inherited characteristics of any social system. The survival of the traditional institution with the deep rooted belief though still exist, but cannot be said that nothing has changed. As now there are more schools in the villages, facility of health centers is there, more number of the tractors, tube-wells, more number of buses and trucks for communication, televisions, and more mobile phones are used by people. So, on the one hand people are becoming more technically advanced and more willing to adapt the new technologies and welcoming the televisions, while on the other hand, the traditional practices which are out dated are still prevalent, which raised the question: has there been any change in villages?

The change on the space can be shown through various facets, but one has to define the boundary of the frame of analysis. First and foremost way is to make a distinction between those aspects of change that are *manifest* and visible, and those that are *latent* and not directly visible, which usually underlie the manifest changes. The first category of change includes the change in education, economic and technological changes, while the second category includes more hidden aspects of change such as attitudes and values.

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[5] Anderson Nels, (1970) "The Urban Way of Life" in "Urban Sociology: Contemporary Readings" ed by: Fuad Baali and Joseph S. Vandiver ACC Meredith Corporation, New York pp 94 to 100.

[6] Lewis Oscar, (1970) "Further Observations on the Folk-Urban Continuum and Urbanisation with Special Reference to Mexico City" in "Urban Sociology: Contemporary Readings" ed by: Fuad Baali and Joseph S. Vandiver, ACC Meredith Corporation, New York. pp 123 - 131 (p 128).

The area under the influence of the Khap Panchayats is also changing with the time, which is continuously creating the spaces of contradictions as the imagination of traditional way of life and traditional structure is crumbling down with the advent of the new values in the domain traditional. This chapter will bring out changes in the certain specific spatial characteristics, like Literacy Rate, Workforce Participation Rate, Non-Agricultural Workforce Participation Rate, Sex Ratio, Child Sex Ratio, Share of Urban Population, Number Of towns over the time, with the help of the secondary data available, which is significant to relate to the emerging changes in the khap area over the time.

3.2 LITERACY RATE: SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTION

Census defines the literate as – "A person aged 7 years and above who can both read and write with understanding in any language was taken as literate". Literacy Rate is the total percentage of population aged seven years and above who can read and write with the understanding out of population of an area at a particular time, most important tool to achieve the confidence and to maintain the better participation in the community with the healthy exchange of ideas and dialogues. The literacy rate over the period of time in the Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh shows a continuous increase, in both the sectors of the rural and urban, and also the increase is experienced by both males and females.

Total literacy in Haryana in 2011 was highest in Jhajjar (80.6%) followed by Rohtak (80.2%) in the surveyed nine districts across western Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. Literacy was lowest in Muzaffarnagar (69.1%) followed by Jind (71.4%). Muzaffarnagar was continuously on the bottom in terms of literacy among these districts since 1991 to 2011. Jind was highest in 1991 and literacy rate was highest in Rohtak in 2001. Male literacy was continuously higher than the female in the given reference years. Districts of Haryana were better literate than the districts of Uttar Pradesh. Rohtak and Jhajjar were better in terms of education across gender throughout three decades. Again Muzaffarnagar, Meerut and Baghpat were districts with low literacy. Jind was best performer in terms of education in 1991 census but its position declined in the coming decades, and position was taken by Rohtak and Jhajjar. Increase in the share of literate population was higher in the Uttar Pradesh as

compared to Haryana as around 26 percent increase of literacy in UP in compare to Haryana's around 20 percent, and the pattern prevails across gender in these years.

Total literacy of Haryana is higher than the Uttar Pradesh across rural and urban spectrum. Male are more literate than the females in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. Males of Haryana are more literate than the male of Uttar Pradesh and female of Haryana is more literate than the female of Uttar Pradesh. Urban literacy is higher than the rural literacy in both genders. Total literacy rate, in 2011, of Haryana is 75.6 percent. Total literacy is highest in Jhajjar and lowest in Jind in Haryana, whereas rural literacy is highest in Rohtak and lowest in Hisar. Urban literacy is highest in Rohtak and lowest in Jind. Female literacy is highest in Rohtak and lowest in Jind. Rural literacy among female is highest in Jhajjar and lowest in Hisar in Haryana.

In 2011 total literacy rate of Uttar Pradesh is 67.7 percent whereas rural literacy is 65.5 percent and urban literacy is 75.1 percent. Urban females are more literate than the rural females. Literacy rate is found higher in Baghpat in comparison to Muzaffarnagar. Total male literacy is highest in Baghpat and lowest in Mujaffarnagar. Female literacy is better in baghpat in comparison to Mujaffarnagar.

Illiteracy is higher in Uttar Pradesh in comparison to Haryana in selected districts of study area. Illiteracy is more prevalent in females in comparison to males even the various level of education among women is low in comparison to males among selected districts of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. Illiteracy is highest in Muzaffarnagar and it is lowest in Jhajjar. Illiteracy among females is highest in Hisar and it is lowest in Jhajjar.

Urban literacy is around 10 percent higher than rural literacy. Rural literacy is highest in Jhajjar and it is lowest in Muzaffarnagar in 2011. Jind was slightly lowesr than Muzaffarnagar in terms of rural education in 2001. Again urban literacy was highest in Jhajjar and it was lowest in Muzaffarnagar in 2011, similar pattern prevailed in 2001 in urban areas. Urban and rural literacy both were higher in the districts of Haryana in comparison to the districts of Uttar Pradesh.

The data of literacy rate from 1991 to 2011, shows a significant increase in the literacy in the given time as for Haryana it increase form 55.8% from 1991 to 2011 and for Uttar Pradesh the increase is from 41.6% to 67.7%. All the districts

experienced the increase in the literacy rate within the given time frame all across the rural and urban sector and across the gender.

Table 3.1: Spatial and Temporal Distribution of Literacy Rate 1991 to 2011

District/State (figures are in %)	TOTAL LITERACY RATE			MALE LITERACY RATE			FEMALE LITERACY RATE		
	2011	2001	1991	2011	2001	1991	2011	2001	1991
Sonipat	79.1	72.8	64.1	87.2	83.1	77.2	69.8	60.7	48.3
Jind	71.4	62.1	47.0	80.8	73.8	61.1	60.8	48.5	30.1
Hisar	72.9	64.8	47.9	82.2	76.6	61.4	62.3	51.1	32.1
Bhiwani	75.2	67.4	54.2	85.6	80.3	70.9	63.5	53.0	35.1
Rohtak	80.2	73.7	62.2	87.7	83.2	76.2	71.7	62.6	45.7
Jhajjar	80.6	72.4		89.3	83.3		70.7	59.6	
Muzaffarnagar	69.1	60.7	44.0	78.4	71.9	56.6	58.7	47.8	29.1
Meerut	72.8	64.8	51.3	80.7	75.0	64.5	64.0	53.1	35.6
Baghpat	72.0	64.2		82.4	77.0		60.0	49.2	
Haryana	75.6	67.9	55.8	84.1	78.5	69.1	65.9	55.7	40.5
Uttar Pradesh	67.7	56.3	41.6	77.3	68.8	55.7	57.2	42.2	25.3

Source: Computed by Author, with the data of the Census, 1991, 2001 and 2011.

Table 3.2: Spatial and Temporal Distribution of Rural and Urban Literacy Rates

District/State (figures are in %)	Rural Literacy Rate		Urban Literacy Rate	
	2011	2001	2011	2001
Sonipat	76.9	70.1	83.9	80.6
Jind	68.9	58.5	80.1	75.9
Hisar	68.7	60.2	81.7	77.8
Bhiwani	73.7	65.2	81.5	76.6
Rohtak	76.8	69.5	84.9	81.3
Jhajjar	79.4	70.4	84.3	79.4
Muzaffarnagar	68.3	58.8	71.0	65.9
Meerut	70.7	62.7	74.8	67.0
Baghpat	71.7	63.3	73.3	68.0
HARYANA	71.4	63.2	83.1	79.2
UTTAR PRADESH	65.5	52.5	75.1	69.8

Source: Computed by Author, with the data of the Census, 2001 and 2011.
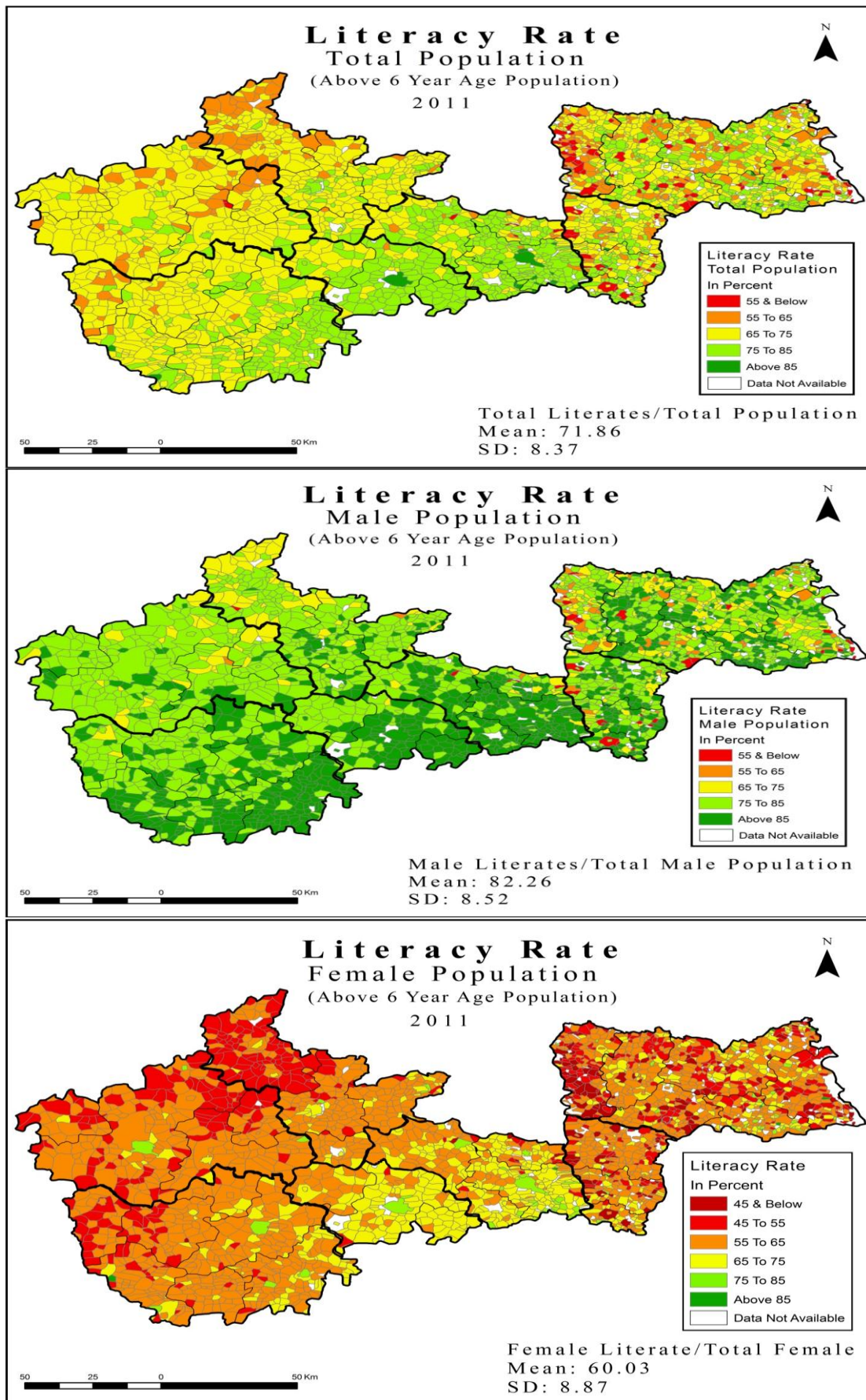
Figure 3.1: Village Level Distribution of Literacy Rate, 2011, for total population, male population, (Source: Computed by author with the help of the census data, 2011)

3.2.1 Village Profile of the Literacy Rate:

The village profile of literacy rate shows the spatial pattern of literacy rate upto the village level. The district of Rohtak and Sonipat seems to have high literacy rate in comparison to the others, for total, male, and female literacy rates. The village representation of the literacy rate, with 82% average for the males and 60% for the females, clearly indicates to the patriarchal setup of the area, in which more number of females are debarred to get literate.

Though the female literacy and male literacy shows the similar spatial pattern with high literacy in the villages around the Rohtak, Sonipat and Bhiwani, while the villages of Hisar, Jind, Muzaffarnagar and Baghpat shows the lw level of literacy for both males and females.

3.3 LEVELS OF EDUCATION

Education as one of the qualitative aspect of human life is considered as most significant characteristics as it has a potential to create the knowledge based high quality of human capital in society so a very significant propeller of development. It is instrumental in determining the social-status and worth by an individual in society. It is regarded as one of the prime instrument for improving the condition. Not only this, education is also considered as an instrument to serve the social object of equalizing the under privileged in the matters of opportunities for advancement and enabling them to use their educations as a lever for improvement of their condition. Education is the social institution in human society, though education makes its impact in the larger society, it is constantly affected in various ways by the social institutions like stratification, polity, economy and religion.

Caste as the basic element of the structure of Indian social system controls and operates the society as an institution from the past. As a social institution, education does not exist in isolation from the other social institutions in society and it exists in constant interaction with other societal institutions and operates in the context of its relationship with them, and within this process of interaction education affects, and is constantly affected by, the other social institutions. Every society, with the presence of social stratification, faces the disparity in access to education and inequality in

achievement of education[7] The level of education is calculated from the data of the census of India from 1991 to 2011, and classified into the six broad categories of: Illiterate, Middle and below (which include primary and middle levels of education), Secondary, Higher secondary (which include the diploma not equal to the degree), Graduation and above level.

More than 40 percent of the population in this region have middle and below level of education. As the level of education increases, the share of population in that category also decreases. But the maximum population are educated up to middle and below level of education. Graduate and above level of education is found to be highest in Rohtak and it is lowest in Jind and Muzaffarnagar in 2011. Rohtak and Jhajjar are well educated districts in terms of higher level of education whereas districts of Uttar Pradesh are least educated districts since last three decades. In 2011 there is just around one percent difference between primary level of education in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, where it slightly higher in case of Haryana. Share of primary level population is highest in Jind and it is lowest in Baghpat among selected districts. Percentage share of matriculation population is higher in Haryana (13.8%) than Uttar Pradesh (8.8%). It is highest in Jhajjar (19.7%) and it is lowest in Mujjafarnagar. Number of people having graduate and above degree is higher in Haryana (4.0%) in comparison to Uttar Pradesh (3.6%). It is highest in Jhajjar and it is lowest in JInd.

Illiteracy is higher in Uttar Pradesh in comparison to Haryana and illiteracy among urban female is higher than the urban male. Level of education of female is lower than male in every category. Illiteracy among selected districts for the study is highest in Mujjaffarnagar and it is lowest in Rohtak. Middle and below level of education is highest in Mujaffarnagar and it is lowest in Jhajjjar. In Jhajjar primary level educated urban female are slightly higher than the urban male. Seconadry level educated population is higher in Haryana in comparison to Uttar Pradesh. Matric level educated urban population is highest in Jhajjar and it is lowest in Mujaffarnagar in selected districts. Urban population having graduation and above degree is higher in Haryana in comparison to Uttar Pradesh. It is highest in Rohtak and it is lowest in Baghpat.

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[7] Jacob, Aikara, "Education: Sociological Perspective", Rawat Publication, 2004.
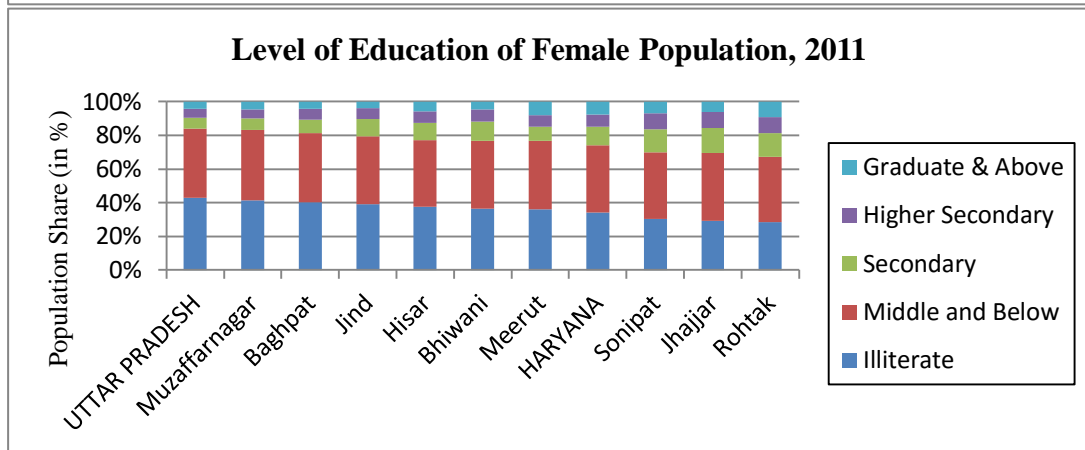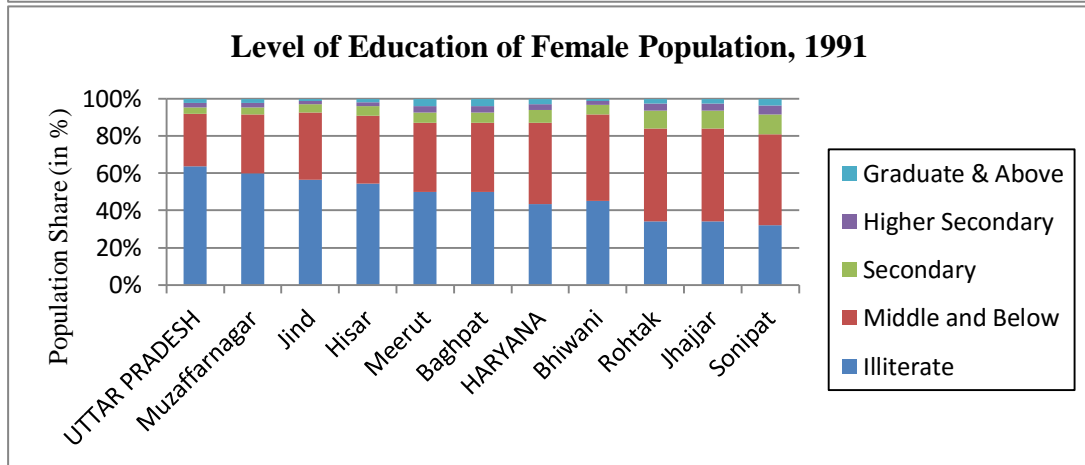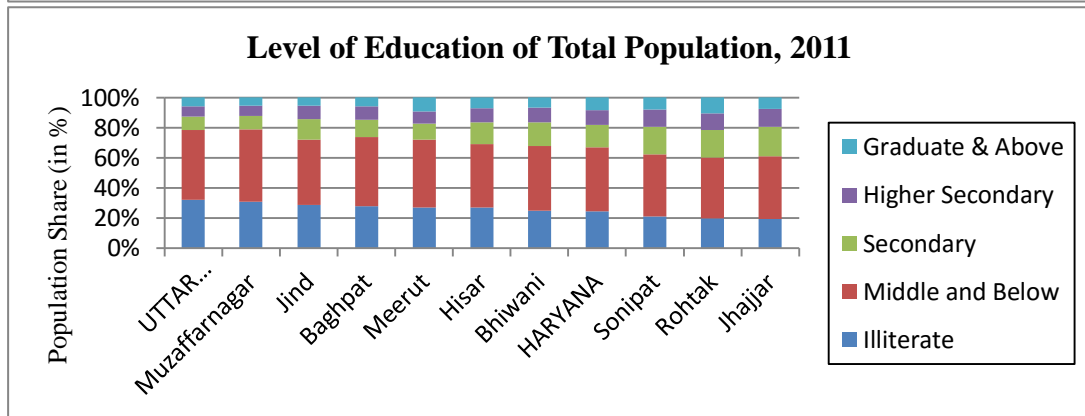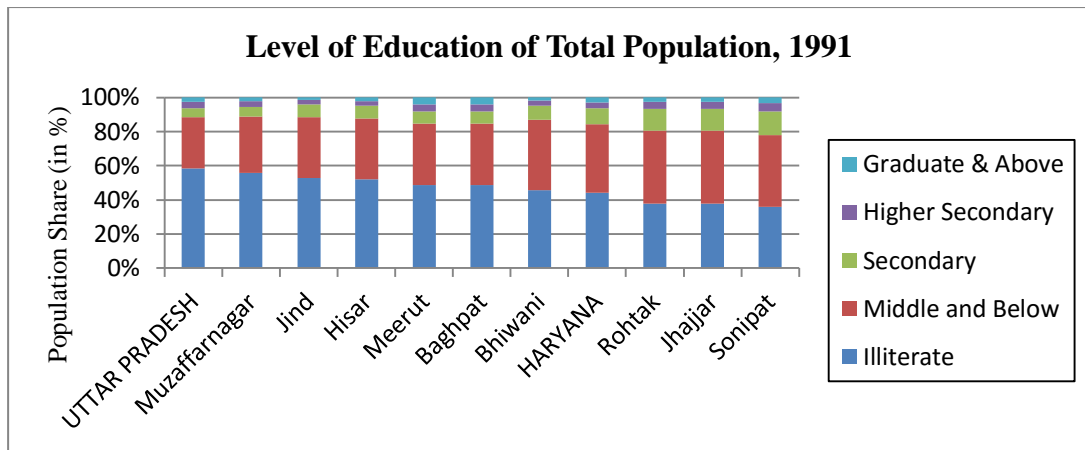
Figure 3. 2: Levels of Education among Total & Female Population in 1991 & 2001, by using census of India data.

3.3.1 Share of Technical Education

The technical education imparts the skill in the individual and provides the long run financial benefit by opening up the new avenues of work in the requirement zone of skilled worker. The share of technical education also reveals the degree of sophistication adopted by the population. (As shown in table 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5)

The share of technical education increases from 2001 to 2011, but the total share is very less, as at first the share of graduate and above is low and second out of the total graduates the share of those with the technical education is further less. Even in 2011 the share of the technical graduates is not even 1% in any of the district.

Table 3.3: Share of Technical and Non Techincal Education in Total Population in 2001 and 2011.

District/State (figures are in %)	TOTAL			
	Technical		Non-Technical	
	2011	2001	2011	2001
Sonipat	1.5	0.7	6.4	3.4
Jind	0.9	0.3	4.4	2.1
Hisar	1.3	0.6	5.7	3.2
Bhiwani	1.1	0.4	5.5	2.6
Rohtak	2.1	1.0	8.3	4.9
Jhajjar	1.3	0.5	6.2	2.8
Muzaffarnagar	0.6	0.3	4.7	3.1
Meerut	1.3	0.6	8.0	5.8
Baghpat	0.7	0.3	5.3	3.4
Haryana	1.6	0.6	6.9	3.8
Uttar Pradesh	0.6	0.3	5.3	3.4

Source: Computed by Author, with the data of the Census, 2001 and 2011.

Table 3.4: Share of Technical Non Technical Education among Male and Female in 2001 and 2011.

District/State (figures are in %)	MALE				FEMALE			
	Technical		Non-Technical		Technical		Non-Technical	
	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001
Sonipat	1.6	0.8	7.1	4.2	1.4	0.5	5.6	2.5
Jind	1.2	0.5	5.3	2.8	0.7	0.2	3.4	1.1
Hisar	1.6	0.7	6.6	4.1	1.1	0.5	4.6	2.1
Bhiwani	1.4	0.6	7.0	3.7	0.8	0.2	3.8	1.3
Rohtak	2.3	1.1	9.1	5.8	1.9	0.8	7.4	3.9
Jhajjar	1.5	0.6	7.2	3.8	1.1	0.3	5.0	1.7
Muzaffarnagar	0.9	0.5	5.2	3.9	0.4	0.1	4.2	2.3
Meerut	1.6	0.8	8.5	6.8	0.9	0.4	7.4	4.7
Baghpat	0.9	0.5	6.4	4.6	0.4	0.1	4.0	1.9
Haryana	1.9	0.8	7.6	4.6	1.3	0.5	6.2	2.9
Uttar Pradesh	0.8	0.5	6.4	4.6	0.3	0.1	4.0	2.0

Source: Computed by Author, with the data of the Census, 2001 and 2011.

Table 3.5: Share of Technical Non-Technical Education among Rural and Urban in 2001 and 2011.

District/State (figures are in %)	RURAL				URBAN			
	Technical		Non-Technical		Technical		Non-Technical	
	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001
Sonipat	0.7	0.3	3.8	1.6	3.2	1.7	11.9	8.6
Jind	0.5	0.2	2.7	1.0	2.4	1.0	10.1	6.3
Hisar	0.6	0.2	3.0	1.4	2.9	1.7	11.3	8.0
Bhiwani	0.7	0.2	4.0	1.5	2.7	1.1	11.6	6.8
Rohtak	0.7	0.3	4.1	1.8	4.0	2.3	14.1	10.6
Jhajjar	0.9	0.3	4.4	1.7	2.6	1.2	11.4	7.0
Muzaffarnagar	0.3	0.2	3.0	1.7	1.4	0.8	9.0	7.2
Meerut	0.4	0.2	3.9	2.5	2.0	1.1	11.7	9.2
Baghpat	0.5	0.2	4.4	2.6	1.3	0.7	8.8	6.4
Haryana	0.6	0.2	3.3	1.6	3.4	1.7	13.6	9.2
Uttar Pradesh	0.3	0.1	3.3	1.8	1.7	0.9	11.9	9.2

Source: Computed by Author, with the data of the Census, 2001 and 2011.

3.4 SEX RATIO

Sex Ratio is the share of the number of females per 1000 males in the population. It is one of the significant indicators to show the societal attitude towards the women.

Total sex ratio of Uttar Pradesh is 912. Rural sex ratio is higher than urban sex ratio. Sex ratio of Mujaffarnagar is slightly higher than Bhiwani. Baghpat is only selected district of Uttar Pradesh which lies near bottom of the list. Sex ratio of Haryana is lower than the Uttar Pradesh. Sex ratio of Haryana is 879. Sex ratio is higher in rural areas in comparison to urban areas. Highest sex ratio in Haryana is find in Bhiwani which is part of the study area and it is lowest in Sonipat. Highest rural sex ratio is found in Mujaffarnagar and Bhiwani and it is lowest in Sonipat. Urban sex ratio is highest in Mujaffarnagar and it is lowest in Hisar.

3.5 CHILD SEX RATIO

Child Sex Ratio is defined as the number of females in the age group 0 – 6 years per 1,000 males in the same age group in the population. The child sex ratio reveals the societal attitude towards the new born girls in the society. The Child sex ratio of the districts in this region of the Khap is not very positive, as the highest is around 862 in Muzaffarnagar and lowest is for Sonipat, i.e. 782 followed by the Baghpat where it is 798.
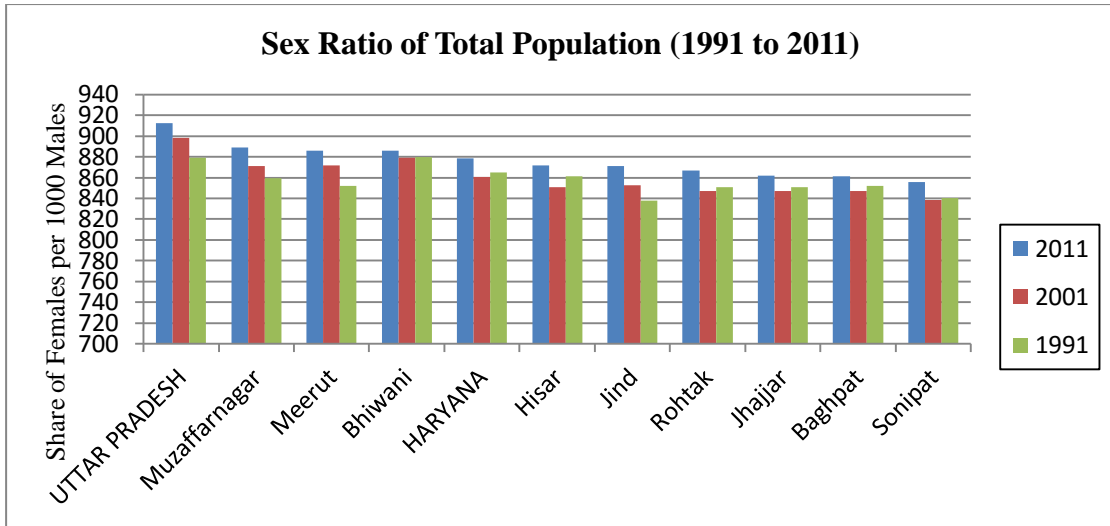
Figure 3.3: Spatial and Temporal Representation of Sex Ratio of Total Population (Data: Census of India, 1991, 2001 and 2011).
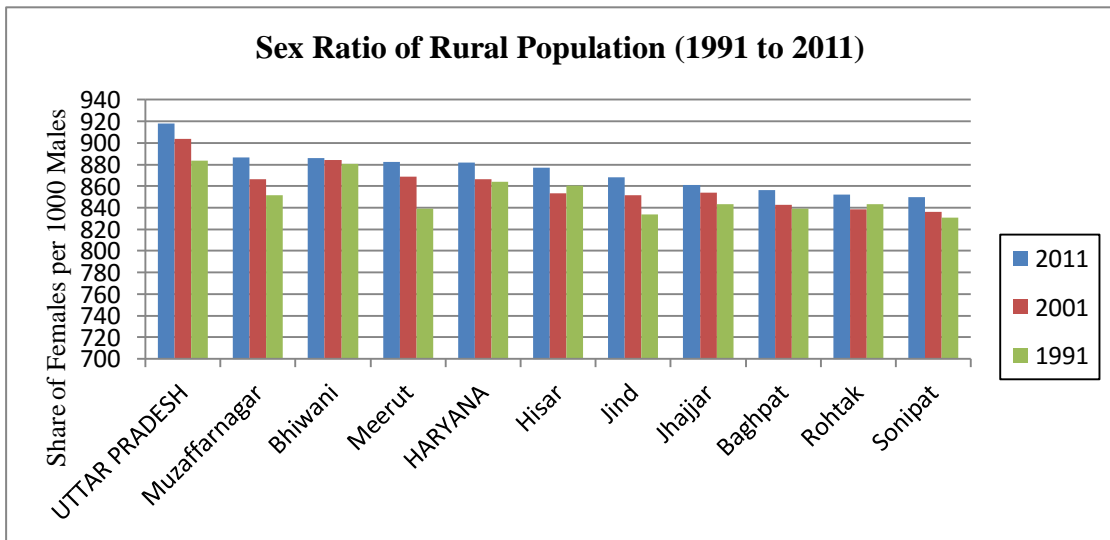
Figure 3.4: Spatial and Temporal Representation of Sex Ratio of Rural (Data: Census of India, 1991, 2001 and 2011).
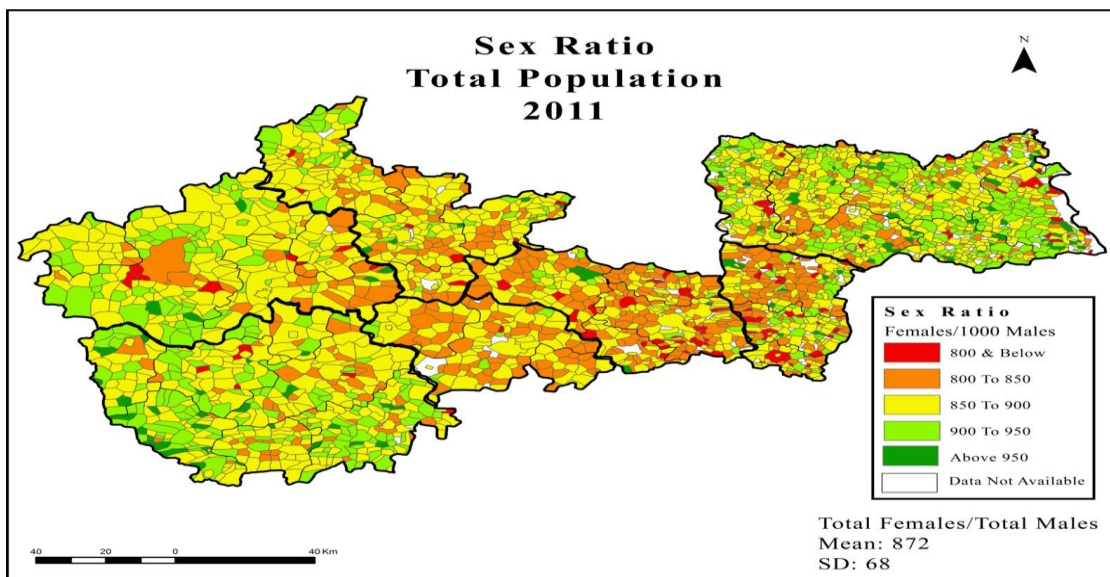
Figure 3.5 Spatial distribution of Sex Ratio of Total Population (Data: Census of India, 2011)
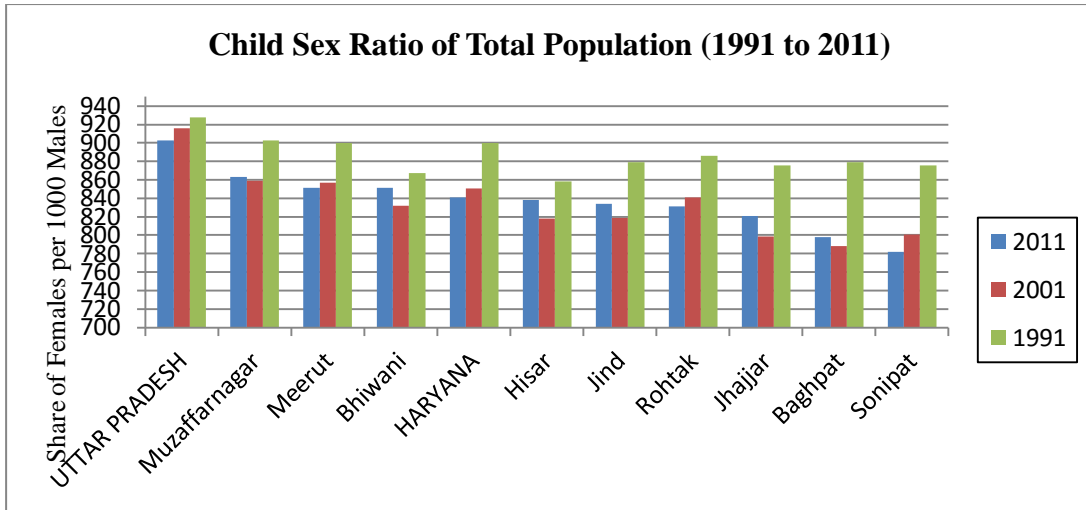
Figure 3.6 Spatial and Temporal Representation of Child Sex Ratio of Rural (Data: Census of India, 1991, 2001 and 2011).
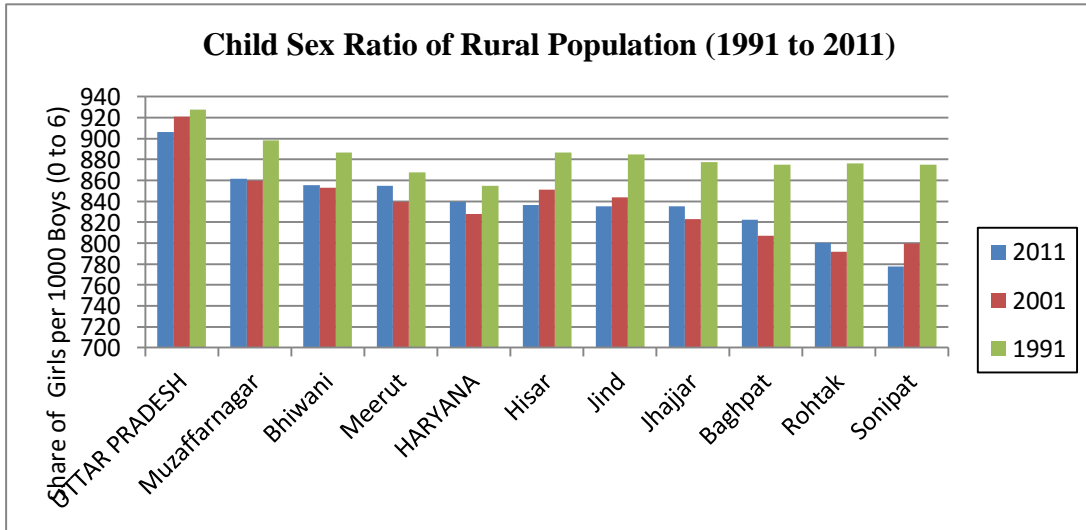
Figure 3.7: Spatial and Temporal Representation of Child Sex Ratio of Rural (Data: Census of India, 1991, 2001 and 2011).
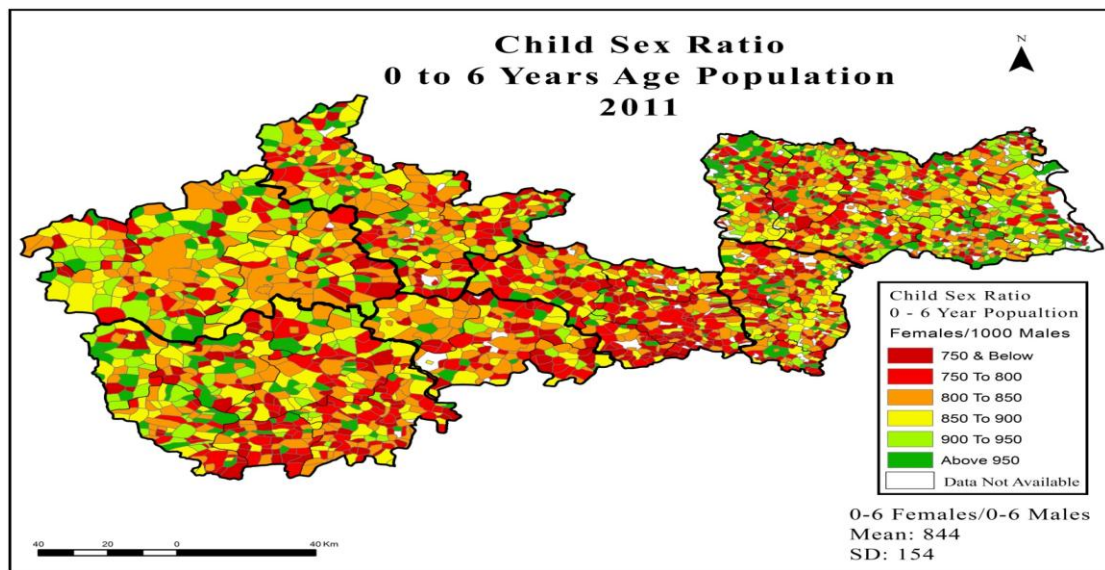
Figure 3.8 Spatial distribution of Sex Ratio of Total Population (Data: Census of India, 2011)

Child Sex ratio of Uttar Pradesh (903) is better than the Haryana (835). It is highest in Mujaffarnagar and lowest in Jhajjar. Child rural sex ratio is more than the child urban sex ratio . Child rural sex ratio is highest in Mujaffarnagar and it is lowest in Jhajjar. Child urban sex ratio is highest in Mjaffarnagar and it is lowest in Sonipat.

The rural child sex ratio is showing abysmally low figures, for all the districts. Hisar, Jind, Sonipat, Muzaffarnagar, Bhiwani shows a declining trend of the sex ration over the last three decades and this trend is continue to exist in 2011, Like in Sonipat the child sex ration in 1991 was 875, in 2001 it reaches to 800 and in 2011 it is 778.

The declining sex ratio and most importantly child sex ratio reveals the patriarchal attitude of the society. The persistence of an adverse sex ratio can be seen as guided or derived by, particularly in the children's age group, high preference in Indian society for sons. Until that preference is addressed, the sex ratio would be difficult to change, despite concerted measures on the part of the Government. In the patriarchal society like Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh the domination is based on the possession of land and so in such society one 'should have a son' to maintain the lineage, land and domination of the family. The abysmal low sex ratio is the representation of thi deep rooted son preference.

3.6 URBAN SHARE OF POPULATION:

Rate of urbanization is higher in Haryana 34.9 percent in comparison to Uttar Pradesh 22.3 percent. Among all districts under study are Bhiwani accounts the lowest rate that is 19.7 percent and Rohtak occupies highest rate is 42percent. Bhiwani , Jind and Baghpat accounts the rate around 22 percent.

There is a continuous increase of the share of the urban population; like in Rohtak the share was 21.3% in 1991 which increased upto 42% in 2011. This increase is experienced by all districts. The highest share of urban population is experienced by Meerut, followed by Rohtak, with 51.1% and 42% repectively.

The least urbanized district is Bhiwani, with 19.7% urban share of population and this district does not experience much change as in 1991 the share of urban population was 17.2%. After Bhiwani, the Jind and Jhajjar come to the second and third position from below with 22.9% and 25.4% share of urban population respectively.

Table 3.6: Share of Urban Population in 2001 and 2011.

TOTALS (figues in %)	Urban Share 2011			Urban Share 2001			Urban Share 1991		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Sonipat	31.3	31	31.5	25.1	25.0	25.3	23.6	23.2	24.1
Jind	22.9	22.8	23	20.3	20.3	20.4	17.2	17.0	17.4
Hisar	31.7	31.9	31.5	25.9	26.0	25.8	21.1	21.1	21.2
Bhiwani	19.7	19.7	19.6	19.0	19.2	18.7	17.2	17.3	17.2
Rohtak	42	41.6	42.6	35.1	34.8	35.4	21.3	21.0	21.7
Jhajjar	25.4	25.3	25.4	22.2	22.5	21.8	21.3	21.0	21.7
Muzaffarnagar	28.8	28.7	28.9	25.5	25.3	25.7	24.6	24.3	25.0
Meerut	51.1	51	51.2	48.4	48.4	48.5	37.0	36.6	37.5
Baghpat	21.1	20.9	21.4	19.7	19.5	20.0	37.0	36.6	37.5
Haryana	**34.9**	**35**	**34.8**	28.9	29.1	28.7	24.6	24.6	24.7
Uttar Pradesh	**22.3**	**22.5**	**22**	20.8	21.0	20.5	19.8	20.0	19.6

Source: Computed by Author, with the data of the Census, 1991, 2001 and 2011.

3.7 NUMBER OF URBAN CENTERS

The towns within the spatial network of region act as the growth foci or service centers and propel the development in the region which thrust the socio-economic transformation within the region[8]. The number of urban centers increases with the time over the space, which reveals the increased exposure of the space to the urban influence.

The rural space of these traditional panchayats is being encroached by the growing urban centres, so bringing crises at the door of these panchayats. The growing urban spaces in between the rural spaces give more mobility and more options to the rural populace and this creates a challenge to the power of the traditional domain.

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[8] 117 Sharma. P.R. (1984), "Growth Centres and Regional Development - Aspects of Theory and Policy"', Habitat International. Oxford. Vol 8. No.2. pp. 133-150 and Sharma, P.R. (1984). "Spatial Organisational Model for Rural Development: An Approach through Settlement System", Habitat International. Oxf(lrd. Vol. 8, No. 1. pp. 29-34.

Table 3.7: Number and name of Urban centres in districts of Haryana in 2001 and 2011.

Districts	URBAN CENTERS		Districts	URBAN CENTERS	
	2011	2001		2011	
SONIPAT	Gohana	Gohana	HISAR	Adampur	Uklanamandi
	Ganaur	Ganaur		Barwala	Barwala
	Sonipat	Sonipat*		Hisar	Hisar*
	Fazalpur	Kharkhoda		Uklana Mandi	Narnaund
	Bayyanpur			Gangwa	Hansi
	Badh Malak			Satrod Khurd	
	Kundli			Satrod Khas	
	Kharkhoda			Satrod Kalan	
				Mayyer	
JIND	Narwana	Narwana		Narnaund	
	Uchana	Uchana		Hansi	
	Jind	Jind			
	Julana	Julana	JHAJJAR	Beri	Beri
	Safidon	Safidon		Bahadurgarh	Ladrawan
	Bhuran			Ladrawan	Bahadurgarh*
				Jhajjar	Sankhol
BHIWANI	Bawani khera	Bawani Khera		Faizabad	Jhajjar
	Bhiwani	Bhiwani			
	Tosham	Tosham	ROHTAK	Maham	Maham
	Siwani	Siwani		Rohtak	Kalanaur
	Loharu	Loharu		Kalanaur	Rohtak *
	Charkhi Dadri	Charkhi Dadri		Sunari Kalan	
				Sampla	

Source: Computed by Author, with the data of the Census, 2001 and 2011.

Table 3.8: Number and name of Urban centres in districts of Uttar Pradesh in 2001 and 2011.

District	URBAN CENTERS			District	URBAN CENTERS	
District	2011	2001	District		2011	2001
Muzaffarnagar	Un	Un	Meerut		Karnawal	Karnawal
	Jhinjhana	Jhinjhana			Sardhana	Sardhana
	Kairana	Kairana			Daurala	Daurala
	Kandhla	Kandhla			Lawar	Lawar
	Ailam	Garhi Pukhta			Phalauda	Phalauda
	Shamli	Thana Bhawan			Bahsuma	Mawana
	Banat	Jalalabad			Hastinapur	Bahsuma
	Garhi Pukhta	Shamli			Mawana	Hastinapur
	Thana Bhawan	Banat			Parikshitgarh	Parikshitgarh
	Jalalabad	Ailum			Kithaur	Kithaur
	Sarwat	Charthawal			Sindhawali	Meerut
	Shahbudinpur	Purquazi			Amehra Adipur	Meerut Cantt.
	Almaspur	Muzaffarnagar			Aminagar Urf Bhurbaral	Sewal khas
	Kukra	Sisauli			Mohiuddinpur	Aminagar urf Bhurbaral
	Purquazi	Budhana			Meerut	Mohiuddinpur
	Charthawal	Shahpur			Meerut	Kharkhoda
	Muzaffarnagar	Bhokarhedi			Sewalkhas	
	Sisauli	Jansath			Kharkhoda	
	Budhana	Miranpur			2011	2001
	Shahpur	Khatauli	Baghpat		Chhaprauli	Chhaprauli
	Khanupur	Khatauli Rural			Tikri	Baraut
	Shekhpura				Doghat	Tikri
	Khatauli Rural				Baraut	Doghat
	Khatauli				Baghpat	Baghpat
	Jansath				Agarwal Mandi	Agarwal Mandi(Tatiri)
	Bhokarhedi				Aminagar Sarai	Aminagar Sarai
	Miranpur				Khekada	Khekada

Source: Computed by Author, with the data of the Census, 2001 and 2011.

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3.8 WORK PARTICIPATION RATE:

It must be recognized that work[9] is not only a way to livelihood; it defines the conditions of existence.[10] An analysis of a population's economic composition unfolds the diverse economic, demographic and cultural attributes of an area, which form the basis for region's social and economic development. The economically active population is the part of the manpower, which is actually engaged in the production of goods and services. The size of working force depends upon a variety of demographic, social and economic factors.[11]

Table 3.9: Workforce Participation Rate in 2011.

AREA NAME	Total Main Work Participation Rate (15 to 59 Age)			Rural Main Work Participation Rate (15 to 59 Age)			Urban Main Work Participation Rate (15 to 59 Age)		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Haryana	41.2	64.9	14.5	40.8	63.7	15.0	41.9	67.1	13.6
Sonipat	40.4	62.1	15.4	40.6	61.5	16.1	40.0	63.4	14.0
Jind	43.0	65.2	17.5	44.7	66.1	19.9	37.5	62.4	9.9
Hisar	44.6	65.8	20.1	46.7	66.8	23.5	40.2	63.6	13.1
Bhiwani	40.8	61.8	17.1	41.8	61.9	19.0	36.8	61.1	9.9
Rohtak	40.1	61.9	15.0	40.6	61.1	16.2	39.4	62.9	13.5
Jhajjar	37.8	59.1	13.3	37.8	58.4	14.0	37.7	61.2	11.2
Uttar Pradesh	34.2	55.3	11.3	33.6	54.0	11.8	36.0	59.4	9.9
Muzaffarnagar	40.6	68.9	9.5	41.2	68.9	10.6	39.3	68.8	6.9
Meerut	38.4	63.9	10.2	38.8	63.8	11.0	38.1	64.0	9.4
Baghpat	38.8	63.7	10.2	39.1	63.2	11.1	37.8	65.3	7.2

Source: Computed by Author, with the data of the Census and 2011.

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[9] "Work is defined by Census of India as participation in any economically productive activity with or without compensation, wages or profit; and all persons who participated in any economically productive activity for any length of the time during the reference period are defined as workers." On the basis of the time period of the work, these workers can be further divided in to main worker, who worked for more than 6 months and marginal workers who worked for less than six months.
[10] Raju Saraswati (2010), "Mapping the World of Women's Work: Regional Patterns and Perspectives", ILO, p. 12.
[11] R.C Chandna (2003), *Geography of Population: Concepts, Determinants and Patterns*, New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers, p.314-17.
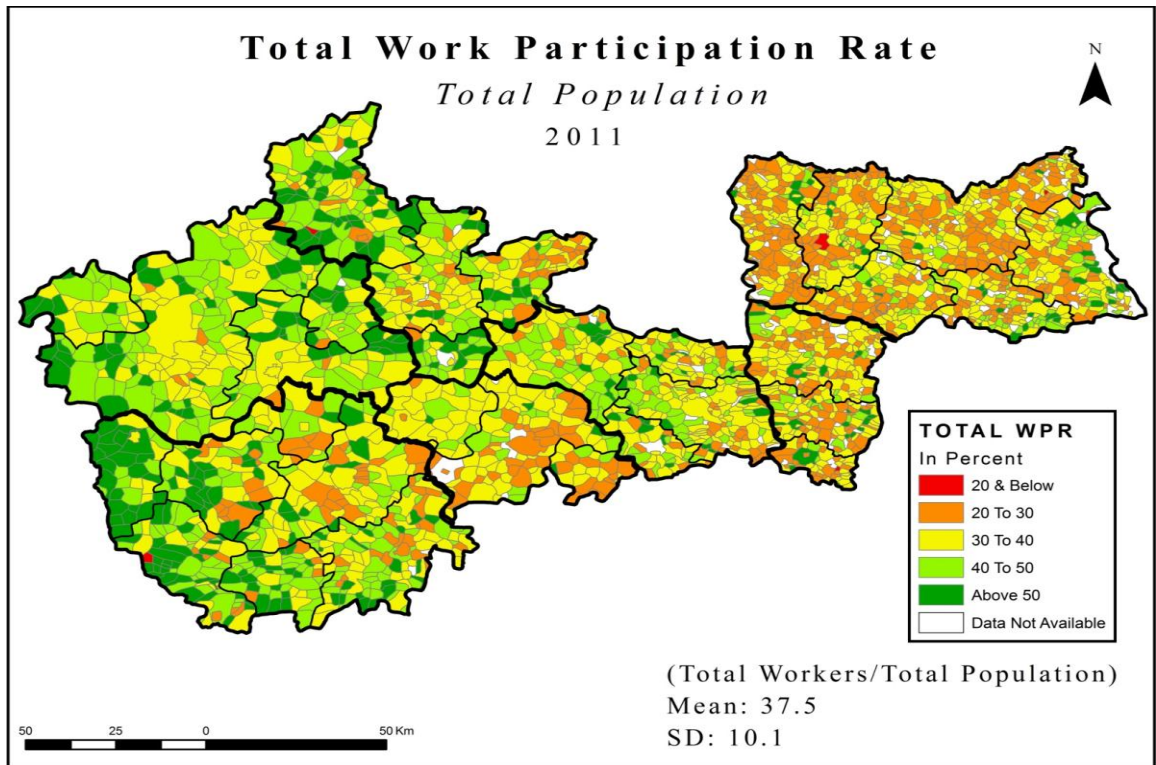
Figure 3.9 Village Level Distribution of Total Work Participation Rate, 2011, for total population.
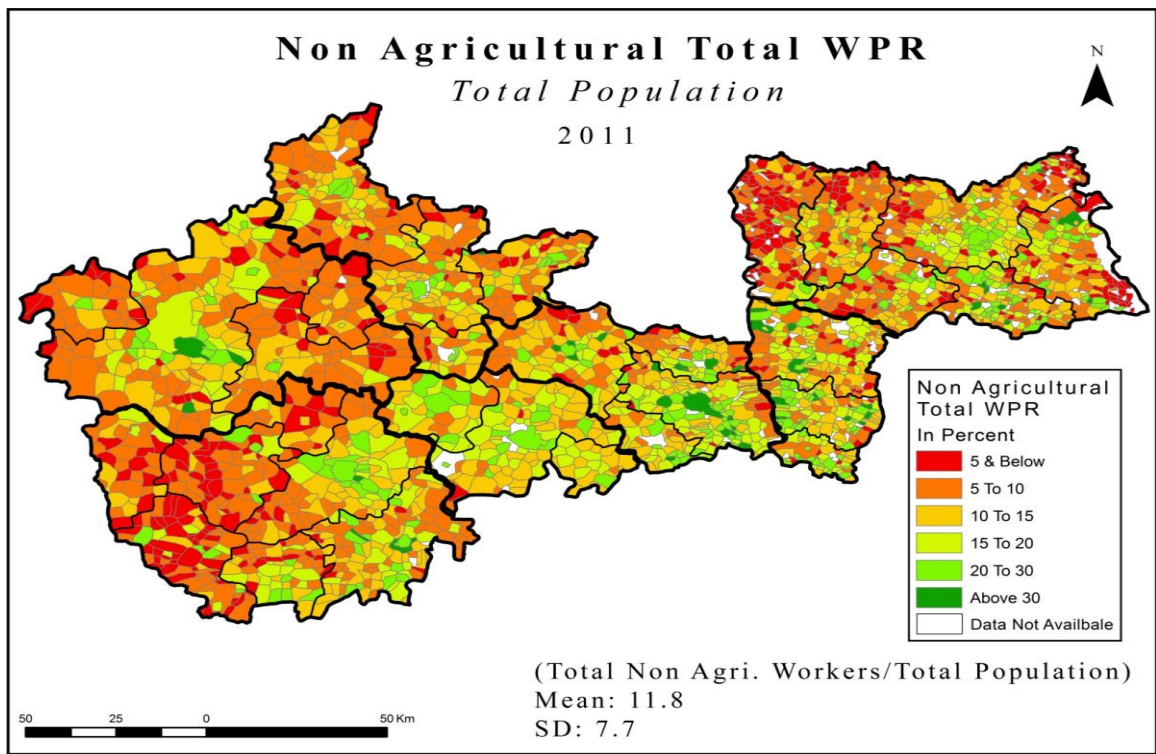
Figure 3.10 Village Level Distribution of Non Agricultural Total Work Participation Rate, 2011, for total population
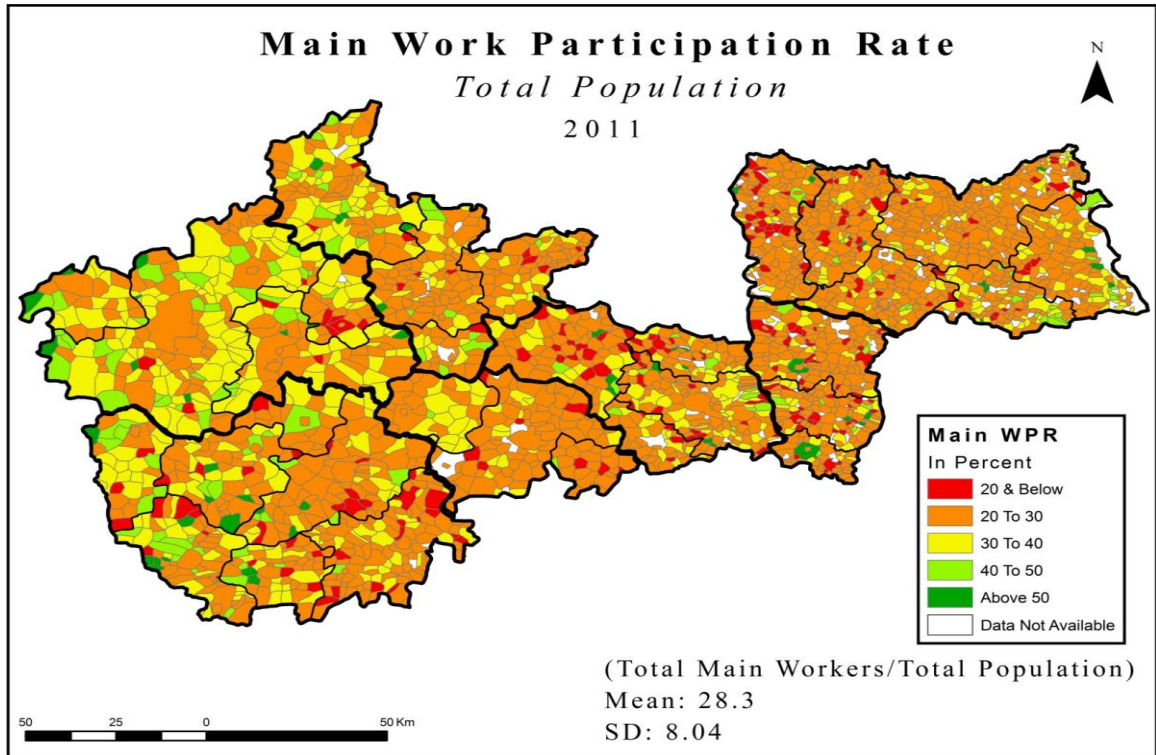
Figure 3.11: Village Level Distribution of Main Work Participation Rate, 2011, for total population.
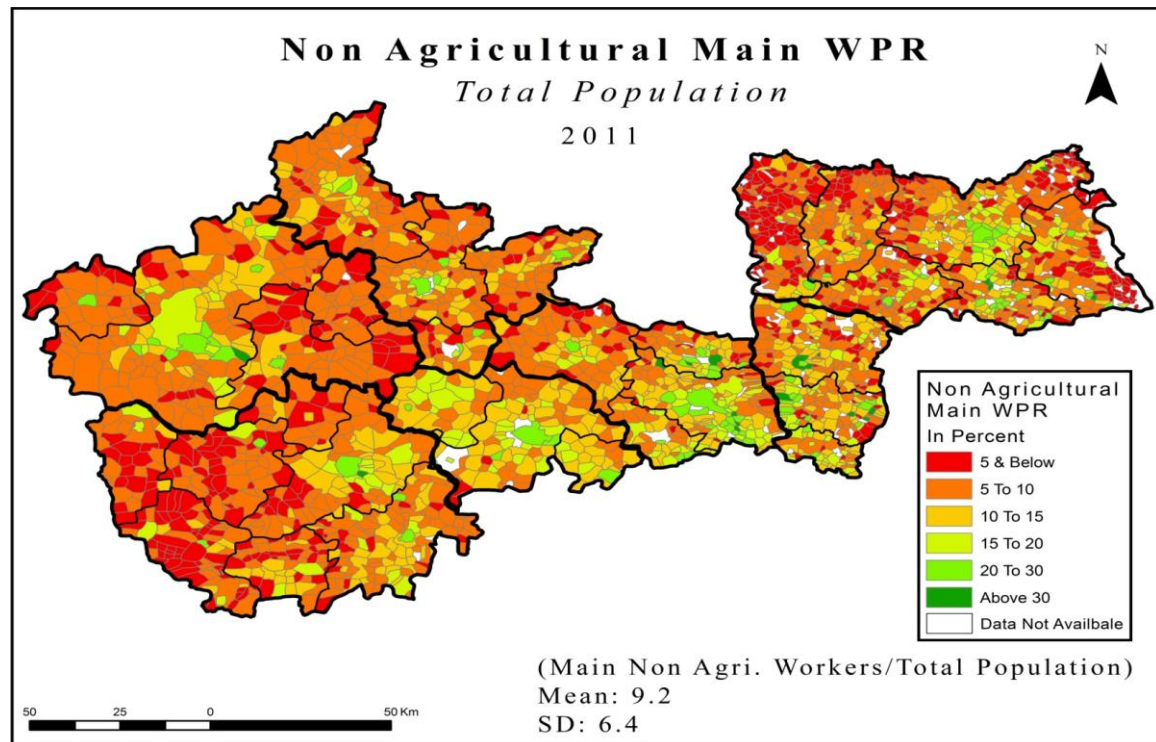
Figure 3.12 Village Level Distribution of Non Agricultural Main Work Participation Rate, 2011, for total population.

Total main work participation rate is higher in Haryana in comparison to Uttar Pradesh. Total main work participation in Haryana is 41.2 percent and it is 34.2 percent in Uttar Pradesh. Total main work participation was higher in Hisar and it was lowest in Baghpat. 64.9 percent males are engaged in main work and only 14.5 percent females are engaged in main work. Male participation is highest in Muzaffarnagar and it is lowest in Bhiwani. Female participation is highest in Hisar and it is lowest in Muzaffarnagar. Rural main work participation rate is highest in Jind and it is lowest is Jhajjar. Rural main work participation rate is higher in Haryana in comparison to Uttar Pradesh. Urban main work participation is also higher in Haryana in comparison to Uttar Pradesh. Urban main work participation rate is highest in Hisar and it is lowest in Uttar Pradesh.

3.8.1 Female Work Participation

Females are an integral part of any society. But still they are not given that status. In fact they are the subordinated class of the society. In her article Brown focuses on the point as an Anthropologist that repetitive, interruptible, no-dangerous task that do not require extensive excursions are more appropriate for women when the exigencies of child care are taken into account. The degree to which women participate in subsistence activities depends upon the compatibility of the latter with simultaneous child care responsibilities[12].

Women are likely to make significant contribution when subsistence activities have the following characteristics: the participant is not obliged to be far from home; the tasks are relatively monotonous and do not require rapt concentration; and the work is not dangerous, can be performed inspite of interruptions, and is easily resumed once interrupted[13] Supply side explanations from human capital theory argue that men and women choose different jobs because of the gender division of labour in the family. Women are expected to take primary responsibility for caregiving in families, and anticipate that this responsibility will constrain their involvement in paid work[14].

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[12] Judith K. Brown (1970), "A Note on the Division of Labor by Sex", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 72 No. 5, pp. 1073-1074.
[13] Judith K. Brown (1970), "A Note on the Division of Labor by Sex", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 72 No. 5, pp. 1073-1074.

[14] Louise Marie Roth (2004), "Engendering Inequality: Processes of Sex-Segregation on Wall Street", *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 213.

In rural areas, most of the families still adhere to the age old traditional norms in which women confinement to the house are considered to be the symbol of status. Rohini Nayyar in her article argues that in the Indian context, both economic considerations and socio-cultural norms are likely to determine female employment. Women belonging to the low income families, landless labourers or farmers are forced, as a response to their family needs, to seek employment. Poverty is an important factor which influenced female participation rate. There is another factor which is also inversely related to the female participation namely, landlessness[15].

In order to analyse the reason behind female seclusion and segregation, among several reasons like regions, religious tradition, caste and class, Barbara D. Miller had taken region into account and analyse the impact of regional factor in order to explain the reasons behind female seclusion and involvement of women in labour participation in rural India. Seclusion of females is related to the economy and its demand for female labour[16]. Besides low female labour participation, there is another factor at work promoting the 'imposition' of female seclusion. The factor is culture, which mediates between female labour and female life style, just as it mediates between ecology and the sexual division of labour[17].

In India, the northern Brahmanic culture complex is the largely dominant ideological force, and it is the Brahmanic culture complex that is the model aspired to when castes attempt to raise their status and when individual families gain more wealth. In fact she focuses on the point that in the North the seclusion of females is more pervasive and practiced more strictly. In the south it is not so strict[18]. In those areas where there has been a more intensive programme of agricultural development, it is likely that female participation rates are lower than elsewhere. This is particularly true in India, where there is a high degree of unemployment and under-employment

[15]Rohini Nayyar (1987), "Female Participation Rates in Rural India", *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 22, No. 51, pp. 2211.

[16] Barbara D Miller (1982), "Female Labor Participation and Female Seclusion in Rural India: A Regional View", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 782.
[17] Barbara D Miller (1982), "Female Labor Participation and Female Seclusion in Rural India: A Regional View", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 782.
[18] Barbara D Miller (1982), "Female Labor Participation and Female Seclusion in Rural India: A Regional View", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp.793.

leading to the withdrawal of women from the labour market, in order to give the males an opportunity of finding work first. This has been termed 'sexual dualism'[19].

However the problem is not that female participation rate are really low. But that even when women are working they are not categorized as such. This, in turn is, due to the fact that neither society nor the women themselves perceive their role in society as anything but marginal in the economic sphere.

Rural labour markets are highly segmented, more due to socio-cultural factors than economic considerations and that despite the lower wages for women workers, employers have a greater preference for male workers. This preference stems from social prejudices and social sanctions imposed on the women, preventing their free participation in productive work[20].

In the Indian context, the traditional upper class/caste norm of excluding women from labour outside the family acts as the barrier for their entry in the labour force. Being oriented to work in caste specific occupations may at times make women pull out or be pushed out of the labour market. Wherever women do manage to pull themselves out of these social restrictions, lack of education and skill formation relegated them to the lower rungs of the job market as unskilled casual workers. The influence of economic differentiation, caste structure and the nature of family interact with one another in the formation of female workforce[21].

Uneven development and a high degree of social stratification not only leads to varying participation rates for women workers across geographical limits but these variations also exist across various segments of population within a geographical area[22].

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[19] Rohini Nayyar (1987), "Female Participation Rates in Rural India", *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 22, No. 51, pp. 2212.
[20] Rohini Nayyar (1987), "Female Participation Rates in Rural India", *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 22, No. 51, pp. 2214.
[21] Shakti Kak (1994), "Rural Women and Labour Force Participation", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 22, No.3/4, pp. 43.
[22] Shakti Kak (1994), "Rural Women and Labour Force Participation", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 22, No.3/4, pp. 44.
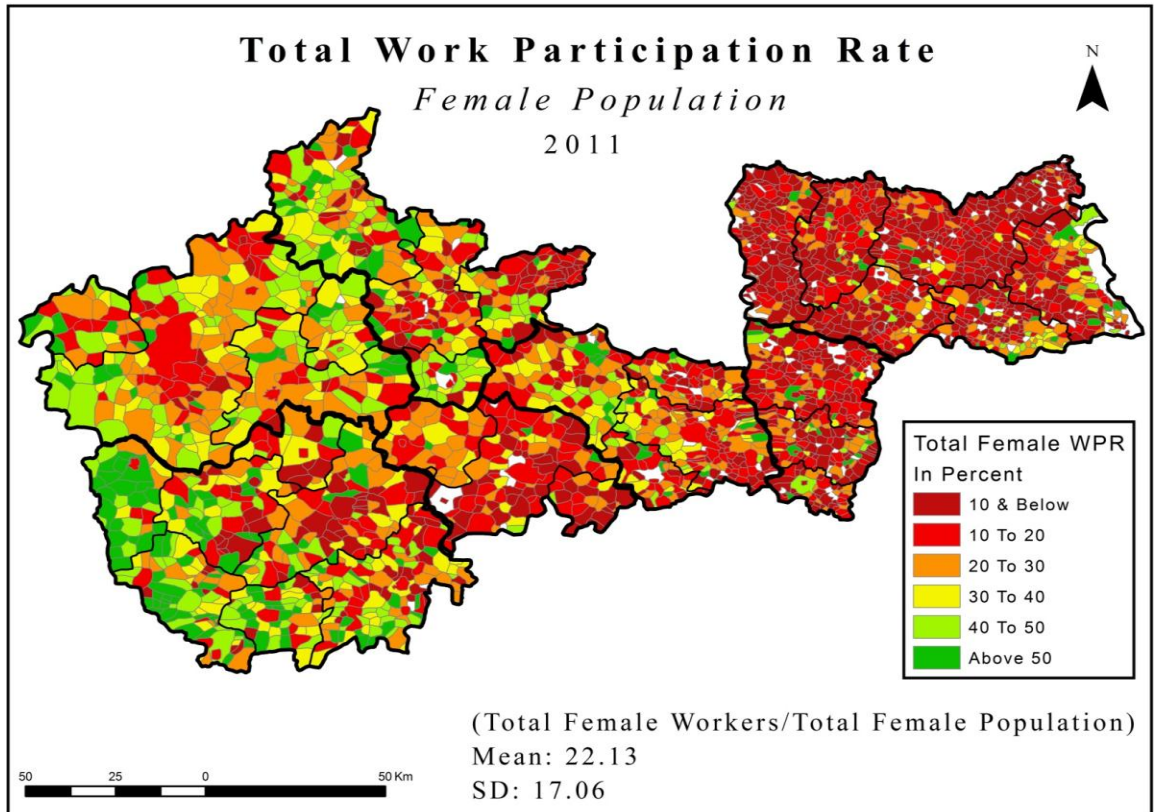
Figure 3.13 Village Level Distribution of Total Work Participation Rate, 2011, for female population.
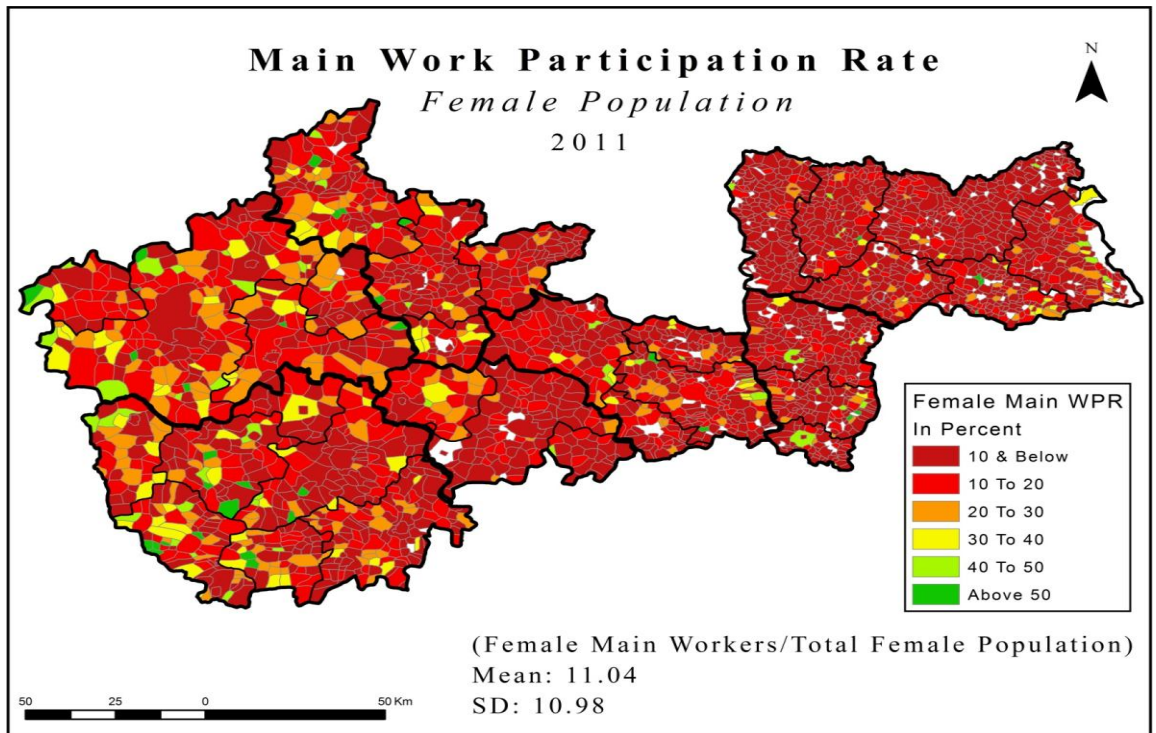
Figure 3.14 Village Level Distribution of Main Work Participation Rate, 2011, for female population..
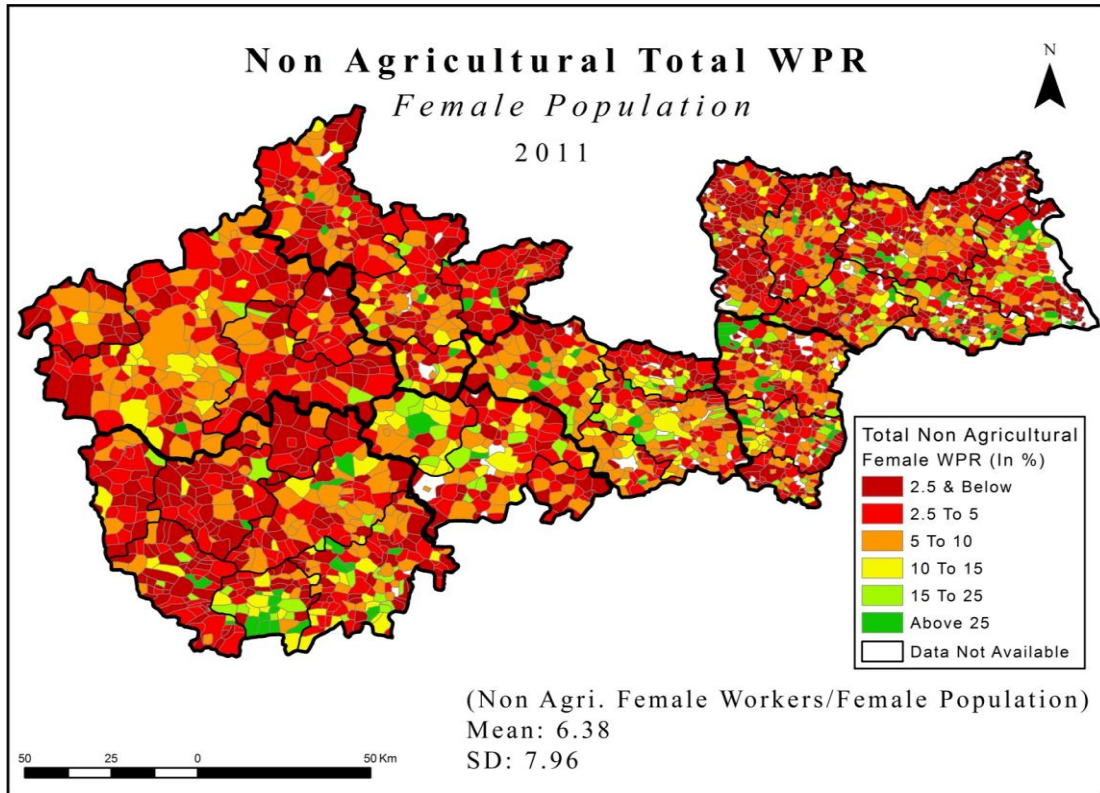
Figure 3.155 Village Level Distribution of Non Agricultural Total Work Participation Rate, 2011, for female population
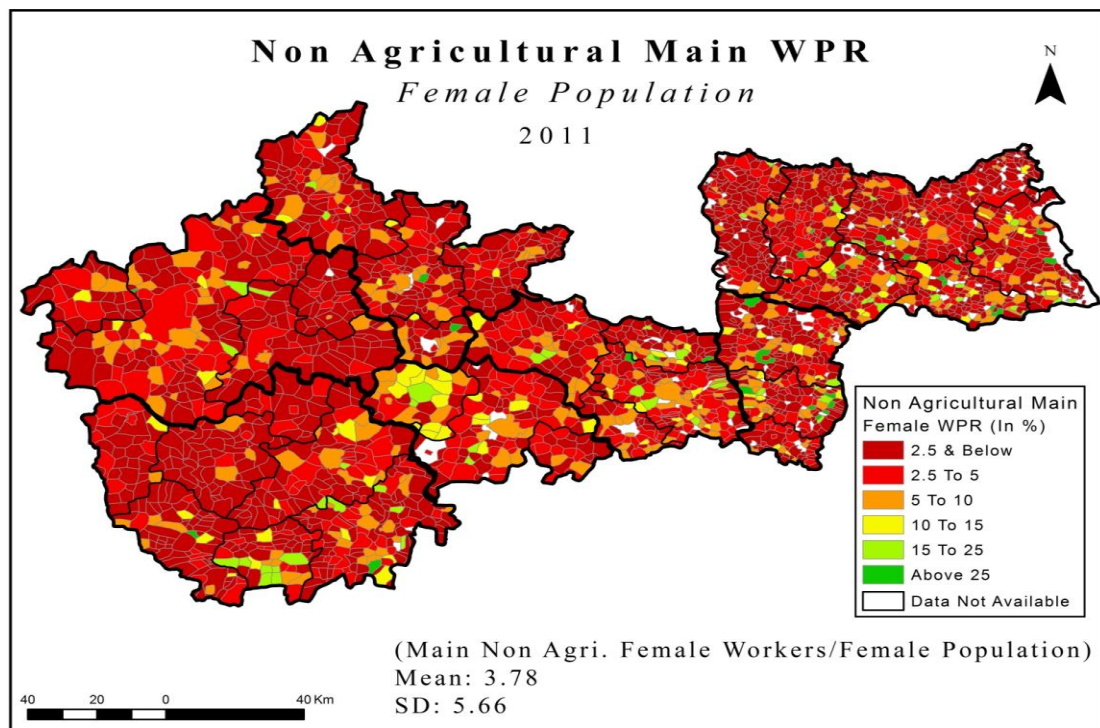
Figure 3.16 Village Level Distribution of Non Agricultural Main Work Participation Rate, 2011, for female population.

Table 3.10 : Non-Scheduled Population Land Holding Size (in Hectare)

Others Total Land Holdings (in Ha.)	Tehsil	MARGINAL OTHERS	SMALL OTHERS	SEMIMEDIUM OTHERS	MEDIUM OTHERS	LARGE OTHERS	ALL CLASSES OTHERS
BAGHPAT	Baghpat	0.44	1.40	2.69	5.40	12.36	0.94
	Baraut	0.45	1.43	2.78	5.38	12.26	1.03
	Khekra	0.41	1.44	2.74	5.48	12.01	1.09
Muzaffarnagar	Budhana	0.35	1.37	2.73	5.36	11.47	0.88
	Jansath	0.42	1.39	2.71	5.41	25.22	1.21
	Kairana	0.40	1.38	2.66	5.38	14.54	0.93
	Khatauli	0.38	1.40	2.87	5.65	13.14	1.03
	Muzaffarnagar	0.35	1.40	2.75	5.53	12.28	1.04
	Shamli	0.44	1.43	2.78	5.00	12.58	1.02
Bhiwani	Bhiwani Khera	0.51	1.54	2.91	6.35	14.70	3.07
	Bhiwani	0.37	1.19	2.51	5.90	14.78	1.62
	Dadri	0.43	1.44	2.82	5.97	15.30	1.87
	Loharu	0.60	1.55	2.84	5.99	14.84	2.51
	Siwani	0.42	1.47	2.86	6.16	14.96	2.23
	Tosham	0.44	1.29	2.94	6.24	13.98	2.80
Hisar	Adampur	0.45	1.59	2.95	6.58	23.41	2.96
	Hansi	0.49	1.49	2.90	6.33	17.28	4.92
	Hisar	0.61	1.73	3.15	6.24	18.93	2.68
	Narnaund	0.58	1.68	3.08	6.24	16.42	3.55
Jhajjar	Bahadurgarh	0.38	1.36	2.85	5.82	19.68	1.27
	Beri	0.45	1.45	2.73	5.97	13.80	1.95
	Jhajjar	0.44	1.31	2.58	5.10	23.48	0.74
Jind	Jind	0.31	1.44	2.79	5.93	15.44	1.12
	Julana	0.43	1.28	2.66	5.25	14.61	1.66
	Narwana	0.54	1.48	2.90	5.73	17.47	1.68
	Safidon	0.46	1.46	2.81	5.94	14.81	2.24
Rohtak	Meham	0.41	1.44	2.79	5.91	14.91	1.77
	Rohtak	0.44	1.50	2.90	5.65	15.25	1.32
Sonipat	Ganaur	0.39	1.18	2.71	5.61	18.09	1.32
	Gohana	0.66	1.84	3.07	6.09	20.90	2.51
	Kharkhauda	0.60	1.54	2.96	6.86	20.79	3.09
	Sonipat	0.44	1.41	2.71	6.54	21.13	2.45

Table 3.11 : Scheduled Population Land Holding Size (in Hectare)

SC Total Land Holdings (in Ha.)	Tehsil	MARGINAL	SMALL	SEMI MEDIUM	MEDIUM	LARGE	ALL CLASSES
BAGHPAT	Baghpat	0.37	1.27	2.37	0.00	0.00	0.44
	Baraut	0.35	1.24	2.72	0.00	0.00	0.45
	Khekra	0.39	1.17	2.06	0.00	0.00	0.55
Muzaffarnagar	Budhana	0.24	1.32	2.46	5.51	0.00	0.29
	Jansath	0.28	1.37	2.66	5.13	18.64	0.52
	Kairana	0.23	1.30	2.56	4.62	0.00	0.35
	Khatauli	0.25	1.43	2.57	4.88	0.00	0.40
	Muzaffarnagar	0.26	1.35	2.76	5.15	10.50	0.45
	Shamli	0.29	1.31	2.67	4.68	0.00	0.37
Bhiwani	Bhiwani Khera	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Bhiwani	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Dadri	0.41	1.46	3.00	5.33	0.00	1.22
	Loharu	0.55	1.38	2.69	5.02	0.00	0.96
	Siwani	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Tosham	0.45	1.47	2.67	5.66	12.02	1.38
Hisar	Adampur	0.60	1.66	2.72	6.28	0.00	1.56
	Hansi	0.51	1.47	2.77	6.03	13.26	2.72
	Hisar	0.57	1.66	2.72	6.28	12.18	1.62
	Narnaund	0.51	1.40	2.78	5.56	12.47	2.24
Jhajjar	Bahadurgarh	0.63	1.78	3.04	6.33	0.00	2.53
	Beri	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Jhajjar	0.53	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.53
Jind	Jind	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Julana	0.27	1.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.46
	Narwana	0.53	1.81	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.85
	Safidon	0.66	1.55	3.22	0.00	0.00	1.62
Rohtak	Meham	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Rohtak	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sonipat	Ganaur	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Gohana	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Kharkhaoda	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Sonipat	0.48	1.61	2.92	4.29	0.00	1.28

3.9 LAND HOLDING

In the agrarian economy the land holding is the source of the dominance. The size of the land holding shows the distribution of the land among the non-scheduled and scheduled castes, which clearly reveals that in all districts the size of land holding with the scheduled caste is much less in comparison to the non-scheduled population. The large size of land holding is more for the non-scheduled population while it is minimal in most of the districts for the scheduled castes. In total, the size of the land holding is more with the non-scheduled population.

3.10 IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

Land is the most important resource of the dominance in the agriculture based society. The uneven share of land distribution translates the uneven distribution of domination over the space. As the interactive relations relation of the rural economy based society are guided and dominated by the possession of the land, as it is only source of income in rural area. With the time the agriculture has remain less remunerative and it created a crisis in the rural area. The dropped incomes, stagnation and decline in agricultural zone created the crisis situation in which the one who used be the dominant with the relatively large size of the land holding in rural area, now looing its ground of dominance.

The date shows that the space under the control of khap panchayats is changing, these changes are coming in the form of increased literacy rate, increased levels of education, more workforce participation rate, urban growth and number of new urban centers. These changes are more apparent and it is necessary to draw the implication of these changes to understand the changing nature of the khaps.

The increase in the level of education, not just provide the more improved capabilities to the individual to attain the higher aspiration, but also can be seen as the indicator which lead to more mobility to individuals. As in the case of this study region, the girls coming out to pursue education, which was not a very common feature of the khap area, so now the patriarchs of the region are looking this as a challenge to their customs on one hand, but on the other hand they superficially have to declare that they are in favour of the girl education. As this emerges out of the focus group discussions in which the attitude of people is clear about the girls, that if they study

more, they may elope and bring a bad name to family, village and community. This created fear to restrict the mobility of the girls in order to exercise the strict control over their behavior. The urgency to restrict rather control the women behavior emerges out of the need that in the Khap area due to adverse sex ratio, women's relation options are plentiful but men's own options are limited, so they want to limit the spaces of 'their' women in order to provide the perceived security. The sex ratio and child sex ratio, which is very low in the districts under the influence of the khaps, is another indicator which shows the differential attitude of the patriarchal society, where the girls are considered as the burden and responsibility.

The restricted spheres of choices comes as a result of two things one is the abysmally low sex ratio of the region and second is the urgency to deal with the increasing women mobility in the male commanded society, be it for the education, for the work, etc. These women who are 'out' of their 'houses' freely confronted the might of the Khap Panchayats and are daring to their writ[23]. There is internal tussle among different clan groups for claiming higher or equal status to maintain their status against difficulties and disintegration emerging from within and outside.

These changes of the space, which are giving more opportunity, and with this, prospects are reaching to those also who never had the experience of this. This change is perceived as a threat to the domination of the rooted traditional institutions.

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[23] Kaur, Ravinder,(2010) 'Khap Panchayat, Sex Ratio and Female Agency,' *Economic and Political weekly*, vol XLV NO 23, pp 14-14 (p.14)

Chapter - 4

Territoriality of *Khaps*: Understanding the Socio-Political Landscape of the *Jats*

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Social organizations and the individuals within them are 'in' space and their interactions have spatial manifestations.[1] The 'Spatial' does not exist as a separate realm. "Space is a Social Construct" and all the social processes necessarily takes place over space, so in order to understand 'geography', it is necessary to understand society.[2] Society is a deceptively simple term; in geographic sense, societies are broad social formations that encompass geographical or territorial divisions. Societies are often produced through a sense of sameness or shared identification, interests or belonging at a particular geographic scale.[3] Developing a sense of place is not simply an effective response, but it also involves a growing sense of what place demands of us in our attitude and actions, in fact, "how we imagine a thing…affects our conduct towards it. Place serves as a stabilizing factors of personal identity.[4] Societies tend to forge strong ties to the places they occupy and try to justify these ties through social organisations and procedures,[5] In India, Caste plays an important role, where *Jat*i norms and culture shaped character and prescribed rituals, occupational, commensal, marital and social conduct, and, *Jat*i (caste) organisation and authority enforced them;

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[1] Robert Sack, (1984). "Societal Conception of Space", in *Geography Matters! A Reader* by Doreen Massey and John Allen, et al. Cambridge University Press. pp. 34-47

[2] Doreen Massey, (1984) "Introduction: Geography Matters" in *Geography Matters! A Reader* by Doreen Massey and John Allen et.al. Cambridge University Press. p.3.

[3] Cindi Katz (2012), 'Social Systems: Thinking about Society, Identity, Power and Resistance', in Nicholas J. Clifford, Sarah L. Holloway, Stephan P. Rice and Gill Valentine*, ed. 'Key Concepts in Geography'.* Sage Publication, New Delhi. p 85

[4] Britta Kuhlenbeck (2006), 'Space as Discourse in Japanese Story', *HJEANS*, Vol 12, No ½, pp175-85.

[5] Robert Sack (1984) op. cit.

such social homogeneity resulted in a sense of exclusiveness and identity that tended to subsume all social roles to that of *Jati* members.[6]

Different societies produce qualitatively different conception of space and time.[7] In the agrarian society, the norms as seen to be operating were necessarily in relation to the amount of land that was held in possession of a particular caste. Seen as such the *Jat*s clearly emerge as the 'dominant caste' in social, economic and numerical terms, as well as in the emerging politics of the region. This ubiquitous domination by a single caste set the tone and shaped the customs and attitudes followed in rural Haryana.[8] At local level the *Jats*, with their three fold domination in the social, economic and numerical spheres were easily mobilized[9] and form their socio-political organization known as *Khap Panchayats*

'Society' and 'Space' gives identity to each other, as it is not just that the spatial is socially constructed; the social is spatially constructed too[10], and so the mushrooming *Khap*s in the Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh gives the region an identity of '*Khap*land'. The region possessed certain characteristics of development, and typical social structure, which prevailed through ages, which contextualise the growth and effectiveness of *Khap*s in modern times. These caste *Panchayats* in the region can assert in a more powerful manner over the space under their influence, as here the *Jat*s as dominant caste outnumber other communities and take an advantage of being numerous and resourceful, which in turn create power either as form of dominance or transformative capacity which depends on utilization of resources which are structural component of social system[11]. The institutionalised social capital within these caste

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[6] Llyod I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph (1967), 'The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India', University of Chicago Press p.30.

[7] David Harvey (1990), 'Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination', *'Annals of the Association of American Geographers'*, vol.80. no.3, pp. 418-434.

[8] Prem Chowdhary (1987), "Socio-Economic Dimensions of certain Customs and Attitudes: Women of Haryana in Colonial Period", *EPW* Vol.22, No. 28, pp 2060-66.

[9] Prem Chowdhary (1984),'Punjab Politics: the role of Sir Chhotu Ram', Vikas Publication House Pvt. Ltd. p.3.

[10] Massey, Doreen (1984), op. cit.

[11] Giddens, Anthony (1979), "Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradictions in Social Analysis", The Macmillan Press Ltd., London. p.92-93

councils is able to create an environment for *Jat*s to create a pressure on the government and on the police to make boundaries from their privilege.

Khap Panchayats operate as 'territorial – political unit' and 'social organization'. As a social organisation it claims to provide the basis of co-operation, mutual support & inter-relation; and also includes the social norms, rules & controls that regulate the behaviour and interaction patterns and also determine the networks that operate in the community;[12] and as political organisation, it is concerned with the establishment and maintenance of internal co-operation and external dependence[13]. These *Khap Panchayats* act as formal Caste organisations which provide a means for *Jat*s to extend and consolidate their control over space. *Khap* is an exogamous, patri clan institution now largely a *Jat* outfit around Delhi. Other castes too have their *Panchayats* – Rajputs, Ahirs, Rors, Gujjars, Brahmin, etc. but they are caste *Panchayats*. *Khap* is a *Gotra*-centric *Panchayat* covering a cluster of villages dominated by a particular *Gotra* of *Jat*s who claim to have a common genealogy with each *Jat* clan extending over a compact geographical area of its own. So, *Khap Panchayats* in modern times has become largely a *Jat* preserve.[14] According to Kabul Singh, who occupied an important position in this institution for several decades, it means 'sangh-sanghthan' (association-organisation)[15].

M.C. Pradhan's work on 'The Political System of the *Jat*s in Northern India' is probably the earliest research work on *Khap Panchayats* of *Jat*s, consisting research on Baliyan *Khap* of Muzaffarnagar district of Western Uttar Pradesh. According to him, the villages in which a clan is settled and oraganised into the clan council and the area under its jurisdiction is called the *Khap*. The principles of common descent and residence are the basis of *Khap* Structure which is more a political oraganisation of *Jat*s. The term political organization has been defined by Radcliffe Brown as: 'In the study of Political organisation, we have to deal with the maintenance or establishment

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[12] Bowen, G. L., Martin, J. A., Mancini, J. A., & Nelson, J. P. (2000). "Community capacity: Antecedents and consequences". *Journal of Community Practice*, Vol-8. pp.1-21

[13] Schapera I. (1956), *"Government and politics in Tribal Societies",* C.A. Watts & Co. London, p.218

[14] Chaudhary, D.R. (2014), "*Khap Panchayat* and Modern Age", NBT New Delhi. p.1

[15] Kabul Singh (1976), "Itihas Sarva*Khap* Pnachayat, pahla bhag", Ajay Printing Press, Muzaffarnagar p.2.

of social order, within a territorial framework, by organized exercise of coercive authority through the use, or possibility of use of physical force'[16].

One can argue here that, the emergence of effectively functioning institutions cannot be imposed, but are the outcome of a society's historical development and institutional fabric. The creation of institutions, that are trusted and perceived as 'credible' in the eyes of social actors hinges in part on choice and timing in relation to the constellation of socio-economic political parameters. So to understand the deep rooted structure and functions of *Khap Panchayats*, one has to understand the basic organizational structure of *Khap*, that lies in its two folded structure, one is well established with territorial or spatial extensions, which includes *Panna*, Gaon, Ganwand, Thamba or Tapa and *Khap*; and other is well-moulded with blood line and kinship based structure, which includes family, minimal lineage or *khandan*, major segment or sub – thok and maximal lineage or thok.

Caste largely determines a very distinctive way of life as different caste groups produces different sets of prescribed norms of conduct. These varied norms and expected standard of behavior construct organised connections over the space though group actions and group decisions, which reproduce organisations based on these cohesive forces. So within this kinship and territorial arrangement, the individual is customised to behave in well-defined expectations and obligations which integrate them into the village social system. The territorial affinity of a village caste group has strong ties with its counterparts of other villages and they act together in various domains of life. These cohesions of castes form local and regional organisations and associations at various levels, which have authority to enforce and control the rules and customs of the caste group over the space.

Figure 4.1, shows the cohesive interaction of various determinants, mainly Kinship, Caste and Territorial affinities, which shape the structure of social organizations of communities over the space. The interplay of several different kinds of solidarities determines the structure and organization of Indian village communities. Kinship, Caste and Territorial affinities are the major determinants that shape the social structure of these communities. An individual belongs to a family – nuclear or joint;

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[16] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R and Forde, Daryll, eds. (1950), *'African Systems of Kinship and Marriage'*, Oxford University Press, London. p14.

and the family belongs to a lineage and associates itself with the group of relatives. These units belong to an endogamous sub–caste or caste; which can be fitted into one of the four major divisions of Hindu society, called Varna.

STRUCTURAL MODEL OF INDIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITY

A: ORGANISED IN TERMS OF KINS AND CASTE

B: ORGANISED IN TERMS OF TERRRITORIAL AFFINITIES

A	1. Individual
	2. Family
	3. Group of near kins
	4. Lineage
	5. Relatives (Kins & Affinal)
	6. Sub-Caste and Caste
	7. Varna

Doted circles show comparatively less effective units of social structure

B	1. Individual
	2. Family
	3. Village
	4. Inter – Village
	5. Region
	6. Nation

Figure 4.1: Kinship and Territorial arrangement of Indian village communities, developed by S.C. Dubey in Social Structure and Change in Indian Peasant Communities, in book : Rural Sociology in India, A. R. Desai, page no 202.

Similarly under the frame of territorial affinity, an individual and his family belongs to a village, which is a part of a network of neighbouring villages, the region and the nation. So caste is perhaps the most important single organising principle in these communities, and it governs to a very considerable degree the organisation of kinship and territorial units.

4.2 SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF *KHAP PANCHAYATS*

Spatial structure is largely a reflection of aspects of social structure and it also acts to reinforce and to influence the evolution of social structure. So one has to investigate the processes whereby social structure takes on spatial expression[17]. The analysis of spatial aspects of these socio – political organisations ranges from a part of village to wider regional level, with the understanding of their inner structure and interactions at several hierarchical levels based on the geographical delineation at various levels. Spatial structure of the socio-political organisation is deeply rooted upto the village level and extended till the *Khap* level, which is group of several villages ranging from 360 villages to 2 villages.

But this spatial structure is so well integrated and all segments are well communicated with each other, which gives this structure a distinctive functional vibrancy over the space. The organisational structure of *Khap Panchayats* over the space has several components, namely *Panna*, Village, Ganwand, Thamba or Tapa, *Khap* and Sarva *Khap*.

Figure 4.2 shows the spatial structure of *Khap Panchayats* with its all political units in hierarchical order, as various lower order units join together to form the higher order unit. For example, several *panna*s from a village, a group of villages touching boundaries together form Ganwand, several villages form Thamba or Tapa, several Tapas form *Khap* and several *Khap*s together form the Sarva *Khap* Unit.

These indigenous units vary over the spatial extent and also in range of social control and political effectiveness, with each having its own area of jurisdiction and its own type of leadership which enable them to perform various functions within their ambit.

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[17] Morgan, B.S. (1984), "Social Geography, Spatial Structure and Social Structure". *GeoJournal,* Vol. 9, No. 3, Social Geography pp. 301-310 (p.301).
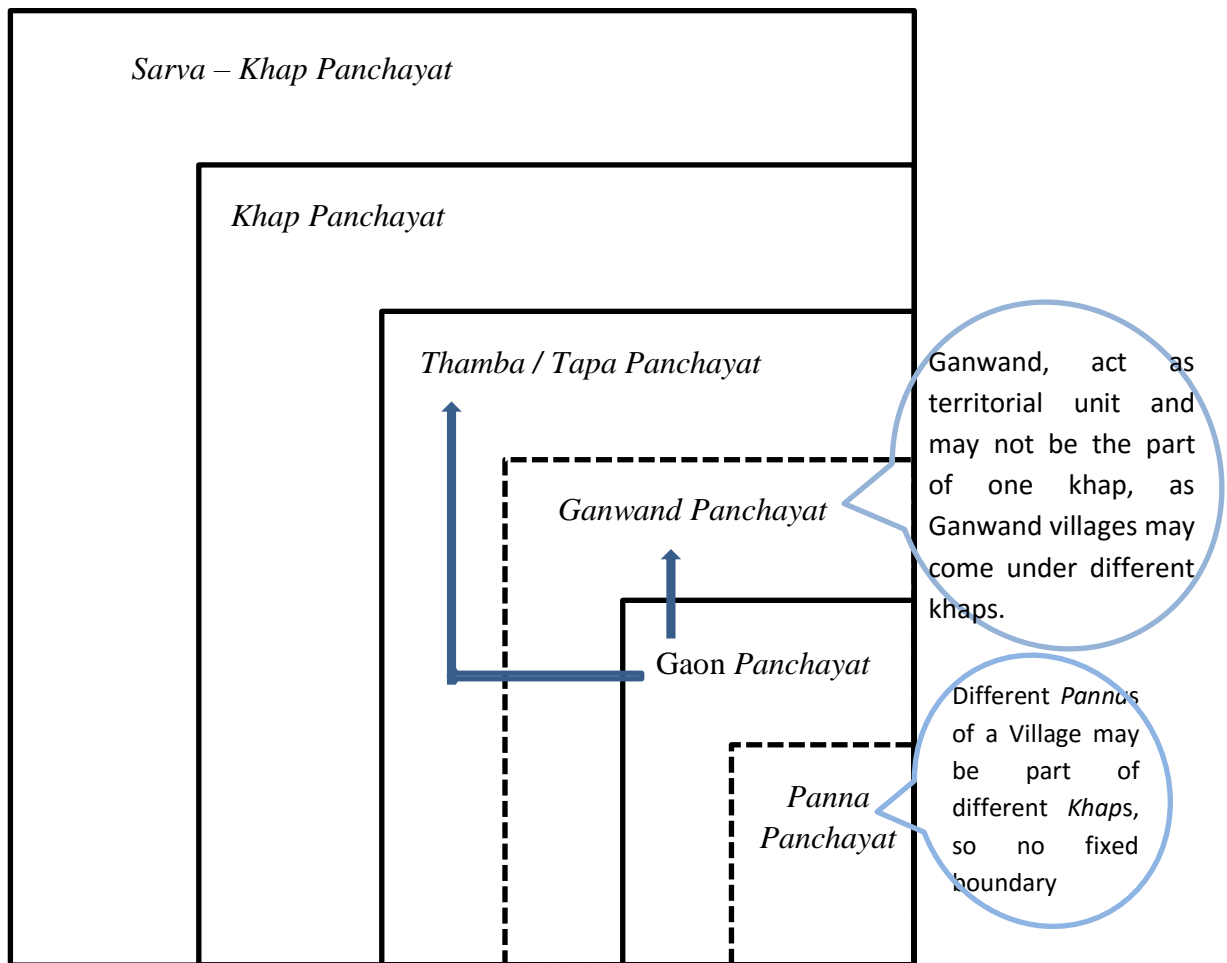
Figure 4. 2: Spatial Structure of Traditional Council. Modified by Author, primarily given by M.C. Pradhan, 1966 "The Political System of the *Jat*s in Northern India", page no 99.

4.2.1 The *Panna Panchayat*

A village is compartmentalized among several units, which are known as *panna* locally. "Each *panna* represent a village within a village"[18]. In India hierarchy of the caste plays a significant role in spatial setting of various caste groups within the village and so the division of the village, namely *panna*, is dominated by particular caste group. With the small and compact setting of *panna*, generally every member of the each household is known to the other members of *panna*, which provides them the factional solidarity. The historicity of this spatial solidarity generated a kind of independent conflict or problem resolving mechanism within this smaller unit. The headship of these *Panchayats* is not very well structured and not defined on any fixed lines, so generally the elder person of the *panna* is supposed to direct the meetings,

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[18] Lewis, Oscar (1958). "*Village Life in Northern India*", University of Illinois Press.

which are mostly to solve the problems of *panna*, and if the issue is not solved at this level then it is taken forward to the higher level.

In case of a *Jat Khap* village, where most of the agricultural land is in possession of one caste, namely *Jat*s, there is clear dominance of a *Jat*s at village level, and all *pannas* of such village will be a part of a particular *Jat Khap*, though each *panna* may have their own meeting. Generally the village is single *Jat Gotra* dominated and so is the *panna*, but complexity surfaces in case of multi *Jat Gotra* village. In this case at village level there is generally the dominance of the *Jat Gotra* which is more in number and the initial inhabitant of the village. But at *panna* level, in case of multi *Jat Gotra* village, *panna*s may be divided on basis of *Jat Gotra* in which each *Gotra* having dominance in corresponding *panna*. In this case, at times the fragmentation of village is observed as all *panna*s are not the part of same *Khap* instead each *Gotra panna* associates itself with the related *Khap*. These *pannas* are the first order structure of the super structure of *Khap*s and are at the bottom in the hierarchy of spatial structure of the *Khap*s.

This unit not only solves its issues but also interact with the higher order councils to either forward its unresolved problems to the higher levels or to transcend the mandates of higher order *Panchayats* to the household level. So we can say that this is the basic spatial unit of *Khap Panchayats* which directly influences and contacts the households within its jurisdiction.

4.2.2 The Village *Panchayat*

If a matter is not solved at *panna Panchayat* or if the problem is between two or more *panna*s then it is taken up by the village *Panchayat*. In village *Panchayat* the headship is not clearly defined, and generally the elderly of the village is chosen to be the head of the particular meeting. The village *Panchayat* performs on the principle of village brotherhood, which emerges out of the need of interdependency in agriculture related activities, which is applicable on all village residents. The brotherhood must be reflected in every village *Panchayat* decision. Decision taken at this level will be usually final. The disputants, as in the earlier stage, may take the matter to the next higher level viz. *Thamba Panchayat*, if dissatisfied with the verdict.

4.2.3 The Ganwand *Panchayat*

A group of neighbouring villages (generally five to eight in numbers) is known as Ganwand. This council is based on the principles of social and economic interactions between the neighbouring villages which held these villages together under the belief of Ganwand brotherhood. The proximity of social and economic intercourse, during religious and social occasions or during execution of common economic enterprise as the villagers of one village may possess agricultural land in the neighbouring village, is the necessitating force to maintain the brotherhood relations and to be organised into Ganwand council, in which disputes between neighbouring villages can be settled and the unity of Ganwand sustained.

This is a very important unit of the spatial structure of socio-political organisation and at times this is also interacting with the kinship based structure, as people from one overcrowded village may have settled in the neighbouring villages and founded new lineage there. This new village and parent village enjoys not only spatial contiguity but also kinship proximity and so develops strong brotherhood within the Ganwand, and both these villages may come under the jurisdiction of one Thamba or one *Khap*, while other villages of the Ganwand may fall with different Thamba and also with different *Khap* based on their *Gotra* and caste composition[19].

Though the villages within the Ganwand may or may not be a part of same *Khap*, but the principles of brotherhood based of local contiguity have to be endorsed by all villages and so dispute between the related villages have to be resolved within the council. The Ganwand council, with informal structure has no hereditary head and the decisions and deliberations of this council are not recorded, the headship is generally given to the respected elderlies of the villages for the particular meeting. There is always a chance of taking the undecided or unsettled issue to the upper councils.

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[19] Make a diagram showing the Ganwand pattern, in which all villages of Ganwand council may come under same *Khap*; same *Khap* but different Thamba; different *Khap* and different Thamba.

4.2.4 The *Thamba* or *Tapa Panchayat*

Thamba or Tapa is the group of villages, ranging from 2 villages to 20 or more under its jurisdiction, which in general known as Thamba in western Uttar Pradesh and Tapa in Haryana.

> *In some cases it may be group of 2 ½ villages, like the case of Malakpur Thamba of Desh Khap with the jurisdiction of two full villages and two pannas of the third village.*

In certain *Khap*s, the Thamba or tapa council head is designated on the basis of temporal selection, under which only the Thamba associated village males choose the head, while in some *Khap*s the post of Thamba or tapa head is hereditary. In western Uttar Pradesh the Thamba head is known as '*Thambedaar*'.

Inter or intra village dispute, if not solved by the Ganwand or village councils, may be referred to the Thamba or tapa council. In the meeting regarding dispute between two groups, generally, the Thamba head, selects the judges or the council members with the consent of both disagreeing groups, and presided over meeting in which he too can give his opinions but leaves the nominated council members to reach to a settlement.

Thamba or tapa councils are the formal political units of *Khap* and these are legislative, executive and adjudicative body, and their deliberations and decisions are conveyed to *Khap* head. In case of the common interest of all villages under its jurisdiction, the Thamba or tapa declarations are binding on all villages under its jurisdiction. The Thamba or Tapa head may be invited to act as judge over the informal Ganwand and *Panna Panchayat*.

Though, in present times, meetings of these councils become infrequent and by and large taking place on the occasions of 'presenting the turban' to new *Khap* or Thamba head, or on the occasion of 'karaj' of elderly of village, and its functions also either taken up by *Khap* councils or village councils and Ganwand councils. But still this unit of the organisation maintains and regulates the link and information between villages and *Khap*s.

4.2.5 The *Khap*

The nature of *Khap Panchayats* is described with varied scholarly opinions, though all agreed upon the traditional character and nature of *Khap*s. as according to historian Prem Chowdhry, *Khap Panchayats* are the caste *Panchayats*[20], while M.C. Pradhan elaborated *Khap*s as clan councils and as a traditional political system of the *Jat*s[21]. These *Khap*s are considered as multi-village *Panchayats*[22] by the sociologist K.S.Sangwan. While D.R. Chaudhary, emphasised the *Khap*s as *Gotra*-centric *Panchayats* extending over common genealogical villages, and distinguished these *Khap Panchayats* from caste *Panchayats*.

The *Khap,* can be defined as a unit of a number of villages organized into a socio-political council for the purpose of social control, organised either on the name of dominat *Gotra* or clan in the region or by the name of geographical region. The Baliyan *Khap*, Tomar *Khap*, Hooda *Khap*, Dahiya *Khap*, Sangwan *Khap* are the examples of the *Gotra* or clan based *Khap*s, and Bhainswala Battisa *Khap*, Satrol *Khap*, Meham Chaubisi *Khap* are the examples of area *Khap*.

The territorial extent of the *Khap* may vary from one *Khap* to another on the basis of number of villages under its jurisdiction, like Meham Chaubisi *Khap* of Rohtak in Haryana covers 24 villages (now claimed 31) or Bhainswala *Khap* of Shamli in Uttar Pradesh covers 38 villages or Baliyan *Khap* covers 84 villages in Muzaffarnagar of Uttar Pradesh or Palam *Khap* of Delhi which extended over 360 villages. The *Khap* is made up of a number of political units to extend its control over villages, the Thamba or tapa Councils, each comprising several neighbouring villages for e.g. *Desh Khap is a group of 84 villages, with seven Thamba councils. Khap* with larger jurisdiction area or with more number of associated villages is seen with the high prestige within the *Khap* areas, and the head of bigger *Khap*s is generally given more respect and honour.

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[20] Prem Chowdhry, (2007) "*Contentious Marriages, Eloping Couples: Gender, Caste and Patriarchy,*" OUP, New Delhi.

[21] M.C.Pradhan (1966) op.cit.

[22] K. S. Sangwan, *The rural elite and the multi village Panchayats in Haryana: The Case of Chaubisi in District Rohtak*, PhD thesis, (unpublished), Department of Sociology, Punjab University Chandigarh, 1986.

A *Khap* is generally named after the dominant clan or caste, which first settled in the region and organised in political unit. All caste and communities living in the villages will come under the jurisdiction of the *Khap* council, though other caste may have their own caste councils presided over by respective caste chaudhary and these are modelled after the dominant clan or caste with the same *Khap* villages under their jurisdiction as with the dominant caste or clan. And these caste councils can have their own meetings for its internal affair but common interest issues are taken up by the *Khap* council, which comprises members not only from dominant clan or caste but of other caste also. If a meeting is organised at the level of all *Khap* villages, even though if it is of particular caste, it will use the term '*Khap Panchayat*' and also add the caste name, for example "*Khap Panchayat* of Balmikis" In Patti Chaudharan, a part of Baraut village in Baghpat district of Uttar Pradesh, a Chaudhary of Nai (Barber) caste group shared that:

> *We Nai's too have our own Nai Khap Panchayat with Khap head village in Baraut and with the same 84 villages and same Thamba villages as of Tomar Jats. In our Khap it is not necessary that the same Gotra of Nai will be there in all 84 villages, like the Jats. But still we (Nais) maintain the Khap exogamy due to the principle of Khap brotherhood. The dispute between our caste members can be solved in Nai Panchayat, but the critical and serious issues involving inter caste matters or village common interest threatening matters are generally addressed by Desh Khap Councils, which have majority of Jats but other caste members are also its part. And we all respect the Chaudhary judgements as he always serves the right and most judicious.*

The area, inhabited by a particular clan with its control over most of the agricultural land, is known by the name of particular clan *Khap*. If the clan inhabited over small number of villages, which could not solve the defence problem and also could not earn the prestige in larger frame, then the contiguous alike clans organised and joined together into a common *Khap*, with the headship remained with clan having jurisdiction over highest number of villages. The Bhainswal *Khap* Chaudhary, mentioned the need of bringing prestige to associated villages by forming a big association.

So this association of, same clan villages and also association of the different clan villages display two types of *Khap*s, one is formed on the basis of single caste and single clan prevalence generally known as *Gotra Khap*s[23] (for e.g. Malik *Khap*, Dahiya *Khap*), in this all villages of the *Khap* jurisdiction are dominated by the single *Gotra* of a caste, though other *Gotra* people of the same caste also settled but in insignificant number. And other is formed on the basis of single caste and multi clan prevalence commonly known as Area *Khap*s (for e.g Meham Chaubisi, Bhainswal *Khap*, Satrol *Khap*), in this some villages may be dominated by one *Gotra* and some villages with other *Gotra* of same caste.

The *Khap* head is commonly called as *Khap* Chaudhary in Uttar Pradesh and *Khap* Pradhan in Haryana. The nature of *Khap* headship may be hereditary (as in Desh *Khap* or Baliyan *Khap*) or may be chosen by majority consent (Hooda *Khap*). The village, from where the *Khap* head belongs, is generally known as *Head village of the Khap*. The *Khap Panchayats* claim to represent all caste people in a democratic manner with the claimed representation of all "36 biradaris" (all 36 castes), but this is largely a *Jat* domain in Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh, with most of the *Khap* heads are of *Jat* community, as *Jat*s outnumber other castes in this region in terms of number and land possession.

Khap is socio-political organisation based on the principles of local contiguity and *Khap* brotherhood. This *Khap* brotherhood have different implications for the Area *Khap* and the *Gotra Khap*, as in former the brotherhood is maintained at *Khap* level but inter *Khap* marriages can occur, while in later the *Khap* brotherhood makes it an exogamous territory.

Khap Panchayat is generally called by the *Khap* head, and a letter is send (known as *chitthi pharana*) to all Thamba heads with declaration of *Khap* meeting venue, time and issue, and also asked Thamba heads to disseminate this information to the lower levels under its jurisdiction. The *Khap Panchayat* meets to reflect over the common problem or threat to the traditional norms and values, or meets to resolve the grave issues not solved by any of the lower level councils. The *Khap* head appoints the judges and the council members to decide upon the issues with the consent of

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[23] All the members of the particular *Gotra* supposed to be its part, though some may be highly critical of it.

majority, and he himself headed the *Panchayat* by giving his own suggestions and proposals. If the meeting of *Khap* occurs on dispute among two groups, then the decision of the *Khap Panchayat* is binding to the members of disputed parties, and if *Panchayat* meets on some common issue then the passed resolution is generally claimed to be accepted and followed by all people under the *Khap* jurisdiction. These various units vary in their socio-political control and effectiveness.

4.3 KINSHIP BASED STRUCTURE OF KHAP PANCHAYATS

Kinship came to be seen as indispensable for the proper understanding of how any small scale society considered as 'primitive' was organised and how it worked, and 'kinship is one of the irreducible principles on which.....organised social life depends.'[24] Kinship organisation of most 'primitive' societies was seen as based on descent groups which were exogamous and were mutually related through a series of marriage exchanges[25]. A kinship system does not exist in the objective ties of descent or consanguinity between individuals. It exists only in human consciousness; it is arbitrary system of representations, not the spontaneous development of a real situation.'[26]

Kinship is the most important principle of social organisation and its structure explains the social continuity of traditions in society through networking of the successive generation and also by tying the single generation horizontally over the space through marriage practices, and so instituting vertical and horizontal associations in society. These associations and connections normatively regulate the way of social relationships between individuals, related by descent, marriage ties or by socially defined ties. The range of significant kinship associations differs greatly from society to society among the *Jat*s in parts of Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh the kinship ties, are territorially very well spread and connected, and are well articulate through the *Khap*, socio-political organisation of *Jat*s. In this society the

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[24] Fortes, M. (1949). '*The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi*'. Oxford University Press, London. p.340.

[25] Kuper, A. (1985). 'Social Anthropology'. In A. Kuper and J. Kuper (eds.), *The Social Science Encyclopedia*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. P.758.

[26] Levi – Staruss, C. (1963). 'Structural Anthropology'. Basic Books. New York p.50.

rules of descent, succession, inheritance and marriage are all channelled by the kinship based arrangement.
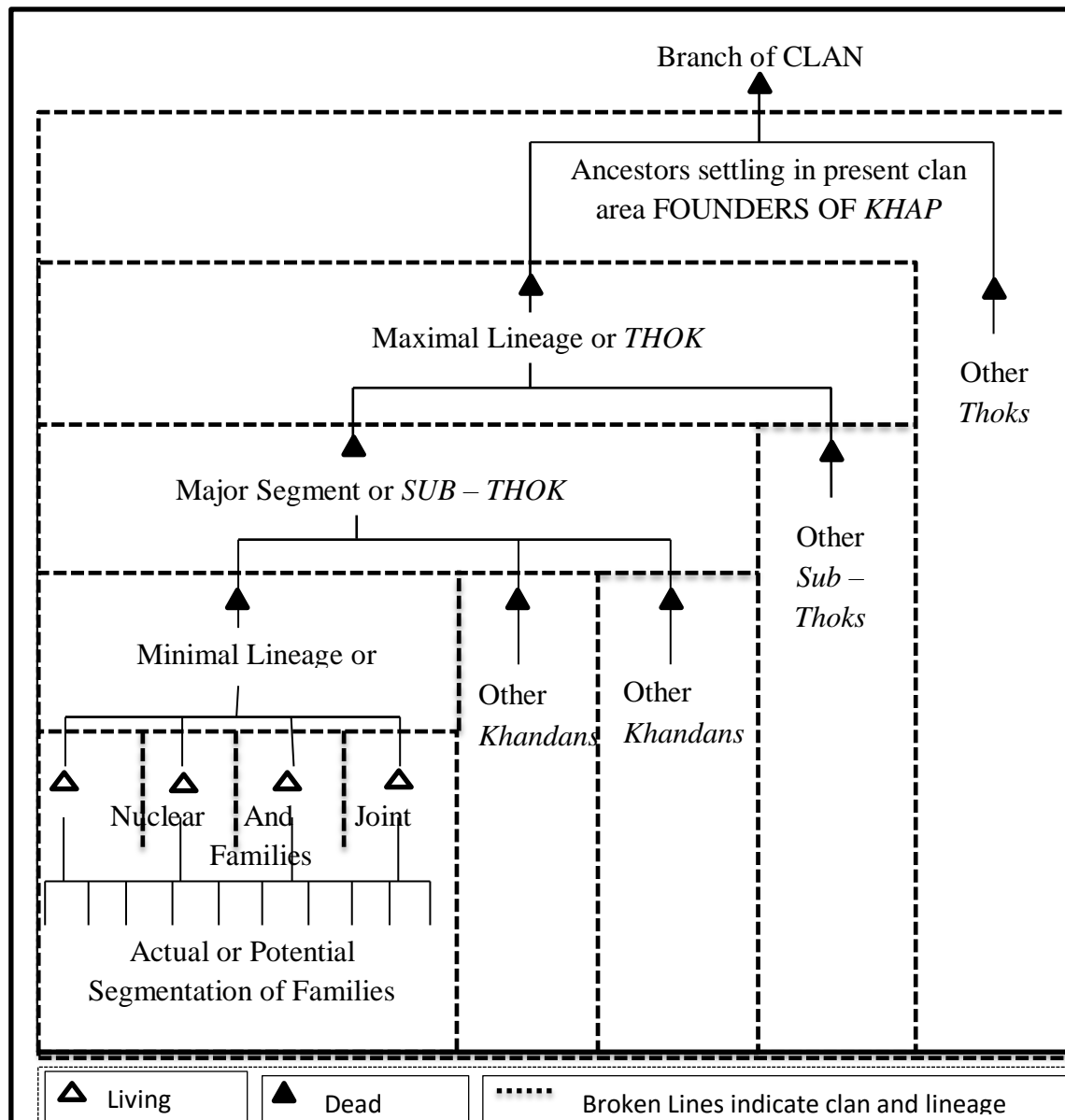
Figure 4.3: Segmentation of a clan into kinship unit (No attempt is made in this diagram to show the actual nubers of ancestors, kinship units or frequencies of segmentation). Source: M.C. Pradhan, 1966 "The Political System of the *Jat*s in Northern India", page no 59.

Kinship is best understood to be chronologically anterior and primitive version of political citizenship[27] as within the *Jat* community the arrangement of marriage alliances strictly guided by the principles of caste endogamy and village exogamy and other kinship guided principles (like neighbouring village exogamy, *Gotra* exogamy and *Khap* exogamy), and with the strict maintenance of the kinship principle the

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[27] Carole Pateman, (1998) "*The Sexual Contract*" Stanford University Press, Stanford. pp. 19-76.

community can appropriate not just social but also political and economic privilege, under the shelter of the kinship based traditional organisations. This socio-economic-political primacy of traditional kinship problematizes the '*Jat*' as political and ethical subject in the context of modernity

Figure 4.3 diagrammatically explains the segmentation of a clan into kinship units with hierarchical arrangement over space, with the actual or potential families at the bottom to the minimal lineage to maximal lineage and to the clan head. The numerous line of lineage at the bottom of the hierarchy, merged with the higher level, till reaches to the level clan. These lineage lines can also be seen as associational lines, through which the last person of the hierarchy in kinship tree can associate himself with the clan. These kinship ties, which are centered on the principles and beliefs of the common descent of the clan, tied the community strongly to this traditional institution.

4.3.1 The Family

The family is the basic unit of the society, which is patrilineal and with wider kinship groupings. The joint family may consist three to four patrilineally related generations all living under same roof, may be in the form of joint household or several nuclear households where there has been a simple break-up of the residential unit within the same house but no formal partition of property has taken place and usually cooperating together in mutually helpful social and economic activities. In Indian society the sustaining power for the family structure, as an integral part, is derived from the 'spirit of the family solidarity'.

In an agrarian economy, where the land-owning unity stood to gain if its members held together, so one can expect the joint family to be bound by close ties to the wider network of kinship and affinity. So the relationship of the lineage to the joint family, particularly where the latter is a large property-owning corporation, is close and intimate.[28]

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[28] Beteille, A., (1964). Family and social change in India and other South Asian Countries. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 16, Issue No. 5-6-7. p.237.

4.3.2 The Minimal Lineage or *Khandan*

Kinship behavior between the members of a minimal lineage is much the same as within the joint-family, there is a close social intercourse and daily contact between its members. Kinship and territorial proximity and dependent upon each other in economic pursuits, like borrowing agricultural implements, using same cane crusher, taking each other produce to the market, etc; bring them close to each other.

The head of the minimal lineage is equally respected by its all members and the family heads and other members of the lineage go to him for advice and help. The head unites the families with the major segment of kinship (or sub thok) and maximal lineage (or thok) levels.

The *Khandan* head tries to solve the issues related to the tensions, quarrels and suspicions emerges out of mainly the property partition, dishonest behavior of any member or any personal bitterness, and these quarrels may last a life time, causing the formation of two factions permanently opposed to each other within the minimal lineage. At times certain differences may aggravate to breed permanent hatred and quarrel between two cliques which minimal lineage council fails to resolve and also the elders of minimal council are seldom considered as neutral when its own family members are involved. Such factors render the minimal lineage the weakest political unit after joint family, as its council members command insufficient prestige and not able to iron out the differences within the lineage coupled with the absence of strong political leadership cause the fragmentation in minimal lineage.

4.3.3 Major Segment or *Sub – Thok*

The sub thok or the major segment shows same kinship behavior as of minimal lineage and the unity code and co-activities need no specific name and so no specific term in local parlance is there for sub thok. Tensions are less in this group as regular face-to-face interaction, be in form of borrowing agricultural implements or other economic or other help, is less, but the sentiments of kinship proximity lies with the pride of common descent and shared lineage Gods.

This segment enjoys the kinship proximity and contiguity while avoiding the minimal lineage prevalent tensions, so the threats of disintegration and division are less than

khandan *Panchayat*. Sub thok exercised greater degree of social control than khandan *Panchayat*, and the unresolved cases of khandan are resolved here.

4.3.4 Maximal Lineage or Thok

Kinship sentiment and thok association is more diffused which help to make it the strongest socio-political unit with strong thok affiliation, though the daily social and economic intercourse is not prevalent. The power, prestige and influence of thok depend on its depth span, numerical strength and economic resources. Big and large thoks convey more influence than smaller ones both at the clan level and at the inter village organisation level. The depth span of maximal lineage may vary from ten to fifteen generations from the presently living adults.

Thok meetings mostly conducted on the important occasions like birth, death and religious ceremonies, as these occasions are taken up as opportunities to settle the disputes or differences in opinions. Thok is most politically effective kinship group, which can implement sanctions and have several methods of social control which the lower order groups generally do not have. The individual, if want to acquire prestige and influence at the larger community level first has to acquire it within its own thok where one spent most of one's life, and thus individual derives its social, economic and political support from his maximal lineage, and derives the social status from affiliation with the thok, which make it imperative for him to follow to his thok ideology and codes of conduct.

The prime functions of these lineage councils are to maintain social order and unity within their respective kinship groups of khandan level, sub thok level or thok level. The councils with larger influence zone in term of numerical strength and geographical area are called when the smaller units are failed to resolve the dispute, as the councils with greater social control is in better position to exert its influence over the individual in which important persons of the area, whose terms of settlement are difficult to refuse, may act as judges at the council.

This structure of the clan and lineage forms the basis for the functioning of the *Khap*s as socio-political organisation of the community, as these kinship groups of each level have elaborate complex functions which are exercised in their respective councils. This structure has more weightage and deep implication on the society as it is directly

reaching to the best potential families from the clan of all commands in very systematic and well organised manner.

4.4 STRUCTURAL COMPLEXITIES OF *KHAP*S

The structure of *Khap* is not as simple and plain to identify and understand as it seems from above description; rather it involves structural complexities at various levels, which need to be mentioned here to have a better understanding of structure and function of *Khap* and also to have an insight for the impending changes in modern time. The base of the structure looks simpler as it involves villages, but this base is more complex in nature, so in *Khap*s more complexities are involved at the village level. As told by one of the *Khap* Head:

> *The villages are the basic divisions of the Khaps, where maximum complexities involves, as the whole structure of Khaps lies on its extent over the number of villages, and the villages are pillars of the Khaps, and so most often the Khaps are too named after the historically prominent village. And the complexity increases at the bottom level due to complex structure and the modernity further inflate this complexity.*

The figure 4.4 tries to capture the spatial complexities involved in the structure on the basis of the field observations and through collected narratives of heads of various levels. At *Panna* level, the figure shows three prominent cases:

In *Panna* Case I: All *panna*s, namely, *Panna*-A, P-B and P-C, of the village-1 act as a unit and follows the same village codes, and as the village is the part of the Ganwand so all *panna*s too follow the same Ganwand codes. In this case all *panna*s will also follow the same Thamba and same *Khap*. So this case is of **Ek Gaon, Ek Ganwand, Ek Thamba, Ek Khap**.

In *Panna* Case II: All *panna*s, namely P-D, P-E, P-F & P-G are the part of Village-5, so follow the same village codes and same Ganwand codes (the Ganwand to which village-5 is associated with, namely Ganwand-2), while P-D & P-E will follow the Thamba X-2 and rest two *panna*s will follow the Thamba X-3 of *Khap* X. So this case is of **Ek Gaon, Ek Ganwand, Ek Khap, but different Thamba.**

In *Panna* Case III: Village-10 comprises six *panna*s from P-H to P-M. All *panna*s have to follow the village and Ganwand rules. But as we have already discussed above that at times the fragmentation of village is observed as all *panna*s may be parted on the basis of different caste and *Gotra*s, so here in this case III the complexity is more as the village fragmentation is more; here four *panna*s from P-h to P-L follow the same *Khap* but different Thambas of the *Khap* X, while P-M follows *Khap*–Y. So this case is of ***Ek Gaon, Ganwand, but different Thamba and different Khaps.***

The villages sharing the common boundary comprise the Ganwand which is commonly known as group of villages with close proximity. At times all villages of the Ganwand may follow the same *Khap*, like Village-1 to Village-4 comprises to form the Ganwand-1 and follows the same *Khap* X. While the Villages of Ganwand-2, follow different Thambas and different *Khap*s.
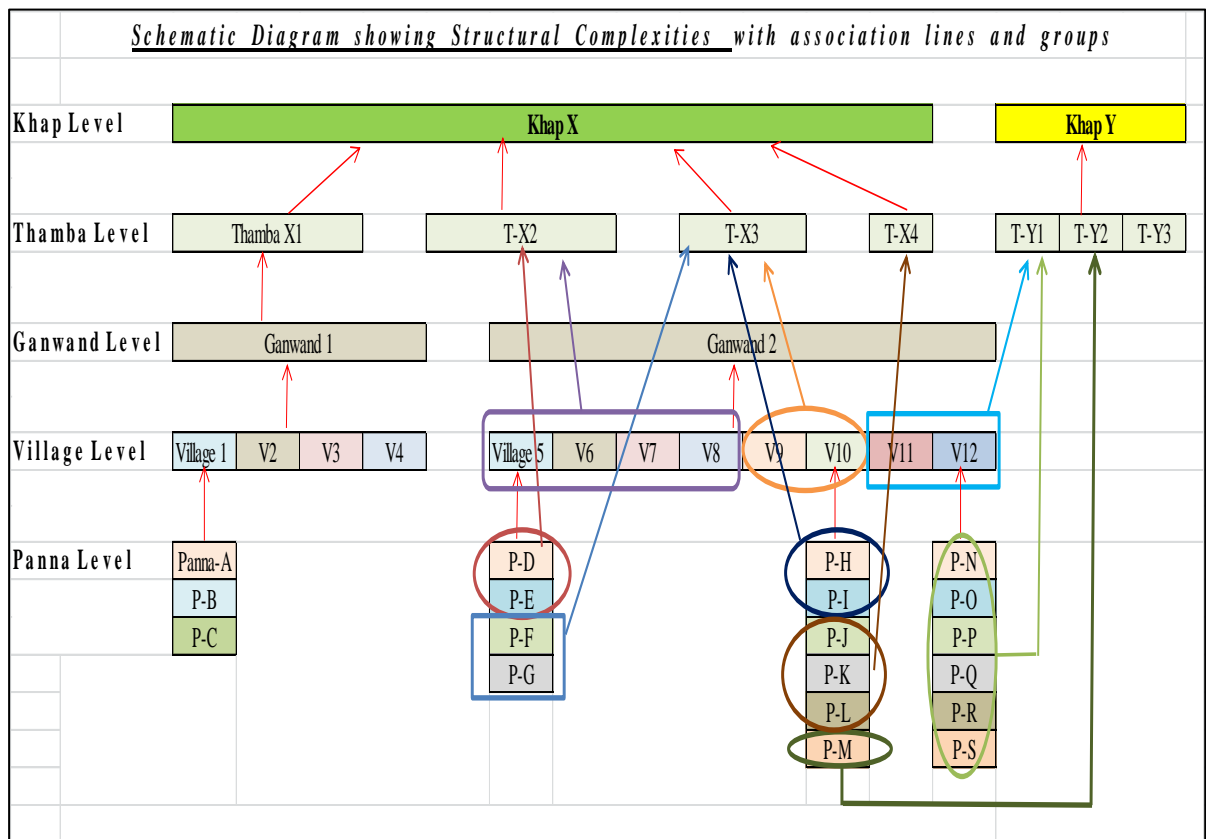
Figure 4.4: Schematic diagram showing structural complexities involved in spatial structure of *Khap*s, developed by the author on the basis of field study.

The Ganwand is very different structure, as it may or may not be a part of any *Khap*. Here Ganwand – 1 follows *Khap* X, as all villages in the Ganwand are associated with the same *Khap*. But Ganwand – 2 cannot follow any *Khap*, as villages it encompasses follow different *Khap*s. The Ganwand itself act as a code enforcing unit with various norms to be followed by the associated villages, and may not merge with any Thamba or *Khap* and can act independently based on its own rules and standards.

4.5 BASIC STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL COMPONENTS OF THE *KHAP*

These components are the basic pillars on which the *Khap* structure is standing and act as the mechanisms of social control over the space, need to be elaborated, to understand the deep rooted functioning of the *Khap*s.

4.5.1 *Khap* Headship:

This headship of *Khap* is based on the traditionally carried authority which is capable to generate the 'traditional' leadership based on inheritance of positions and traditional factional alignments[29]. The head derives its legitimacy on the basis of 'traditional ground', which rests on established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them (traditional authority). In this obedience is owed to the person or the chief who occupies the traditionally sanctioned position of authority and who is (within its sphere) bound by tradition[30].

The *Khap* head is being considered as the one of the most dominant in the *Khap* councils, this domination generates the power as a transformative capacity of actors to achieve desired or intended outcomes which further establishes the domination of the head (as shown and explained in figure no.4.5). In the social system, the resources are the structural component as the domination and transformative capacity depends on the resource utilization, so the system should constantly generate resources to maintain the state of dominance, so *Khap*s' domination and transformative capacity generates new resources for the actor, as the two (namely domination and

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[29] D.B. Miller, 1975, "From Hierarchy to Stratification: Changing Patterns of Social Inequality in a North Indian Village", Oxford University Press. (page 114).

[30] Political Sociology : A Reader, Volume No. 1, Ed. S. N. Eisenstadt, Rawat Publication, Jaipur,1989, pp 43

transformative capacity) can have regulating control on the socio-economic-political network of the concerned jurisdiction area.
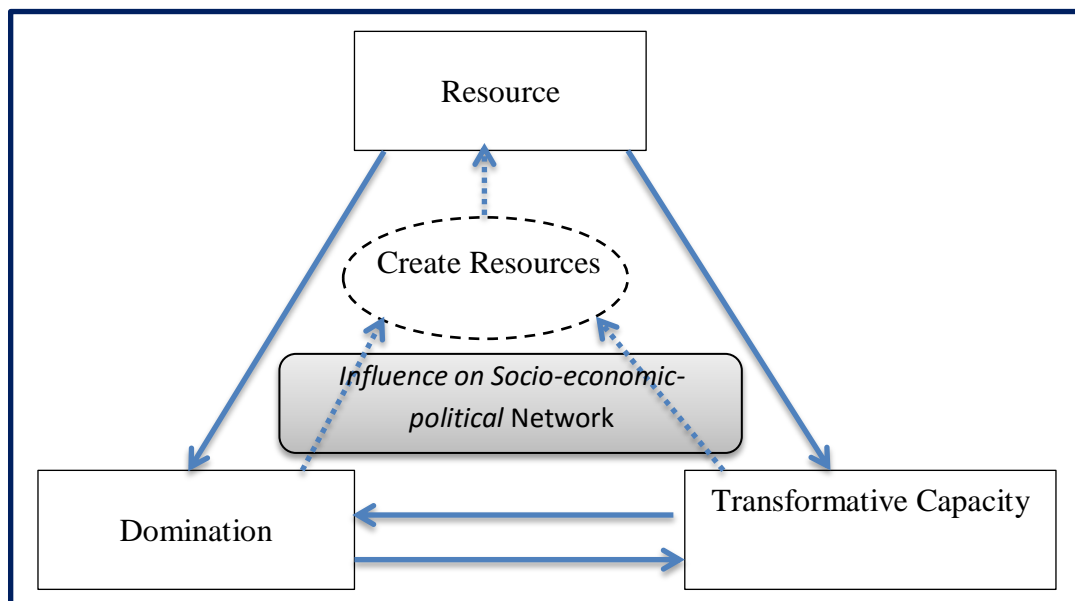
Figure 4.5: Resource centred domination among *Khap* heads. (Source: this diagram is developed by author based on theory of Giddens, A (1979) "Central Problems in Social Theory")

The *Khap* head domination over the socio-political-economic networks (or links) can lead to the reputation of particular *Khap* in the region, so this *Khap* headship is very important component in framing the *Khap* personality and so the selection of head is also significant.

In some *Khap*s the headship of *Khap* is hereditary, like the headship of the Baliyan *Khap* (popularly known as *Chaurasi Khap of Baliyan*) of Muzaffarnagar in Uttar Pradesh is hereditary, with present head as Chaudhary Naresh 'Tikait' who succeed his father Chaudhary Mahendra Singh 'Tikait' and the baton would pass on to his son after his demise. Similarly the headship of *Desh Khap* of Tomars, in the Baraut tehsil of Baghpat district of Uttar Pradesh is hereditary, is with present head as Chaudhary Surendra Singh Tomar who succeeded his father Chaudhary Sukhbir Singh Tomar.

In some *Khap*s some elder is asked to preside over the headship post by the consensus of village people, but with limited consensus of the head village (parent village)

people only and 'head *Gotra*'[31] person can only be the *Khap* head. For instance in Meham Choubisi *Khap* of Meham tehsil of Rohtak in Haryana the present[32] acting head is from Meham village and from Grewal *Gotra*, and Meham Choubisi head can only be from the Grewal *Gotra* and from Meham village only and instead of the consensus of all 31 villages of the *Khap,* only Meham village people consensus is considered to choose only Grewal gotra person as *Khap* head.

While in some case an elderly is asked to preside over the meeting of a *Khap Panchayat* for particular occasion only. This is more frequent in Haryana, where the elderly is *Pradhan* only for the meeting and few more elders may be asked to act as *panchs*. In several cases there are self-appointed *pradhans* too, there is no evidence of being elected or nominated in a conclave of their *Gotra* people.

The khap headship is based on the 'claimed democratic' representation, which is actually 'undemocratically democratic' representation, as there is no fixed rules of making head, and not all people participate in the election/selection, only influential can make their reach to the post, which based on the open voting by raising the hands in 'favour' or 'against', which is unethical, and with no participation of women and other caste, mainly the deprived section of the society. So this khap headship, which is claimed as "sarv sam-mati se chuna hua samajik pradhan (socially elected societal head), based on the undemocratic representation of rural elites.

4.5.2 Bhaichara as Main Pillar:

Bhaichara (brotherhood) is the *raison d'être* of *Khap*. The brotherhood is the very basic component which builds the cohesiveness in the entire structure of *Khap* and also act as adhesive between the two layers of different hierarchy in structure. This bhaichara is neither very simple nor is at just one level. Instead it is the explanation of all types of unity, be it *Gotra* unity, or village unity, or *Khap* unity, and above all is caste unity and at every level it is explained differently to include people of all levels, but with similar basis to maintain the unity and solidarity. Following are the types of Brotherhood (Bhaichara): intertwined with 'aika' and 'izzat'

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[31] Head *Gotra* is referred to the *Gotra* which is considered as the initial settler of the *Khap* and also one of the most prominent one in the *Khap*.

[32] At the time of survey in February 2016

Various types of brotherhood are followed by the people of the *Khap* depending on the nature and extent of territorial and kinship based structures, and the feeling of brotherhood generates the conception of 'aika' (solidarity) at various levels.

4.5.2.1 *Gotra* Bhaichara

All the members, of this *Jat* dominated *Khap*land, representing particular *Gotra* are supposed to be in blood relations with a common ancestors which means all members of same generation of that particular *Gotra* are, *Gotra brothers*, and cannot marry within, thus making *Khap* a unit of exogamous relation. Under the traditional belief system of *Khap*s the *Gotra* solidarity is maintained by asserting its common norms like the **izzat** (honour) and **aika** (unity and solidarity) upon its members, and the *Khap Panchayats* act as social control mechanism to maintain the cohesiveness of this group.

4.5.2.2 Gaon–Bhaichara

Gaon–Bhaichara, is brotherhood at village level, act more like a regional umbrella at smaller unit (village), which brings all 36 *biradaris* (castes) under certain codes and norms and made village an exogamous unit as all residents of village are considered as brothers and part of same family (inspite of caste and class differentiations).

4.5.2.3 Ganwand–Bhaichara

Ganwand–Bhaichara is brotherhood at group of villages with shared boundaries, the physical proximity of these villages facilitate people to extract the assistance in economic spheres and this contiguity also facilitate the socio-economic networks and linkages, which need to be based on the strict brotherhood codes to survive and sustain. The Ganwand brother makes the Ganwand an exogamous unit on the similar basis of village exogamy.

4.5.2.4 Verbal Bhaichara

This is one of kind of brotherhood which is prevalent in his *Khap*land zone. This has its genesis in historic times, as few villages which are not of same *Gotra* population and not in Ganwand and not in same *Khap* claims to be brother villages, as in remembered historic time some elders of the village reciprocate the brotherhood with

each other. This brotherhood is very complex and difficult to carry in present time, as this is well narrated by one respondent Narendra Hooda[33], of Nindana :

> *The verbal brotherhood, was reasonable to carry until the next two generations of our elderly who established the brotherhood were alive, but even many years we have to follow this. Most of the people, especially young generation, have no associational emotions with this brotherhood. When one goes to search families for marital alliance then one knows that there is brotherhood*
>
> *(Bola hua bhaichara tab tak nibhana theek tha jab tak hamarey unn buzurag ki agli do pidhi zinda thi jin buzurago ney bhaichara kayam kiya tha, par aab bhi gaon ke logo ko yeh nibhana padta hai. Adhiktar gaon ke logo ko, aur khaskar ki jawan bacho ko iss bhaicharey se koi judaw bhi nahi hota, na maalum hota hai, jab rishtey karney jaatey hain tab pata chalta hai ki bhaichara hai.)*

4.5.2.5 *Khap*–Bhaichara

Khap–Bhaichara, is more complex and most wide one. In general it is an extension of brotherhood from village level to all villages of a *Khap*, this illustration makes it an exogamous unit like *gaon–ganwand* (village and village groups with shared boundaries). This *Khap bhaichara* become more complex if we translate its codes over a space with several *Khap*s on it. For instance *Khap* bhaichara in *Gotra Khap*s like Baliyan *Khap* of Muzaffarnagar and Desh *Khap* of Baghpat of Uttar Pradesh, implies the same code and conduct like village at an extended scale of *Khap*, where *Khap* becomes an exogamous unit in which all residents are considered as brothers, and this exogamy code not only followed by *Jat*s but other caste too follow the same and cannot have any marital relation within the *Khap*. Almost all *Gotra Khap*s maintains this rule of *Khap* exogamy. Certain Area *Khap*s too follow the same code of *Khap* exogamy like Bhaiswala *Khap* of Muzaffarnagar in Uttar Pradesh.

But on the other hand there are some Area– or–Territorial–*Khap*s, like Meham Chaubisi (Rohtak, Haryana) which maintains the *Khap* bhaichara but *Khap*

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[33] Narendra Hooda, interview with author. He is a P.G.T. teacher in school of Rohtak, and from Jat community. (interview on 11/12/2015).

exogamous rule does not apply to this, as Meham Chaubisi only follows village exogamy, ganwand exogamy and *Gotra* exogamy. One of the most recent case of Satrol *Khap* of Hansi Tehsil of Haryana, where the *Khap* exogamy rule is uplifted and after this one may marry within the *Khap* villages but has to consider the village exogamy, ganwand exogamy and *Gotra* exogamy.

4.5.3 Strict Exogamy Rules

Incestuous relationship are considered as taboos and also several prohibited degree of marriages is prevalent at every level of brotherhood, which includes *Gotra* exogamy, village (*Gaon*) exogamy, *Ganwand* exogamy, *Khap* exogamy, brother village exogamy and any infringement of the rule is considered as immoral and the person may be punished by the panchayat or compelled to perform expiatory rites. The strictness of the marriage conduct may entice the heavy punishments like village ostracism. The marriage, which is not just the individual choice arena but is associated with the honour of family-clan-community, if performed in the restricted and prohibited marriage, attracts huge ire of the traditional custom – guardians.

This marriage type can be explained little more with the concept of 'epainogamy' given by James Gibbs, which he coined by merging a Greek word 'epaineo' meaning 'to praise, approve or sanction' and the word 'gamy' means pertaining to marriage. So epaniogamy ia a condition of marriage which is societally supported, praised and sanctioned – indeed almost enforced with various epainogamous factors, first, elimination of normative ambiguity in the epainogamous societies by means of fixed and focused matrimonial rights and 'ceremonialization' of the marriage bond; second, the rewarding of the conformity to marriage norms, and third, the punishment of deviance from marital norms. Punishment is likely to be most effective where the deviant cannot leave his social situation, as when access to marriage is by means of ascription – through a man's kin group – rather than through his own achievement, and where there is intense group involvement in a marriage[34].

Apart from this the concept of *khera mahara hai* or the village belongs to us, generates a very different and complex type of exogamy in which the people belong

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[34] *Gibbs, James L. 1963. "Marital Instability among the Kpelle: Toward a Theory of Epainogamy" American Anthropologist 65: 552-559*

to "the 'new settlers' *Gotra*" cannot get a girl as a wife or daughter-in-law who belongs to "the 'old settlers' *Gotra*" of the village.

4.5.4 Patriarchal Institution based on *Baithak* and *Chaupal* Culture.

Khap Panchayat, is a male-dominated institution with strong patriarchal ethos, rules out female participation in it, though many of its decisions have had a vital impact on women. Women in this belt is strongly associated with the *ghar ki izzat* (family honor), and with this high regard and value women are confined to the walls. Women's accessibility to the public spaces has to be mediated 'through' and negotiated 'from' the *baithak*, which is an exclusive male zone where the members of the *biradari* exchange social protocols. These baithak of village level are known as chaupals and they are the place to decide the social conventions of the village, and these are the cultural space of the community and also the sites of the cultural reproduction and symbolic capital, and the traditional panchayats can be treated as extension of *baithak*. These baithaks and chauplas defined the performative[35] aspects of female isolation and separation in the rural society of their domain. In a male-dominated society, a woman has no place in the public sphere and definitely not in male-dominated *Panchayats*[36]. The detailed narrative of my experience of a Panchayat[37] in a chaupal of Meham, further substantiate the ways of patriarchy performance by these establishments:

> I visited Meham, without prior knowledge of who is the current Pradhan of Khap Meham Chaubisi, with two of my male colleagues. I went to Chaubisi chabutra which is well known establishment of the khap. I met one gentlemen near the Meham Chaubisi Chabutara and I asked him about the pradhan of the khap, who instead of telling me the address of khap head, told me that he may give me all information regarding the Khaps as his father was influential in Khaps and also it will be difficult to find pradhan as a very important Patti Panchayat (one of village clan's meeting) is going on in Jat choupal of the village. I requested him that can we too visit the meeting place and can see the functioning of panchayt in chaupal. And after getting assured that we are not

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[35] The word 'performative' here signifies not just the form of 'action' but also the processes, tools and the purposes involved in the action.

[36] Kaur, Ravunder (2010)

[37] In May 2016, an on-going *panna* panchayat was attended by author in Meham.

from any "Delhi Newspaper", he agreed to our request and directed us to the choupal.

I just wanted to see how Panchayats function, how people present their points in the panchayat and how they carry on the discussion. We entered the chaupal, both my male colleagues entered unnoticed and easily camouflaged in the crowd. I thought, it will be easy to attend an ongoing meeting, but no so.

But the moment I stepped in, I saw there were around70-80 people inside the choupal, of all age, but all men only. The head of the chaupal can be easily identified as he was the only person sitting on the simple plastic chair, rest all were sitting on the dara (carpet), facing to the head, and few others, who either not been accommodated by carpet or by choice, were standing, encircling the carpet. The day was very hot, as it is usual in May, and I noticed the young men were busy in, probably the assigned job to offer the drinking water to all who are attending the meeting, which is way too necessary to survive the heat.

While taking a quick note of the surroundings, I realised all eyes looking and questioning me something. I too tried to adjust myself in the crowd, but I realized that everyone is leaving space for me, and asking me move ahead, everytime I move ahead, the person in front of me leave some space and asked me to move more ahead, till I reach to the head of the ongoing Pradhan.

I felt little scared and little confused, that what should I do next, as now I am standing next to the head of the ongoing panchayat, who must be around 70 to 75 years, wearing a big turban (infact the biggest turban in the meeting), so I just bowed my head little and bid him 'Namastey Babaji' with folded hands as a gesture of respect and he nodded his head in acceptance of my respect. I was still trying to situate myself, and within a moment the head asked a boy to get and arranged the chair adjacent to his chair for me. Now it is becoming more and more awkward for me, and was feeling little numb inside as, since the moment I stepped in chaupal, no one was speaking anything, people either looking at me with doubt and question, or looking at head and trying to take a note of his reaction, or just the sound of whispering in the chaupal can be heard.

Figure 4.6: The pictorial description of the male dominated meetings of khap Panchayats. Fig 5(a) A picture of the on-going meeting in a *Chaupal*, I was offered a chair adjacent to the meeting head, and was asked the reasons for my presence. Fig (b) and (c) Shows that my presence is not liked much and I was asked to leave the *chaupa*. Fig. (d) showing the on-going group discussion around the smoke of hookah. Fig. (e) and (f) are the representations of the meetings on the name of the ceremonies, and shows only the male representation.

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The moment I was offered to sit on the chair, I felt little more awkward, as everyone else were sitting on the carpet, I asked again should I sit on this chair, and with his affirmative nod I seated on the chair. And now the Pradhan asked a boy to offer me water, and turn his head to me, and asked about my motives to be there.

Now I am in the all-male panachayt, sitting on the chair next to Pradhan, and with the glass of water in my hand. And I told him about my motives that I am writing a book on Jats Khaps (as I presumed that thesis would be little difficult for him to understand) and want to see its functioning so I visited the place. After listening to me, Pradhan told me to explain my purpose to all, then I little more loudly explain the same thing. I can realize that few of them clearly understood that I was there for study purpose, but could raise their voice, as the two groups who called the panchayat to resolve the matter were not looking appeased from an outsider's (my) presence. After all this a person suddenly stood in front of me and told me that this is related to their family dispute and they don't want outsiders here. Few in the meeting were highly annoyed over my presence, and raised many questions that in chaupal no one like ever enter, it is about the respect of ongoing meeting…few young boys were giggling and laughing….few were just curious to know and to see….But…I can sense that issue was something serious, so in spite of my humble request that neither I am from news nor I will publish it, I just want to see the functioning inside the choplas. But this was not enough to persuade the panchayat, and they said me to leave in very arrogant manner in front of all. I thought to seek affirmation of Pradhan, and he replied me that, "mai toh apni apni bolu hu, maney suntan ko ni" (I can just speak my own word, I cannot listen) and turns his face and become a mute spectator of all this scene.

I still maintain my nerves, and again explained my motives, and express my gratitude to all members of Panchayat for their time, and again with my folded hand I showed the gesture of respect and leave the place.

But definitely, I was more than in shock, and with this I came out of choupal and I saw many people surrounded my fellow colleagues and driver and inquired about our the motives to be there. The moment I stepped out of

chaupal, many people outside choupal surrounded me also and again asked about my purpose to be there and after satisfying with our purpose they offer us water again and asked us to be comfortable. And one person told me that this is very much a meeting on a family personal issue related to a female of family, but rest of story was not told by anybody in the village. When I asked that though the issue is related to female but no female was present in the meeting, and I was shocked to hear the response as fellow replied that no female can enter in this chopal and even cannot cross it without a palla (piece of cloth to cover head and face, generally a type of scarf) on her head as it is against the kanoon (constitution). And he further mentioned that this might be the one cause that they become furious after seeing a girl in the choupal.

This whole narrative and pictorial representation itself revealed the patriarchal approach of the whole structure.

4.5.5 Exclusively *Jat* Dominance

It is claimed that *Khap* is not an exclusively a *Jat* phenomenon and again and again stressed by several *Khap* Pradhans in their interviews that all caste do participate and do value *Khap* beliefs in village, and it is stressed that do not put '*Jat*' in front of *Khap* (like *Jat Khap*s), as a *Khap* represent all caste and community people of the *Khap* villages. But in the whole region, where *Jat*s are numerically more, the *Khap* headship is always with the *Jat*s, and if ceratin posts (like vice president of satrol khap is from a dalit community) are given to other caste people, their role remain negligible in the khp level decision making. So it gives a clear picture of the *Jat*s dominance in *Khap*s.

This left the question unanswered, that why other castes of the region have adopted or accepted the political structure governed by the Jats? The root lies the patron-client (jajmani) relationship, in which the service castes are economically dependent on the dominant one, and find it necessary to co-operate the structure to survive. Though, most of the castes (other than Jats) too have their own caste councils, but which remain ineffective for most of the cases, infact the important cases like breach of the any of the village norm or contract, or any important case can only be redressed by the Jat Councils. The might of the Jats make them the judicious also, as the *Nai* in the

given statement (described above in the section of Khap Panchayat), accepts that Desh khap chaudhary is most right, prudent and judicious.

The three-fold resource dominance, numerical, cultural and economic, with political power brings the jats as the most prestigious in the local populace, and become the self-claimed patron of certain moral values such as impartiality, honesty, etc., and try to become the custodian and protector. So not just other castes adopted the system of the Jat councils but also bring their own caste disputes to be decided by the influential Jat Panchayats rather than to their own caste councils. The document, provided in the appendix, of inviting a Jat leader to solve the problem of Balmiki caste people of a village, further elaborates the deep rooted functioning of khaps in the region.

4.5.6 'Non-Political' in Nature

The *Khap* heads claim a non-political image of theirs and also claim that *Khap*s are non-political organisations and not acted under any political influence. The claimed status of khaps revolves around their role in society as 'social organisations'.

These basic components further make the structure of *Khap* complex and it can be argued here that *Khap Panchayat* has no well-defined structure and can be termed as loose and informal structure[38], in which the norms and values can be twisted and turned when it comes to suitability of certain section. It has no formal membership nor is there any elective principle to constitute it. Whenever someone happens to be accused of misusing *Khap* or bringing bad name to it, the non-existence of formal membership comes quite handy and it is argued that the said person has nothing to do with the *Khap* concerned. It is very difficult to say as to who belongs to a particular *Khap* and who does not. In case of *Gotra*-centric *Khap*, all the members of the particular *Gotra* supposed to be its part, though some may be highly critical of it. This is equally true of a *Khap* which is a territorial entity. As stated that *Khap Panchayat* has *no well-defined structure and it is relatively different for different Khaps under action*[39] on either side of river Yamuna, i.e. in Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, depending on the varied nature of social processes which play significant role in

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[38] DR Chaudhary (opp. Cited) page 38.

[39] NOTE: Difference is due to different level of regional modernity and different levels of rural urban interaction in region. One has to see it with different levels of literacy rates, urbanisation, urban centres, population density and work structure.

objectification of social space and time in different historical and geographical contexts[40]. This relativity of space (is) not a philosophical issue but a product of social and historical practice[41].

The *Khap*'s spatial and kinship based structure get translated and embedded over space with support of the structural components which act as pillars for this giant structure. This implantation and translation of certain codes, norms and beliefs, over space brings out an extensive territorial structure of *Khap*s.

With all this basic understanding of the *Khap* structure, one needs to see the territoriality or the territorial extension of *Khap*s, to have an understanding of the range of their socio-political influence over the space.

4.6 TERRITORIALITY OF *KHAP*S

Territoriality is the geographic expression of power and one of the most common strategies for exercising socio-political control over the region[42]. *Khap Panchayats* operate as 'territorial – political unit' and 'social organization'. Social organizations are often territorial. '*Territoriality*' here does not mean the location and extension in space of a social organisation or of its members. Rather it means the *assertion by an organisation* or an individual in the name of the organisation that *an area of geographic space is under its influence or control*. Whereas all members of social organisations occupy space, not all social organisations make such territorial assertions. The social enforcement (or institutionalisation) of such assertions in the form of property rights, political territories or territories of corporations and institutions- provide the context necessary for social facts to exhibit different spatial manifestations. The form such territorial structure takes and the functions they provide depend on the nature of particular political economies.[43] Each social formation constructs objective conceptions of space and time sufficient into its own needs and purposes of material and social reproduction and organises its material

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[40] David Harvey (1990), 'Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination', '*Annals of the Association of American Geographers*', vol.80. no.3, p. 418-434.

[41] Smith, N. (1984), "Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space". Oxford: Basil Black Well. page 77.

[42] Peter J. Taylor, 1994. The state as container: territoriality in the modern world-system, journal : Progress in Human Geography, vol 18, no. 2 (pp 151-162), page 151

[43] Robert Sack, "Societal Conception of Space", in *Geography Matter! A Reader* by Dorren Massey and John Allen (et.al.).1984. (page 34-47)

practices in accordance with those conceptions. Societies tend to forge strong ties to the places they occupy and to justify these ties through social organisations and procedures,[44] *Khap*s are also doing the same.

Dumont and Pocock said the great *Jat* complex which extended over U.P., Punjab Haryana, and Rajasthan, was a territorial pattern reflecting lineage secession as the mode of new settlement. They say:

> The pattern, which still in parts survives, was based upon a process of lineage secession by which groups of kin founded new villages. The new village at least temporarily recognised the superior position of the village of origin. This basic kinship organisation of villages within a certain area is perhaps more common than is often thought, if indeed it is not an all Indian phenomenon. (Dumont and Pocock, 1957:29).

Spatial extent emerges with the advent and settlement of particular social group over tract of land which was available historically, with the overcrowding in the parent villages, offshoots of constituent villages formed in the past, which are tied by kinship bonds and act together on some ceremonial occasions and for *Panchayat* meetings. The idiom of descent and genealogy provides not only the basis for lineage grouping, but also of territorial grouping. Every 'minimal lineage' is associated with territory[45]. Several kinship groups came together for the purpose of exploiting the resources of several territories. Descent relations thus may have served as a basis for abstract and juridical appropriation of resources from generation to generation, whereas relations of alliance may have served as a basis for concrete appropriation and for cooperation in everyday, non-ceremonial life. Spatial extent of *Khap Panchayats* shows its influence over the region, where the norms, rules and practices are more or less similar and are guided by the culture of dominants.

The territorial extent of a particular *Khap* do not form a perfectly continuous tract of territory of dominant caste or *Gotra* as it appears, since there are villages which do not have a dominant caste of *Jat*s or particular *Gotra* of *Jat*s, but who accepted the particular *Khap* leadership for the *Panchayat* purposes. Taylor expresses that:

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[44] Robert Sack (*op. cit.*)

[45] Bohannan, (1964), "Africa and Africans". Natural History Press, Garden City, New Jersey. p.177.

"Territoriality is a form of behaviour that uses a bounded space, a territory, as the instrument for securing a particular outcome. By controlling access to a territory through boundary restrictions, the content of a territory can be manipulated and its character designed. This strategy seems to be ubiquitous across individuals and groups in their constructions of social organisation."[46]

4.6.1 Spatial Distribution of *Khap*s

These Territorial structures of *Khap* can be said as a function of two elements (as per Giddens) as Patterning of Interaction (relations between actors or groups) and Continuity of Interaction in Time[47]. No Indian village is socially self-contained and its inhabitants interact not only with their co-villagers, but maintain equally important relations with fellow-caste men scattered often over a wide area. One of the characteristic feature of Indian society is the wide spread of caste-ties which link persons living at a considerable distance and constitute in their totality a network of social rights and obligations extending over hundreds of square miles. For this reason the study of the entire caste throughout a wider region has to be complemented to lead to a better understanding of structure which spread over the space and time.

So it is important to look into the territoriality of *Jat Khap*s, which tend to expand from two villages to 360 villages, and at times *Khap*s are named after its jurisdiction coverage in terms of villages under its actual control, like Do-gama *Khap*(two village *Khap*), Pach-gama *Khap*(five village *Khap*), Atha-gama *Khap*(eigh village *Khap*), No-gama *Khap* (nine village *Khap*), Battisa *Khap* (32 village *Khap*), and so and so forth there are many *Khap*s.

4.6.1.1 Battisa *Khap*

Battisa *Khap* is an Area *Khap* which consist 32 villages under its jurisdiction in and around 15 kms of Shamli Tehsil of Muzaffarnagar District of Uttar Pradesh. Present acting head[48] of Battisa *Khap* is Chaudhary Suraj Mal Singh Panwar 'Bhaiswala', known as 'Baba' Suraj Mal of age around 85 years, and though before him the

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[46]Peter J. Taylor, 1994. The state as container: territoriality in the modern world-system, journal : Progress in Human Geography, vol 18, no. 2 (pp 151-162), page 151

[47] Giddens (1979), 'Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, structure and contradiction in social analysis', The Macmillan Press, London. P. 91.

[48] As per the best knowledge of the author based on field

headship of this *Khap* was with chaudhary Udaiveer Singh Pnawar but he himself gave up his chaudharahat and on the basis of general consensus of Bhaiswal village Chaudhary Mahendra singh 'Tikait' gave turban of Bhaiswal to Baba Suraj Mal Singh Panwar. This area *Khap* consist of many *Gotra*s of *Jat*s namely Panwar, Khewal, Kedhan, Dochak, Dalal, Beniwal, Ramney and all *Gotra*s who are residing in the jurisdiction area of Battisa *Khap* which consist of 32 villages initially but now extended to 39 villages (according to the *Khap* Chaudhary information).

Box: 1
Need to be Powerful: Origin of Battisa Khap

In 1750, a huge Panchayat of Jats took place, in that Panchayat there was an issue of two villages which needs to be solved, at that time one main representative of Village Bhaiswala came ahead and stated his willing to solve the dispute, all other prominent and powerful Chaudharies of that time asked him that which Khap he leads to, when he relpied none, all shouted at him that he has no right over other Chaudharies to come forward and take part in the Panchayat as any of the decision maker. Then he realized that to be heard among all one has to be united, and he made his Khap by uniting the villages around his village. This is popularly known as Battisa Khap as he united 32 villages around Bhaiswala village and since then the Chaudhary of this Khap is always from this village.

Source: Ch. Suraj Mal Sigh Bhaiswal
Battisa Khap chaudhary
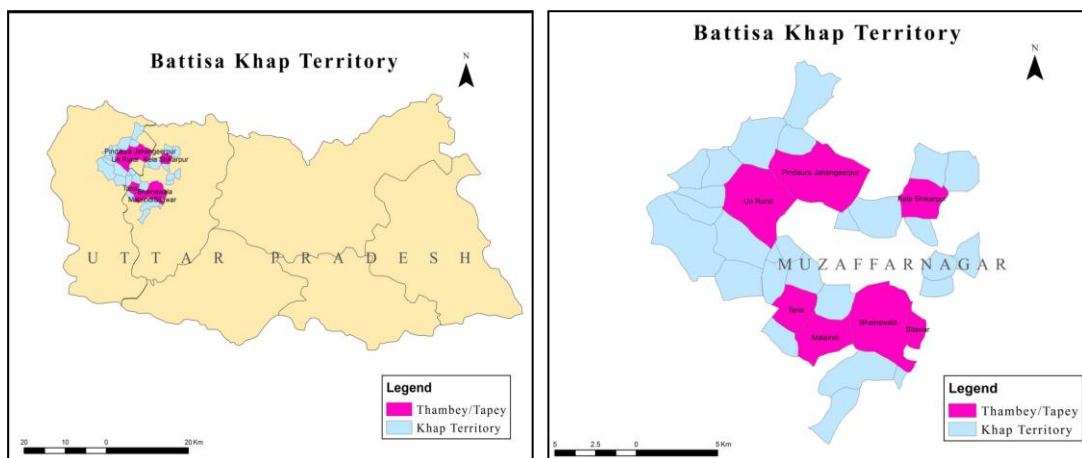
Figure 4.7: Figure shows the territorial distribution of the villages of Battisa khap. (Based on the information of field survey)

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Divisions of Battsia *Khap*: The Battsia *Khap* consists of one head village namely Bhainswala village, Chaudhary of the *Khap* (popularly known as *'Babba'* or Head of *Khap*) belongs to this village. *Khap* further decentralized into smaller units known as *Thamba*, and this *Khap* consists of six Thambas, namely Un, Pindora, Malaindi, Silawar, Tana and Kel. These thambas have certain number of villages under their influence (not necessarily same number of villages under all thambas, like Un have jurisdiction over eleven villages while Silawar is Thamba of five villages).

4.6.1.2 Desh *Khap*:

Desh *Khap* is a *Gotra Khap* comprises of 54 villges in and around tehsil Baraut of Baghpat district. Desh *Khap* is popularly know as '*Chaurasi Khap of Tomars'* as it used to consist 84 villages under its jurisdiction in past times, but now the number of villages under its influence is 54. Desh *Khap* is a group of 54 villages of Tomar *Jat*s, mostly encircling the Baraut city of Baghpat District. The capital of Desh *Khap* is Baraut. Baraut city formerly comprises of five rural *pattis*, and these five divisions are still very significant part of city. *Patti Chaudhran* in Baraut is the head seat of Desh *Khap* (Desh *Khap* head belongs here). There can be more villages of Tomars in the district and State but jurisdiction of *Khap* comprises by only 84 villages of Tomars. The *Khap* of Tomars is with one head seat in Paati Chaudhran and four Thamba seat in other villages. The structure of power in the *Khap* is well spread with the "Thamba" which is basically a group of village with the head of its own who govern the villages on behalf of *Khap* Chaudhary and himself known as Thamba Chaudhary. Thamba is named after the head Thamba village.

In Desh *Khap* there are seven Thambas, namely Baoli, Bamnauli, Bijrol, Hilwadi, Kishenpur Baral, Patti Mehar and Patti Baaru.

In Desh *Khap* the head, popularly known as *Khap* Chaudhary, is chosen on hereditary basis from the family since ages, by making elder son the head of *Khap* after father. After the demise of Chaudhary Sukhbir Singh Tomar in 2005, his elder son now, Chaudhary Surrender Singh Tomar, become the *Khap* head (or *Khap* Chaudhary) and after him the Chaudhrahat will be transferred to Chaudhary Sanjeev Singh Tomar (elder son of Ch. Surrender Singh Tomar).

While in Thambas the head may be chosen on hereditary basis or on so called "undemocratically democratic" basis, as in this method at first no women consensus is being taken and the head is chosen on general consensus by raising the hand in favour or against the person and generally the people of the concerned village can only participate.
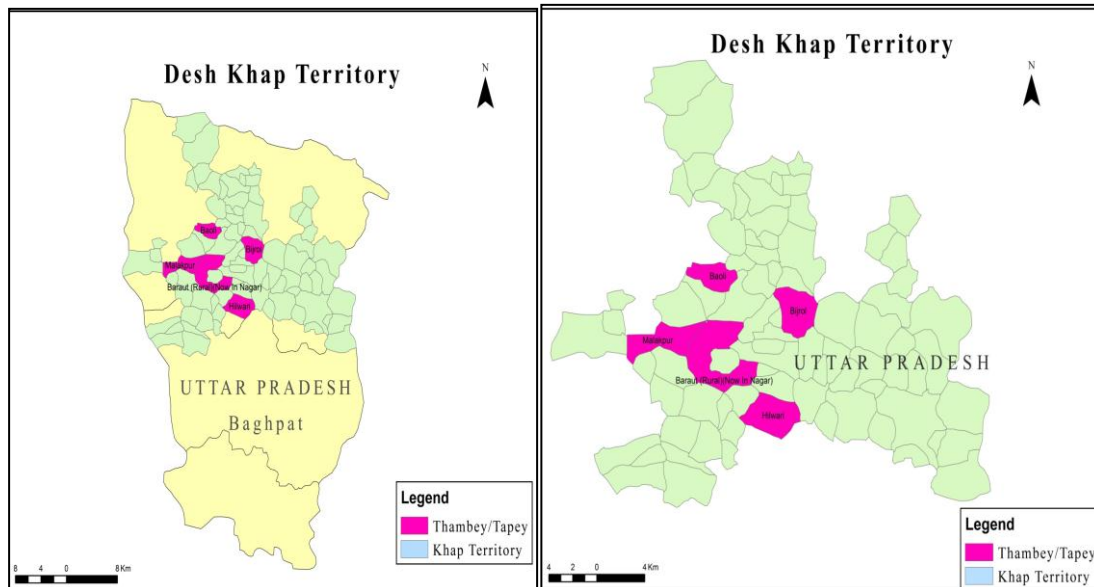
Figure 4.8: Figure shows the territorial distribution of the villages of Desh khap. (Based on the information of field survey)

4.6.1.3 Meham 'Choubisi' *Khap*

Meham *'Choubisi' Khap* is an area *Khap* which used to consist 24 villges in and around tehsil Meham of Rohtak district in Haryana, though now increased up to 31 villages, is well-known for the *choubisi chabutra*. Unlike Uttar Pradesh *Khap*s the head of this *Khap* is not chosen on the hereditary basis, but with the general consensus of people of Meham village and also unlike Uttar Pradesh here *Khap* head is not known as *'Khap Chaudhary'* but refered as *'Khap Pradhan'*. Unique to the *Khap* is that a person only with *'Grewal' Gotra* of Meham can be the *Khap* pradhan. At present the *Khap* head is Mir Singh Grewal of Meham. This *Khap* is divided into six tapas for the better social and political control over the vast territorial extent, Bahleba Tapa, Lakhan Majra, Mokhra Kheri, Seman, Nindana, and Kheri Meham.

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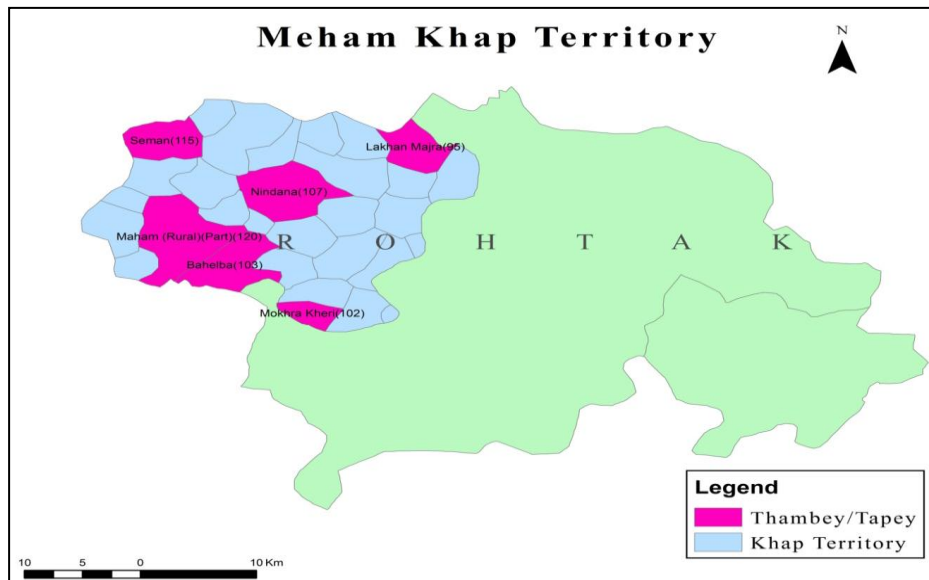
Figure 4.9: Figure shows the territorial distribution of the villages of Meham khap. (Based on the information of field survey)

4.6.1.4 Satrol *Khap*

Satrol *Khap*, is an area *Khap* which represents all communities, with the jurisdiction over 40 villages in and around tehsil Hansi of Hisar district of Haryana. The head of Satrol *Khap* is known as *Khap* Pradhan. Present head of Satrol *Khap* is Chaudhary Inder Singh Mor. Unlike Meham *Khap*, unique to this *Khap* is that head can be from any *Gotra* and from any village of Satrol *Khap* of Hansi in Hisar district.

Box – 2

Structural Revival in Electing *Khap* Pradhan (only after 1984)

As per the present *Khap* Pradhan of Satrol Kahp, 'in Satrol *Khap* there was no *Khap* Pradhan prior to 1984, at that time Pradhan was elected on the spot in the ongoing *Panchayat* for the particular issue. In 1984 first Pradhan of Satrol *Khap*, namely, Satyendra Singh Duhoon was nominated, who remain in office for 17 years. After him another Pradhan from Putthi village was designated to the post for 12 years. And from 2011 (last four years) Inder Singh Mor is in the office. Unique in this *Khap* is that all villages mutually decide the head of the *Khap* (unlike other *Khap*s where only head village people can choose the *Khap* head); and *Khap* head can be from any of *Khap* village and from any caste. (Though till now, only *Jat*s were the *Khap* Head). The current vice – pradhan of Satrol *Khap* is from Balmiki Caste.

Source: Satrol *Khap* Head, Inder Singh Mor
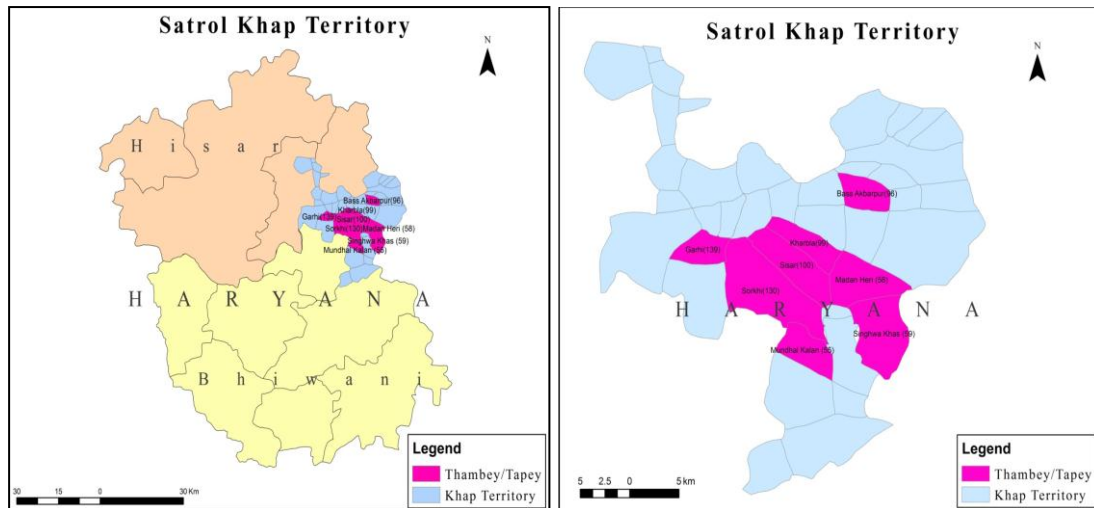
Figure 4.10: Figure shows the territorial distribution of the villages of Satrol khap. (Based on the information of field survey)

Satrol *Khap* has recently lifts the rule of ban of marriage into the *Khap* under the leadership of Inder Singh Mor, which means now marriages can happen within the 40 villages but two rules should be strictly followed, namely *Gotra* and *Gaon-Ganwand* rule, in which one can neither marry within *Gotra* nor in gaon-ganwand. Satrol *Khap* consist of seven Tapas namely, Mundhal, Sorkhi, Sisar, Sarbala, Roshan Kheda, and Singhuwa.
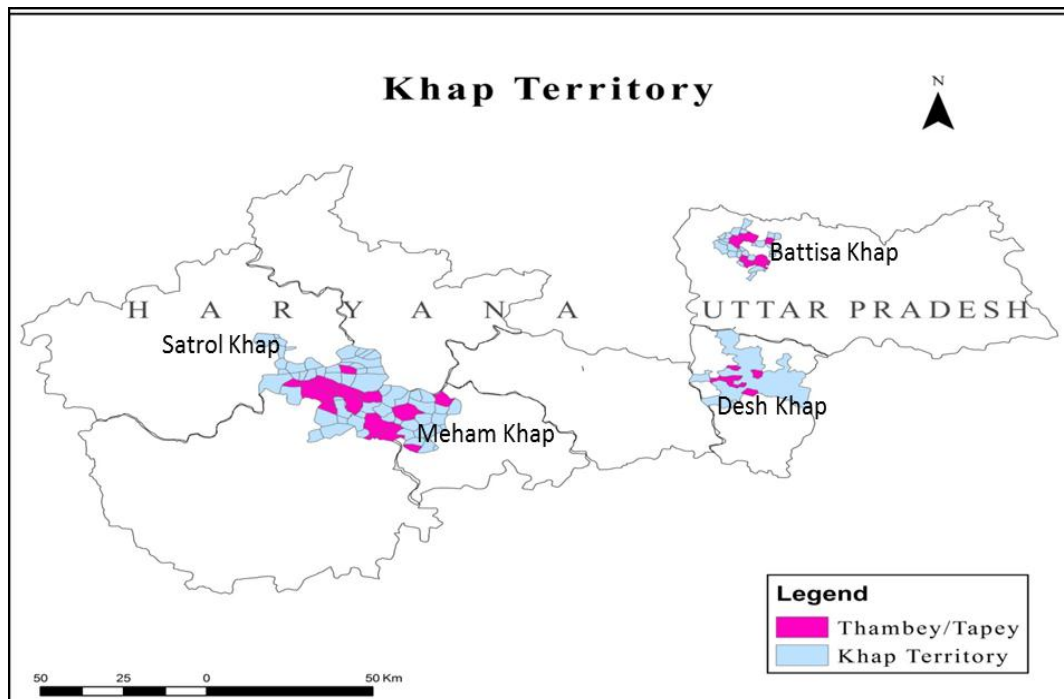
Figure 4.11: Figure shows the territorial distribution of the surveyed khaps. (Based on the information of field survey)

This elaborate political structure of the *Jat*s helps to maintain their dominant position within the *Khap* villages and the sarva *Khap* area. Most of the other castes, including the Muslim *Jat*s, bring their cases to the various councils which are dominated by the *Jat*s and also ask the *Jat* leaders to mediate or act as judges in their disputes. One of the main objectives of the revival of the sarva-*Khap* councils by the *Jat*s seems to be to preserve their political dominance.

4.6.2 Variations in the Claimed Territoriality

With the case study of extensively surveyed four *Khap*s it is clearly emerging out that in some cases it is expanding in some cases it is reducing, depending on who gets to claim over the territoriality in given frame of time. So this addition of villages in a *Khap* or moving out of some villages to form new *Khap*s can be said as an outcome of various social processes emerging out of the spatial contradictions and contestations in modern times.

This variation in territorial extent is seen either in terms of addition of villages in a *Khap* or decline in number of villages in a *Khap*. At times the existed villages over space may divide and new village emerges, as the carrying capacity of existed village decline few people of the village out-migrated and settled in near-by fields by naming it a different villages. Also at times the peripheral area of *Gotra Khap* is observed with number of other *Gotra*s also and thus this periphery is shared by other *Khap*s too.

Table 4.1: Variations in the number of villages under the khap territoriality

KHAP	No Of Thamba/Tapa	Total Villages
Bhaiswaal Battisa *Khap*	6	32 → 40
Desh *Khap*	7	84 →54 (But claim is on 84)
Meham Chobisi *Khap*	6	24 →32
Satrol	7	7 → 40

Source: Based on the Field Survey information

In historic times the extent of *Khap* territory, not necessarily covers all villages of same predominant *Gotra* but also the villages of other *Gotra*s (and caste altogether at times) which were located, around or within, the extent of predominant *Khap* territory, as these villages were believed to accept the power of predominant *Khap*. But in recent times, several new *Khap*s emerged or formed after breaking apart from the historically existing *Khap*s, like the Nandal *Khap* is very recent in origin, which formed from the existing Rohtak *Khap*. And several *Khap*s of three villages (tigamma), four villages (chougamma), five villages (Pachgamma) and so on, can be seen flourishing within the Baliyan and Desh historic territory, and though these new *Khap*s claim that they still acknowledge the authority of dominant *Khap* for bigger issues related to the whole *Khap* region, but they are also independent in taking decisions associated with their own villages under their own khap. These new *Khap*s at times give justification of being less represented by big *Khap*, or rationalise their formation on the basis of different *Gotra* composition from the big parent *Khap*. But the parent *Khap* still considers them as a part of their *Khap* and so counts their (new khap's) villages within it.

4.6.3 Schematic Spatial Arrangement of *Khap*s

As Schwartzberg defined, a region, which is a perceived segment of the time space continuum differentiated from others on the basis of one or more defining characteristics. This territorial map does not talk about the 'boundaries[49]', which can define and delineate either sides of the line; rather this map shows the lived experiences and perceived territorialities which are associated with the fictional stories and narratives related to the negotiations and claims over territory. Head of the Satrol *Khap* when discussed about the historicity of *Khap* territory, he replied[50]:

> *In past there used to be seven villages in this region, which were quite far off, and at that time means of communication were also not that fast. There was continuous fear of 'loot' in the villages by invaders. So, all seven villages come together and built a 'burj' (or turret, a kind of watch tower) in between*

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[49] In dealing with human variables the problem of boundary definition is, on the whole, even more difficult than when dealing with nature, where, for practical purposes at the scales of most maps, imprecision, or arbitrariness of boundaries is not an instituted regions constitute obvious exceptions.

[50] Satrol Khap head interview with the author.

all seven villages, the tower was made hollow in between and 75 to 80 feet high at that time, from which one clearly see 50 to 60 kms ahead, and a drum was kept above the tower. A person on monthly basis (or some other basis) was appointed from all villages to watch from the tower. All villages were given a specific code, like 7 for Bass, 6 for Narnaund, 5 for Petwad, like wise so on and so forth. These codes have inferences of some kind of problems, like if a drum is beaten seven times means there is a problem or kind of invasion in Bass village, and people of surrounding villages come to support Bass. By this collective measure these villages were able to save themselves from invaders. As initially there were seven village, and they formed a group together, which locally known as "Ral or Rol" (means mix), and hence the group of these villages and this area is known as Satrol by surrounding villages, and so the Khap derived its name and history from here. Later on the number of villages increases with the increase in population, and now in Satrol there are 42 villages.
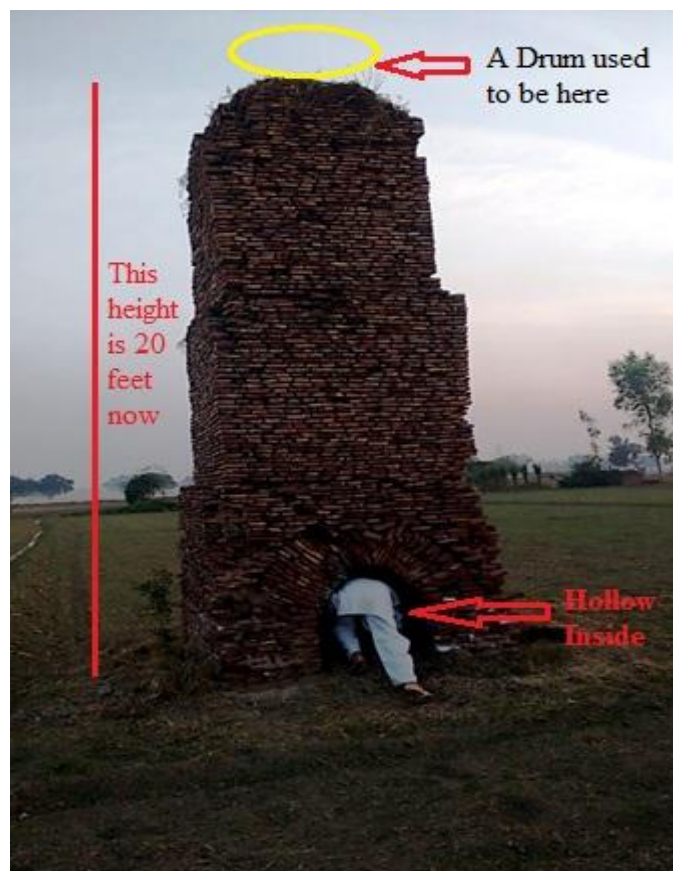
Figure 4.12: The picture of the tower *(burj),* a symbol representing the Satrol Khap origin. (As described by the Head narrative)

This association of territory and extension of *Khap* with certain imaginations which are rooted in the history and have certain kind of symbols around which lived experiences of people exist, create its own kind of perceived territory with vague boundary, based on naïve and primitive notions of people living there. These 'Geographical imaginations[51]' about the space create a significant aspect in geographic research[52], by enriching the understanding of places and societies as well as the contested meanings people have towards the spaces[53]. This territorial presentation is an attempt to demarcate various *Khap*s over the space as 'naively given region' which is recognized as a meaningful territorial entity by the people who live there and or by other people to whom it is of some concern. A sense of shared history and/ or culture on the part of the inhabitants, a "we" feeling, is often at the root of a naively given region's being perceived. Not commonly the limits of such a region are vague. (In this, as we shall see, they are not unique). They are certainly not consciously or rigorously defined by the people who recognize them; but one would anticipate a large measure of consensus if one were to make enquiries among informed persons as to what such regions were. Thus, one might say that such regions are defined by and exist because of a consensus with regard to the identity and meaningfulness of particular areas[54]. Regions have extensions in time as well as space.

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[51] Geographical imaginations are the mental images we hold of different places and of the people living there. They are imaginations of landscapes and climates, perceptions of cultural qualities and understandings of economic, social and political characteristics of places. Geographical imaginations include understandings of places we directly experience, and those we have never been to. Often, these imaginations are relational; unknown places are imaginatively compared with known ones. While geographical imaginations are generally over-simplifications, they are important in making place accessible and understandable.

[52] Chang T C and Lim S Y (2004) Geographical imaginations of 'New Asia-Singapore' *Geografiska Annaler*, Series B: Human Geography vol. 86 pp165–85.

[53] Thompson, Maddy (2017), "Migration decision-making: A Geographical Imagination Approach", *Area*, Vol49, Issue1, pp 77-84.

[54] Schwartzberg E. Joseph (1967), "Prolegomena to the study of South Asian Regions and Regionalism", in Robert I. Crane, ed. *Regions and Regionalism in South Asian Studies: An Exploratory Study*, Duke University.

These spaces are the product of social transition, transformation and experience[55] and their interactions form the territoriality of particular *Khap* which is associated with awareness of people's "belonging" to that specific *Khap* which generates their sense of identification and loyalty to it, and stretches the spatial manifestations of commonly followed norm, rituals and customs within the territorial boundary. Though these boundaries are not the prime concern, but the part of the region in which these variables defining a particular *Khap* are well expressed, that of its core, where *Jat*s (or particular *Gotra* of *Jat*s) may constitute as much as half of the total population, and whole constellation of variables related to village polity, land use practice, and so on, can be associated directly or indirectly with *Jat* (or particular *Gotra* of *Jat*s) ascendancy, however, towards the periphery of the *Khap* territory, the percentage of *Jat*s (or particular *Gotra* of *Jat*s) is less, the traits locally associated with *Jat* (or particular *Gotra* of *Jat*s) dominance become less expressed and tend to be obscured as traits associated with other castes are manifested in more and more non-*Jat* villages. Yet, much may be learned about the society in *Jat* dominated areas by identifying a *Jat* caste region and studying it at its core.

This core area, of *Jat*s or of particular *Gotra* among *Jat*s, consciously or unconsciously developed some symbols[56] and mechanisms for transmitting these regional symbols, i.e. the means of cultural communication which have bound people together in one region, and behaviours and movements, which mark off groups within geographic boundary from the territories of other *Gotra*s or castes for political, economic, social or cultural ends.

The sentiments of territorial bounded-ness are associated with and revolved around the conception of the 'imagined-past', which is being created or re-created with emphasis on some symbols like 350 years old Shoram Chaupal of Baliyan Khap or with the recently created huge magnificent structure Nandal Bhawan by Nandal khap, with the historic narratives, folklores, stories woven around the kingship and warrior origin, and re-created historic heroes, with whom historicity and origin of the khaps

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[55] Drek. Gregory (1994), "Geographical Imaginations" in Phil Hubbard**,** Rob Kitchin **&** Gill Valentine, ed. "*Key Texts in Human Geography*". Sage Publications. p.25

[56] Bernard S. Cohn,(1967) "Regions Subjective and Objective: Their Relation to the Study of Modern Indian History and Society" in Robert I. Crane, ed. *Regions and Regionalism in South Asian Studies: An Exploratory Study*, Duke University.

are associated at times. So the extension of particular khap reveals the associational boundaries which are inherited, invented and re-invented with the time.
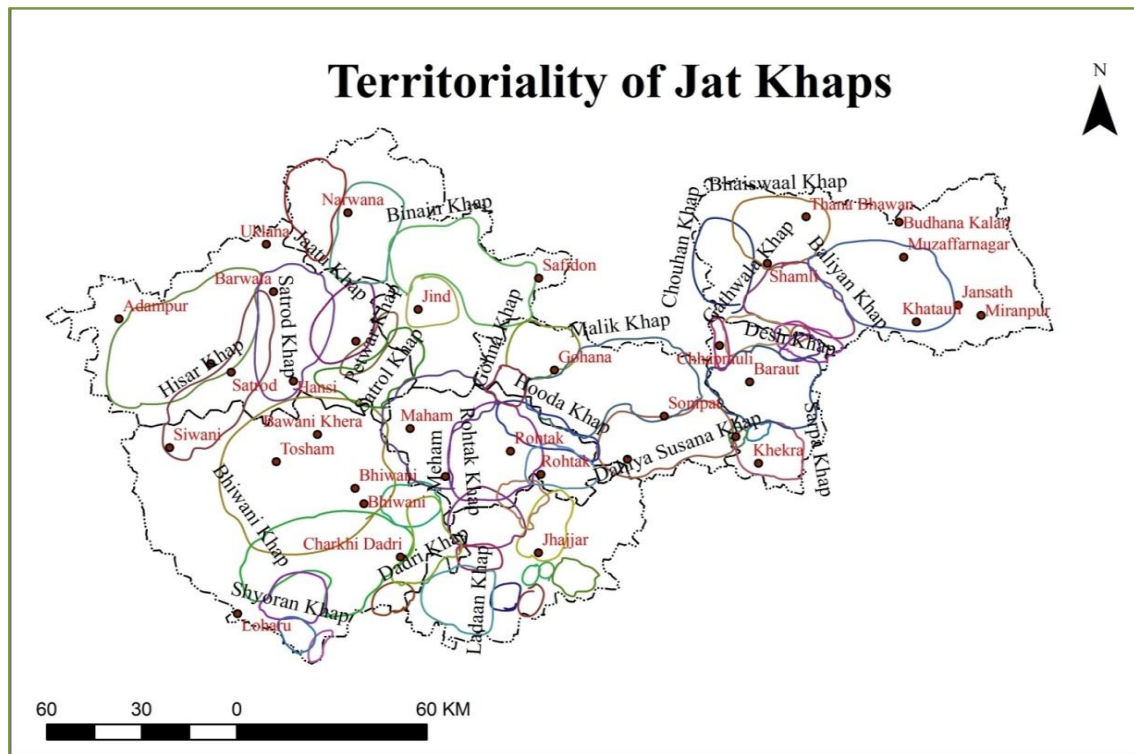
Figure 4.13: Represented Perceived territoriality of the Khaps in Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh. (Based on the field survey information)

The map shows the perceived boundaries of several *Khap*s of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, and the perception of the extension of particular *Khap* over space (though it may be contested by others). The idea behind such representation is based on the association of people and their lived experiences with the territories which not only gives the region its real extension, but also make it challenging to draw or limit the lived experiences in a fixed boundary, so this map is an attempt is to draw the imagined living world or abstract region of several *Khap*s.

The *Khap* territories are shown as perceived here because the expanse of such 'naïve region' is always abstract in nature. The exact number of villages, in a *Khap* is not fixed historically, and the numbers associated with *Khap* gives a sense of power to the Head, only, and for rest others it is the perceived expanse with which they feel associated.

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When asked from a Satrol *Khap* dweller, whether he knows about the extension of his *Khap*, he replied:

> *In our Satrol Khap, the number of villages increases from 7 to 42, but I would not be able to tell you all villages, if you want to now you please visit the house of the head he will tell you in detail, as I just know that all villages form 'Bass Putthi' to 'Narnaund' Hansi comes under our Khap.*

The fixation of boundary in terms of 'number of villages' is only for the use of *Khap* head or the head of other levels of the structure but for the common purpose only the perceived territoriality functions in real life, for e.g. when asked from the Delhi Palam 360 *Khap* head, he may give one the whole list of villages with Palam *Khap*, or if asked from the Satrol *Khap* head about the number of villages within the *Khap* he may tell exactly, as he is deriving his power from the spatial extension of the corresponding *Khap*, but when it comes to the local people they can only tell the brief extension of the *Khap*, which is more perceived and this perception revolves around the fictional identity of some places or of some persons in history.

Maps shows certain overlapping and intervening *Khap* territorialities (which will be explained in next chapter), but one must keep in mind that these territorial contestations are increased with the increasing influence of modernity over rural spaces.

4.7 DISUCSSION

The chapter tried to bring out some of the aspects of the socio-political structure of the Jat khaps which have practical implications. The whole political framework of the community is based on the deep rooted clan and the lineage structure, where all kinship groups have an elaborate functional structure which they perform in their respective council. These segmentary kinship units have their own elaborative socio-political functions, and there is gradual transition of the ties of close kinship sentiments within the minimal lineage (khandan), sub maximal lineage (sub-thok) and maximal lineage (thok), to the purely territorial-political relations at the thamba and khap levels.

The territorial councils such as *panna*, village, ganwand, Thamba, khap and sarv-khap are based on the extension of the functioning of these groups as political institutions.

The common functioning principles intertwined with the tradition and ideology, have resulted in an elaborate hierarchical socio-political structure of councils with much greater effectiveness than would have been possible otherwise.

The well expanded kinship ties and the extensive political structure, translates the influence of these traditional Panchayats over the geographic expansion, and bring up the number of territorial units with overlapping boundaries and perceived territorialities, based on the various segmentations.

The elaborate political structure of the *Jat*s helps to maintain their dominant position within the *Khap* villages and the sarv-*Khap* area. Most of the other castes bring their cases to the various councils (patti, Thamba or *Khap*) which are dominated by the *Jat*s, and also ask the *Jat* leaders to mediate or act as judges in their disputes. One of the main objectives of the revival of the sarv-*Khap* council by the *Jat*s seems to be to preserve their political dominance.

Chapter 5

Changing Territorial Imagination of *Khap*s

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The complex and spatially well articulate socio-political structure of the traditional caste councils of Jats, with deep rooted social capital within, helps to maintain their dominant position within the *Khap* area and provides the significant position to the Jats to extend and consolidate their control over space, mostly in the rural areas, which now gradually coming in contact to the impulses of change emanating from the urban areas and with these impulses the rural area and its deep rooted traditions are undergoing the process of social transformation, which carried the tensions, contradictions and challenges to the process of urban centred modernity and these conflicts induced ample frequencies of change in the structures and functions of *Khap* over the space. Space is changing and urban values and lifestyle is adopted by rural people. No rural society now can purely be traditional.

Urbanism is not only 'spatial' process but also a 'cultural' process, while the city is the characteristic locus of urbanism, the urban mode of life is not confined to cities only,[1] so the 'urban values' not remained limited to cities, and the lifestyle of urban areas percolated in the rural area too, which created the picture of 'Urban-Ruralism'. This urbanism in the rural area comes with the expansion of urban space or with the adoption of certain types of urban traits, and there is a continuous change due to rural urban interactions, due to networks which are there, so there is constant change in the lifestyle of rural people, which mould the traditional space and try to provide an alternative to the hitherto dominant traditional ways of life.

These changes in the rural lifestyle instigate the gradual transformation of society from "what it has been" to "what it choose to make it", and such changes in 'social' aspect of rural society brings in certain forces with it which have potential to 'uproot'

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[1] Wirth, Louis, (1938): "Urbanism as a way of Life", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44, No. 1, University of Chicago Press. pp 1-24.

or prospective to 'bring in change' in the rigid traditional structures, and with these possibilities the modernity creeps into the old tradition and then it brings accretion and transmutation of traditional forms.[2]

The very idea of change in the traditional structure and values brings in contradictions in the *Khap*, which can be seen as tussle between the traditional way of functioning and the new emerging ways out of modernity, as both are operating on the same space in the same time. The value of urbanism intertwined with modernity, makes its space though assimilation[3], and this propels the traditional societies to proceed through a transitional stage in which the traditional cultural forms have necessarily to undergo syncretic changes. And these changes will come through the contestations and conflict within the domain of traditional societies.

With the force of urbanism come the changes which generates the disputes because society 'on the ground', now, is not entirely structured according to the 'Jat ideal model'[4] (of domination). The contestations and contradictions, produced by the emergence of new circumstances resulting due to urbanism and modernity, induced ample frequencies of change in the structures and functions of *Khap* over the space.

Modernity "refers to social life or organizational pattern"[5], as a dis-embedded leading cultural pattern of a rational society, not only penetrates into the behaviours and activities of the individual and the group in the form of cultural spirit and value orientation but also serves as the inherent mechanism and schema in the social operations as a necessary institutional arrangement.[6]

Although tension and contradiction inevitably exist in modernity as the circulation and reflexivity of social knowledge creates unanticipated consequences, and because

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[2] Yogendra Singh, (1978) Modernisation of Indian Tradition, Thompson, Dehi.

[3] Rudolph, I. Lloyd, Susanne Hoeber Rudolph,(1967), '*The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India',* University of Chicago Press

[4] As observed by the author, which has its own kind of domination.

[5] Giddens, Anthony (1979), "Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradictions in Social Analysis", The Macmillan Press Ltd., London.

[6] Yi, Junqing, Fan and Lingmei. (2006). "Dimensions of Modernity and their Contemporary Fate", Frontiers of Philosophy in China, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan., 2006), pp. 6-21 .(Page no 10).

of its inherent contradiction; it inevitably takes on a kind of crisis, still it does not lose its irreplaceable and necessary value to modern society and human existence. However, similarly, its inherent driving mechanism makes it transcend these contradictions and crisis. The continuation of contradiction and crisis and its transcendence are its vital force as well as that of the human society. Giddens believes that reflexivity is the inherent prescription of human activity, but because pre-modern society has a characteristic of "orientation to the past," "in pre-modern civilization, reflexivity is to a greater degree limited to re-explanation and interpretation of tradition." However, "with the advent of modernity, reflexivity takes on different character. It is introduced into the very basis of system reproduction, such that thought and action are constantly refracted back upon one another." In this case,

> *Social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information, and such constitutively alters their character. What is characteristic of modernity is not an embracing of the new for its own sake, but the presumption of wholesale reflexivity--which of course includes reflection upon the nature of reflection itself ([Giddens[7] pp 37-39],*

There are three ways, which are different if not contradictory to one another, in which one can look at modernity: as a philosophical idea, as a form of society, and as an experience (Callinicos 1999:297). As an idea, it represents a radical rupture with the past. It privileges progress, science, optimism and universality. It critiques superstitions, blind faiths and pessimism. It encourages us to adopt alternative ways of looking at the world and its possibilities. As Jürgen Habermas[8] argues, 'modernity can and will no longer borrow the criterion by which it takes its orientation from the models supplied by another epoch: *it has to create its own normativity out of itself* (1987:7). Secondly, modernity can also be looked at as a form of society which would be characterised by distinctive economic, political and social characteristics. Thirdly, modernity can also be looked at as an experience, an experience which is full of contradictions. On the one hand, it promises many things: progress, advancement,

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[7] Giddens, Anthony (1979), "Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradictions in Social Analysis", The Macmillan Press Ltd., London. p.37-39

[8] Jürgen Habermas (1987), "Theory of communicative action" translated by Thomas A. McCarthy, Beacon Press, Boston.

removal of ignorance, power, joy, etc. On the other hand, it seeks to destroy everything we have and are known by. It introduces an element of uncertainty, risk and confusion. Thus, as one can see, there are different, if not contradictory, ways of looking at modernity. Each way of looking at modernity would make us sensitive to one aspect of modernity. The first one would highlight the philosophical aspects of modernity. The second one would enable us to look at the empirical manifestations of modernity. The third one would provide us with a profound account of the socio-psychological aspects of modernity.[9]

Modernity brings about new attitudes and behaviours and produces the urban-ruralism in which rural population emulates the urban traits. For example, it can lead to increase in the age of marriage, reduces fertility rates, and brings higher levels of abortion. Urbanism brings in exposure, education, economic empowerment, knowledge of rights, democratic values, institutions which are grounded on the egalitarianism and constitutional values. So, the value of urbanism brings the Jat social landscape closer to the modern institutions of education, economic empowerment, occupational diversification, knowledge of rights, democratic value and with all these *Khap* structure and function is being challenged and to maintain their domination *Khap*s underwent some changes.

5.2 CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF *KHAP*

*Khap*s claims to be relevant in the day-to-day life of the people but with the advent of the modern time, several instances in the field unveiled the situations and cases in which, at times, the traditional councils fails to resolve the conflict or failed to bring out the settlement. There are several cases which brings out the changes in the values and basic principles of organisation itself which emerged due to changing social space under the effect of modern institutions, modern law courts and political system which interrupts the 'convenient autonomy' of the hitherto traditional socio-political dominant structures in the region. M.C. Pradhan (1966) in his work argued that:

> "*Jat society is changing as new industrial, economic and social institutions and co-operatives have affected the lives of villagers in the area as with these*

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[9] Kumar, D.V. (2008). "Engaging with Modernity: Need for a Critical Negotiation", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (May-August 2008), pp. 240-254 p. 4-5.

there is an increase in wealth and individualisation, also the education, which itself is a product of wealth, produced a gap between new generation and the old generations, and all these effects have diminished the traditional authority of the caste councils in the region"[10].

5.2.1 Influence of Affluence in Khaps: New Avatar of Khap Heads

The possession of the office of '*Khap* head' is the utmost prestigious position in the *Khap*s, around which not only a sense of social authority and influence over space is orbited but also the advantages of connections with officials and other prominent representatives is associated, subsequently more contestations of the headship is emerging with the growing 'influence of affluence' in *Khap*, which is fostering the aspirations among affluents to aim the leadership of lineage groups and office as judges at the council meetings. It has also been observed by Surj Bhan (2012), that retired army officers or civil officers actively dominated and used the *Khap Panchayat*s as a platform to project their own political image. Aspirational affluents can been seen turning against the traditional leadership, if not accommodated well in the power structure of *Khap*s, which at times becomes challenging for the traditional councils to control their behaviour.

5.2.2 Khap within Contradictions in "Setting Agendas" and "Acting on Agendas"

Khap Head at times seems unable to decide upon or unwilling to act upon certain issues, as in the agendas the most prominent social agenda is to make *Khap*land liquor free, on which most of *Khap* uproar will be heard, but it is common to distribute the liquor to win elections in the region.

> When I visited, one *Chaudhary* of the Thamba *Khap* head of X thamba which belongs to one of the *Khap* of Baraut, I met the son of the *Chaudhary* who won the election of Zilla *Panchayat*, in long discussion on *Khap* and *Panchayat*s, he disclosed that even in the election of this small scale he has to infuse the liquor of amount 10 to 12 lakhs which is just a rough estimation. He claimed that though there is the role of his father's virtuous and serving image

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[10] Pradhan, M.C (1966), '*The Political System of the Jats of Northern India*', Oxford University Press, London p. 18

in the area which too led to the victory but he also claimed one need to maintain the assured supply of 'required things' till the end.

This is not one incident which I encountered, but just one among many, as the part of field is conducted after gram *Panchayat* elections. With such narratives, which were not just given in very confidential and trusted manner but also with the proud of richness to infuse the big amount and with superiority of being the most honourable family in village, it can be simply analysed that first, the image of *Khap Chaudhary* (or Thamba *Chaudhary*, in the above mentioned case) is being utilised by the family members to come up as winners in elections, secondly, *Chaudhary* cannot be unaware of the liquor distribution in his territory but either concealed or pretended to be unaware of such concerns if coming out from his own family or from the influential families of village, as this big amount cannot be infused by the simple agricultural based candidate for election. So here emerges the bigger issue which raises questions against the '*Khap* meeting' agendas as *Khap*s claims to be assertive to eradicate such evils from the village society but contrary to reality they turn blind eye on such things during elections. Or one can say that in the new emerging situations, *Khap*s are dragged to the backseat and they have to remain silent on certain issues, to survive.

5.2.3 Self-contradictory to Non-Political in Nature: Khap Heads into Politics and Politicians into Khaps.

Khap considered itself as a traditional social organisation which normatively asserts its image as a "non-political organisation", which does not intervene in politics of the region and *Khap Chaudhary* or *Pradhan* is one who can never indulge in or avail any political office of gain, as this might earned the biased image of *Khap* head in region. A faction of *Khap* leadership strongly opposed the move of *Khap* leaders entering into the politics, as *Khap* is a social and non-political entity and entering into politics is against basic norms, customs and traditions. And it is one of the basic principle on which *Khap* asserts their social existence and their relevance in social sphere. Head of *Khap* X[11] described:

> *Khaps are apolitical social organisation which should not be utilised for any economic and political gain by the Khap head. And neither Khap head can*

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[11] One of the very significant *Khap* of Uttar Pradesh.

benefit any of the political party directly or indirectly nor can affiliate or associate himself with any political ideology, as this may make him bias in taking decisions and making settlements between people, and he may be accused of favouring or taking biased decision by supporting his affiliated party people, which will tarnish the image of Khap and Khap head which is very respected designation of Khap. To not to be lure by the politicians, head should always maintain distance from the political campaigns for any particular party. He stated that if such situation occurs that Khap head is actively participating in politics then the head will be forced by people to step down form the headship. He even emphasised that head should follow the tradition of 'not voting' in gram level election, as for him all candidates should be equal. He added to this that though Khaps do not indulge in any kind of political activities, but do exert pressure on politicians to get work done in the area for the benefit of society.

This apolitical nature of *Khap* is explained and emphasised by all *Khap* leaders of different levels. Various arguments were provided which shows the associated sentiments and notions with the *Khap* head, and a person who fails in his obligations cannot hope to become a headman of a lineage group or a respected member of society.

Contrary to this prevalent notion, there is increase in enthusiasm of *Khap* heads, to participate in modern political system and also exploiting the *Khap*s as a platform to procure the votes in elections, this creates the contradictions and raised the questions on the claim of non-political image of *Khap*s. As claimed by a respondent, Mithilesh Singh[12], of Maham:

Khaps do not officially come out in support or against any political outfit and maintains their apolitical impression superficially, but they do certainly send message to their constituents for voting in favour or against someone.

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[12] Mithilesh singh, belongs to the Jat community, and from Meham Rural, is of age 48 and a cultivator by occupation.

There is a profound and intense relationship between the *Khap Panchayat* and the political elites in Haryana as they derive sustenance and strength from each other.[13]

> *In a ceremony was held on 15th May 2016 in Sisauli, called as the fifth death anivesary of Ch. Mahendra Singh 'Tikait' (Paanchvi Punya Tithi). Kisaan Union gave a call to be present in the ceremonial function with a theme on 'Save Ground Water', and one after another many political elites affiliated with some or the other political party utilised the platform to deliver their opinion and also utilised the platform for their publicity for the upcoming 2017 UP-assembly polls. At present Water Resource minister of state from BJP, Mr. Sanjeev Baliyan was also called to deliver his opinion on the declining Ground water level in villages due to over extraction of water by submersibles, and the elected minister announces his incapability to address such issues on the ground and re-affirm that these issues are so rooted that only Khaps can solve it, as only they can easily reached to the people. So here it is clear that how the politicians are reaffirmed the Khap status and Khap confirmed the politician's strength in the region. From the platform, in front of 70 to 100 people the democratically elected person showed his inability to reach to the people to address the issue and established the local supremacy of traditional leaders in the region to solve the village problem. These meetings act as an instrument to mobilise and manipulate the voters and also provided a platform for the Political elites to keep their view. These Khaps are operating as the medium to fill the gap between the political representatives and the common man.[14]*

*Khap*s not just showing the indirect involvement but few involved directly in political system as in 2014 Lok Sabha Election, in total four *Khap* Heads contested elections[15], while at the same time all of them were also bearing the office of specific *Khap*s

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[13] Chaudhary, D.R. (2014), "*Khap Panchayat* and Modern Age", NBT New Delhi.p.85

[14] Observations of the meeting attended by Author in Sisauli

[15] http://www.hindustantimes.com/chandigarh/haryana-assembly-elections-harvest-season-for-khap-leaders/story-gbR3VQKCDKBihRbTWwOGdP.html accessed on 20Jan 2015

though in the election all *Khap* leaders contested and lost the election[16], which reveals that they don't have the clout they think they do. *Khap* leaders defeat in assembly polls reveals the less belief of people in *Khap* leadership and also raised the questions on the claim of genuine widespread acceptance of *Khap* 'diktas' by people and rather uncover the act of forcefully enforcing the diktas, via social shaming, social boycotting and social banishment. Though, several *Khap* leaders interpreted it as, "people didn't want the *Khap*s to indulge in politics", but it may be seen as people showed more respect and faith in democratically represented and contested candidature, rather showing faith in hereditary or undemocratically elected leaders of *Khap*s.

After this direct participation of several *Khap* heads, in elections and also involvement of various other heads in political campaign[17], there is a divide created in the *Khap*s weather they should remain apolitical or they should align with the politics. One of the interviewed *Khap* secretory[18] told that all *Khap* office bearers will be asked clarification from their side for taking active participation in political campaign.

*Khap*s also make their presence felt in gram *Panchayat* elections as many *Khap*s in Jind have taken an initiative to persuade people to elect their *Panchayat* members with consensus in the Gram *Panchayat* elections. An interviewee, Dinesh, an active *Khap* member of Meham Chaubisi, briefly explains that:

> *These Khaps convince people and spread awareness by preparing special brief notes on advantages of the unopposed elections which aims to maintain brotherhood in the villages and to save money and which can also curtail the use of liquor during elections. As during election many a times the conflicts culminates to its extreme level of bloodshed. (Election mai goliyan bhi chal jati hain, aur Khapey nahi chahati ki khoon kharaba ho ye Bhaichara kharab ho, toh aapas mai pehly hi tay kar liya jata hai, jismey samaz ki hi bhalayi hai,*

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[16] http://zeenews.india.com/news/haryana/haryana-polls-parties-decision-to-field-khap-leaders-fails-to-click_1487275.html accessed on 20Jan 2015

[17] NOTE: Battisa *Khap* head, was openly campaigning for some political party, which was acknowledged by the people and covered by the news also (NEWS)

[18] Secretary of one of the very significant *Khap* of Uttar Pradesh

kyunki gawon mai election ke samay paisa aur daaru dono samaz ke bhaicharey ko kharab kartey hain.)

And several *Khap* level meetings sprung up in Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh to decide upon the future course of the *Khap* as social organisation, to prevent the political interference in *Khap*s, to maintain the apolitical status of *Khap*s and only focusing on the social issues by not involving in political activities.

The general perception of influence on rural folks and humble background is associated with the *Khap* leaders is contradictory to the disclosure of the assets by *Khap* leaders contesting Haryana assembly elections, which reveals that they all are 'crorepatis' and rightly said by D.R. *Chaudhary* that gone were the days when they used to command immense respect owing to their integrity in society, as the new crop of *Khap* leaders seemed to be more inclined on milking the clout for their vested interests.[19] "*Khap Panchayat*s in recent avatar is strengthened by the very forces that claim to ban it"[20]

It is not that just *Khap*s or *Khap* associates are using *Khap*s for their politics; rather Politicians are also seeking power from the platform of *Khap*s. Though most of the politicians have raised voices against khaps but at the time of elections they seek support from these traditional caste based Panchayat and soften their attitude to harness the khap associatedness in 'votes', and rightly elaborated by Nonica Dutta that the "*Khap Panchayat*s in recent avatar is strengthened by the very forces that claim to ban it"[21]   On the pretext of safeguarding the culture and tradition, these traditional *Panchayat*s are being harnessed to gain political mileage and to exploit the ignorance of the local populace by creating mass hysteria.[22]

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[19]http://www.hindustantimes.com/chandigarh/haryana-assembly-elections-all-*Khap*-leaders-in-poll-fray-are-crorepatis/story-8VJ2Wzh op5YQVlMgvwwnL.html (On 2-June-2015).

[20] Nonica Dutta in times of india 'Caste and effect: clan to kluklux clan?

[21] Nonica Dutta in times of india 'Caste and effect: clan to kluklux clan?

[22] Bhardwaj, Suraj Bhan (2012), 'Myth and reality of the Khap Panchayats: a Historical Analysis of the Panchayat and Khap Panchayat', *Studies in History Journal*, JNU

5.2.4 Contradiction in the Pradhan Election/Selection

The head seat of any *Khap* is of utmost prestige in the spatial context, and head have the power in his command to influence the entire clan (or most of the clan), and realising their power, politician leave no stone unturned to lure them, and make several announcements to appease the traditional leaders, which intensify before elections, one like, in a visit to traditional *Panchayat*, Union minister Mahesh Sharma and Sanjeev Baliyan, acknowledge the contribution of *Khap Chaudharies* and also sanction Rs. 2.3 crores[23] for the renovation of traditional *chaupal*. The meeting of *Khap* heads with the political leaders, activists and other members is quite usual and at the time of 'Elections' these meetings escalates, and these meetings further strengthen the supremacy of the head in the region, and with the increase in the affluence with time, there is also an increase in number of rural elites who wants to hold the office of *Khap Panchayat* and wants to enjoy the prestigious status in the region, so the conflict to gain the head status also increases in recent times.

The head of Hooda *Khap*, use to be chosen traditionally from the Khidwali village always, is under contestation, though it is not the only *Khap* under contestation for the selection of the head. As in Basantpur village of Rohtak in the meeting in of 45 villages associated with the Hooda *Khap*, two fractions raised their candidates and supported them, one candidate is associated with one of the national level political party and other one is the office bearing sarpanch of the Khidwali village, both the fractions tie up the 'turban of respect' to their respectively chosen head within the same continuing *Panchayat* and even released the press note by declaring their candidate as the head of Hooda *Khap*.[24] This cleared the air around the notion of political neutrality of *Khap* head.

These contestations are happening in most of the *Khap*s be it the Nandal *Khap*, with Bohr village as head village, or be it Dahiya *Khap*, Kandela *Khap* or Kaalkhandey *Khap* of Shamli (in Uttar Pradesh). These disputes increased in last few years, and with the contestations the accusations of being the agent of government by one *Khap*

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[23] Hindustan Times, ''In Jat belt, *Khap* opinions can make or break political fortunes'', date 11 Jan 2017. (http://www.hindustantimes.com/lucknow/in-jat-belt-*Khap*-opinions-can-make-or-break-political-fortunes/story-zuQCbs86hs8qLV9KzDgClN.html) accessed on 21 Jan 2017.

[24] Amar Ujala Rohtak, 1 aug 2016.

head group on another group, claiming to be head of same *Khap*, also augmented. (Give News References) These augmented conflicts indicate the significance of *Khap* head seats even in the urban area like Rohtak.

सर्वखाप पंचायत के अध्यक्ष पर विवाद

नगर संवाददाता

नयी दिल्ली, 26 नवम्बर।

सर्वखाप पंचायत पालम 360 के अध्यक्ष पद को लेकर विवाद बढ़ गया है। कई अलग-अलग गुट इस पद पर अपने लोगों के नामों की घोषणा कर चुके हैं। आरोप है कि इस पद को राजनीति में घसीटा जा रहा है।

सर्वखाप पंचायत पालम 360 के अध्यक्ष पद के एक दावेदार ने कल 360 गांवों का एक खुला अधिवेशन पालम गांव में बुलाया है। इसमें पालम पंचायत में उठे विवाद का समाधान खोजने की कोशिश की जाएगी। आयोजकों का दावा है कि इस तरह खुला अधिवेशन पंद्रह साल बाद बुलाया जा रहा है।

अधिवेशन के आयोजकों का कहना है कि इसमें लाडो सराय, बवाना, मांडोठी, कराह, तिहाड़, ओंतल, नरेला, कंझावला पल्ला माजरा, बख्तावरपुर, ढासा, सिद्दीपुर, लोवा, ढाखला, सुबाना, सुरेडा, सिलानी, अलीगंज, मुनीरका, चिराग दिल्ली, फतेहपुर, छतरपुर, समयपुर

बादली, निजामपुर, विजवासन, खेड़ामान, खेड़ा राणा, गंगोला, किलोकरी, मितराउ, दिचाऊ, महिपालपुर, झांडोदा इत्यादि खापों के सरपंचों को आमंत्रित किया गया है। इसमें कई गांवों के सरपंचों के आने की उम्मीद है। आयोजकों का कहना है कि पालम 360 के अध्यक्ष चौ. सुखवीर सिंह सोलंकी हैं।

जबकि एक अन्य गुट का कहना है कि इस पद के मुख्य दावेदार चौ. रिजकराम हैं। रिजक राम को यह पद विरासत में मिला है। रिजकराम ने इस संवाददाता से कहा कि मैं समय-समय पर पालम 360 की बैठकें बुलाता रहता हूं। उन्होंने पिछले साल मंडल आयोग की सिफारिशों को लेकर भी विभिन्न खापों की बैठक बुलायी थी। गांवों से आये प्रमुख व्यक्तियों ने इस सिलसिले में पूरे दिन बातचीत की। पर इस बारे में सर्वसम्मति से कोई निर्णय नहीं हो सका था।

पर कई अन्य गांव की खापों के प्रमुख लोगों का आरोप है कि रिजकराम एक राजनीतिक दल के सदस्य हैं और पंचायत का उपयोग भी राजनीतिक हितों के लिए कर रहे हैं।

पंचायतों को राजनेताओं से बचाने की अपील

नगर संवाददाता

नई दिल्ली, 17 अक्टूबर।

पालम (360) पंचायत हितैषी वर्ग ने अपील की है कि पंचायतों का राजनीतिकरण नहीं किया जाए। हितैषी वर्ग के चौ. सुखवीर सिंह सोलंकी ने कहा कि प्रमुख राजनीतिक दल पंचायत की एकता को तोड़ने के लिए काम कर रहे हैं।

श्री सोलंकी ने कहा कि पिछले दिनों पंचायत के कथित प्रधान चौ. रिजक राम ने रंगपुरी में दशोठन समारोह किया। इस कार्यक्रम में पंचायत के पुराने नेताओं की जगह भारतीय जनता पार्टी और कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने मंच हथियाया रखा। उन्होंने कहा कि पंचायत को राजनीतिक नेताओं के हाथ में बेचना गलत है। हितैषी वर्ग ने पालम (360) सभी पंचों से कहा है कि इस सामाजिक पंचायत पर राजनीतिक नेताओं को हावी होने से रोकें। पंचायत की प्रतिष्ठा कम करने वालों का बहिष्कार करें।

हितैषी वर्ग का आरोप है कि कथित पंचायत प्रमुख रिजक राम भाजपा नेताओं से मिलकर पंचायत का दुरुपयोग कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि 17 अक्टूबर को पंचायत के कथित प्रमुख रिजक राम द्वारा पालम में पंचायत बुलाना अवैध है क्योंकि इसकी वजह से पालम की सरदारी को आंच पहुंची है।

आज

नेहरू बाल समिति: बच्चों की आशु चित्रकला प्रतियोगिता, नेहरू बाल विकास केन्द्र, गांव मस्जिद मोठ, ब्लॉक-8, त्रिलोकपुरी व सनलाइट जे.जे. कॉलोनी-प्रथम, प्रात: 9 बजे से।

आध्यात्मिक साधना संघ: योगीराज नानकजी महाराज का जन्मोत्सव, ध्यान योग आश्रम, सी-ब्लॉक, नारायणा गृह क्षेत्र, प्रात: 9 बजे से।

अग्रवाल निदेशिका समिति: विवाह योग्य युवक-युवतियों का परिचय सम्मेलन, अग्रवाल प्रेम सभा, सनातन धर्म मंदिर, सी-3, जनकपुरी।

5.2.5 Defying Bhaichara: Gaon Level

In the *Khap* belt it is common that a particular village was founded by certain elders and the village is known as the *khera* of the gotra of the elders who established it. It is through the courtesy and magnanimity of this particular gotra Jats that Jats with other gotras settle in that particular village. The decendants of the founder can bring the girl of other gotras as a bride in the village but vice versa is not permitted on the ground that village primarily belongs to them.[25]

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[25] D.R. Chaudhary (2014), "*Khap Panchayat* and Modern Age", NBT New delhi p. 26.

The mechanism of severance –incorporation for India is suggested by Ackerman. He says:

> *"The Gotras ('clans') of India constitute disjunctive affiliations within the conjunctive caste."*[26]

Khap belt is also carrying a *parampara* (tradition) of *khera hamara hai* (village is ours), which create fractions within the principle of unity and thus defy the simplicity of *Gaon baichara* rule which is carried as representation of unity, by the *Khap*s. So with this code of *khera hamara hai,* bhaichara becomes more complex as with this it is not that easy to marry within the *Khap* as it seems, because now, one has to see not only village exogamy, ganwand exogamy and gotra exogamy but also the most numerous gotra of the village. In which the one from the minority gotra cannot bring the daughter of majority gotra as bride in the village, as in this case the bride will be the daughter of village and cannot be *bahu* (daughter-in-law), while the reverse can happen. So again one can see that minority gotra girl can become daughter-in-law of village, and this is acceptable in so called 'bhaichara' society. This whole principle keeps the brotherhood of the village aside, and brings the issue of the 'dominance of clans' in the center of the conflict.

> *The case of village Pentawas Khurd[27], is based on the Khera Mahara Hai issue between the Sangwans and Poonias of the village, and presents the example in which sub caste hegemony defies kinship bonds.*
>
> *This Pentawas Khurd village is initially settled by the Sangwans and so they claim that the village or Khera belongs to Sangwan, and ancestors of another gotra Poonia settled around 150 years back as per their claim and still considered as "Sangwano ki dehli par aaya parivar" (Come under the shelter of Sangwans). Bakhtawar Poonia, associated from a reputed and urban based family in which four members of his family were colonels in army and he himself was a police inspector of Bhiwani, got married his two sons to the Sangwan gotra daughters of distant village of Sonepat district. Though in this marriage there was no violation of Gotra, Gaon, Gawand marriage rule, but*

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[26] *Ackerman, Charles (1963) "Affiliations: Structural Determinants of Differential Divorce Rates." American Journal of Sociology 69: 13-20.*

[27] The copy of the case which is collected by author from the field is shown in Appendix.

the hegemony of Sangwan's got violated as before shifting to Bhiwani, Bakhtawar lived in Pentawas, and he has to follow the rule of village named as Khera Mahara Hai, in which he cannot accept the Sangwan girl as a bride. Sangwano ki "Sharan/Dehli" par aya hua parivar, Sangwan ki ladki ko bahu bana kar nahi la sakta (A family who is being given shelter by sangwan's in village cannot get a Sangwan girl as daughter in law). Though, any Sangwan family can bring a Poonia girl as a bride in the same village.

Sangwan Khap negate the marriage by saying that married boys and girls are brother and sister, and fined Bakhtawar with 51000 rupees and also fined 11,000 rupees on other Poonia families of village who supported Bakhtawar and also the social ostracism was imposed on Poonia families till they nullify the marriage, and rupees 1,100 fine will be imposed on those who will keep any relation to these families. Poonia Khap gathered few other Khaps and try to make a pressure over Sangwans to take their decision back. This whole incident developed far beyond the limits and 14 families of poonia gotra need to evict the village. As it become the fight of prestige and leadership between two groups now (in local parlance 'Mooch aur Chaudhar ki Ladai')

This was also claimed that the administration took no serious notice of this till the Assembly Elections of Rajasthan began, as in Rajasthan, the votes of Jat Poonia is significant. But even after the involvement of administration, the matter was solved with the Panchayat in which it was decided that evicted Poonia families can settle in village but permanent exile was imposed on the Bakhtawar family and their land which is around 20 bighas was donated to village temple.

In one of the document of Khap Panchayat this whole episode which disturbs the social fabric and village level unity was even mentioned as the incident motivated by "Aapsi Ranjish"or personal conflict between two factions.

However, when author try to discuss the relevance of the conflict, *Khap* ideologues justifies it and try to reassert the rule of Khera Mahara Hai. The outcome of this case study is that in the *Khap* belt the dominated gotra of the village can bring the minority gotra girl as a bride but vice-versa is not permitted, so by this rule the acceptance of Sangwan girl as a bride by a Poonia family who once lived in Pentawas, violated the

traditional norm and hurt the dominant sentiments, which was taken as an attack on the *Chaudhar* (leadership) of Sangwans. However, at same time of the episode, dozens of Poonia girls came as a bride in the Sangwan families of same village.

In another case of Dharana village of Jhajjar, in which A Gehlawat gotra boy married to a Kadyan gotra girl, the marriage was declared against the norms and local traditions of the village, and couple has to leave the village. These khap Panchayats enjoy the power of delivering the last word in the village matters as no-one has the courage to challenge them partially because of fear of life and partially because of fear of social boycott[28].

D.R. *Chaudhary*, elaborate certain hidden and deep implication too:

> *The practice of Khera Mahara Hai tradition is highly iniquitous, arbitrary, and oppressive. It smacks of dadagiri (high handedness) of the majority. It goes counter to the very concept of bhaichara which apparently treats everybody equal in the social set up. Under its weight some minority gotra had to lose their identity. A few generations after a minority gotra has settled in village, it adopts the majority gotra to escape discrimination.[29]*

The brotherhood is not a unilateral affair it has to reciprocate to survive. Thus the concept of bhaichara in present times, under the impact of urbanism and modernity become a delusion, as several developments in modern age are beyond the control of *Khap* followers, supporters and ideologues, who treat traditions as an entity which stands frozen in time and space and hilariously, they themselves willfully contravene the principle of brotherhood by following a peculiar practice of Khere Mahara Hai (the village belongs to us).

The village looks like an entity from outside, though clear fragmentations can be seen inside. The *Khap Panchayat* claims the village bhaichara and claims the village exogamy based on the village brotherhood, which seems to superficial for the reality.

The case of the one of the village of Meham, surveyed by author, clearly shows the stark division among people. The village is primarily dominated by the Jats and

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[28] Prem Chowdhary (2004) op.cit.

[29] D.R. CHaudhary op.cit. Page 28

Sainis[30], since long times Jats were winning the local village *pradhan* elections, but this time Saini won the election. One respondent openly narrates the pretense and deception of brotherhood:

He claims that it is very easy to guess in the village *pradhan* election that from which pannna most of the votes came and which panna did not support in the election or supported another canadidate. And different castes are dominant in different pannas. Since last many years Jats were wining and they did not give importance to the development of Saini Panna, so this time Sainis are taking the revenge. And all the roads in front of the Saini houses are well built and are kept little elevated from the surroundings and the drainage of elevated roads discharge in front of Jat Houses and other fenced open spaces in which Jats keep their cattle and agricultural equipment. He claimed that what is use of playing brotherhood drum, when the community people are not sensitive enough for the lives of others, as the drainage discharge has led to 5feet pit (as per the respondent's claim) in the road and two people already died in this, so this cannot be the brotherhood. In the pictures below he claimed that there is open drainage discharge in front of houses (shown by the black circle in picture below) and the pit is 5feet deep and only the people of certain community have to suffer out of it as rest other can use another road of the village which is well built and maintained (as shown by the Red colour mark in picture)

Figure 5.1: Pictorial representation of the conflict within the villages, as one here shows how a particular panna rleases the drain in front of the houses of other panna.

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[30] Another caste group in the village.

Chopal, generally found in villages of North India, is very commonly seen public use building, a community space which generally caters all sorts of activities for predominantly male inhabitants and plays a performative role as village culture custodians in deciding the procedures. Chaupals also provide a place to resolve the conflicts among the residents of the villages, generally few respected and senior member of the village sit at the chaupal and try to solve out the issue in the presence of villagers. It also serves as the site for the hosting the groom's party when any maariage takes place in the village. Now-a-days chaupals are also used for spreading political agendas for gaining political gains. In popular rural perception chaupal is any place where people can come together to discuss and share their problems be it of individual or family or of group, rejoice their pleasures, sort out their differences and disputes.

Chaupal of the village is always a reference point of direction and have a prestigious value in village culture. Chaupals are constructed and maintained by using funds from the village members in the form of community donations and the also from charity money.

The nature and design of the chaupal depends upon the size, prosperity and diversity of the village, at some places it is just an open space and at some place it is elegant structure. Some villages have several chaupals for different caste groups. Most of the villages of *Khap* area have chaupals based on the caste, like Jat Chaupal, Brahmin Chaupal, Chamar Chaupal, Khati Chaupal, and with this division there is a difference in the structure and elegance of building depending on the prosperity of the community it belongs to, and these choupals lies at heart of the community houses, this division not just shows the limits of the intermixing but also the limits of the use of common property resources.

In the village Gurawar, (of Meham district is located around 20 kms from Meham, 22kms from Rohtak and around 10 kms from Lakhan Majra) the gram *pradhan* at time of survey was from Scheduled Caste, of Chamar Caste, he accompanies author to visit the Chamar Chaupal, which is still under construction, and where 10-12 people were playing cards. He expressed his concern for lack of maintenance *chamar chaupal*, and said:

Now we will also construct the chaupal of our community, and if in this time we are not able to do it, then when we will do. We have seen years, and they did not take any initiative to construct it for us. Now our community can also host a marriage ceremony in Chaupal with good arrangements of stay for groom side guests. (Abb toh hum bhi banwayengey apni kaaum ki chaupal, Ji abb bhi nahi banwa paye toh kab banwayengey, innho ney toh kabhi banwayi nahi hamarey liye. Abb hamari Kaum k logo ki shadi-byah theek se ho paayengy.)

In the same village, most of the Jats did not participate in survey as I was surveying about *Khap*s and stayed in a chamar's house. They did not acknowledge him as the head, they stopped me on several occasions and questioned that what knowledge on khaps I will get by staying with a chamar family!

This statement clearly shows that a dominant caste manipulates their power in the name of "bhaichara". A village, which is divided on the lines of caste, where the caste groups are spatially separated with clear residential segregations, where chaupals, which are space of male gatherings and past time activities, are also divided on the caste basis, where resource distribution is skewed, the claim for brotherhood appears superficial.

5.2.6 Defying Bhaichara: Khap Level

Complexity of understanding in bhaichara emerges as one can see that bhaichara (brotherhood) which generates the idea of one singular family is being defied by turning *bhaichara into rishteydaari* (brotherhood into marital relation).

On the account of complexity of *bhaichara* and *rishteydaari* when asked from *Chaudhary* Inder Singh Mor, Satrol *Khap Pradhan*, that lift in the ban of intra Satrol *Khap* marriages may confuse the prevalent *bhaichara* feeling and *rishteydaari* notion[31]. Very gently the head explained that there will be brotherhood with the whole khap, but only the family will be 'rishteydaar' in which one's son/daughter will be married. The head further explained that this lift in ban is too mandatory for present time when there is shortage of girls to be married in society and more and more

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[31] The rishteydaars are the in laws, and brotherhood is between brother, and brother can not become the rishteydaar

number of boys either remained unmarried or getting bride from other states which are not of our culture, so lift was a welcomed step in the *Khap* for the progress[32].

> *Though one may argue about complexity of issues raised here, as why it termed as complex, so this is to remind that uproar of the bhaichara is most prevalent in Khap and all Khap heads claim that all girls and boys in their Khap are like their own daughters and sons, and Khap heads also claim that they do go in all marriages of girls of their Khap and if cannot then make sure of kanyadaan to the girl, which means Khap head on one hand claims that Khap is like a family and on the other hand defying the family claim by allowing marrying within the Khap, as family is exogamous in nature in Jat culture. So complexity emerges after this as one can see on some spheres Khaps defying the bhaichara and on some spheres Khap are maintaining bhaichara even at the cost of several lives on the name of honor killing (for sagotra vivaha or within villages run away marriages) or even declaring marriages invalid by terming the couple as sister–brother. And another is that can we really say it a progressive step when we know that it is all because marriageable boys are finding it difficult to get brides.*

5.2.7 Change in Marriage Field: Need of Modern Time and Modern institution interventions

The **Caste endogamy**, is one of the basic principle for maintaining the caste structure, when synthesis with the *Khap* norms of **Kinship exogamy** in which all gotras of the descendants from seven (or five) generations on the father's side and five (or three) on the mother's side are excluded for marriage alliance, and the **territorial exogamy** which further eliminate the possible marriageable partner from the native village, adjoining villages and *Khap* villages, and the other prevalent norms around the axiom of **Khera Mahara Hai**, which further excludes the possible marriageable partner of dominant gotra of village, aggravated the problem of finding a bride in the Jat land which have an account of skewed sex ratio and child sex ratio. As marriage provides the structural link-up between kinship and caste, thus they act more fiercely as the marriage vigilant. Thus, the maintenance of marriage alliance is one of the most

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[32] Inerview with the Chaudhary Inder Singh Mor, Satrol *Khap* Head at Bass village, Hansi, Hisar, Haryana.

important self-declared responsibilities of *Khap Panchayat*s to maintain a tight control over the shortage of women available in their marriage pools in Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh.

In the historic time also, there was the shortage of marriageable girls, which can be linked with the various traditional narratives and the folk-stories of the region, in which it was common to have the bride of one or two brothers out of all, to elude further land fragmentations and due to bride paucity. Where in order to avoid fragmentation of land two borthers married the same lady and had a common wife. There is yet another practice of leviratic marriages where after the death of elder brother the widow was remarried to the younger one, again to protect the land. But, with the change in time, modern technologies increases the carrying capacity of land and the diversification of occupation which increased income in the region and with this aspiration to have 'my-own-family' increases. These aspirations, which are difficult to be full-filled in the land devoid of marriageable girls under the tight exogamy rules, asserted a kind of pressure on the existed marriage norms. So this paucity of marriageable girls in the region, forced the *Khap*s to change certain rules and to relax the strict traditional laws. As per the Randheer Singh Mor[33], of village Sorkhi:

> In earlier times, people followed the avoidance of marriage in five generation gotras from father side and three from mother side to maintain the healthy kinship relations, which are too narrowed down in present times and also brings the confusions in the relations, as now a person can marry in the maternal grandmother gotra, which is commonly called as "**Nani ko Kaani Karna**[34]" and even there are cases in which marriages are consummated in paternal grandmother gotra also. This brings whole lot of confusions and problem in the relations.

The uncompromising principle of kinship exogamy in marriage field can now be negotiated in *Khap* territory, but what matters in negotiation is the domination of negotiating group or family. When talked about on-going marriage relaxations and

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[33] Randheer Singh Mor, is a cultivator with 12 bighas of land, from the Jat community, and of around 63 years old from village Sorkhi in Hisar.

[34] **Nani ko Kani Karna** is the phrase given to describe the marriages which are consummated in the gotra of maternal grandmother (locally known as Nani).

societal level *Khap* interventions in marriage, in one group discussion with a small group of selected people in which:

One discussant is the head of *Khap Panchayat*, who had graduated in Agricultural Science and worked as an employee. One discussant is the Thamba head of the same *Khap Panchayat*. And another discussant was a political elite, currently engaged in the political activities associated with the Jat Aakarshan and is president of one Aarakhshan Samiti, (his wife is a Professor in a college, and daughter is in Pune University).

> *Interviewer: How much relevant, societal norms with strict exogamy rules in marriages, valid today or currently there are examples of relaxations/exceptions in marriage fields?*
>
> *[Rather than responding they took an approach of asking me a counter question]*
>
> *Political Elite: What is your gotra, your Mother gotra, Your Maternal and Paternal Grandmother Gotra?*
>
>> *[I responded, then he moved his head to my colleagues who haiedl from other states, and asked the same question to them, but they did not tell. Political Elite moved his head towards me, and responded]*
>
> *Political Elite: Jinn Logo Ko Apney Ghar Pariwar key Gotra Ka Gyaan Nahi hai, Unmey mai Sanskaar nahi hotey. (Those who do not know about their familial kinship details in terms of gotra, are not enough cultured)*
>
> *Khap Head: Shaadi key Gotra Ganit mai badlav wahan jayad aaya hai jahan Ladkiyon ki sankhya kam hai, issey adaptation kehtey hain, par hamara samaj aur sanskriti hamarey poravjo ki banayi hai jo ki kai hazaro salo se chali aa rahi hai usmey badlaw ya chhed-chhad karkey samaz ka hit nahi hoga. (Wherever the mathematics or calculations of Marriage field is changed, is due to shortage of marriageable girls, which is mere adaptation, but this culture and traditional practice created by the ancestors survived thousands of years, and any kind of disturbance in the cultural thread can vibrate whole society and society will not be benefited).*

Thamba Head: If you marry within any of your Grandmother Gotra, then whole relations will be chaotic, so it is generally prohibited to marry in 'four close gotras'[35]. But there are cases, where even these are not left out.

The assertions of the Khap Ideologue that the same blood is flowing in the veins of the descendants of same lineage and purity of blood must be maintained by avoiding the marriages between the concerned male female. Their idea of incest relating to the common lineage if followed then after 9 generations (shown in table 5.1) there will be the mixing of 512 gotras or blood groups, if each level of generation changes after every 25 years (which is an average). It is impossible to go for these exclusivities by marrying within the Jats, so now to avoid the risks of assumed 'genetic diseases' the Jats should opt inter-caste marriages.

Table 5.1: Average number of Gotras in the Jat of one lineage after 200 years

If we say average age of change in generation is 25 years

Generteation	AGE since start	Gotras since Start
1st	0 years	2 gotras
2nd	25	4
3rd	50	8
4th	75	16
5th	100	32
6th	125	64
7th	150	128
8th	175	256
9th	200	512

The general theory of chaotic relationship, which is given by these 'culture guardians', if one married within these 'four close gotras' of family, is expressed by diagram below. This figure 5.2 shows that how the culture-custodians depict the situation of fear and hysteria of the violation of the social fabric and messy relation onwards, if 'one' marries within any of the paternal or maternal gotra.

In this case, a boy whose maternal grandmother is of Tomar gotra and so all tomars will be considered as brothers of Ajay's maternal grandmother and also the brothers of Ajay's mother. So if he marries a girl from the Tomar Gotra, which is similar to his maternal grandmother gotra, there will be confusion of relation, as now:

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[35] Father, Mother, Paternal Grand Mother, and Maternal Grand Mother Gotra

1. Ajay's father in law is one among his maternal uncle (mama, in local usage). So what will Ajay say to his Father is law, Sasur or Mama?

2. Ajay's father in law is one among the brother of Ajay's Mother, so here how Ajay's mother will interact with him, as brother or as a bride giver (Bhai ya Sambandhi)

3. Ajay's wife will address Ajay's mother as mother in law or Paternal Aunt (Sasu ya Booa)

ASE: Four Close Gotras of Ajay's (fictitious character) Family:			
Relation to Ajay	**Gotra**	**Relation to Ajay**	**Gotra**
Paternal Grandfather (Dada)	*Baliyan*	Paternal Grandmother (Dadi)	*Malik*
Maternal Grandfather (Nana)	*Duhoon*	Maternal Grandmother (Nani)	*Tomar*
Father	Baliyan	Mother	Duhoon
Ajay[36]	Baiyan	Case 1: Wife	Tomar (same as Ajay's Nani)
		Case 2: Wife	Malik (same as Ajay's Dadi)

In another case if Ajay marries to a girl with gotra similar to his paternal grandmother i.e. Malik, where all Maliks will be considered as brother of Ajay's Paternal Grand Mother and also brother of Ajay's father, the delusion will be like:

1. Ajay's father in law is one among his Uncles (Father's brother, i.e. Chacha in local usage). So what will Ajay say to his Father in law, Sasur or Chacha?

2. Ajay's father in law is one among the brother of Ajay's Father, so here how Ajay's father will interact with him, as brother or as a bride giver (Bhai ya Sambandhi)

3. Ajay's wife will address Ajay's father as Father in law or Uncle (Sasur ya Chacha)?

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[36] Ajay a fictitious character
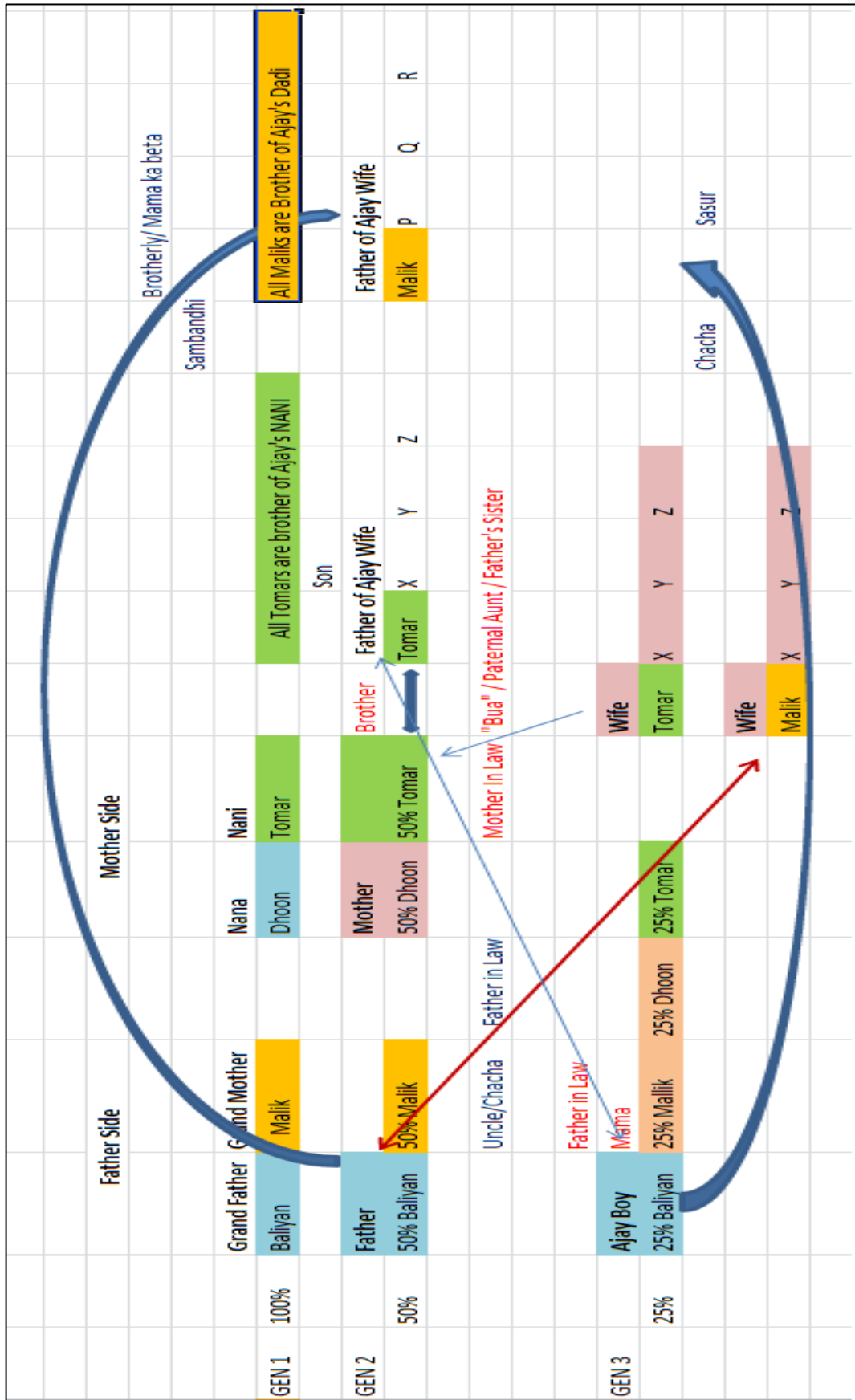
Figure 5.2: Complexities involved in the marriages solemnised in maternal or paternal grand mother gotra.

But, this is not asked or questioned in case of influential families many a times, or if asked miniscule fine is levied on them, and thus by paying small fine they can do what they want or they choose whom they want.

The author is presenting this argument here, on basis of one of the study of one of the *Khap* head's family marriage tree (shown in the table below), in which the *Khap* head is of age around 55 years at the time of survey[37], and this particular *Khap* is carrying the hereditary headship, which means that father of the current *Khap* head was also the *Khap* head when he was alive, and after him his son become the current *Khap* head. In this family the acting *Khap* head was married to a Baliyan girl, though his grandmother was also Baliyan, and being the son of the *Khap* head, the family must follow the norm of 'four close gotra exogmay', but this is not relevant in this case, as the bride (Baliyan girl) is also the daughter of one of the *Khap* head of Uttar Pradesh and the Groom is the Son of the other *Khap* Head of Uttar Pradesh. Marriage was solemnised and no issues regarding the traditional norms violation was observed.

Married In Relationship With Head	Married In (Girl) Gotra	Married In (Girl) Village	*Present Khap head Age is around 55 years age*
Great Grand Mother	Dhaka	Dhikoli	
Grand Mother	Baliyan	Kakada	*Present Khap Head's* **Grand Mother was Baliyan**
Mother	Dahiya	Sonipat	
Wife	Baliyan	Sisauli	*Present Khap Head is* **Married to Baliyan** *Girl*
Daughter In Law	Dagar	Sankaltuti	
Daughter In Law	Nain	Bago	

Recently Satrol *Khap* (of 42 villages) of Haryana took an initiative to relax certain restrictions imposed on marriage norms which include the intra-*Khap* and inter-caste marriage. From historical times the Satrol *Khap* follows the principle of *Khap-*

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[37] Survey was conducted in that area in 2015 from January to May.

Exogamy, which according to the claim of certain *Khap* members is a 700 years old tradition, as all the villages of the *Khap* comes under the bhaichara (brotherly) villages and so exogamous in nature, and this restriction is removed recently and *Khap* villages are open up for marital alliances, and also allowed inter caste marriages.[38]

The head of Satrol *Khap*[39], when asked about the acceptance of Intra *Khap* marriages, he claimed that:

> Satrol *Khap* is the Area *Khap*, which includes all gotras and castes in the 42 villages, and many other area *Khap*s also relaxed the norm of Intra *Khap* marriages, with the need of time, as with the generational change people will not have any fear of society as they have today and if we will remain linked to the traditional norms rigidly, the coming generation will not abide them, so it is a need here to relax some norms which are tough to bear and which are ushering in a problem of searching a bride in families. But Satrol *Khap* strictly maintains the Gotra Exogamy, Village exogamy, Ganwand (Adjoining village) exogamy and also the consent of parents is important for intra *Khap* and inter-caste marriages.

This reveals the fear of change in time and emerging contradictions to remain traditional and to remain relevant for the young generation.

There are examples of several other *Khap*s (other than Satrol *Khap*), relaxing in the marriage restrictions within last few years, which clearly indicates to the compulsions of change, like Baraha *Khap* and Nogama *Khap* of Jind district, lifts the ban on marriage, which was based on three century old bhaichara between two 'brotherly gotras', namely Bura Gotra and Sanga Gotra, of *Khap*[40]. Another group of five

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[38] Field notes of author on Satrol *Khap*.

[39] Satrol *Khap* Head, interviewed with Author, dated

[40]http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/After-Satrol-*Khaps*-historic-decision-other-*Khaps*-may-soften-stand-on-marriage-norms/articleshow/34069283.cms (as accessed on 20, Dec 2016).

villes – Panchgami – opened matrimonial ties with neighbouring Megalpur village in Narwala Block of Jind district[41].

The caste councils of eight prominent *Khap*s of district Jhajjar, have approved the matrimonial alliance by lifting a century old social restriction that hindered such alliances in the past. Though the *Khap* heads claimed that this restriction had been removed due to certain violation of customs which were followed by two *Khap*s, but the un-mentioned urgency which compelled this decision lies in the skewed sex-ratio in Jhajjar.[42] These eight gotras are: Kadian, Sangwan, Sheoran, Ahlawat, Gehlawat, Jakhar, Dagar and Tomar. These were initially considered as brotherly gotras, and under the exogamous zone.

Though such relaxations look like a ground-breaking move for these conservative and regressive bodies but these actions are rather demand driven due to shortage of probable brides in the region. Though, several *Khap*s are giving voice for these changes but in actual sense it is just about accommodating the change that is actually taking place over space.

> *For instance the change induced by the Nogama Khap to declare the relaxation in matrimonial alliance between Bura and Sanga gotra is inflicted by marriage of a couple, to whom the same Khap Panchayat initially issued diktat of social boycott for solemnising the arrange marriage in a secret manner. In this case, a man Balwant Sanga, who hails from Sulkhani village, married off his son to a girl of Bura gotra in a village of Kaithal district. Balwant is a government school teacher, his son is an auditor at the CAG office in Guwahati, and the girl, his son married with, is a banker at Haryana Gramin Bank in Kaithal. Though Balwant avoided the three gotras norm, namely, his own gotra, his wife's gotra and his mother's gotra, and also invited people from village to attend the marriage to which nobody objected, but later on the arranged marriage is called as "arranged in secret manner"*

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[41]*http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/haryana/nogama-Khap-lifts-ban-on-marriage-between-two-brotherly-gotras/172183.html* (as accessed on 20, Dec 2015).

[42] Kadian *Khap*s allow wedding in 8 gotras, The Tribune, of 17th Feb 2015.

http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/haryana/community/kadian-*Khap*s-allow-wedding-in-8-gotras/43037.html (as accessed on 10/12/2015)

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and objection is raised against it on the pretext of Sulkhani village being a part of Nogama Khap and the Khap maintains the ties of 'bhaichara' (brotherliness) with Bura gotra or Bura Khap and so the matrimonial alliance 'violated' the social tradition of ages. The Panchayat decided that the marriage cannot be broken now, but due to breaking the social norms nobody would maintain any social relationship with Balwant's family. After all this, Balwant Sanga objected to it and lodged a police complaint, and with the police intervention this dispute of "marriage in 'bhaichara' gotra" fizzled out, and its only after police intervention that Khap leaders were forced to give a no objection to the marriage and also (forced to) removed the imposed ban on the family's social interaction in village. Later on Panchayat approved the marriage which paved the way to lift the three century old norm, restricting the marriages between Sanga and Bura gotras in villages of Nogama Khap.[43]

So rather to consider these changes as social revolutions, these changes are the reflections of the compulsions emerging out of a social crisis of shortage of brides, and in some *Khap*s the decision of removing the restrictions is compelled due to fear of police complaint in the modern legal system. By making such changes, *Khap*s are trying to be fitted into the changed scenario and trying to become practical for the coming generation, as they do not want to lose their hold and significance in the society in the coming future.

The head of Satrol *Khap*[44], when asked about the objective behind the relaxations in the marriage norms regarding to the Inter Caste Marriage, told that:

In Haryana the sex ratio is much skewed, and much more skewed among the Jats. In recent times most of the families have to get brides from other states like Assam, Jharkhand, Bihar, even from Nepal, and the culture of these brides have no match with our culture and they cannot impart the 'appropriate' culture into the next generations which will eventually lead to 'undesirable social change'. So, if we accept the inter caste marriages, but with the consent

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[43]   http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/haryana/nogama-*Khap*-lifts-ban-on-marriage-between-two-brotherly-gotras/172183.html (accessed on 20 J_anuary 2016)

[44] Satrol *Khap* Head, interviewed with Author, dated

of parents, at least the brides will be from our cultural region, rather being one from the 'outside'.

This change in the marriage field which allows the inter caste marriage, in a region where caste directs the untold relations of domination, though seems to be progressive, but on ground it is compelled by the urgency to impede the on-going process of 'undesirable-social change' which is stepping in their cultural zone as the growth of next generation children is not going in appropriate direction with proper knowledge of the historicity of their culture and customs, because of the 'outsider' mother.

The relaxations for the inter caste marriages also seems to be very fancy as the *Khap*s had a history of averting the marriages between the Jats, dominant upper caste, and the Dalits, formerly untouchables. The connotation of permitting the inter-caste marriage on the ground of declining sex ratio which posed a problem in searching brides in the region, and forced males to get bride from the other states, though shows the signs of restructuring but not with the progressive motives. This exposed the restrictive motives of the reform to get bride, as the deep marriage squeeze[45] heightened competition over local women, and these reforms remain silent and do not make it clear whether marriages between any of the local castes would be accepted or only those between the *savarna* (twice born) castes, which exclude dalits. Also no remarks on the marriages between savarna caste girl and Dalit boy as a significant number of marriages that have drawn the ire of *Khap*s have involved elopement of Jat girls with dalit boys. In an interview on of the *Khap* ideologue who was educated in law and was of around 70 years of age, he said:

Those who are of other states and sending their daughters as brides, and those who are getting brides from outside, both are of backward sections, and backwards breeds can never bring up a good breed. That is why their children are not progressive, as in the cross breeding only two good breeds can prepare the third good breed.

Norms and traditions which have been followed and practised for centuries, by the time have imprinted on the mind-set of people, will not disappear from the society

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[45] Ravinder Kaur (2010) op cit.

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overnight by making a law. The society will take its own course of time to adapt to the waves of change.

The air around the acceptance of this reform in area will be clear with the narrative of a man named Sunil[46] (changed name). He belongs to Khati caste, possesses good amount of agricultural land, and is educated up to B.Ed and M.A., with one daughter and one son, and a resident of the Bass village, which is the village of the current head of Satrol *Khap*. Son is a graduate and married, but engaged in agricultural activities. While daughter is of 28 years old, pursuing Ph.D. in Delhi and also secured the scholarship from UGC. Sunil is worried about the marriage of his daughter as he is not able to find a good match in his caste for her. When asked why to worry for a good-matching groom 'in caste', now your *Khap* has removed inter-caste restrictions, he quickly picks up my point, and replied:

> *In Khatis it is not easy to find a suitable match for this much educated girl and of this age. Now I am realising that I did a blunder to educate her too much, as when I was sending her to Delhi for education so many people suggested me to marry her off rather to send her for education, but did not follow them. Now in the village every other person ask me about the marriage of my daughter and I am helpless as I am not able to find a matching groom for her………*

> (After explaining little of it, and with a pause of regret, he expressed himself again with more stress)

> *……..But either I will marry her within our caste or I will not at all marry her at all. I will not allow her to marry outside my caste and defame our family.*

This whole narrative somehow uncover the situation that creates the social fear of educating a daughter beyond s 'certain limit' which eludes the chances of a daughter to find suitable groom as she is more qualified than most of the probable grooms and also gained too much of age while acquiring education. In a patriarchal societal setup it is considered a good match if bride is less educated than the groom and is younger in age. This is not just the one narrative, the *Khap* villages is full of such narratives of women, who were married off early or who were not allowed to pursue education

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[46] Sunil Khati, interview with author, was claimed himself as the village ex-pradhan.

beyond 'limits' for the social fear of their marriage. With the daughter's marriage such abysmally rooted notion of family honour and social group reputation is associated, that it seems a far reaching goal for a woman to get married out of the caste, even after the declaration of 'the reform'.

So one may say that, this step of acceptance of the inter-caste marriages, though looks progressive in nature but can also have a very different connotation in spatial interpretation as in socially conservative society, these changes or at least the announcement of these changes from the platform of the *Khap Panchayat*s, earns lot of media coverage and lot of attentions, so many *Khap* leaders with political ambitions made announcement of such changes with a hope of electoral benefit.

These instances reveals that there is a change going on in the marriage field, in terms of the relaxations in the restrictions of matrimonial alliance, which was there from earlier times. Certain changes may look progressive, but a deeper look may suggest that these changes have not developed from a progressive impulse but a conventional attempt to retain a control over rapidly changing surroundings where the influence of modernity is eroding the traditional power structures and also an attempt to remain significant in the rapidly changing world.

5.2.8 Khap culture of 'silence' for women vis-à-vis Ensuring Women Participation in Khaps

These few folklore encumbered with the patriarchal values, can guide us to the image of, and expectation from, women in khap hinterland.

- *Chhora marey Nirbhag ka, Chhori marey Bhagwan ki.*
- *Dhor, Ganwar shudra aur naari yeh sab taadan k adikaari.*
- *Gaay zhungi aur aurat gungi.*

(One is lucky if one's daughter dies, and unlucky if death of son occurs.
Animal, illitrates, lower caste, and women should be subjected to punishment.
Cow who does not create problem at milking time, and women who stays like a dumb is better)

Traditionally *Khap*s have been all-male institutions dominated by older males that enforce social control over their communities in keeping with rigid patriarchal,

kinship, age and gender norms, but recently several *Khap*s created the women wing of their *Khap* and appointed a women head. Ravinder Kaur aptly puts these changes intended to shore up an increasingly challenged institution or they are simply forced due to a difficult demographic situation in a rapidly transforming economy?

The recent move by the Satrol *Khap*, a women wing is created to ensure the women participation. The head of the Mahila wing wants to involve young girls to participate in *Khap* proceedings and they should know about these traditional *Panchayat*s, she stated that, "Young girls should also get to know which villages they might get married into. They should know where to maintain brotherhood; after all they might marry into those villages."[47] This so called empowerment again seems to have an objective to tame the women and to encourage 'their' understanding about 'their' marriageable field, so as to regulate their choices and more objectively their sexuality, as it has little less to do with 'their' freedom to participate in the Panchayats.

A girl of Sorkhi village, who is of 19 years of age and with higher secondary education level, and denied further education, by the family, exposed the ground reality that, "to go against family, then to parivar, then to village-society (ghar-parivar-gain-samaz) needs a lot of courage (himmat), and one cannot succeed without family support, if I were to go against their will, I will be called by many bad names and identified as uncultured one in the village, and my family honour will be stigmatised. I even cannot go out of the village alone, my brother or father or any other male member of my family escorted me to school for exam, and this is same for the rest of the girls in the village."

This is not just one narrative of one girl, even I was forced to realise that what should be a proper dress for a women, when I wore a comfortable JNU style Kurta with Jeans and of course carrying a dupatta (head scarf) too. And most of the women, justify the idea of 'proper dress for women' by saying that 'bad dressings can attract unwanted men eyes or attractions', so if you cannot fight, it's better to avoid, otherwise one will end up earning a bad name in the society (samaj).

To bring humiliation this 'shaming tactics' of patriarchal ideologues helps them to maintain their control over women's choices.   These performative aspects of

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[47] Ghosal, A (2014): "Storm in a *Khap*: First Woman Member Aims to Bridge Gender Bias", *The Indian Express,* 25 April.

humiliation as public punishment to 'dishonouring family' indicate males of the family as 'emasculated males' who cannot monitor and teach discipline to their women. And through these aspects of 'shaming' the patriarchal identity is enforced to bring out the social order.

Another meeting attended by author in Sisauli, on the anniversary of Ch. Mahhendra Singh 'Tikait' (a former Jat leader), though the Panchayat claims to have opened the doors for women participation to put their voices and choices, but in the meeting, there was only one old women (of age around 55 years) sitting on the corner chair, unattended, and not even invited to put her views on the stage-mike. She showed her photographs to me, in which she was surrounded by few girls, and she happily claimed that she is only women who is so strong in the region, though she was ignored in the meeting, that after 30-40 minutes she left for the 'women zone'. One person in the meeting asked me that "why you saying that women are not the participant of the meeting? There are around 100s of women present but they are sitting in the "ghar" (basically women zone of house) and with this loud speaker they are hearing the meeting."

Though one may argued that the women participation in khaps is the beginning of the social transformation of patriarchal hinterland of khaps while D.R. *Chaudhary* identified these changes as 'cosmetic' and essentially derived by the compulsion of circumstances.

IIT Delhi's Kaur said that whatever the initial motive, appointing women to *Khap*s could eventually lead to real change. "In *Panchayat*s, too, in the beginning, women were proxy candidates," she said. "But it has had a positive effect over a period of time. True, it is symbolic. But it is also a recognition of what is happening on the ground. There is also resistance and challenge. Mothers and sisters stood up against honour killings. It is an ongoing scuffle."

5.3 FUNCTIONAL CHANGES: EXPLORATION OF THE SPATIAL MANIFESTATIONS OF *KHAP* 'REFLECTIONS' OVER CRISIS EMERGING OUT OF CHANGES IN THEIR TRADITIONAL DOMAIN

Functions of *Khap Panchayat* can be seen as deliberations of various level *Panchayat*s on issues with wider range, which in recent historical times used to start

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with informing about the issue through sending a formal letter, known as Chhitti Pharna (letter writing), and now this task of informing has become much easier with revolution in communication means[48].

The supporters and custodians of the *Khap* panchayts in general present a very benign and egalitarian picture of *Khap* functioning under the ideal principles of *Khap* Structure, in which meetings are conducted to maintain social harmony and to solve family or village problems related to common interest. The issues are dealt at various levels and if the lower order councils are not able to resolve the matter than higher order councils intervene and meetings are conducted in open public space, generally on the *chaupals*[49] of village, and anybody can participate in the meeting and can hear the deliberations. Everybody is treated equally in the Chaupals, so all who attend the *Panchayat*s generally sit on the carpets and the villagers take responsibility to make an arrangement of tea, milk food to those who come from other villages.

In all the meetings of Panchayats of any level, it was customary to take down notes for the deliberations of the meetings, which is generally by the khap secretary at khap level panchayat and for the rest of the panchayat a reputed person of the village was nominated by the acting head of panchayat to note down the meeting proceedings. But with the change in time, no written documents are maintained now, as documentation can bring challenges to the structure. In the recently visited *Khap*s by the author, there is lack of or total absence of keeping the written records of the decisions of *Panchayat*s of various levels. Many members realised that now after the meetings, generally the matter is solved orally, and if any document is written it is given to the party involved rather kept by the head. As it creates problem many a times, so no body writes down the matter now.

To give a look of 'well representative Social Panchayat' now Jat khaps have to wear a blanket of All Caste Multi Khap Councils. Jat *Khap*s recently adopted a new approach of wearing a blanket of *"Sarv Khap Panchayat", "Sarv-Jaatiy Sarv Khap*

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[48] Most of the *Khap*s become online also, and their heads have facebook accounts to reach to the people.

[49] One must recall the points which author already made in previous pages: (i) the author and two other scholars were debarred from the Meham on-going Panna *Panchayat*, by giving two arguments first that outsiders are not allowed to attend the meetings on personal issues of certain families and second, women are not allowed to sit in Chaupals; (ii) Village Chaupals are divided on caste basis and it is general behavioural consensus that other caste people do not go and attend the *Panchayat* which are not of their caste and not on their chaupal.

Panchayat" and *"Sarv-Jaatiy Sarv Khap Maha-Panchayat"* (i.e.All *Khap* meetings, All Caste All *Khap* Meeting), to put a focus on the assimilation of all caste of the region in the *Khap* meetings. This is planned out to save Jat *Khap*s from the accusation of serving the interests of only one caste, though historically and currently also, the dominance in *Khap* is of Jats only. This letterhead of a *Khap Panchayat* furnished and produced by the author, forcibly argues the appropriation of other castes by the Jat *Khap*s, as in the document presented it seems that Kadiyan *Khap* (one has to know that Kadiyan is a Gotra of the Jats), trying to appropriate other caste by naming it as "sarv Jatiya", but just the "sarv jatiya" is not enough to situate the Jat dominance so it has to show the "Kadiyan" on it.

सत्यमेव जयते
सर्व जाती पंचायत खाप काद्याण
कार्यालय बेरी   जिला रोहतक ।
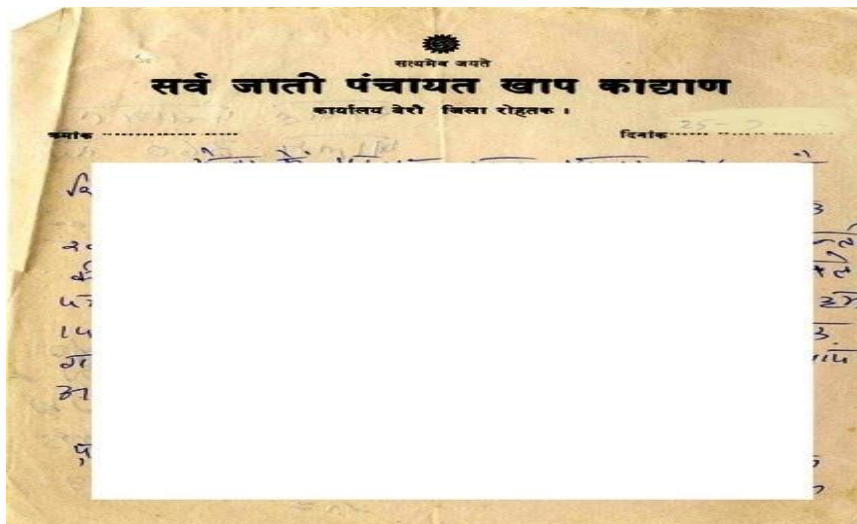
Figure 5.3: A Letter Head of the Kadiyan Khap, appropriating the term Sarv Jatiya

It was told that to arrange the 2006 Sarv *Khap Panchayat*, it took whole 3 to 5 years of preparation, as it involves a big procedure, and huge arrangement is required to call a *Panchayat*, but now with **modern means of communication, it become relatively easy**. Frequent *Khap* meetings and community level meetings can now be conducted at urban centre with ease. The fast mode of communication strengthened the functioning mechanism. The means of communication, now, not just limited to the urban space but also well spread over the rural hinterland, which make more comfortable to conduct the meetings in the rural area.

M.C. Pradhan, in his seminal work on *Khap Panchayat*s, presents very gentle and benign representation of *Khap* functioning, with specific cases and also mentioned:

No of Cases	Case Related To (List of cases mentioned by M.C.Pradhan)
14	Disputes among individuals
8	Marital Disputes
5	Social Reforms : On heavy Lenhga, Girl Education, Dowry, extravagant marriage, Cow protection
1 Each	Communal Disturbance, Land Reform, Financial Help to poor members
1	Jat Girl Eloping with the Butcher.

The avoidance of permanent expulsion is not a reality, as in the case of Paintawas village which I have mentioned in earlier pages. The victim of the so called harmonious *Panchayat* of Paintawas village had to leave his ancestral village with a promise of never coming back and for this assurance he forced donated his all land to the temple.

In case of Ajaib-Madina: Inter Ganwand Marriage in 2016 Jnue

The village Madina is located on the highway connecting Rohtak and Meham, and have plenty of non-agricultural work avenues. A young boy, from Madina village which comes under the jurisdiction of Meham Chaubisi Panchayat married to a girl of Ajaib village, a village of Meham Chaubisi and a neighbouring village of Madina. The Ganwand Panchayat declares the marriage against the years old brotherhood and culture and gave the option to the couple to nullify the marriage by giving divorce and asked them to live like brother and sister henceforth. The family of boy also supported the Panchayat Diktat. After the Panchayat the couple left the village[51].

This incident is not the only incident of recent time; the kind of verdicts in the time of 2016 is beyond imagination and also raises a question on extra benign attitude of

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[50] M.C. Pradhan op cit., page 134
[51] Amar Ujala reporting and primary field notes of author.

M.C. Pradhan in his elaboration of cases taken up by Jat *Khap*s. A boy elaborated the incident further and said:

> *I am around 28 years old, and still not married, if I would have been married in age of "getting married" I would have not done this. So I don't think I did anything wrong. I fell in love with a girl who is from a scheduled caste, and wanted to marry her, so what's wrong in this? I am a contractor and I can sustain my family. My brother is 26 years old and still not married. If Khap Panchayats are so vigilant and worried about the young generation, why can't they get brides to the unmarried Jat boys? They can allow us get a bride from Bihar or other state but not allowing us to marry from neighbouring village. They now that they can't pressurise me, as my business is mostly situated outside village, but they are forcing my parents not to keep any relation with me, and also pressurising my wife's parents, to fill police complaint against me and as they are from "nichi jati' (lower caste, there is more pressure on them. I don't know what will happen afterwards....[52]*

(Even I don't know what will happen…after meeting with him my all energy to visit further to ask further was vanished and for time being I was numb and emotionally drained off after seeing his expression of anger at one point of time, and fear on other.) One of his acquaintance[53] explained it further and said:

> *Though in the village there are many Jat wives who are not from the community, and no one knows about their native places and their native castes, but they are accepted to them and they say that 'Jat ek samunder ki tarha hai, iss mai job hi dariya milti hai samunder ki ho jati hai' (Jat community is like an ocean, all streams coming to it become a part of it), and they claim that 'Beerbani ki koi jaat nahi hoti' (Women has no caste), to justify the brides of other states, but they showed so much of anger for this marriage on the name of bhaichara is outrageously wrong.*

In another case of one village of Muzaffarnagar district, in which *Panchayat* has given a letter to SHO of associated police station and try to influence the police inquiry.

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[52] Interview with Ajay (fictitious name of victim) on 10 July 2016
[53] Interview with Ajay's brother (who is in complete support of Ajay) on 10July 2016

A quarrel between two families on land property reached to the ugly stage of thrashing and a complaint was lodged with police. Later a Panchayat was held in village and the matter was solved, and a copy of decision was given to SHO of police, with an appeal to finish the case.[54]

In another case of Marital Dispute[55]:

*A person married to the minor girl and later on married to another girl by infidelity and the Panchayat took the decision in which the previous marriage with minor girl was nullified and all relations of person and family of minor girl were broken. And another girl who came to her parents house due to some mutual dispute with groom, was sent back to her husband's family on the assurance that "**if the girl died** and **if the 'panch' found any foul play** of groom's family, **they may go to police**"*

With these kinds of decisions *Khap*s assuring the police that "certain case is being solved within the council and so, **requested police to drop the case.** Or maintaining the panch position higher to the policing system, by giving importance to the panch inquiry than police inquiry, shows the influence of these pachayats on people day to day life.

Recently these *Panchayat*s also discussed the farmers' issues from their platform and also try to bring out the social problems and they declare to impose certain penalty on those who do not will follow feticide or ask for dowry, etc. Most of the performed functions by various level *Panchayat*s, as mentioned by most of the *Khap* associates and from the local newspapers are:

- Raising Farmers' Issues
- Marital Disputes → Lack of adjustment in couples
- Social Issues → Dowry, Marriage expenditures, Liquor, Child Sex Ratio, Female Literacy
- Local Disputes, Family Disputes, Property Disputes, Common Property Reource Disputes
- As Marriage Vigilant

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[54] Interview with a *Khap* leader and information is extracted from the written document available with him (attached in appendix).
[55] A case discussed by the *Khap* leader and also based on the written and signed document of the decision.

A Case of Sisana Sarv *Khap Panchayat*: Declared numbers of social reforms form the sarv *Khap* platform.

> *In a Sarv Khap Panchayat which was held in 1993, in village Sisana of Sonipat by Dahiya Khap, 'N' numbers of decisions were taken towards the societal reform, like to stop the wedding expenses and not to conduct extravagant marriages and to limit the groom side guests upto five only on ring ceremony and upto 50 only on marriage, and if more number of guests are seen than the groom's marriage procession will be send back with all respect. There was a ban imposed on the drinking alcohol and dance in marriages and certain other impositions like giving One rupee to the groom guests as an 'honour gift' was fixed. In the same meeting certain numbers of resolutions were passed to ban the consumption of liquor and other types of inebriant like tobacco, opium, etc. and declared to impose strict penalty in terms of rupees on the inebriated person. To ensure that people must obey the rules, sarv Khap declare to make the small committees at village level, which will act as vigilant and as keeper of the Khap announcements and these committees were given the charge to inform the every level of Panchayats if rules not followed anywhere. The 10% share of fine imposition will directly go to the Khap Head, and rest will be utilised by the Panchayat in village as development fund (For detail please see the Appendix).*

A Case of Shoram Village Sarv *Khap* Panchyat: Declared number of Social Reforms from the Sarv *Khap* Platform

> *In sarv Khap Panchayat held in 2006, in Shoram village of Muzaffarnagar by Baliyan Khap was attended by thousands of people and again the social problems and social reforms were discussed from the sarv Khap Panchayat platform. In this Panchayat resolutions on five points were passed, first, the condemnation of government's intervention regarding the work of 'social Panchayats'. Second, was to stimulate, re-activate and strengthen the social Panchayats. Third, was for the prevention of social evils, this includes a whole lot of impositions and bans regarding the ban on loud music and fireworks in marriages and to bring down the expanses of marriages, and to promote and encourage the mass marriages in society, to put a ban on dowry and on any*

type of inebriant consumption in villages. Fourth, was to put a ban on the feticide. Fifth resolution is passed for the moral and ethical upliftment of society.(For details see the appendix)

The head of the Kandela khap claimed and demanded rupees 5 crores from the government, in the return of the active campaigning of Kandela khap to make people aware of social evils. The further claims that government should help khap to derive the campaign forward and provide at leas 5 crores for 28 kandela khap villages as Huda government also given 1 crore to the biwipur village when Bibipur village took an oath against social evils[56].

A case of 'contemplation camp' (chintan shivir[57]) organized by the Balyan khap in Budhana tehsil meeting room (Budhana Tehsil Sabha Kaksh) on 4th April 2017:

The meeting was attending by the many khap heads and representatives with an aim to raise the issues of dowry, extra expenses in marriages, saving ground water and various social issues by the heads of the various khaps and from this platform khap heads appealed to the governance (shashan) for the salary to the khap heads and asserted that they are contributing their time in the social services and no khap head have any source (of income) to afford this, so government should provide salary to the khap heads.

This resolution have two clear implications, first, these *Panchayat*s are not able to bring any kind impact on any social evils present in the society, as neither liquor consumption, nor expanse on marriages, nor loud music from the marriages come to the extinction. Second, by conducting such grand meetings and showing the reformist agenda, they try to put a kind of pressure on the governments and try to justify their legitimacy by massive gatherings, and try to bring down the constitutional agendas to curb these 'self-proclaimed social reformist diktat producing courts'. The most important is to notice the first and second resolution of Shoram Panchayat (2006), as by resolutions, these *Panchayat*s now demanding the non-interference of government or any other constitution based modern institution in the functioning of *Khap*s, form the platform of *Khap Panchayat*, which implicate their demand of autonomy in the

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[56] Amar Ujala, 13 Aug,2016 http://www.amarujala.com/haryana/jind/jind-harayana-demand-5-coror-rupees-kandela-khap-harayana (accessed on 20 Sept, 2016)
[57] http://www.patrika.com/news/muzaffarnagar/khap-panchayat-s-contemplation-camp-in-muzaffarnagar-news-in-hindi-1545978/ (accessed on 10th April 2017)

region. The Kandela khap head demand of rupees 5 crore from government and the meeting of 2017 on the name of contemplation camp by Balyan khap clearly shows the desperation of these institution to be acknowledge by the state, and their desperation to search new avenues to retranslate their 'acknowledged' importance in the society.

The temporal analysis of Panchayat of 1993, 2006, 2010, 2016 and 2017 indicate that khaps are searching new grounds for their revival by keeping the agenda of social change and eradicating social evils, they try to seek a new life to them within the recognize shelter from the state. As in earlier times the state machinery was not well spread in hinterland, so was commanded by these panchayats in the absence of or weakness of state machinery, now with the change in time, these panchayats are trying to resituate their dominance and in this process at times they (Panchayats) can be seen in conflict with the state and at times bargaining with the state, to preserve their control over territory which slipping out of their hand, every day.

These resolutions, raising the social problems and aiming to the social change, of *Panchayat* can be said as a good and historic step towards the social change, but these *Panchayat*s have practically no legal or constitutional rights[58] to assert 'their social – reformist suggestions' as diktat over the populace and thus the 'appropriation of social reformist image' is not new phenomena as with showing their social requirement in society they try to 'appropriate their genuineness' and try to justify their existence in contemporary times to mend the society.

The resolutions on the social evils is still continuing, and more and more khaps are coming forward with different resolutions in present times, be it on improving sex ratio, be it on girl education, on tree plantation, on ground water recharge, on loud music ban in marriages, dowry ban, limiting the upper cap of guests in marriages, etc. etc. Some of the very recent examples of the issues taken up by the khap panchayat are given below, from the various local news sources.

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[58] Suraj Bhan Bhardwaj (2012), Myth and Reality of the *Khap* Paanchyats: A Historical Analysis of the *Panchayat* and *Khap* Pnchayat', Studies in History, JNU.

CITY & STATES | Chandigarh
11 गांवों की पंचायतों का बड़ा फरमान, डीजे बजाया तो भरना होगा जुर्माना :1
ब्यूरो/अमर उजाला, झज्जर(हरियाणा) Updated Tue, 18 Apr 2017 02:31 PM IST

11 गांवों की पंचायतों ने बड़ा फैसला लेते हुए एक फरमान सुनाया है, जिसका पालन नहीं करने पर लोगों को जुर्माना भुगतना पड़ेगा। मामला हरियाणा के झज्जर का है। जिले के भर में डीजे के बढ़ते दुष्प्रभाव को रोकने के लिए 11 गांवों के पंचायत प्रतिनिधियों ने मिलकर महापंचायत का आयोजन कर विवाह सहित किसी भी समारोह में डीजे न बजाने का निर्णय लिया।

CITY & STATES | Chandigarh
बड़ा फरमान: शादी में ना डीजे बजेगा, ना कोई हथियार लाएगा, न शराब बिकेगी :2
ब्यूरो/अमर उजाला, जींद(हरियाणा) Updated Mon, 03 Apr 2017 05:11 PM IST

अब न तो किसी भी शादी में डीजे बजेगा और न ही हथियार लेकर जाएगा। न ही गांव में शराब बेचेगा। ये बड़ा फैसला पंचायत में लिया गया। हरियाणा के जींद के जुलाना का मामला है।

CITY & STATES | Chandigarh
बड़ा फैसला : रात को शादी नहीं होगी, ना डीजे बजेगा, ना कोई हथियार लेकर आएगा :3
ब्यूरो/अमर उजाला, खरखौदा(हरियाणा)
Updated Thu, 09 Mar 2017 09:28 AM IST

अब न तो रात को शादियां होंगी और न ही किसी भी शादी में डीजे बजेगा। शादी में कोई शराब का सेवन नहीं करेगा और न ही हथियार लेकर जाएगा। यह फैसला गांव के चबूतरे पर मंगलवार को हुई सर्वजातीय दहिया खाप महापंचायत ने लिया। महापंचायत में 13 फैसलों पर सर्वसम्मति बनी। महापंचायत का नेतृत्व कर रहे दहिया खाप के प्रधान व पूर्व एसीपी महावीर

CITY & STATES | Sirsa
बिना दहेज, बिना घूंघट के बहू लाने वाले परिवार को 11 हजार रुपये देगी पंचायत :4
ब्यूरो/अमर उजाला सिरसा Updated Thu, 29 Sep 2016 11:10 PM IST

महज 1035 की आबादी वाले सिरसा के छोटे से गांव दीवानखेड़ा की पंचायत ने सामाजिक कुरीतियों के विरुद्ध बड़े फैसले लिए हैं। सबसे खास है कि अगर कोई ग्रामीण बहू को बेटी बनाकर, बिना दहेज व बिना घूंघट के लाएगा उसको ग्राम पंचायत 11 हजार रुपये देकर सम्मानित करेगी। वीरवार को गांव के सरकारी स्कूल में ग्राम सभा हुई। जिसमें पूरा गांव शामिल हुआ।

CITY & STATES | Kurukshetra
बूरा खाप ने मृत्यु भोज पर प्रतिबंध लगाने का प्रस्ताव किया पारित :5
ब्यूरो/कुरुक्षेत्र, अमर उजाला Updated Mon, 28 Nov 2016 12:06 AM IST

गांव किरमिच में बूरा खाप की प्रदेश स्तरीय बैठक में सामाजिक बुराइयों को दूर करने के लिए अनेक महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय लिए गए। खाप के प्रदेशाध्यक्ष रणबीर सिंह किरमिच की अध्यक्षता में हुई बैठक में मृत्यु भोज बंद करने, शादी में डीजे बजाने पर प्रतिबंध, मृत्यु पर शोक की अवधि 13 दिन से घटाकर सात दिन करने और संस्कार के समय रिश्तेदारों को न बुलाने, रस्मक्रिया पर पगड़ी पर केवल दस रुपये देने तथा अर्थी पर अधिक चादरें न चढ़ाने का फैसला लिया गया।

CITY & STATES | Jind
पर्यावरण बचाने को आगे आई कंडेला खाप :6
अमर उजाला ब्यूरो, जींद Updated Fri, 12 Aug 2016 12:35 AM IST

कंडेला गांव में पौधारोपण कर अभियान की शुरुआत करते डीसी, एसएसपी व खाप के पदाधिकारी। PC: अमर उजाला ब्यूरो

सामाजिकता की पहल को आगे बढ़ाते हुए अब खाप पंचायतों ने पर्यावरण की रक्षा करने के लिए भी अभियान शुरू किया है। इसके तहत कंडेला गांव में पौधा रोपण अभियान का शुभारंभ किया गया। इस दौरान खाप के प्रधान टेकराम कंडेला ने कहा खाप के सभी 28 गांवों में एक हजार पौधे लगाए जाएंगे। इस मौके पर आसपास की कई खापों के प्रतिनिधियों के साथ डीसी विनय सिंह और एसएसपी शशांक आनंद भी मौजूद रहे। कार्यक्रम में बहतरा खाप के प्रधान केके मिश्रा, एचपीसीसी के पूर्व चेयरमैन और सर्वखाप के नेता

Figure 5.4: The issues taken up various khaps in recent times.[59]

Many sloganeering comes up on social issues like 'dahez pratha', since 1993 Panchayat, (even prior to 1993, same social issues were taken up by various khaps) but they won't be able to solve it, as they cannot solve it, but they want to affirm their existence on the basis of their social relevance. The announcements of social change and signing the 'letter of intent' (Shapat Patra), which many *Panchayat*s generally do after such meeting on social change, seems to be hollow inside many times, as many respondents raised it that the *Panchayat* elites themselves do not follow many of the things, like:

> In Mahendra Singh 'Tikait' period, after a resolution of fixing the limited number of groom's guest everybody was following it in the region, and if someone try not to follow it and put a big vessel of milk to make some items for the guest, then the Khap members committee used come and very object to that, and not let people going against the resolution. But nothing was done by

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[59] News 1: Amar Ujala (Jhahhhar) 18 April 2017, News 2: Amar Ujala (Jind) 3 April 2017, News 3:Amar Ujala (Kharkhoda) 9 March 2017, News 4: Amar Ujala (Sirsa) 29 Sept. 2016, News 5: Amar Ujala (Kurukshetra) 28 Nov 2016, News 6: Amar Ujala (Jind) 12 Aug 2016.

anyone when one of the family member of very influential head (the name is not disclosed here) himself organised a grand feast on the marriage ceremony of related family member. And since certain other rural elites stop following it. Now no one follows, even after so many meetings.

In the group discussion in Narela a village at the outskirts of Delhi, One respondent of *Khap*ra-khatri *Khap*:

Our Khap puts a ban on DJ in the marriage party, and keep a fine of rs.500 on the person who will not abide the rule. But the young generation do not follow it, as for them there has be DJ in the marriages, so they pay 500 Rupees as fine happily and call DJ in functions. This fine is so small that people pay this do what they want, overall who can pay 15000 to DJ can also pay 500 more in fine.

Another respondent:

Khaps now are unable to apply its decisions, like 15-20 years back when Khaps raised the issue of dowry eradication, at that time there was not much prosperity, but now with time people become affluent and they want to spend on the marriage to show off their status, and the young generation is motivated with the filmy marriages that they want to portray them and do not want the simple day time marriages of our time. Khap cannot control the choices now.

It is clear that now these issues remain for the sake of matter for them from the stage, which they make to maintain their get together and from which they undoubtedly try to show off their political support and their power.

The *Khap*s time and again accused media and judiciary for not understanding and glorious history of the *Khap*s. The 2010 Kurukshetra *Khap Panchayat*, just after the March 2010 verdict on 'Manoj-Babli' case, and the *Panchayat*s claimed form the platform that its conspiracy of media to destroy our culture and they are 'glorifying the socially unacceptable marriages'[60] in our culture, and also declared to raise the

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[60] DR Chaudhary op cit. page 107

funds for the convicted in the case[61]. They also blame them for not giving *Khap*s due importance as they consider that *Khap*s are easing out the duty of Judiciary and that too without any charges. As per one of the head interviewed:

> *The judiciary should be thankful to the Khaps, as we are solving lot of issues related to daily disputes, for which they took year and salaries paid are accomplishing that in lesser time and without any money. We do not have problem with the politicians as they are one amongst us, they do understand and respect the Khap and its traditions, but the Judiciary is imposed on us by British and still running on the laws made by them, our judiciary have no respect for the local culture and customs, and the people associated with the judiciary are from other culture mostly Madrasis, who do not have even a little knowledge of Khaps. If they say that 'they do not acknowledge Khaps', can we also say with all respect to the Maan-niye (respected) Supreme Court that, 'we do not acknowledge these judges'? I must stress that 'a land must be governed by the law of land', and it is democratically our right to save our culture.*

Another respondent with full agreement of the *Pradhan's* (head of khap) view commented:

> *The Constitution of a nation should represent all section of society and should preserve the culture of the land. But it seems that the social norms and the Constitution are contradictory here. Does any Constitution have right to kill the social and cultural heterogeneity? No. It is our responsibility to hand over the unaltered culture to the next generation, and they should do the same in order to preserve the culture and teachings that we got from our elder older generations.*

One has to look into the matter and into present circumstances that how far a family or individual is ready to accept the interference and influence of society in the personal decisions in the name of eradication of social evil, and how far an activity which is blatantly violating the human rights and stand in opposition of Indian Constitution can be justified in the name of traditions and culture? All these issues

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[61] http://www.news18.com/news/india/*Khap-Panchayat*-336557.html (On 20 June 2015)

raised the question on the functioning of the *Khap Panchayat*s in the modern times, and voice of change and contradictions are coming out from within the villages itself. To sustain in the modern time the *Khap* have necessarily undergo some changes, and have to adopt a different functioning mechanism.

The increasing heterogeneity in the villages, in terms of various caste groups and various new occupation groups, also poses a difficulty for *Khap*s to maintain their order. The modern legal institutions widened the choices and broadened the way to seek justice, clearly created contradictory situations in the "land of *Khap*s", where people can challenge their verdict under the shelter of legal institutions.

Case of Malikpur and Dura Village: Intervention of Police

> The Malikpur and Dura village are not brotherly villages rather the rivalry villages, and the animosity prevailed from last 100 years. A Jat boy of Chahar gotra from Malikpura married to the Dura village girl, and the *Panchayat* socially ostracised Rinku's family and imposed a fine of rupees 5,100/ on those who will keep any relation with the family, after conducting a meeting. Rinku filled an FIR with police station and with intervention of modern legal system; the *Panchayat* not only withdrew the given verdict but also lifted the ban imposed on the marriages[62].

So it is not just the ban on marriage among brotherly villages but also on rivalry villages. It is not the customs or culture but the honour of the 'privileged' which should not be usurped by any village activity. As by the norms, it is mandatory for all residing in the village to invite the Head of the Khap/Thamba/Patti/Panna, in the functions mainly marriages they conducted. In case of marriages this invitation is generally seeking their acceptance for the alliance, and if their privilege is being heard of left un-served then, it may invite their wrath. But now at time their domination is being challenged and they try to achieve back their status with the means of Khaps.

The *Khap* patrons clearly stated many a times that *Khap* tradition is eroding because the young generation is either keen to out-migrate to the cities or indulged with the modern gadgets (like phone and TV) most of the time, now the culture of sitting with elders and learning from them is a rare thing.

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[62] Amar Uzala, dated 9 March, 2017.

When a group of young boys in Ranchhhar village of Baraut Tehsil, was unable to tell the villages of his Khap, an old man of Ranchhar Village, outrageously remarked annoyingly:

"Aaj kal k ladko ko Phone or TV se fursat ho toh sanskaar aur sabhayata Jaanengey" (Today's generation is tooo busy with TV and Phones to learn about their culture).

The means of communications or the use modern technology though on one hand eroded or leveled the engagement of Youngs in the Khaps and brought the urban world based on relatively more egalitarian values closer to the ruler traditional patriarchal societies, but these means of communications also increase the efficiency of Khaps to-inform, bring and gather- people for meeting in no time. Now it becomes much easier for Khaps to perform on the bigger space. The map below show the spatial sketch of the meetings conducted by various levels of Khaps in last two years (as per the best knowledge of author and based on local news[63]), clearly shows the clusters of meeting centers around Rohtak, Sonipat, Bhiwani, Cherkhi, Jind, Baraut and Sisauli.
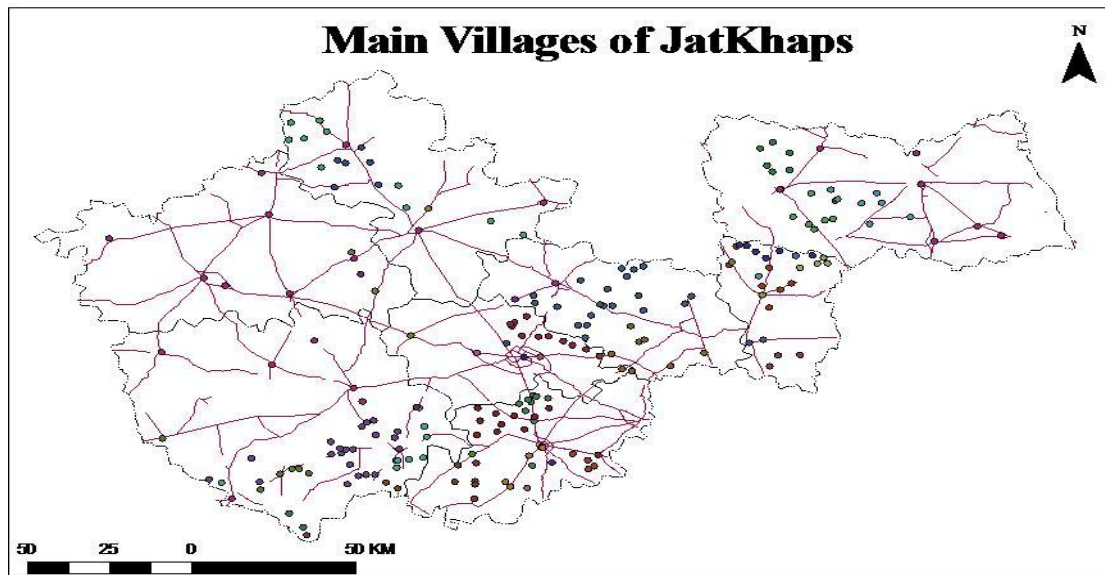
Figure 5.5: The villages where the meetings conducted by various levels of Khaps in last two years along the network corridors. (as per the best knowledge of author and based on local news

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[63] News constitutes a particular kind of discourse, which have a kind of economic, political, social, or psychological aspects of space. So it is important to explore how local people perceive it and how they create its image in local area and to explore the local spatiality and specifications, under which the crisis is perceived by the khaps due to local contacts, may be social, economic, cultural contact with modern and urban institutions.

The Khaps are the platforms to show the united power of the traditional domain to the modern legal system. These means of communication translated khap power over different spatial spectrum, in which the heads of the most of the big and active Khaps functions from the urban centers. The very recent Khap Panchayat organized by the secretary of balyan khap at budhana, place of his current residence, rather on the Khap headquarter 'Shoram' village, when asked of this spatial shift, he clearly narrated the ease of conducting a meeting in urban center which is also his current residence:

> We will conduct the panchayat in which a 'Contemplation camp' will be organize in Budhana. For arranging all these in Shoram, I have to ask for help from several people there, but as I am residing in Budhana, it will be easy for me to conduct and operate from here.

These increasing lines of communication are also looked upon as a 'threat' to the dominance, Khap end of patriarchy. If the phone is used by the girls, there are more chances of misuse which can bring dishonor to the family and increasing use of phones brings in more fear which can be seen with reference to the number of meetings or proclamations for the ban on phone especially for the young girls.

Khaps time and again bring up their collectivity pressure to government or to the state machinery, to get things done or set with their interest suitability.

The active participation of khaps in the recent Haryana reservation movement is a reflection of Agrarian crisis which is knocking at the doors of the khap land. As, till the agriculture was remunerative, they could have asserted their dominance through land produce, but now the demand of market has changed from agriculture to tertiary activities in which different skills (other than agriculture) are required. The jats did not adopt to the changing nature of market, which is captured by other castes of the same level of hierarchy, and they now posing a 'threat' to the dominance of the khaps and the jats. Jats can only fight with this situation through 'khap' as an instrument of their collective efforts to put pressure on government and various non-state actors to achieve their demand and dominance.

These functions and the issues dealt by the *Khap* have nature of 'temporality' (Develop it with gidden idea of temporality) in this, as some disputes taken a backseat, some are emerging now, twising the norms according to the suitability of

the one in power. This also indicates how the modern crisis takes place. (In past time, there were few cases of Jat girl elopoing with SC boy, now its increasing; girls were never with the modern gadgets, now phone and other means to meet boys)

5.4 TERRITORIAL CHANGES IN KHAPS: SKETCHING THE CHANGING TERRITORIAL PERSONALITY OF KHAPS

The territoriality of these traditional *Panchayat*s exhibits the area of their influence and control. The *Khap* head is the most influential within this territorial extent and then comes the whole hierarchy of other heads and their dominance over the spatial structure. In historic times, when changes in the society were not that rapid and expressive and the modern institutions were in their infancy and they were not able to reach effectively to the countryside, that time these *Khap*s operated in the rural hinterland of Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh and effectively maintained their dominance on resources through their traditional socio-political *Panchayat*s.

The force of urbanism brings in occupational diversification and many other economic avenues and wealth in the rural area, and with this many people in the rural area now can aspire to live a life of more respect, more esteem and full of authority which historically in the *Khap* area only *Khap* associated heads were enjoying. So modernity germinates the desires among rural elites, the desire to be heard in public, desire to be seen, desire to be acknowledged, desire not be fall in line with the dominant power structure. Thus, by advances of urbanism sprouts the conflict in the acceptance of territorial domination of dominants. And this can be easily seen with the fragmentation of several big *Khap*s into smaller one and the association of villages to form a separate *Khap*, or also the dis-association of certain caste groups from the existed *Khap* and their formation of their association on lines of their caste group.

This territorial change can be seen as association of villages to form their own *Khap*s and also as dis-association of certain villages or castes or gotra from the existed *Khap*s.

Case Study of Nandal *Khap*:

The Nandal *Khap* come up recently, with the huge structure, namely, 'Nandal Bhawan' in Bohr village on the Rohtak-Sonipat road. In a group discussion on Nandal bhawan, it was clearly mentioned that people associated with the Nandal *Khap* are

locating the villages of their gotra in different states, and try to persuade them to be a part of Nandal *Khap*. The number of villages associated with the *Khap* is around 35 villages, but this figure is itself not clear as at many times Nandal *Khap* referred as 53 villages in *Khap*.

Case Study of Kandela *Khap*:

The Kandela *Khap*, a group of 28 villages in Jind district, is considered as one of the very strong *Khap* of the *Khap* land, which now divided into two. Out of 28 villages, 14 villages declared their independence from Kandela *Khap*, and form another *Khap*, named, Majra *Khap*. In the meeting of village Haibatpur (in Jind), these 14 vilages declared their separation and also declared their whole functional and structural arrangement with 51 member committee and two villages were declared as tapa, namely, Roopgarh and Khokhari with seven villages under each. While the head of Kandela *Khap* still claims to maintain the *Khap*'s integrity with 28 villages.[64]

Case Study of Palam-360 (Delhi) Khap:

The secretary of the Palam khap explained that the palam khap is of 360 villages though at various point of time the Tapas of the khap claimed their independence and again merge into the Palam Khap, due to the loose and informal structure. The Meharauli Tapa is with 3 villages in earlier times, which later on claimed as 96 and now it declared itself as a khap of 360 villages. The Meharauli Tapa of Palam Khap tried to declare its independence in earlier times also.

Case Study of Bhainswal *Khap*:

The need to be associated together and form a *Khap* emerged after an episode in which the representative of Bhainswal village was denied to preside over a meeting because he was related to any *Khap*, in historic times, than he gathered all villags around Bhainswal and made an association named Bhainswal *Khap*.

It is not the time when people can easily take the decisions of *Khap*, at times *Khap*s have to revert back from their decisions and the cases are increasing now –a –days. The case studies bring out the main functions of the various political units, the

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[64] http://www.amarujala.com/haryana/jind/kandela-*Khap*-divide-in-two-part-14-villages-make-*Khap*-jind (as on 10 July 2016)

structural principles on which the system works, and the social values which are the basis of the political structure. These cases also reveal that, why in some cases, a council fails to resolve the conflict or effect a settlement depends upon an inconsistency of, or a contradiction between, different social principles. These cases reflect the changes in values and principles of organisation which are emerging out of the changing social conditions. They also show the effect of government law courts and the newly instituted political system, which impinge upon the traditional political structure from the outside at the village and inter-village level.

5.5 ANACHRONIC YET SURVIVING: ELEMENTS CONTRIBUTING TO KHAP EXISTENCE AND RELEVANCE

Though it is a popular belief that due to modernisation the traditional authority which was enjoyed by the *Panchayats* is an absolute anachronism, it is interesting to note that such a traditional method of arbitration exist to this day. The effectiveness of any institution depends on the degree of social acceptability, and in the land of *Khap*s the traditions and these traditional *Panchayat*s still able to seek their acceptance among people, and this acceptance is based on the several types of fear and hesitance to change among the rural population. (aika, bhichara, deep rooted kinship and well spread geography)

These Panchayat time and again are able to retain their existence and social relevance in modern times mainly because of their active engagement with the social problem and this area was even left untouched by the statutory Panchayats. In the hinterland of Haryana and Westen Uttar Pradesh, the 'social' merges with 'personal', as the owner of family at times becomes the owner of village and can be extended upto Khap level and due to this merging social issues are looked upon as 'personal', and with this attached a strong belief that these issues can only be best addressed by one from a caste and clan with the understanding of the importance of family and society (Pariwar aur Samaj).

It is generally believed that taking dispute to the elders of the community is better than taking them to Modern law courts, as it is against the solidarity (brotherhood) of village[65]. It is common belief which still prevails in the villages that "Thhana – Court

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[65] Sirinivas, M.N. (1967). "Social Change in Modern India", University of California Press, Berkeley.

– Kachheri" (Police station and courts) are the stigma to the honour of the family. With this belief many in villages still seek the suggestion and justice from traditional *Panchayat* heads. There is a feeling of fear of from modern legal system technicalities and terminologies as these are tough to understand for the rural person.

The belief that an Elderly of village can understand the problem better than the "outsiders" – as they always keep an eye on everyone, and they know about every person of the village, they understand our culture, our motives and our issues, so on the basis of their understanding and experience they can judge the situation better, and can give solutions better than the police of courts. And there is a fear among people that the matter taken to police or courts will go out in public and this disrepute the family image.

> "Court wally sab south k hain yeh hamai sabhyata nahi samzhtey ", "Aur *Panchayat* se ghar ki baat ghar mai rehti hai"

Speedy settlements in *Panchayat*s against the 5-10 years court proceedings make people to rely on the *Khap* head for any problem, which re-empower the *Khap*s. Also the expenses of legal system are tough to bear, so modern courts are less appealing to the villagers and these traditional Panchayats maintain their attraction with justice on time and Free of Cost decision based on 'bhaichara' and village 'aika' ideology (brotherhood and village unity). It is very commonly claimed by respondents and in interview one person narrates that:

> *Initially for all matters every one used to go to the Khap head, but now number of people at first try to seek the police and court shelter, but later on when they are tired of spending time and money they come to Panchayats to make a decision and settlement. In our village two groups had differences on the piece of land on which well was there, which was used by everybody in the village, but now left unused, both parties went to court, and after 7 years trial now they agreed to settle the issue in the presence of the Panchayat head. There are many a times the conflict has gone to the extent of Khoooni Ranjish (Bloody rage), which can only be settled by the Khaps. These traditional Panchayats work on the principle of harmony and brotherhood.*

These traditional panchayats earned people's confidence in *Panchayat*s and it is believed that in front of *Panchayat* on **Choupal "truth"** is spoken but very rarely in modern Law courts[66]. "Kachheri mai muqadmey jity ya haarey jatey hain, *Panchayat* mai **samzhotey** hotey hain. They believed that Panchayts can resolve the matter while Courts can bring animosity in two parties". These traditional *Panchayat*s believed to give 'Justice' in the general interest of village harmony, without caring of technical 'legalities' at times. In most of the cases, these traditional Panchayats are already aware of 'what happened in the given matter', so instead of the determination of the "fact", argument of meeting centres on the normative value to be assigned to the know act, the head of the Panchayat also evaluate the extended discussion on the basis of the normative values which are more near to the beliefs of the community.

The fear of public shaming and social boycott also forced people to support the decision most of the time. *Khap*s are still relevant for those who are still associated with land (in terms of agriculture) for their economic activity, as the agricultural activity needs more interdependency on each other, like at the time of sowing, harvesting, etc., mutual help is required. With this interdependency one cannot afford to be boycotted to survive, but the refusal of *Panchayat* brings this fear. No services to an excommunicated person, such 'Social Boycotts' create a fear in society and also act as an **instrument for maintaining the dominance of *Khap*s in** the village. If diktas are not being followed by, then socio-economically excluded – economic expulsion is tough to maintain or bear in rural (villages) economy.

Police and Political Shelter**,** as in order to maintain good relations with officials, *Khap*s regularly reaffirm the link through organising meetings (Robbins, Jeffrey). Local police and politicians are too the product of the same ideology and carrying the ideological similarity with these traditional institutions, and most of the time stayed out of the disputes taken up by the khaps, and as claimed by Prem Chowdhary (2004) and Yadav (2009), at worst explicitly supported and facilitated the khap Panchayats diktats. Local Police is either mostly within the domination of *Khap*s or carrying the belongingness to the *Khap* ideology. Retired Police and Army Personals at ground level at times become the ideologue of the *Khap*s after their retirements. The statutory Panchayat has not been able to make democratic in-roads in terms of the decision

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[66] Rudolph op cit.

making, and the influence of traditional Panchayats persists largely on the village. Though the Supreme Court declared these traditional councils as 'unconstitutional', they still continue to hold their sway in parallel with the state machinery.

5.6 MECHANISM OF *KHAP* FUNCTIONING

The Khap Panchayats generates its power and momentum for functioning, since historical times till date mainly, from the deep embedded kinship and well expanded territorial structure, which empowers them to regulate the social and personal life, not necessarily (always) by dictating but by impacting choices, and by enforcing their role under the political shelter, taking advantage of judicial weakness at village level, taking advantage of *Khap* supportive police force system, captivating judiciary procedural fear, in terms of monetary value and time, of villagers, and reaching to people by covering themselves with the blanket of social relevance and cultural safeguarding. *Khap* is an 'idea' to assert the influence of particular caste's culture & ethos over other via 'collective dominance', be the unit is as large as 360 villages or as small as a family.
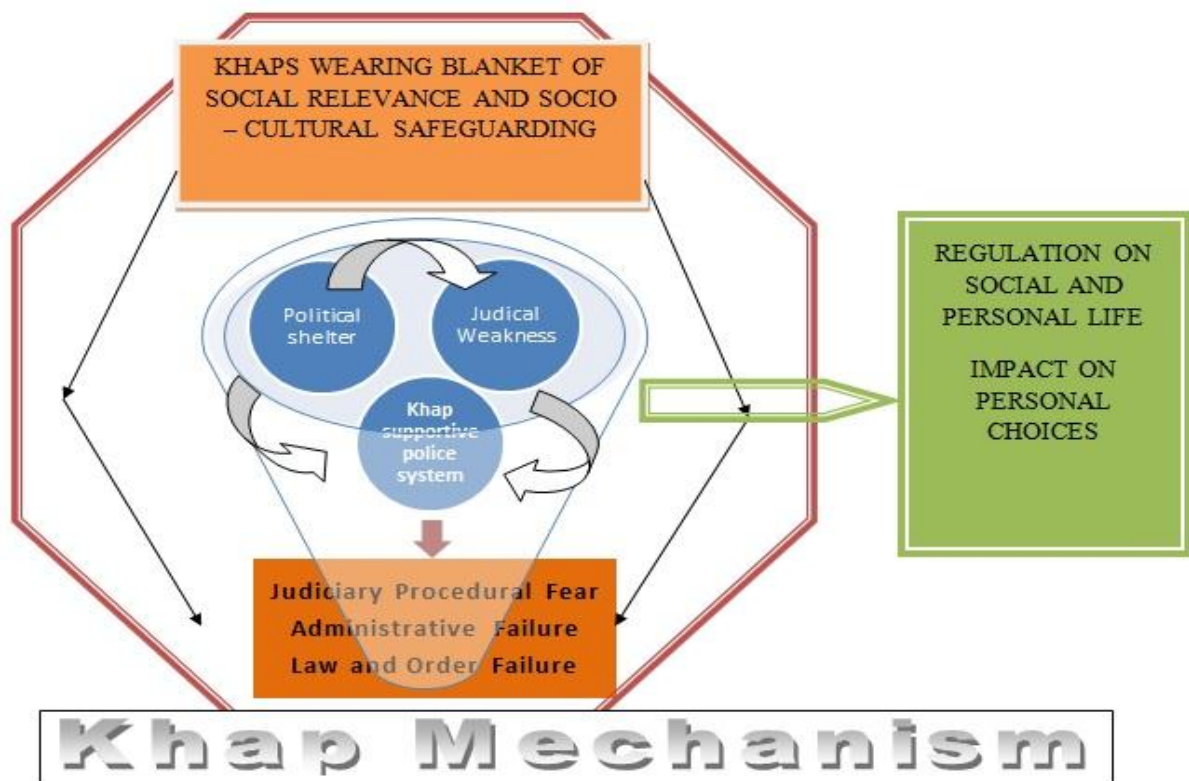
Figure 5.6: Figure showing the mechanism of khap functioning, developed by the author on the understanding of the field study.

In past these *Khap Panchayat*s were an effort of preserving identity, culture, prevent from turmoil but now it is more a compulsion. With growing heterogeneity and weakening of 'economic-dependency-structure' with increase in more economic security and opportunities among the rural poor, it will be difficult for *Khap*s to maintain their order. With increase in education individual feelings will make their way out and education will enable rational thinking and independent thinking, which eventually crumple and disintegrate the *Khap*s and this crisis rather existential crisis is creating the contradictions between modernity and traditions over the space.

5.7 DISCUSSION:

The material condition of the space is changing with the advent of the urbanism or urban values in the rural life, this change brings some on the losing side of prospects and most of them incline to maintain and perpetuate the old traditional structure which at least assures their life securities and their dominance. So these changing conditions confronted the traditional patriarchal structure and forced the khaps to adjust to new changing conditions. The Problem is not a condition in itself rather it is the disparity between the estimates of the way things are and the notions the way things ought to be.

This chapter, with certain case studies, narratives and incidences, try to reveal how the traditional political structure of the Jats actually works in day-to-day life of the people of *Khap* area and also to bring out the various changes adopted by or inflicted on the khap structure, functioning and territoriality, which reveals the emerging of modernity inflicted changes in the social imagination, which usurped traditional dominance and generates the cords of conflicts and contradictions within the 'Structure of Khaps'.

Both the 'dominance' and 'contradiction' are structural to each other, as domination is reproduced 'in' and 'through' contradictions, and contradiction is connected to power only through domination.[67] 'One' wining or overcoming the contradiction will be able to reassert the respective dominance, and so khaps are too trying to re-interpret their dominance by grounding their legitimacy on the traditional norms and re-construct their image as the custodian of the old age tradition. The structuration of the modes of

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[67] Giddens (1979) op cit. p 145

the system reproduction generated the social contradictions, which emerged out of the opposition of the structural principles, institutionalised set of interconnections that govern social reproduction, of the social system.

- Domination
- Power
- Conflict
- Contradiction
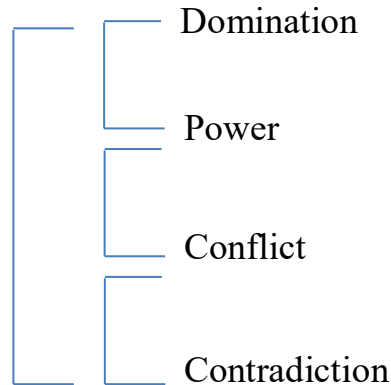
To understand the Khap functioning, one has to see that khap is the arrangement of the various structures and sub structures which operate over the space with different dimensions of control, mainly at three different levels, first, at the level of the larger perceptions, which involves the macro identities which are always in competition of their macro contemporaries, within the framework of macro identity these structure tries to descend the notion that *JAT stands for Justice, Action and Truth*[68]. Second, at local level, this includes various other levels which provide leadership from the community within the khap, be it of 24si or 84si level, which integrates the need for a leader to show that "he" is the strong believer of norms and his abilities to out-smart others from the community competitions[69]. And third at the family level, the leadership is to be maintained based on the notion of superiority and by superior conduct and by controlling measures, which create a kind of generational tussle with in a family. At every level it is not the "**honour**" but the "**superiority**" which should be maintained, by controlling "**choices**" to confine the contradictions and conflicts which are the direct or indirect implication of the emerging contacts with the modern institutions.

The phenomenon of *khap* is a spatial manifestation of the complexity of caste as these *khap* panchayats have reinforced the caste-based discriminations, hierarchical cleavages and conflicts in society. The day to day changes in the way of life with the

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[68] Raj Pal Singh,(1988) " Rise of Jat Power", Harman Publishing House, New Delhi.
[69] Bhupendra Yadav op cit

forces of urbanism, and 'contentious marriages' undermine the caste authority and the principle of ascribed status and brings in the forces to de-establish the traditional authority. The *khap* panchayats challenge this process of undermining, with four collective principles, *izzat, aika, brotherhood, biradari* (honour, solidarity, brotherhood, and community). The *khaps* seek to legitimise their functioning and ideology based on their traditions and customs. Their assertion is the reflection of the encounter between the modernity with the traditional, feudal, hierarchical and institutionalised power relations.

Modernity spawned the aspirations of 'desire to be heard, and 'desire to be more visible' and desire not be falling in line with the dominant power structure of the traditional landscape of khaps, this conflict created the situation where certain things which initially can be contained at the local level are now slipping out of the hands of these traditional socio-political structures. These changes produce strains which derive primarily from conflicts between the demands imposed by the new situation and the inertia of those elements of the traditional social structure which are most resistant to the necessary changes.

Chapter 6

Social and Spatial Manifestations of the Khap Panchayat

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The emanating waves of change from the progression of urbanism, has greatly influenced not only the structure and functioning of traditional Panchayats, but also the rural life. These 'customary village councils' are generally believed to be a shadow of pre-democratic, hierarchical socio-political organisations now trying to acclimate and adjust to the competitive urban and political environment.

The efficiency of the institutions cannot be adjudged in a vacuum, thus; it must be accessed in relation to how well these institutions are embedded within a particular society and how well they fit with existing notions of right and wrong. To have better understanding of the values, attitudes and opinions of people and their association with the traditional social organisation, their perceptions are relevant to understand the conjunctive and disjunctive forces which emanate from the rural and urban area, which are creating the tensions within the traditional dominant structure over the space.

This chapter deals with the significant feature of this research that includes the household surveys of the selected villages and also provides the insight into the differential impressions of khaps over the different spatial settings, and will try to bring out the understanding on the khap associations with the agrarian culture. Village studies have also been undertaken to study the changing nature of acceptance of the khap. Though each village is unique in its social and economic composition, and so is the process of change, but one may identify certain common themes of change which resonate across the khap area.

Changes are being observed in traditional institutions through outside interventions. These changes are largely economic, but social transformation is also occurring. There is strong interference of institutional change and social change. New

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institutions are emerging giving way to old ones, innovations are taking place and society is moving forward.

The chapter will try to bring out the social and spatial determinants of the khap. The samples taken for the studied is shown in the table no.6.1. The samples are drawn from the rural and urban areas with equal representation of Jats and Others (includes Non-Jat population) social groups, to understand the differential impression of khaps over the space in the society. The samples are chosen with the stratified sampling process, in which equal representation of social groups on the basis of place of residence, equal representation on the basis of age group and education level is taken, with the understanding of the fact that place of residence, age group and level of education, are the most important factors to understand the khap determinants, so samples of same size are taken in the related category.

Table 6.1: The structure of the rural and urban samples

	SAMPLES		
	JATS	OTHERS	TOTAL
SECTOR			
Rural	80	80	160
Urban	80	80	160
Total	**160**	**160**	**320**
AGE GROUP			
Above age 50	48	48	96
Age 35 to 50	56	56	112
Age 20 to 35	56	56	112
EDUCATION LEVEL GROUP			
Illiterate	20	32	52
10 And Below	56	40	96
Upto 12	52	52	104
Graduation & Above	32	36	68
ASSOCIATED WITH KHAP			
Yes	52	36	88
No	108	124	232

Source: The field survey conducted by the author.

It is argued that traditional village councils are retained and strengthened on ground not only because of the fear of the wrath of the village elites, but also because these institutions continue to serve valued ends in ways that are understood and appreciated by ordinary villagers. These institutions have been modified further with the advent of democracy and education, which brought in changes where in these traditionally dominant councils, can no longer assert their command for unquestioned obedience from populace, in relativity from the past, and to survive further these councils have to undergo certain changes.

6.2 PERCEPTION/OPINION OF PEOPLE ABOUT KHAP: RURAL URBAN DIFFERENTIALS

To gauge the values, attitudes and opinions of people for their association with the traditional social organisation, their perceptions are noted to understand the extent to which the respondents are agree, undecided, disagree to the statement related to the organisation, and the option 'skip', (the option of 'skip' is also given to the respondent for all questions, mainly if they do not want to answer it at all). Though the values were initially collected in six categories, strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree, and skip. But in the rural settings most of the elderly population found it difficult to understand the scaling of the "same" response, one of respondent with age 66 yeras when asked whether he is strongly agree or agree (poorna-taha sahamat ya sahamat), he confusingly and little annoyingly replied that:

> "*Hum iss sawal par 'haan' bol rahy hain, abb aapko job hi samzhna hai likh lo*" (I am replying 'yes' to your question, now it's all up to you to write).

These perceptions are relevant to understand the conjunctive and disjunctive forces which emanate from the rural and urban area, which are creating the tensions over the space between various social groups.

The table 6.2 shows the general perception of rural and urban people about the khap, with the five simple questions, including, khap are active in the region or not, definite procedure is being followed to elect khap head or not, Khap serve equal interests of all social group members of village or not, khaps have single caste dominance or not, and, khaps are mainly the domain of male or not. These are five questions were asked

to understand the basic idea people having about the khap in rural and urban area, which clearly reveals the differences in the opinion.

Table 6.2: Rural and Urban differential of the opinion of people about the Khap

	Rural				Urban			
	Agree*	Un decided	Dis-agree**	Total	Agree*	Un decided	Dis-agree**	Total
Khap Panchayats are active in this region.	140	12	8	160	76	20	64	160
	87.5%	7.5%	5.0%	100%	**47.5%**	12.5%	40.0%	100%
No definite procedure being followed to elect Khap Head.	12	40	108	160	48	40	72	160
	7.5%	25.0%	**67.5%**	100%	30.0%	25.0%	45.0%	100%
Khap Panchayat serves equal interests of all social group members of Village or Area.	136	0	24	160	80	8	72	160
	85.0%	0.0%	15.0%	100%	**50.0%**	5.0%	45.0%	100%
In Khap Panchayats there is single caste (Jat) dominance.	112	0	48	160	144	0	16	160
	70.0%	0.0%	30.0%	100%	**90.0%**	0.0%	10.0%	100%
Khap Panchayats are mainly the domain of males only.	160	0	0	160	152	0	8	160
	100%	0.0%	0.0%	100%	**95.0%**	0.0%	5.0%	100%

Source: Based on the primary data of field survey, conducted by the author.
* : 'Strongly agree' and 'Agree' both are merged in one option under the "Agree".
**: 'Strongly disagree' and Disagree both are merged in one option under the "Disagree".

In rural area around 87% of the people reported that khaps are active in the region, while in urban area only around 47% people reported affirmatively about the khap in the region. The rural urban difference in response can be seen in all the questions asked about the perception of the khaps, like 85% rural people surveyed are positively agreed that khap serves equal interest of the all social groups of village, but the share

of people approving the same is reduced in urban area, and only 50% responded that khap is serving equal interests of all social group in the area, while 45% disagreed to the equal serving by the khaps. Both the rural and urban areas highly approved and agreed with the association of khaps with the single caste, though in rural area 70% agreed to the point while in urban area 90% people agreed to the Jat dominance in the khap. The perception of the khaps brings the idea of the meetings of males "only" to the people, as 100% i.e. all 160 rural people surveyed claimed that khap is the domain of male only, while the share is equally high (90% affirmation) for the urban sector too. The idea that 'Khap Panchayat is not a place for women' equally carried by the rural and urban area showing the imbibed patriarchal nature of the Panchayats across the sector and across the social groups. One of the respondents, who was an active member of khaps, from Muzaffarnagar, and of around age 65 years, came to attend a meeting, when asked about the women participation in Chaupal-Panchayats[1], gave a statement:

> If a woman comes to Panchayat it is considered as brazenness and if she is asked to come to Panchayat is considered as insult, only these two are the meanings of the woman presence in Chaupal. (*Aurat panchayat mai aati hai toh Besharmi, aur laayi jati hai toh Be-izzati – bus ye do hi matlab hain aurat ke chaupal mai honey ke*)

The procedure to elect the khap head is less know to the people and in both rural and urban area the share of people with undecided opinion is around 25%, while around 67% claiming that there is a definite procedure involved in election of the khap head, in compare to the 45% urban people.

The responses of rural and urban area clearly reveal the differentiated opinion about the khap, though this may be over-simplification of the idea and needs a further investigation on the basis of social group, education level, age-group, and also on the basis of the one's association with the khap as a member or active participant, which will give more insights about the perceptions of people about khap.

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[1] As most of the village level meetings (like related to panna panchayat or thok panchayat) are conducted on chaupals, so here I used the 'chaupal panchayat' to get an idea of the women involvement in village level meetings conducted by any level of the khap.

If we see table no 6.3, which gives us the deeper and socially diverse impression of the khaps based on the education and age group level, and articulates the ground level perception on the serving nature of khap Panchayat. The table gives the social and spatial variations in the perceptions of the two important questions first, whether Khap Panchayats serves equal interests of all social group members of village and second, whether in Khap Panchayats there is single caste (Jat) dominance.

The table clearly reveals that there is a variation in the perception in rural and urban spatial settings, where just 50% urban populace is agreeing to the egalitarian nature while this further reduced to the 30% for the urban others. The increase in education shows the disbelief in the khap's egalitarian nature as out of the total graduate and above only around 41% agrees to it, while the share is around 85% for the illiterate population. The younger generation within the age group of 20 to 35 years of age have lesser share of those who agree with the statement in comparison to the elderly population.

The members associated with the khaps, be it the permanent members of khaps or, the active members of the khaps, have more share of those who agree with the egalitarian nature of khaps, and assumes that khpa serves equal interests of all social groups of the village and the association is significant to show. The analysis clearly reveals that urban areas and the other than Jats in urban areas show their perception with the belief that khap Panchayats are not serving equal interests of all social groups. In rural area, both the social groups show the equal share of people around 85% agreeing to the statement, while with the increase in the education and among the younger generation the change of perception can be clearly seen.

Table 6.3 also indicates the perception of people on the dominance of single caste, specifically jats, in the khap Panchayats. This further communicates the ground level reality of the 'claim' of the khap associated members, that these khap Panchayats are the social Panchayats (*Samajik Panchayat*) which involves all castes of the village and claim it to be 36-Biradari Panchayat (36 Castes Panchayat). This shows a clear variation in the view of rural and urban population about the Panchayat, which shows further more variations in the views of Jats and Others, wherein jats claims it to be more egalitarian in representation and around 67% of them denied the jat dominance in khaps and most of them asserted that there is no concept of dominance in khap.

One of the member (with age around 55 years) of khap, who belongs from the jat community clearly mentioned[2]:

> Jats are more in number in the village so there representation in any Panchayat is also high, but this does not mean that jats can dominate the Panchayat rulings or can affect the judgements, for Panchayats everyone is equal.

But this statement does not appear to fit in the ground situation, where the 92% of the total non jat population (others) claimed the dominance of Jats in the Khap Panchayats, and this difference is more visible in rural sector. In urban sector, the share of Jats, who claimed the Jat dominance in Khaps, is also high, as in urban area most of the people acknowledged the Khaps with the Jats and other caste people have their own caste groups, like Brahmins have Brahmin *Samaj*, Balimikis have their own Caste Group Organisation, like wise many other groups have their own associations (and these groups incorporate all people of the respective caste and are not on the basis of *gotra* as in case of Jat Khaps). One of the respondents in Rohtak city of Brahmin caste of around age 28 years mentioned:

> These khaps or members of khaps, frequently meet in the *bhawans* (big buildings) all in the name of the jats all around the Rohtak, be it Nandal Bhawan, Jat Bhawan, etc. These meetings in the Jat Bhawans itself show the Jats dominance in Khaps in terms of resources and people. Only the khap-members of other caste, who have joined khaps, generally attend these meetings, but majority of non jat population do not attend the meetings.

The data reveals the significance of the association with the age of respondent and the perception related to the dominance of Jats in the khaps, in which the share of respondent with more than 50 years of age agreeing with the Jat dominance in khaps is relatively higher than the share of respondents in lower age groups. This brings the analysis that the young generation have a different perception toward the khaps, and they do acknowledge that khaps are associated with the jats. The around 41% of the members associated with the khaps disagree with the single caste dominance in Khaps, and claim that khaps are the organisations with the 36-biradari (36-caste)

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[2] This sort of statements were given by many, who disagree with the single case dominance (specifically Jat dominance in the Khaps

representation, while around 88% non-members of khaps are agreeing to the single caste dominance of khaps.

Table 6.3: Perception of people about the serving nature and single caste dominance of the Khap Panchayats

	Khap Panchayats serves equal interests of all social group members of Village. (Figures are in %)				In Khap Panchayats there is single caste (Jat) dominance. (Figures are in %)		
	Agree	Un-decided	Dis Agree	Chi Square	Agree	Disagree	Chi Square
Sector							
Rural	85	0	15	$X^2 =$ 46.52***	**70**	30	$X^2 = 20.0$*** d.f. = 1
Urban	**50**	5	45	d.f. = 2	90	10	
Social Group							
Jat	77.5	5	17.5	$X^2 =$ 29.41***	**67.5**	32.5	$X^2 =$ 31.25*** d.f.=1
Others	**57.5**	0	42.5	d.f = 2	**92.5**	7.5	
Social & Sectoral							
Rural Jat	85	0	15	$X^2 = 0.0$ d.f. = 1	**55**	45	$X^2 =$ 17.14*** d.f.=1
Rural Others	85	0	15		85	15	
Urban Jat	**70**	10	20	$X^2 =$ 43.02*** d.f. = 2	**80**	20	$X^2 =$ 17.77*** d.f.=1
Urban Others	30	0	**70**		100	0	
Education Level							
Illiterate	**84.6**	0	15.4		92.3	7.7	
10 And Below	83.3	0	16.7	$X^2 =$ 42.97*** d.f. = 6	75	25	X^2=7.27* d.f.=3
Upto 12	61.5	3.8	34.6		76.9	23.1	
Graduation & Above	**41.2**	5.9	52.9		82.4	17.6	
Age Group							
Above age 50	**83.3**	4.2	12.5		66.7	33.3	$X^2 =$ 15.24*** d.f.=2
Age 35 to 50	64.3	0	35.7	$X^2 =$ 24.14*** d.f.=4	85.7	14.3	
Age 20 to 35	**57.1**	3.6	39.3		85.7	14.3	
Associated with Khaps							
Yes	86.4	0	13.6	$X^2 =$ 20.23*** d.f.=2	59.1	40.9	$X^2 =$ 33.16*** d.f.=1
No	60.3	3.4	36.2		87.9	12.1	
Total	67.5	2.5	30		80	20	

*** : significant at 0.01 level,   **: significant at 0.05 level,   *: significant at 0.1 level
d.f. Degree of Freedom

Source: Based on the primary data of field survey, conducted by the author.

The variation of the perceptions of rural and urban population regarding to the khap Panchayats clearly reveals a change and contradictions which are emerging with the increase in the influence of urban values, with the increase in the level of education and the views of young population also posing a threat to the traditional dominant structure by not accepting the old order of the khaps.

6.3 ACCEPTANCE OF THE KHAP DECISION

The khap Panchayats are the most influential and dominant in the matters concerning the villages and their inhabitants within the khap territoriality. The khap Panchayats frequently uses their power and no one challenge it by fearing of social boycott and also of life. These Panchayats are also accused several times for giving the verdicts which neglect the individual's rights, or asserting their diktats on the name of 'suggestions' by imposing local customs, for dictating & enforcing the marriage terms. These Panchayats are known to dictate the women's choices of dress, food, communication and mobility by dictating several directives like, not to wear jean, not to have *chowmin* (noodles), not to carry mobile phones, not to roam around without any male member of family, etc. These dictating guidelines are termed as 'necessary steps to maintain and preserve the orderliness in the society in accordance with the culture and traditions[3]' by the khap custodians. Even some of the Panchayats are demanding to revoke of the legislation that gives paternal property right to women.

So it is important to understand the social and spatial variations in the view regarding the acceptance of the khap Panchayat decision in the area. Table 6.4 shows the opinion of people regarding to the acceptance of the khap Panchayat decisions by people. The table reveals the striking rural-urban variation in view, wherein only 45% urban people accepting the khap decisions in contrast to around 73% rural population. The acceptance of decision is almost same with the various social groups in the rural sector, where infact Non Jats (Others) shows the more acceptances to the decisions than Jats, the cause attributed to this is in the agrarian nature of the rural economy; where in the landless caste have to depend on the landed caste for its survival. The jat dominance (economic and numeric) in villages which is more firmly established by the sub-levels of lineage (*thok*) Panchayats based on the close kinship relations,

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[3] http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Political-support-pours-in-for-Baghpat-village-panchayat-diktat-on-women/articleshow/14936279.cms (accessed on 20 Sept 2015)

positioned jats in more favourable conditions under which they can force the other castes of the village to accept their decisions.

The urban sector shows the demarcating variations in the Urban Jats and Urban 'Others' (non-Jats) views on the acceptance of the khap decisions, wherein only 30% non Jats agree to the acceptance of the khap decision contrary to 60% urban jats. The data shows the strong association between increasing education level with decline in the share of people having the perception of acceptance of khap decision in the area. The younger population also decline the acceptance of the khap decisions, though the khap associated members enforce their view, that the decisions of the Khaps are accepted by the people and most of them claimed that as khap gives decision only after the discussion on it in the meeting and the decision is given only after the agreement all presented in meeting, so it is accepted and welcomed by all.

Table 6.4 also shows the variations in the perception of people about the relaxing the norms for the rural elites or rich people. The affluent and elites of the region appear to accommodate and mould the norms of khap according to their suitability with the time. The case of marriage of a khap head within the *gotra* of his grandmother (which is narrated in chapter 5), or the case of relaxing the marriages norms under the pressure of affluent families show either the khap relaxations or khap 'portrayed ignorance' in the decisions. The case of the Khap Head direct involvement in the politics which is forbidden by the khap-law[4] (*Khap ka Niyam*), and many rural elites coming forward to manipulate and try to provide a different argument from several platforms that khap should come forward to openly choose their political affiliations and should come to be a part of democratic process[5], and many other cases are there which clearly shows the affluent manipulative power in the khaps. This is even realised by the 50% (around) rural and 75% urban population, though the share of rural Jats is just 40% who acknowledge the influence of elites in khap manipulation but 85% urban others acknowledge it. With the increase in literacy share of persons agreeing with the statement increased, and the younger population with in age group 20 to 35 years is 71% agreed to the statement.

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[4]As everywhere it is claimed that khap head seat should not be manipulate for the personal gains in economy and politics, and for khap head everyone is equal so he must not take any side of the on-going politics
[5] Business Standard (24th Oct 2014) http://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ians/political-or-apolitical-haryana-khaps-are-divided-114101400363_1.html (Accessed on 4th Sept 2015)

Table 6.4 : Perception of people about the acceptance of the khap decisions in the area and percetions on the relaxations of the khap norms for the rural elites

	Khap Panchayat decisions are accepted by majority of people in the area (figures in %)				Khaps many a times seem to relax certain norms for Rural elites or Rich. (figures in %)			
	Agree	Un decided	Dis agree	Chi Square	Agree	Un decided	Dis agree	Chi Square
Sector								
Rural	72.5	17.5	10	X^2= 64.07*** d.f.=2	52.5	5.0	42.5	X^2= 19.31*** d.f.=2
Urban	45	5	50		75.0	5.0	20.0	
Social Group								
Jat	65	10	25	X^2= 5.24* d.f.=2	52.5		47.5	X^2= 49.39*** d.f.=2
Others	52.5	12.5	35		75.0	10.0	15.0	
Social & Sectoral								
Rural Jat	70	15	15	X^2= 4.71* d.f.=2	40.0		60.0	X^2= 24.29*** d.f.=2
Rural Others	75	20	5		65.0	10.0	25.0	
Urban Jat	60	5	35	X^2= 15.2** d.f.=2	65.0		35.0	X^2= 28.13*** d.f.=2
Urban Others	30	5	65		85.0	10.0	5.0	
Education Level								
Illiterate	76.9	7.7	15.4		53.8	7.7	38.5	
10 And Below	66.7	8.3	25	X^2= 25.24*** d.f.=6	62.5		37.5	X^2= 15.89** d.f.=6
Upto 12	57.7	11.5	30.8		61.5	7.7	30.8	
Graduation & Above	35.3	17.6	47.1		76.5	5.9	17.6	
Age Group								
Above age 50	62.5	12.5	25		54.2	4.2	41.7	
Age 35 to 50	71.4	7.1	21.4	X^2= 20.55*** d.f.=4	64.3	3.6	32.1	X^2= 10.86** d.f.=4
Age 20 to 35	42.9	14.3	42.9		71.4	7.1	21.4	
Associated with Khaps								
Yes	72.7	9.1	18.2	X^2= 10.19*** d.f.=2	72.4	6.9	20.7	X^2= 46.11*** d.f.=2
No	53.4	12.1	34.5		40.9		59.1	
Total	58.8	11.3	30		63.8	5.0	31.3	

*** : significant at 0.01 level, **: significant at 0.05 level, *: significant at 0.1 level, d.f.: degree of freedom

Source: Based on the primary data of field survey, conducted by the author.

This acceptance of the khap decisions are not just based on the fear of the ostracism and fear of life, but also the notion of wider acceptance is catered by the politicians by providing assent to the khap decisions and reinterpreting their power to uphold the traditions in the villages. As after the Asra village panchayat of 2012 in which the meeting comes out with the restrictive regulations on the dress, mobility and freedom of women, got the political patronage[6] on the ground of community's traditions, freedom to give consent on way of life, and interpreted these restrictive views as mere advices to maintain the disturbed order in society. The political support to the ideology of imposing restrictive decisions on the name of 'rights to manage the family affair the way one wants' and by leaving these decisions on the name of 'home affairs' these agencies further enforce the idea of khap as family and khap head as its custodian, and resituate the family affair as the societal affair which should be or must be guided by the societal norm.

6.4 MECHANISM OF ACCEPTANCE

The decisions which are accepted by the people need to understand with the elaborative khap structure, with well articulate spatial and kinship arrangement over the space, which transcend its beliefs from the khap level to family level. The different dimensions of control at different levels in which family matters are as social and social interventions are very much penetrative in family. These Panchayats seek their legitimacy as the custodians of the traditions, which are challenged by the changes in various ways of day-to-day life. These challenges are confronted by Panchayats and various guidelines were issued by, to maintain the orderliness of the traditions. These Panchayats have certain mechanism by which they can ensure the acceptability of the decision from khap level to family level.

These institutions which are engraved into the social life are based on their acceptance by the inhabitants and these institutions also take advantage of people's belief in them as the upholder of the culture. As most of the members are the elderly of the village so more hardly anybody dare to transgress the decisions. So it is important to understand the forces behind the functioning of Khaps, as in spite of opaque and oppressive

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[6] http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Rashtriya-Lok-Dal-supports-diktat-of-Baghpat-khap-panchayat/articleshow/14917898.cms (accessed on 20 Sept 2015)

functional nature, these are still socially relevant and renowned for resolution of disputes in amicable manner in view of local populace.

Table 6.5: Perception of people about the relation of the khaps with the belief of the people and local issue representation by the khaps

	Decisions of khaps are more a belief issue for villagers so hardly anybody goes against the decisions. (Figures are in %)				Khap represents local issues in effective manner. (Figures are in %)			
	Agree	Un decided	Dis agree	Chi Square	Agree	Un decided	Dis agree	Chi Square
Sector								
Rural	70.0	10.0	20.0	$X^2 =$ 26.58*** d.f.=2	82.5	7.5	10	$X^2 =$ 38.97*** d.f.=2
Urban	**52.5**	2.5	45.0		30	15	55	
Social Group								
Jat	75.0	2.5	22.5	$X^2 =$ 26.92*** d.f.=2	77.5	10	12.5	$X^2 =$ 20.78*** d.f.=2
Others	47.5	10.0	42.5		55	12.5	32.5	
Social & Sectoral								
Rural Jat	**80.0**	5.0	15.0	$X^2 =$ 8.28** d.f.=2	85	5	10	$X^2 = 1.45$ d.f. = 2
Rural Others	60.0	15.0	25.0		80	10	10	
Urban Jat	70.0		30.0	$X^2 =$ 21.33*** d.f.=2	70	15	15	$X^2 =$ 31.08*** d.f. = 2
Urban Others	**35.0**	5.0	60.0		30	15	55	
Education Level								
Illiterate	69.2	7.7	23.1		76.9	7.7	15.4	
10 And Below	66.7	4.2	29.2	$X^2 =$ 24.46*** d.f.=6	75	8.3	16.7	$X^2 =$ 34.69*** d.f.=6
Upto 12	61.5	11.5	26.9		69.2	15.4	15.4	
Graduation & Above	**47.1**		52.9		41.2	11.8	47.1	
Age Group								
Above age 50	62.5	4.2	33.3	$X^2 =$ 20.96*** d.f.=4	66.7	8.3	25	$X^2 =$ 27.65*** d.f.=4
Age 35 to 50	75.0	3.6	21.4		78.6	14.3	7.1	
Age 20 to 35	**46.4**	10.7	42.9		53.6	10.7	35.7	
Associated with Khaps								
Yes	72.7		27.3	$X^2 =$ 11.21*** d.f.=2	86.4	0	13.6	$X^2 =$ 25.31*** d.f.=2
No	56.9	8.6	34.5		58.6	15.5	25.9	
Total	**61.3**	**6.3**	**32.5**		**66.3**	**11.3**	**22.5**	

*** : significant at 0.01 level,   **: significant at 0.05 level,   *: significant at 0.1 level, d.f.: degree of freedom
Source: Based on the primary data of field survey, conducted by the author.

It is important to understand the gravity of people's belief in khap as the khap Panchayat of Asra village, just 40kms away from Nation's capital announced the restrictive and regressive decision, by banning girls and women from the use of mobile phones, restricting the women movement in markets without any male escort, and also restricting women to step out of houses with their uncovered head. In this matter when police intervene and arrested the two associated with this disgraceful decree. The arrest led to the protest by the villagers in which they blocked the Delhi-Saharanpur highway and pelted stones on the on-going roadways buses. This protest created a pressure and police have to release the duo[7]. Even after the disgraced diktat, this is the belief of people in these traditional systems and traditional heads, where the disrespect to the Head of the khap is considered as the disrespect of the *quam* (community) and is protested by villagers. This belief is partly due to the fact that these local people too share the same thoughts for the women and their movements. They too cherish the idea of restrictive freedom and they too cherish the khap decisions to save the culture.

The acceptance of khap decisions based on the belief on khap can be expressed by the statement of a girl respondent, who is from Shamli and 21 years of age:

> The general thinking of people is that girls of cultured society do not visit the places without any family member, and do not walk on roads with friends and phone, and wear sensible dress. If anything goes wrong or if a boy harassed any girl, people always suspect the girl first and try to evaluate her character. People also think like this, that is why these decisions are given by Panchayats and appreciated by people.

The eldest son of the current Head of one the khap surveyed, refurnished the written episode to me during my visit, which is the account of the conversation of a girl (who is pursuing higher education from Ch. Charan Singh University, Meerut) and khap head, which is stated here:

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[7] Ankit Tyagi, India Today, 13th July 2012 (http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/villagers-rampage-police-arrest-khap-leaders-anti-women-diktat/1/207977.html) accessed on 30 Sept 2015

Girl: *Baba* (grandfather[8]), why the girl and boy is treated differently by khap and society, if a girl come little late to home, all got worried and ask questions, while boy enjoyed the liberty to come home any time and no one ask questions to him?

Khap Head: *Beti* (daughter), when someone gets the vegetable from the *mandi* (market), we generally wash it and keep it around the kitchen. But when anybody get the gold ornament from market, we keep it safe inside. Similarly, girls are also precious to the honour of family (*ghar ki izzat*), so everyone tries to keep them safe. A son gives the heir to the family, but honour is given by daughter only. ('*Beta' ghar ko vaaris toh deta hai, par izzat sirf 'beti' hi deti hai*)

With this narrative one can situate the decisions related to women and girl, and their association with the honour of the family and society. Daughters, wives and mothers are the repository of the most valued honour or izzat of the families, communities, caste and society. The inappropriate behaviour from a woman is unacceptable in the family and society, and on which a woman can be punished to disgrace the family honour. And the honour enforcers are not necessarily the old men always, but young men can also be easily found discussing on the same lines, as they too groomed up in with the same values. So it is necessary to situate the acceptance of khap decisions with the belief of people in khaps.

Table 6.5 shows the perception of people about the khap decision as a belief and also inquire their views on the khap representation of local issues. The table again shows the clear rural urban split of perception which further changes within the different age groups and with the education level.

In rural sector 70% of the surveyed people considered they accept khap decisions because they have faith in their deliberations, while only 52% urban population claimed the same. The share of rural Jats with believe in khap decision is more than rural others, while only 35% Urban Others reported that acceptance of khap decisions is related to belief. With the increase in education the perception of khap related with

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[8] Grandfather not in literal sense but Baba in local terminology is the male elderly of the village, generally of the age of grandfather.

the belief is reduced from 69% among illiterates to 47% for graduates and above. The share of young generation with age 20 to 35 years is around 46% who believed that the khap decisions are accepted due to belief, in comparison to 62% above 50 years population. The members or persons associated with the khap reported the khap decisions are accepted as people have faith in the traditional system, while the share of non-members reported it, is less.

Table 6.5 also gives the belief of people in khap usefulness in representing the local issues in effective manner, across the social and spatial spectrum. As these Panchayats time and again assert their social relevance and try to derive their legitimacy on the ground of social acceptance, so it is important to capture the diverse view of the social groups across the rural urban gamut regarding the significance of khaps in local matters.

Table 6.5 clearly shows the variations in the khap effectiveness as 82% rural samples agreed to the khap relevance in the local issues while just 30% urban samples agreed to the khap efficacy in local issues. With the increase in the level of education the share of samples reporting representation of local issues by khap decreases and the same decline in the perception is followed by the younger age groups also. Though in rural spectrum both the social groups, Jats and Others, agreed that local matters are taken up by khap in effective manner.

This might also open the ambit of discussion about the weak roots of democratic setup in rural spheres, where the modern law and order is not able to reach in effective manner and so rural population have to rely on these established institutions for the local matters which can vary in their gravity. As one of the respondents, Chamar by caste, and landless agricultural labour, clearly mentioned the inability of his and alike:

> If people go to police, then police also try to solve the matter, and at times take suggestions from the Pradhan also, so it is better to take and solve the local issues in the Panchayat, at least one need not to pay the police charges and village relations will also not turn bad. (*Agar log Police k paas bhi jatey hain toh police bhi toh yeh hi sochti hai ki mamla sulza le, aur wo bhi pradhan se salha leti hai, to iss se behtar hai ki mamla Panchayat mai sulza le, kam se*

kam police fees toh nahi deni hogi, aur Gaon mai rishtey bhi kharab nahi hongey.)

Another respondent, a cultivator, of age around 55 years, and Khati by caste, said:

Who can understand the language[9] of police and court? And to solve a matter they spoil the money and time. Even after spending all this, only that one can get the justice, who is capable in terms of resources, which one can spend in court. The one who does not have resource or money, can he take justice? So it is better that we solve our differences with the Panchayat. And these Panchayats generally being conducted in guidance of the elderly of village, so complains are also less. (Police, Kort-kachheri ki bhasha samaz hi kisey aati hai? Aur wo mamla sulzhaney mai kaafi waqt aur paisa kharab karwatey hain. Itna sab laga kar bhi nayay usi ko mil pata hai jo naya tak pahunchney mai samarth hai, jis key paas saadhan nahi hai, paisa nahi hai wo whan kahan nyaya le pata hai? To issse toh hum aapse mai baithak ya Panchayat kar k sulza letey hain. Aur gaon k badey buzurgo ki dekh rekh mai Panchayat hoti hai toh shikayat bhi kam hoti hai.)

One respondent, who is Jat by caste, and possesses a law degree, though not practicing lawyer, with age around 80 years and an active member of Khap, claimed:

The entry of police in the village is not considered as good, but now people instead of talking to each other, call to the police. And when the matter further advances and they see loss of money then they move to the Panchayats. Panchayats never let the relations spoil; they just work on their own established traditions and accreditations. Those who go against the culture, they are not much regarded in the village. It is tough for the people sitting in urban places, to understand the role of Panchayats, as in the villages' life moves with the co-operation. And these Panchayats, since long time, kept working to maintain the spirit of co-operation. (Police ka gaaon mai aana achha nahi mana jata, par abb toh log pehly aapas mai baat karney ki jagha police ko bultey hi hain. Aur phir jab mamla khinchta hai, pasia barbaad hotey

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[9] Language or *Bhasha* is inferred by the respondent as the working nature of both police and court, as it involves lot of technicalities. (As claimed by the same respondent)

dikhta hai, tab Panchayat ki taraf bhagtey hain. Panchayatey kabhi rishtey kharab nahi honey deti, bus wo apni banayi paramparao aur manyataon k aadahr par kaam karti hain. Jo log sabhyata key khilaf ja kar kuch bhi kartey hain, unko gaon mai sahi nahi mana jata. Shahron mai baithy logo ka Panchayat ki bhumika samajh pana kathin hain, kyunki gaon mai jeevan shayog se hi chalta aaya hai. Aur puraney samay se hi panchaytey iss shayaog ko kayam rakhney ka kaam karti aayin hain.)

Under the light of these narratives one may assert that the weak established structure of law and order, which is by and large incapable to connect itself to the rural populace, provides the functioning ground for the traditional institutions in very powerful manner, which can be clearly seen as the khap representation of local issues and trust of people in khap. As in rural spectrum, the gap between the law and order need and law and order supply is quite perceptible and so these traditional institutes fits themselves into this gap and easily manipulates their relevance in social sphere. As per few respondents there, these Panchayats are the 'only working institution' to address the local issues.

Though, the elderly custodians are also worried by the waves of contradictions that are arising as the educated youths are undermining the importance of these traditional institutions to deliver justice, is also raised by the respondents, which indicates to the increasing influence of modern structure in rural area. And this shows the influence of modern institutions on the youth of village, who is also having an alternative of the khap justice now, and time and again the youth asserted their alternative on to the traditionally dominant structure of justice, which is regarded as an act against tradition and culture. These narratives reflect upon the emerging contradictions in the area due to the influence and interventions of the newly established institutions over the space with the time. With the spatial and social understanding of the belief of people for the local issue representation by the khap, the table no 6 provides the further illustrations about the acceptability of the khap decisions.

Table 6.6 shows that all across the social, spatial, education, and age spectrum, the surveyed samples agreed in fairly high percentage, that decisions of khap have acceptability due to fear of public shaming, and also due to involvement of family members and relatives who enforce the Panchayat decisions on the person.

Table 6.6 : Perception of people about the mechanism of the acceptability of the khap decisions

	Decisions of Khaps have more acceptability due to fear of hard punishments like and public shaming (Figures are in %)				Khap Panchayats enforce their decisions through family members and relatives (Figures are in %)			
	Agree	Un decided	Dis agree	Chi Square	Agree	Un decided	Dis agree	Chi Square
Sector								
Rural	82.5		17.5	$X^2 =$ 10.03*** d.f.=2	100.0			$X^2 =$ 30.68*** d.f.=2
Urban	72.5	5.0	22.5		82.5	12.5	5.0	
Social Group								
Jat	70.0		30.0	$X^2 =$ 26.32*** d.f.=2	97.5		2.5	$X^2 =$ 21.37*** d.f.=2
Others	85.0	5.0	10.0		85.0	12.5	2.5	
Social & Sectoral								
Rural Jat	80.0		20.0	$X^2 = 0.69$ d.f.=1	100.0			
Rural Others	85.0		15.0		100.0			
Urban Jat	60.0		40.0	$X^2 =$ 33.22*** d.f.=2	95.0		5.0	$X^2 =$ 23.03*** d.f.=2
Urban Others	85.0	10.0	5.0		70.0	25.0	5.0	
Education Level								
Illiterate	84.6	15.4			100.0			
10 And Below	70.8		29.2	$X^2 =$ 62.6*** d.f.=6	91.7	8.3		$X^2 =$ 40.17*** d.f.=6
Upto 12	73.1		26.9		96.2	3.8		
Graduation & Above	88.2		11.8		76.5	11.8	11.8	
Age Group								
Above age 50	70.8	8.3	20.8	$X^2 =$ 19.95*** d.f.=4	95.8		4.2	$X^2 =$ 23.86*** d.f.=4
Age 35 to 50	82.1		17.9		92.9	3.6	3.6	
Age 20 to 35	78.6		21.4		85.7	14.3		
Associated with Khaps								
Yes	63.6		36.4	$X^2 =$ 22.29*** d.f.=2	90.9		9.1	$X^2 =$ 28.67*** d.f.=2
No	82.8	3.4	13.8		91.4	8.6		
Total	**77.5**	**2.5**	**20.0**		**91.3**	**6.3**	**2.5**	

*** : significant at 0.01 level,   **: significant at 0.05 level,   *: significant at 0.1 level,
d.f.: degree of freedom
Source: Based on the primary data of field survey, conducted by the author.

6.5 KHAP IN SOCIETY

The khap acceptability is belief issue or the compulsion of the people to accept due to either the absence of or partial understanding of the modern law and order, or due to fear of public shaming and involvement of family and relatives. This is further analysed on the basis of the perception of the people regarding the role played by the khaps in society, as time and again khaps custodians declare the significance of khaps in the society and describe their significance in curbing down the social evils. On the pretext of their social significance they justify their existence.

Table 6.7 shows the perception of people regarding the khap role in social reform in rural society by and large, which shows that the share of people claiming khap's crucial role in social reform is just around 57% in rural and 45% in urban area, the share of Rural Jats agreeing to it is less, just 50%, in comparison to Rural Others, i.e. 65%. While the Urban jats agreed to 70% and the Urban Others are just 20%. The belief that khap plays a crucial role in the societal reform, reduces with the increase in education and age.

Khaps can be easily heard, in most of their meetings, declaring to impose the penalty to curb down the social evil like dowry, liquor consumption, loud music in Marriages, the boycott of those practising female foeticide (as recently the Jhorar khap[10] of Sirsa announced), etc. So it is important to situate the perspective of people regarding the change bring by the khaps on the front of social evils. Table 7 explains that only 52% in rural area and just 22 % in urban acknowledged the khap panchayat success in curbing or restricting the social evils, and this share is further low for the urban jats and urban others, i.e. 35% and 10% respectively. The highest agreement share comes from the illiterate section i.e. 76% of them claimed it, while the graduate and above and the young population reported less agreement to it. One of the active members of the khap, of age 45 years (around), who is working as the senior lab assistant in one of the college of reputed university, narrated:

> Khaps curb the social evils, though the evils increased with time in society
> (*smay ke sath samaz mai ganddagi badd gayi hai*), but if khaps would have

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[10] The Tribune, *Jhorar khap panchayat to boycott members practising foeticide*, 5th Feb 2015 (http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/haryana/Jhorar%20khap%20panchayat%20to%20boycott%20members%20practising%20foeticide/38002.html) accessed on 20 Sept 2015

not been there these evils would have risen upto the level that by this time our culture and traditions which is our identity would have been eradicated (hamarey sanskaar aur sabhyata jo hamari pehchan hai khtam ho jatey)

One of the respondents, who is illiterate and of age 55 around, and a Jat by caste, narrated that:

> If a girl and boy elope together and disgraced the name of family and society, then they should be punished by the societal Panchayats as they bring dishonour to the society. They must be punished as these kinds of act in village present a bad example to the other young boys and girls, who may also aspire to do bad things, and by this whole society will become bad. (Agar ek ladka aur ladki bhaag jaatey hai, jiss se parivar aur *samaj* ka naam baddnaam hota hai, toh *samaj* ki panchayato ko unhey dandit karna chahiye, kyunki unhoney *samaj* ka naam kharab kiya hai. Yeh galat kaam gaon mai baaki jawan ladkey ladkiyo k liye bura udaharan hotey hain, isiliye jo galat karata hai use kathor saza deni chaiye, taaki koi aur yeh na kary, aur *samaj* kharb nah ho)

These narratives showing the created fear by the traditional institutions and their custodians in the local mind-set that if these institutions would have not been there, society would have collapsed and all traditions and culture would have been swayed away, and the society would have left with no cultural identity. Not just the custodians but the majority of people also provided their justifications in their own manner about the khap preserving their culture. These Panchayats can be seen justifying their existence on the basis of their acceptance and relevance in the social sphere. While the image of their relevance of curbing the social evil can be seen as much inflated as the Son of one of the Thamba Chaudhary of very reputed Khap of Uttar Pradesh, told:

> In our village, both, dowry and liquor consumption increased from past time, now you calculate the effect of khap on people in current time. (Ji Hamarey Gaon Mai Dahez aur Sharab dono pehly se zyada hi badhey hain, abb app hisaab laga lo ki khapey kitna Asar daal paa rahi hain logo par aaj key samay mai).

Table 6.7 Perception of people on the role of khap panchayats in the social reforms

	Khap Panchayats play crucial role in social reform in rural society. (Figures are in %)				Khap Panchayats succeeded in curbing or restricting the prevailing social evils. (Dowry, Liquor, DJ) (Figures are in %)			
	Agree	Un decided	Dis agree	Chi Square	Agree	Un decided	Dis agree	Chi Square
Sector								
Rural	57.5	30.0	12.5	$X^2=$ 47.83*** d.f.=2	52.5	12.5	35.0	$X^2=$ 53.13*** d.f.=2
Urban	45.0	10.0	45.0		22.5	2.5	75.0	
Social Group								
Jat	60.0	20.0	20.0	$X^2=$ 13.3*** d.f.=2	47.5	5.0	47.5	$X^2=$ 14.47*** d.f.=2
Others	42.5	20.0	37.5		27.5	10.0	62.5	
Social & Sectoral								
Rural Jat	50.0	35.0	15.0	$X^2=$ 3.69 d.f. = 2	60.0	10.0	30.0	$X^2=$ 3.65*** d.f.=2
Rural Others	65.0	25.0	10.0		45.0	15.0	40.0	
Urban Jat	70.0	5.0	25.0	$X^2=$ 40.44*** d.f. = 2	35.0		65.0	$X^2=$ 17.24*** d.f.=2
Urban Others	20.0	15.0	65.0		10.0	5.0	85.0	
Education Level								
Illiterate	76.9	15.4	7.7		76.9	0	23.1	
10 And Below	58.3	16.7	25.0	$X^2=$ 40.7*** d.f.=6	33.3	8.3	58.3	$X^2=$ 44.23*** d.f.=6
Upto 12	46.2	26.9	26.9		30.8	7.7	61.5	
Graduation & Above	29.4	17.6	52.9		23.5	11.8	64.7	
Age Group								
Above age 50	62.5	25.0	12.5	$X^2=$ 40.04*** d.f.=4	45.8	4.2	50.0	$X^2=$ 19.04*** d.f.=4
Age 35 to 50	57.1	21.4	21.4		42.9	3.6	53.6	
Age 20 to 35	35.7	14.3	50.0		25.0	14.3	60.7	
Associated with Khaps								
Yes	77.3	18.2	4.5	$X^2=$ 40.97*** d.f.=2	68.2	4.5	27.3	$X^2=$ 48.85*** d.f.=2
No	41.4	20.7	37.9		25.9	8.6	65.5	
Total	**51.3**	**20.0**	**28.8**		**37.5**	**7.5**	**55.0**	

*** : significant at 0.01 level,   **: significant at 0.05 level,   *: significant at 0.1 level,
d.f.: degree of freedom

Source: Based on the primary data of field survey, conducted by the author.

On the pretext of the safeguarding the traditions and asserting social relevance on the name of culture, these Panchayats time and again comes out with the very restrictive decisions on the name of suggestion, which are by its nature against the rights given by constitution to every individual. These Panchayat have given several suggestions rather decisions related to the daily choices of the people in general and women in particular, like wearing a dress, carrying a mobile, covering a head, eating noodles (*chowmi*n) etc. etc., which should be understood from the perspective of the people.

One of the respondents, a girl from Rohtak and of age around 20 years, pursuing the nursing course, stated:

> The restrictive decisions though given by khaps, but they do not impose, it depends on the family members that whether a girl should have a mobile or not. I stay with my family in Rohtak city and wear jeans, but when I need to go to village I wear *Suit-Salwar-Dupatta*, as I feel this is right dress to wear in village. But nobody imposes it on me. I have a mobile also which I carry with me when I go for class, but parents must know that their kids should not misuse the mobile phones.

One respondent is from interior village, he is an unmarried cultivator, and of age 32, had obtained a degree of B.Ed, stated:

> Girls of our houses don't wear jeans by their choice, and everyone knows that if a girl carries a phone, she can be an easy prey for boys, and they may send dirty messages to her. And most of them either stays at home only, or in case have to go out they go with some family member, so where is the need of phone to them. And if these things are said by the elderlies of our villages or clan, then they must be thinking good for us.

One respondent is a retired PGT teacher of physics, and of around 68 years, in a group discussion stated:

> Who listens to them? Today's generation is going out and learning new ways of life, if we will become reluctant we will loose our respect and belief in coming time. We have change with time otherwise we will be left out, even by our kids.

(When I was talking to him, there were five-six other fellow villagers, who started manipulating his statements and one person told me in very secret indicative manner by revolving his first finger towards his head that this fellow has gone mad, all try to manipulate his statements and finally they successfully clogged his voice by saying him 'not a social person'.)

Table 6.8 presents the perception of people on acceptance of the khap decisions or suggestions on the daily choices, across the social and spatial spectrum. The table shows that only 45% rural and 22% urban samples reported that restrictive suggestions are welcomed in area, while the same question whether they themselves welcome and accept the restrictive decisions, the share further declines to 32% in rural and 15% in urban. Among social groups, 32% jats and 35% others considered that khaps suggestions on daily choices are acceptable in the area, while this share is 15% and 30% for urban jats and urban others respectively. The share of people with the perception that khap decisions on the daily choices are welcomed in the area, decreases with the increase in the level of education and comparatively less agreed by the young population. But this question also reveals that most of the samples associated with the khaps, choose the option of skipping the question. As most of them declared that their khap, with whom they are associated, never enforced such decisions or suggestions so they cannot give their perception on this statement, and this revealed from the table, where 77% of those who are associated with the khap skip the question.

The share of those who agreed to welcome the khap decisions is less, but this is not getting translated to the increase in the share of samples in disagree category, rather more people skipped the question as most of the persons surveyed found this option more convenient to avoid the question. Haryana is showing the sprouts of the possibilities of the formation of the 'critical insiders'[11] who play a significant role in providing intellectual and moral leadership. But they are too few to derive Haryana to the modern intelligentsia worth mentioning[12].

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[11] Persons who exercise their 'right to exit' from the communities into which they were accidentally born have to think 'beyond' the community and 'above' narrow boundaries.

[12] Bhupendra Yadav (2000), 'Haryana's Rising Critical Insider (s)', *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol 35, Issue no 50, pp 4383-4385.

Table 6.8 : Perception of people about the resrtctive suggestions given by the khaps.

	Khap restrictive decisions/suggestions ('Farman') on daily choices like dress, mobile, etc are welcomed by people in Khap area. (Figures are in %)					Do you welcome and accept the khap restrictive decisions/suggestions ('Farman') on daily choices like dress, mobile, etc? (Figures are in %)			
	Agree	Un decided	Dis agree	Skip	Chi Square	Agree	Dis agree	Skip	Chi Square
Sector									
Rural	45.0		37.5	17.5	X^2= 27.21 *** d.f.=3	32.5	47.5	20.0	X^2= 13.53*** d.f.=2
Urban	22.5	7.5	45.0	25.0		15.0	60.0	25.0	
Social Group									
Jat	32.5	2.5	45.0	20.0	X^2= 2.81 d.f.=3	25.0	52.5	22.5	X^2= 0.31 d.f.=2
Others	35.0	5.0	37.5	22.5		22.5	55.0	22.5	
Social & Sectoral									
Rural Jat	50.0		45.0	5.0	X^2= 17.57 *** d.f.=2	45.0	45.0	10.0	X^2= 15.9*** d.f.=2
Rural Others	40.0		30.0	30.0		20.0	50.0	30.0	
Urban Jat	15.0	5.0	45.0	35.0	X^2= 11.73 *** d.f.=3	5.0	60.0	35.0	X^2= 17.06*** d.f.=2
Urban Others	30.0	10.0	45.0	15.0		25.0	60.0	15.0	
Education Level									
Illiterate	61.5		23.1	15.4		61.5	23.1	15.4	
10 And Below	33.3	8.3	37.5	20.8	X^2= 33.85 *** d.f.=9	20.8	58.3	20.8	X^2= 52.51*** d.f.=6
Upto 12	26.9	3.8	46.2	23.1		15.4	61.5	23.1	
Graduation & Above	23.5		52.9	23.5		11.8	58.8	29.4	
Age Group									
Above age 50	37.5	4.2	20.8	37.5	X^2= 69.42 *** d.f.=6	29.2	29.2	41.7	X^2= 69.03*** d.f.=4
Age 35 to 50	35.7	7.1	32.1	25.0		28.6	46.4	25.0	
Age 20 to 35	28.6		67.9	3.6		14.3	82.1	3.6	
Associated with Khaps									
Yes	18.2		4.5	77.3	X^2= 232.2 *** d.f.=3	18.2		81.8	X^2= 256.6*** d.f.=2
No	39.7	5.2	55.2			25.9	74.1		
Total	**33.8**	**3.8**	**41.3**	**21.3**		**23.8**	**53.8**	**22.5**	

*** : significant at 0.01 level,   **: significant at 0.05 level,   *: significant at 0.1 level, d.f.: degree of freedom

Source: Based on the primary data of field survey, conducted by the author.

6.6 KHAP RELEVANCE IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL TIMES

The study tries to capture the perception of people, regarding to the relevance of the khaps in present times, in rural urban spectrum. The share of sample accepting the declining relevance of khap with the advent of the modern institutions increases with the increase in the education and the share of young generation approving to the decreasing relevance is more in comparison to the older generation, as shown in the table 6.9. Though those associated with the Khaps maintains their view that, 'khaps are the social requirement of the rural society, and they will always remain relevant as they preserve the social values and also maintains the brotherhood in the villages, which modern institutions can never bring, so these traditional Panchayats can ever be replaced.'[13] The 55% of the rural jats samples agreed to the declining relevance of khaps while 70% rural other agreed to it, and urban jat share is 60% while urban others share is 80% to it.

Table 9 also shows the perception of people about the influence of politics and political elites in the Khaps, which clearly shows the variations in the rural-urban perceptions, where only 50% rural samples agreed to the political influence in contrast to 85% urban samples. The share of rural jats assenting to the influence is 55%, while 45% rural others agreed to it, but 15% rural others are undecided or uncertain about the influence. The share of Urban others is 95%, who assented the political influence. 50% of those associated with the khaps also assented for the influence of politics in the khap.

The Khaps not just enjoy the political support but also play an important role in local politics so as to ensure that the authority of the rural elites continues to be upheld. The hegemony of the caste relations over the politics resulted in the patronization of the khaps by the politics, and also the political party members themselves firmly believe and support the traditional institutions of khap and also in support of their actions and decisions[14]. All major political parties lend them clandestine support[15].

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[13] Interview with one of the khap head (Uttar Pradesh Khap).

[14] Neerja Ahlawat, The Political Economy of Haryana's Khaps, *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 47, Issue No. 47-48, 01Dec, 2012

[15] Neerja Ahlawat, The Political Economy of Haryana's Khaps, *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 47, Issue No. 47-48, 01Dec, 2012

Table 6.9 : Perception of people about the impact of modern institutions on relevance of khaps in contemporary times and influence of politics on khaps

	Khap panchayat relevance is declining due to modern institution (Like media, police) influence? (Figures are in %)			Influence of Politics And Political Elites Increased In Khaps Nowadays (From Historic Times) (Figures are in %)			
	Agree	Disagree	Chi Square	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Chi Square
Sector							
Rural	62.5%	37.5%	X^2= 2.01 d.f.=1	50.0%	7.5%	42.5%	X^2= 44.7*** d.f. =2
Urban	70.0%	30.0%		85.0%	2.5%	12.5%	
Social Group							
Jat	57.5%	42.5%	X^2= 10.95** d.f.=1	65.0%	2.5%	32.5%	X^2= 7.21* d.f. =2
Others	75.0%	25.0%		70.0%	7.5%	22.5%	
Social & Sectoral							
Rural Jat	55.0%	45.0%	X^2= 3.84 d.f.=1	55.0%		45.0%	X^2= 13.03** d.f. =2
Rural Others	70.0%	30.0%		45.0%	15.0%	40.0%	
Urban Jat	60.0%	40.0%	X^2= 7.61** d.f.=1	75.0%	5.0%	20.0%	X^2= 13.08** d.f. =2
Urban Others	80.0%	20.0%		95.0%		5.0%	
Education Level							
Illiterate	53.8%	46.2%		53.8%		46.2%	
10 And Below	70.8%	29.2%	X^2= 15.77** d.f.=3	70.8%	4.2%	25.0%	X^2= 16.03** d.f. =6
Upto 12	57.7%	42.3%		65.4%	7.7%	26.9%	
Graduation & Above	82.4%	17.6%		76.5%	5.9%	17.6%	
Age Group							
Above age 50	54.2%	45.8%	X^2= 20.45*** d.f.=2	79.2%		20.8%	X^2= 20.97*** d.f. =4
Age 35 to 50	60.7%	39.3%		53.6%	7.1%	39.3%	
Age 20 to 35	82.1%	17.9%		71.4%	7.1%	21.4%	
Associated with Khaps							
Yes	36.40%	63.60%	X^2= 48.48*** d.f.=1	50.0%	4.5%	45.5%	X^2= 19.78*** d.f. =2
No	77.60%	22.40%		74.1%	5.2%	20.7%	
Total	66.20%	33.80%		**67.5%**	**5.0%**	**27.5%**	

*** : significant at 0.01 level, **: significant at 0.05 level, *: significant at 0.1 level, d.f.: degree of freedom

Source: Based on the primary data of field survey, conducted by the author.

Table 6.10 shows the perception of people about the relevance and need of the khaps in contemporary times, across the spatial rural urban segment and across the social groups. 62.5% rural samples, in comparison to the 37.5% urban samples, and 65% Jats as against the 35% Others (Non Jats) agreed to the righteous and judicious decisions of the khaps. The Rural Jat samples show the highest share, i.e. 70% of the sample, though the rural others too have 55% share of those who acknowledge that khap panchayat decisions are rational and judicious while the share of Urban Others is just 15% who agree with this. With the increase in the education and among the younger generation the belief of the virtuous image of the khap is not much strong. Though the share of sample is also high within the undecided option, which can instigate to the situation wherein people do not feel comfortable to provide the answer for the asked question, in general opinion..

Table 6.10 also shows the opinion of people about the requirement of the khaps in contemporary times in which 60% rural and 45% urban samples and 62% jats and 42% others agreed to the requirement of khaps. 60% Rural Jats and Rural Others samples, in comparison to the 65% Urban Jats and 25% urban others believe in the requirement of the khaps. The share declines with the increase in education and among the younger generation.

This shows that the share of Others who considered the khaps to be rational and judicious is less in comparison to the share of Others who agreed to the contemporary requirement of the khaps. This shows that though they understand that these customary panchayats may not be very mush rational but they consider the relevance of these panchayats in day-to-day disputes and also consider their cultural significance. As one of the respondent, who is a graduate from the Kurukshetra University and Nai by caste, and of around 45 years of age, expressed his views:

> These panchayats are important in the village society, as one cannot take the everyday matters to the court or police. In these panchayats the elderly understand the problem and they always act in the direction of village welfare and with their timely suggestions they save the new generation from being ruined.

Table6.10 :Perception of people about the relevance and need of khaps in contemporary times

	Khap Panchayat decisions are rational and judicious. (Figures are in %)				Do you believe that Khaps are required in present time? (Figures are in %)			
	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Chi Square	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Chi Square
Sector								
Rural	62.5	22.5	15.0	$X^2=$ 35.0*** d.f. =2	60.0	10.0	30.0	$X^2=$ 20.44*** d.f.=2
Urban	37.5	17.5	45.0		45.0	2.5	52.5	
Social Group								
Jat	65.0	20.0	15.0	$X^2=$ 38.4*** d.f. =2	62.5	7.5	30.0	$X^2=$ 16.71*** d.f.=2
Others	35.0	20.0	45.0		42.5	5.0	52.5	
Social & Sectoral								
Rural Jat	70.0	20.0	10.0	$X^2= 4.55$ d.f. =2	60.0	15.0	25.0	$X^2=$ 5.33** d.f.=2
Rural Others	55.0	25.0	20.0		60.0	5.0	35.0	
Urban Jat	60.0	20.0	20.0	$X^2=$ 44.39*** d.f. 2	65.0		35.0	$X^2=$ 27.55*** d.f.=2
Urban Others	15.0	15.0	70.0		25.0	5.0	70.0	
Education Level								
Illiterate	69.2	7.7	23.1		61.5	7.7	30.8	
10 And Below	54.2	20.8	25.0	$X^2=$ 41.52*** d.f. =6	58.3	12.5	29.2	$X^2=$ 35.43*** d.f.=6
Upto 12	53.8	26.9	19.2		57.7		42.3	
Graduation & Above	23.5	17.6	58.8		29.4	5.9	64.7	
Age Group								
Above age 50	58.3	20.8	20.8	$X^2=$ 17.24*** d.f.=4	54.2	4.2	41.7	$X^2=$ 26.29*** d.f.=4
Age 35 to 50	57.1	17.9	25.0		64.3	10.7	25.0	
Age 20 to 35	35.7	21.4	42.9		39.3	3.6	57.1	
Associated with Khaps								
Yes	68.2	22.7	9.1	$X^2=$ 26.16*** d.f.=2	77.3		22.7	$X^2=$ 31.87*** d.f.=2
No	43.1	19.0	37.9		43.1	8.6	48.3	
Total	50.0	20.0	30.0		52.5	6.3	41.3	

*** : significant at 0.01 level, **: significant at 0.05 level, *: significant at 0.1 level, d.f.: degree of freedom

Source: Based on the primary data of field survey, conducted by the author.

The modern institutions cannot accepted by any traditional society just because these institutions look better from the outside, rather this is based on the critical evaluations based on the changing needs and strategies which changes with the ever-changing structure of interest and opportunity of the society. In this contemporary time, when the needs are changing in the rural society, which derive the need for change in the governing institutions, the persistence of the traditional institutions for control over the rural sphere of Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh establishes the fact that 'these traditional institutions persist, because they are made to persist', and the modern changes are contested and confronted for the maintenance of the domination for the hitherto dominant section of the society.

6.7 DISCUSSION:

The chapter reveals the differential perception of the samples, of varied spatial settings and of different social belongings, on the nature of the khap, their functioning and acceptance, mechanism of acceptance, role in the society and relevance in contemporary times. The study reveals that the responses on the khap issues varies with the social belonging of the respondent, with spatial setting, with the level of education, age and the association of the respondent with the khap. The samples of the Jats in comparison to the Non-Jats (or Other) social groups have more positive perceptions about the khap, and this same variation can also be seen in response of rural and urban samples, as rural samples shown more faith in the nature, functioning and social relevance of khaps in comparison to the urban counterpart.

Development is not being forced upon individuals as it poses the dynamic resistance toward the changes brought in by the development. Most of the samples of the rural sector like to surrender customary ways if, these ways restrict them from procuring and achieving the benefits of the development. Villagers need schools; they need metalled streets, better medical dispensaries, and swifter transport. The larger section of the villagers mentioned about such needs. Today individuals need a transport to go to their village; they are not willing to walk five kms. They need power to run their pumps (for watering their fields and for other water requiring house-hold day to needs like giving a bath to cattle, etc.). If they have a primary or middle school then they need the high school of senior secondary school. They have seen these things (accessible) in other places, so why not at them place of their residence?

The processes of democratization, relative economic independence, and other forces of modernization have loosened the rigidity of customary panchayats traditionally segmented rural society of Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh. These traditional structures have been able to confine some of the modern forces and have been adapting, adjusting and reorganizing themselves in the face of new situations. The system of universal adult franchise has supplemented a new dimension to the traditional power structure of the community, and the judicial and executive powers of the statutory panchayats further affected the power pattern. The relative economic well-being and the new power patterns have made the villagers less dependent upon each other, which eventually weaken the social bonds of caste membership, kinship and brotherhood bonds, which in turn disturb the traditional system. The traditional rigidity of pana, tholla, and other kin and caste groups has slackened and the formation of groups on the basis of interest-orientation has tended to increase. But still the traditional bases of kin and caste affiliations have not become totally irrelevant as these groups have transformed into the interest-oriented factions on non-traditional bases.

Chapter 7

Urbanism and Khaps: Change and Continuity

The purpose of this chapter is to present a summary of conclusions this study has arrived at on the dynamic relations between territorial/caste panchayats, such as khap in the present case, and processes of urbanism, their transformative impulses, contests and possibilities, which in a subtle sense have questioned the legitimacy of such traditional institutions. The geographical dimension is well seen throughout the study in terms of spaces of contact between the tradition and forces of change as well as the varied manifestations of these engagements in time, space, generational, caste and gender.

A social system, as a network of interactive relationships, is a mode of organisation of action elements relative to the persistence or ordered processes of change of the interactive patterns of a plurality of individual actors. Regardless of the enormous variability in degrees of stability and structural integration of these interaction patterns, of their static character or involvement in processes of structural development or change, it is necessary to develop a scheme for the explicit analysis of the structure of such system.

Khap Panchayats operate as territorial – political unit and social organization based on the social norms, rules and codes that control and regulate the behaviour and interaction patterns and also determine the networks that operate in the community and these customary institutions claim to provide the basis of co-operation, mutual support & inter-relation. The emergence of this effectively functioning institution can be seen as the outcome of a society's historical development and institutional fabric, which is based on the well established territorial or spatial extensions, and blood line and kinship based structure. This traditional institution derives its mechanism of social control and domination through well engraved pillars of *izzat, aika, bhaichara, and biradari* (honour, solidarity, brotherhood, and community).

The domination is inbuilt in this structure and its sustenance is based on the utilization of resources, which are the structural components of any social system, as the domination and transformative capacity depends on the resource utilization. Resources are the medium through which the transformative capacity is employed as the power in the routine course of social interaction, and the extensive spatial structure appears as an outcome of the function of the patterning of interaction and continuity of interaction in time. In this interaction context, a 'value pattern' is always institutionalised, which is based on the integrated expectation system of two aspects, namely, 'role-expectations' and 'sanctions', wherein both perform in reciprocity of each other in the social system, implying that sanctions to one are the role-expectations to other and vice versa[1].

This domination of its own kind translates the loose and informal structure[2] of the khap panchayats, in which the norms and values can be twisted and turned when it comes to suitability of certain section. The *Khap*'s spatial and kinship based structure get translated and embedded over space with support of the structural components which act as pillars for this giant structure. This implantation and translation of certain codes, norms and beliefs, over space brings out an extensive territorial structure of the *Khap*s and this territoriality brings out the geographic expression of power as one of the most common strategies for exercising socio-political control over the region, which is extended in Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh.

The nature of territorial extensions of the various khaps show their range of influence, which may vary from two villages to 360 villages and more. This variation is there in the nature of territoriality which cannot be inferred just as spatial variation but there is the aspect of temporality associated with the range of influence (and so with the territoriality), which also fluctuates with the time. This whole complexity of changing nature of the territoriality of khaps can be inferred from the addition and moving out of the villages from the particular khap, and also from the emergence of the new khaps, which emerges as an outcome of various social processes, emerging out of the spatial contradictions and contestations in modern times. As modernity gives the

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[1] Parsons (1967)," Sociological theory and modern society", Free Press, University of California p.38

[2] Chaudhary, D.R. op.cit. page 38.

aspirations, of 'desire to be heard', and 'desire to be more visible', to newly[3] emerged rural elites so more voices can be heard for the representation of the traditional domination, and few if not found a space for control-of-theirs they form their own territories, which lead to the emergence of more number of khaps in the region in recent past.

This complex nature of territoriality brings out the perceived maps of the khap extension which is based on lived experiences and lived stories (which they heard and which they were told), and it is also based on the perceived sense of power, the dominant section still feels. In this sense the perceived territoriality of any khap is the representation of the experiences and stories of the one who is in power and the one who is dominated by power in the interaction system. The sentiments of territorial bounded-ness are associated with and revolved around the conception of the 'imagined-past', which is being created or re-created through various symbols, which stabilises the conception of their territoriality.

The geographical imaginations of the territorial extension of the khaps are the product of social transition, transformation and experience[4] the space experiences within a specific period of time, and their interactions form the territoriality of particular *Khap* which is associated with awareness of people's "belonging" to that specific *Khap* which generates their sense of identification and loyalty to it, and stretches the spatial manifestations of commonly followed norm, rituals and customs within the territorial boundary.

With time the demand from the space changes which generate the contradictions and the negotiations as the outcome of this dilemma. As the rural area is gradually coming in contact to the impulses of change emanating from the urban areas which brings in the change in the rural lifestyle and gradually transforming the society from 'what it has been' to 'what it choose to make it', and thrust of such changes have potential to uproot the rooted traditional structure. This brings challenges for the survival of the deep rooted traditions and forced these customary panchayats to undergo changes which bring in the contestations between 'to survive' and 'to change'. As they want to be a part of modern but don't want to lose their 'culture' and 'norms' associated with

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[3] Which were not the part of the influential rural adjudicating body in the past, and recently emerged on the rural space.

[4] Dreek. Gregory

their traditional identity, which carries a whole lot of historicity of Jat domination, and this created division of the norms in two- one is more rigid to be change and other is more likely to be change. These contestations created the tensions and contradictions over space, by usurping the Jat ideal model of domination, which are reflected through the changing nature, structure, function and territorial imaginations of the khaps. The modern way of life is imbibing the new values which challenges the traditional one, and also empower people to opt for the modern options in all spheres of their life, be it to solve their disputes or to find a suitable match, which was initially can only be guided by the traditional ways or powers (khaps).

These changing conditions confronted the traditionally rooted domination and forced the khap panchayats to adjust to the new changing conditions. And by bringing the superficial change in 'certain' arenas of their privilege, they want to win these contradictions and again want to legitimise their domination. As domination is reproduced 'in' and 'through' contradiction which can only be translated into the power only through maintaining domination, so khaps try to win over these contradictions to reassert their feeble dominance.

The domination which was initially limited to the Jats in the region now becoming feeble as the new income opportunities not only led to the emergence of new elites among the Jats but also with the arrival, though relatively feeble in sphere of economic empowerment of other sections of the society. Though this economic empowerment is unevenly distributed on the space, and among the social groups and even within the Jats, accompanies the resources and opportunities which generates a sense of threat to the established domination. This spread of the economic resources over the space created many power foci which created a situation of more conflicts and contradictions over the space which is traditionally dominated by the Jat khaps. The khaps of the region want to win these contradictions to re-assert their dominance and, for this, time and again these institutions try to impose their self-proclaimed social reforming suggestions/agenda in their territories and try to seek a new lease of life for themselves within the 'recognised shelter' from the State, as these institutions emphasising their need in society is to be recognised by the State. They try to assert their 'win' over the ambit of contradictions through their gatherings and meetings. By organising of a meeting for the social cause, (like for improving sex ratio, dowry ban, improving girl education, banning female foeticide, maintaining ground water

recharge, restricting number of guests in marriages or funeral ceremonies, etc.) these panchayats try to 'appropriate the social reformist image' and manipulate this image to justify their existence in the contemporary times to mend the perceived social evils. With the increasing means of communication, it becomes relatively easy for them to conduct meetings frequently. Through these meetings, these institutions time and again display their affluence to conduct such a big meeting as it needs lot of arrangements, and also to stage their political support and power to the other newly affluent (within their caste and of other castes too). These panchayats develop into the platform to show the united power of the traditional domain of the khaps to the modern legal system. As claimed by the 2006 *Shoram* Panchayat, that government should not intervene into the functioning of the social panchayats (through this meeting khap associated members claimed khaps as the social panchayats), so these are the platforms to show up the collective pressure to the State machinery, to get things done with their interest suitability. The compulsorily imposed society 'reforming suggestions' (or diktats)**,** to guide the daily life choices can be heard from the platforms of the several khaps, which is also interpreted by the political elites as the suggestions from the elderly to restrict the social evils in society. This mild tone of political elites for these customary panchayats shows the interference and importance of these institutions in the modern political system. It's not that these traditional institutes did not existed in the historic times, but the re-emergence of the khaps can be seen as their urgency to re-unify and to mobilise the Jat support for the political gains.

These panchayats though look absolutely anachronisms in the contemporary times still surviving and asserting with full domination in their influence zone, due to their social acceptability and recognition among people. This acceptability, though, is driven partly due to the hidden fear of crisis and hesitance to change among the rural population, and partly due to the fear of the instruments of maintaining dominance, like social boycott. These panchayats encashing the fear of rural population associated with the drudgery administrative and judiciary procedures and weakly established law order in the villages, to maintain their relevance in the rural society, which is little less intervened by the modern law and order. This need for re-uniting, re-acknowledging and re-asserting of the Khaps can be seen under the response to the disappointment carried by the modern structure as these modern institutions should have been

instrumental in bringing change in the traditional spheres of society, but they fail to acknowledge their presence in rural area, and this failure is picked up by these traditional institutions. These traditional panchayats become more powerful in their rural sphere, when and where the modern legal institutions are not functioning properly. And now they assert their relevance as dispute solving agencies in the rural sphere, and also try to force the State to acknowledge their contribution to lessen the burden from the State judiciary.

The part of the study conducted to receive the perceptions of rural-urban samples reveals the differential perception of the samples, of varied spatial settings and of different social belongings, on the nature of the khap, their functioning and acceptance, mechanism of acceptance, role in the society and relevance in contemporary times. The samples of the Jats in comparison to the Non-Jats (or Other) social groups have more positive perceptions about the khap, and this same variation can also be seen in response of rural and urban samples, as the urban centres are more dominated by the non-jats and so a clear rural urban divide is emerging, as rural samples have shown more faith in the nature, functioning and social relevance of khaps in comparison to the urban counterpart. This indicates that these panchayats are the only tool which is remained with the rural Jats to assert and showoff their rooted dominance to the new elites, and to restrict the urban influence on the way of life which is threatening the existence of these panchayats.

In the past these *Khap Panchayat*s were an effort of preserving identity, culture, and to prevent them from turmoil but now it is more a compulsion. With growing heterogeneity and weakening of 'economic-dependency-structure' with increase in more economic security and opportunities among the rural poor, it will be difficult for *Khap*s to maintain their order. With increase in education, individual feelings will make their way out and education will enable rational thinking and independent thinking which may not be guided by the traditional and 'out-dated' institution which eventually crumple and disintegrate the *Khap*s and this crisis rather existential crisis is creating the contradictions between modernity and traditions over the space. The increase in education further created the stress within the traditional structure as with this increase in the levels of education, it is not just the jat men, but the Jat 'girls' and 'dalits' are also coming in contact with new changing world. This vertical mobility

derives the perceived fear of de-establishing the hitherto dominance and generates a need to re-accentuate the traditional values in more assertive manner.

Those not able to extract the benefits from the new economic prospective try to re-establish their traditional ways as only through these they have a hope to maintaining their dominant identity. This is being followed at every level, from the macro level (a level of khap), to meso level (level of group of villages) to the micro level (level of families), the one out of the power with advent of new forces of change try to counter them by re-enforcing and re-affirming the traditions, as this is not just about the 'honour' but more about maintaining the 'superiority' at every level.

The traditional space of the Khaps is being encroached by the new upcoming modern institutions, urban projects, which bring in the dominant culture of urbanism and weakens the favours the dominant ideology of certain group. This change is drastic when and where traditional society come in contact with the modern one. In the villages which have more impact of the urbanism and which are more near to the urban centre, Khaps become more organised in functioning and well associated and integrated, and meet more frequently in the well maintained 'Khap Bhawans' to make a propaganda of khaps. While the village which are 'more rural' and yet to taste the advances of urbanism, may not have that fluent functioning mechanism, but more rigid in maintaining the imbibed values, as these villages are less governed and intervened by the modern law and order, so khaps here can afford the 'strict social instruments' to maintain their dominance. With this one can clearly distinguish, rather can derive, a pattern of asserting by the khaps at two different geographical spaces (villages) – One, which are near to the urban centre, (like Meham (Rural), Bohar, Khidwali, Baraut (Rural), or at the urban centres like Rohtak, Sisauli, Budhana) which try to assert their dominance by conducting the well-organised-huge meetings, time and again, in huge 'khap bhawans' which are symbolic to their domination, in which they call the urban elites, political elites, bureaucratic elites other eminent personalities of the region, to show-off their political linkages and importance to the contemporary politics and State system. Other one, which are 'more rural' and considered as the interior villages in terms of their modern network and linkages to the urban centres, (like Gurawar, Ranchhar, Silawar), which asserts themselves on the very traditional pattern. In these villages, the values of the traditional institutions are not yet facing the considerable challenges in their functioning and acceptance (though

it is relative to the first type of space, as, if we see it in temporal framework they are also undergoing a change). In these 'tradition dominated spaces', the pattern of the assertion of a khap is also much traditional in which the 'izzat' 'aika' 'bhaichara' and 'quam' can be (and must be) protected by the strict implementation of diktats, and any kind of challenge to these principles (which are symbolic of khap honour), is considered as the challenge to the hitherto dominance, is being controlled by the strict punishments as here they can conveniently assert their dominance in the name of traditions, while in the first one they have to look more organised and more associated with the modern power structure to assert themselves. Traditions are based on their age old significance, which are contesting from the modern ways of urbanism at every stage for their survival in rural society in contemporary times. As these traditions are tough to maintain with modern impulses of change, so their relevance is easily eroding from the perceptions of the younger generation who look outward for the change.

The justification and continuation of the 'action' is a very fundamental component of any social activity which derives its sustenance from the historical and traditional domains. The structuration of modes of the system reproduction produces the contradictions, which are the structural component of the social system and which emerged out of the perceived changes in the traditional domain. Change, and the potentiality to, and possibility of change, is always inherent in every mode of the social reproduction, which are based on the application and re-application of the rules and norms, which were situated there with certain social context of the particular time. This poses the necessity to understand that how this duality of the structure of khap operates in the social life, and how the continuity of the traditional values is achieved in the day-to-day conduct of social activity over the space in the given period of time (As spatial and temporal aspect of this change and continuity of any organisation must be understood). The 'continuity' here is to examine the variations between the khap's 'stability' and 'change' in the society in a given period of time over the particular space. The two notions of 'stability' and 'change' of any tradition are not mutually exclusive; rather they are important to understand the temporal character of the social phenomena over the space.

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Amar Ujala, Chandigarh

सेवा
श्रीमान
प्रधान जी
नमस्ते

प्रधान पालम ३६० दो रिजगांव सेवा में निवेदन यह है कि चौ सूरतासिंह हुड्डा स्वाद चौ सुन्दरसिंह हुड्डा स्वाद चौकारलाल प्रधान स्वाद ८५ रोहतक आप का गांव है और दो तीन पंचायत और भी सभी में आप के साथ यह पुरानो व्यवहार है आप मेताबास सर्वखाप पंचायत में गांव का कहर व्यवहार जौ के पुरनीया सागवान में आपसभी जी झगड़ा है आदी भी आप इस में आप ने पुरनीया गांव की खुला कर मदद कर मोद जोड़ा आदी सागवान का राछा तरफा फरसला है और चाहती है और और से जो भी आपने मसले की पुर्टी कर बना चाहती है हम आप पास इसी लीक आया है कि राछा तरफा ये फरसला ना हो लड़को की जो भी सगाई से लड़का देखने तक और भी विदाई तथा सारवान सागवान जौ बोप्पाला मास्टर और सुन्दरसिंह और भी गांव के ७-८ आदमी मोजूद थे

उन्दी के कारण का मुतालित किया गया कौ की जिन लड़कियों का रिस्ता किया गया उस वार में कोई भी मंदी है और लड़की की मा राछा विधवा ओरत है और इस सगाई से १० महीने बाद रिस्ता हुआ और लड़की दो दूसर भी दीपा गया और लड़की १० दिन तक आपन मात के साथ रही इस के बाद ये जगड़ा महाया गया ये भी किसी जाति रिनिस का कारण है और अब यो राछा महीने से आपन सात के पास है और वह तकरीबन २० साल से गिलाती में रह रहा है और कोई रछा भी शीवानी में है की गई थी और हमारी तरफसे सब को राम राम

रोहतक
...

Mahinder
Hoda

Left Page

सत्यमेव जयते

सर्व जाती पंचायत खाप काद्याण

कार्यालय बेरी जिला रोहतक ।

क्रमांक .... दिनांक 25-7-93

सेवा में प्रधान खाप पालम 360 की
विराजमान जी
निवेदन है कि पूनिया खाप की पंचायत 20/7/93
खाप कादमान व खाप खाड़ंड के सभ्य व किसी
की गई है कि आज 25/5/93 को एक खाप पंचायत
एक दोबारा विवाद करने का फैसला करते ताकि इस
इस परिवार को गाँव पंचायत खाप
गाँव को आप को दोबारा बुलाने के लिए आप
अपनी खाप की पंचायत से पूरा सहयोग दें ।

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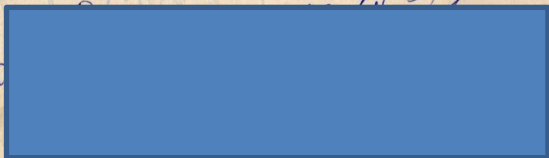
प्रेषक :- प्रधान कादयान खाप व प्रधान खाड़ंड खाप

सेवा में,

श्रीमान प्रधान खाप ....

विषय :- सर्वखाप पंचायत बुलाने बारे ।

श्रीमान जो,

आपको सूचित किया जाता है कि एक सर्वखाप पंचायत दिनांक 25/5/1993 को सुबह 9 बजे गाँव पैन्तावास खुर्द जो चौधरी भिवानी रोह पर यह दादरी से 12 किलोमीटर व भिवानी से यह दूसरी खाप समय भिवानी से 17 किलोमीटर की दूरी पर है । में उक्त पंचायत बुलाई गई है ।

सामाजिक परम्पराओं का उल्लंघन किया है , और खाप सांगवान ने व खुटाना 12 गाँव की खाप ने उक्त विवाह सामाजिक दृष्ट से अवैधानोधित किया है । और पूनिया परिवार को भी इस शादी को रिवोद करने का कहा है और पूनिया परिवार का सामाजिक बीष्कार भी करने का निर्णय लिया है ।

इस शादी से हमारी पिटियों पुरानी सामाजिक परम्परा है , को बली भारी ठेस पहुँची है ।

हम दोनो खाप आप सब खापों से अनुरोध करते हैं कि उपरोक्त सर्वखाप पंचायत में शामिल होकर इस गम्भीर मामले पर विचार करें , और सामाजिक परम्पराओं की गरिमा को कायम रखने के लिए अपना समर्थन दें ।

इस पत्र के साथ खाप सांगवान का अनुरोध व खुटाना 12 के फैसलों कि प्रतिलिपी संलग्न है ।

पंचायत ....
सरपंच खाप ....
18-5-93

सेवा में

प्रधान खाप कादृयान व जाखड़,

आपको सूचित किया जाता है कि हमारे गांव पैन्तावास खुर्द के निवासी बख्तावर पूनिया ने अपने दो लड़कों की शादी सांगवान गौत्र के गांव नूरणखेड़ा के बलराज सांगवान की लड़कियों से गत फरवरी माह में की थी । यह शादी योजनाबद्ध तरीके से गुप्त रूप से की गई। किसी को भी ठोक ढंग से शादी के बारे में पता न लगने दिया। गांव पैन्तावास सांगवान गौत्र का है बख्तावर पूनिया के पूर्वज नवा भैसलो राजस्थान से लगभग 80,90 वर्ष पूर्व गांव पैन्तावास में आये थे। बख्तावर पूनिया के पूर्वज गांव पैन्तावास खुर्द में देहलो पर आये थे उन्होंने इस घटना से पहले खापों को पुरानी मान्यताओं को माना है परन्तु इस शादी में खापों की मान्यताओं का जानबुझकर उल्लंघन किया है ।

सांगवान खाप को पता लगाने पर मामले की जांच पड़ताल की गई और इस विषय में एक पंचायत खाप सांगवान ने दिनांक 14.3.1993 को गांव पैन्तावास खुर्द में बुलाई। इस पंचायत में सांगवान गौत्र के गांव नूरणखेड़ा को भी बुलाया गया और बख्तावर पूनिया को भी पंचायत में हाजिर होने को लिखा गया परन्तु वह पंचायत में नहीं आया। काफी विचार विमर्श के बाद पंचायत ने निर्णय लिया कि वह शादी खापों की पुरानी मान्यताओं के विरुद्ध है और परम्पराओं को उल्लंघन किया गया है सोच विचार के बाद निर्णय लिया गया कि शादी का सम्बन्ध विच्छेद किया जावे। 51000/- (इक्यावन हजार) रुपये जुर्माना किया जाये सामाजिक बहिष्कार किया जावे अगर इस शादी का सम्बन्ध विच्छेद कर देता है तो बख्तावर का सामाजिक बहिष्कार समाप्त कर दिया जावे। इस फैसले को मानने की बजाय बख्तावर पूनिया व अन्य पूनिया जो गांव पैन्तावास निवासी है ने अखबारों के माध्यम से सांगवान खाप के विरुद्ध तरह-तरह के आरोप लगाये व खाप के विरुद्ध दुष्प्रचार किया। प्रशासन द्वारा दहेज आदि का सामान वापिस दिलाने आदि का काम को निष्फल कर दिया गया। तथा योजनाबद्ध तरीके से बख्तावर पूनिया ने अपने पूनिया भाईयों को पैन्तावास छोड़कर कहीं बाहर चले जाने को उत्साहित किया ताकि सांगवान खाप को बदनाम किया जा सके।

आपको जानकारी के लिये यह भी सूचित किया जाता है कि छुटाना बारह ने भी नूरणखेड़ा में एक पंचायत बुलाकर इस रिश्ते को भाई बहन का रिश्ता माना है तथा नूरणखेड़ा निवासी बलराज सांगवान के परिवार का जाति बहिष्कार किया है । अगर इस शादी का सम्बन्ध विच्छेद हो जाता है तो बलराज सांगवान के परिवार का बहिष्कार खत्म किया जायेगा। पैन्तावास के पूनिया भाईयों ने बख्तावर का साथ देने के कारण सांगवान खाप ने पैन्तावास के दूसरे भाईयों पर 11000/- रुपये जुर्माना तथा जाति बहिष्कार किया। अगर यह पूनिया भाई इस शादी का सम्बन्ध विच्छेद करा देते है तो इनका जाति बहिष्कार खत्म कर दिया जायेगा ।

अतः इस मामले में हम आपको अवगत कराते है क्योंकि सांगवान कादृयान व जाखड़ खापें एक ही पूर्वज से है तथा सांगवान खाप द्वारा इस मामले में लिये गये फैसले की पुष्टि चाहते है ।

धन्यवाद ।

आज दिनांक 12.5.1993 को बारह बुटाना के प्रधान श्री बलबीर सिंह को अध्यक्षता में गाय नूरण खेड़ा (सोनीपत) में बारह को पंचायत हुई। बाबत बलराज सांग्वान नूरणखेड़ा निवासी को दो पुत्रियों सुषीला व राजेश को परम्परा के विरूद्ध पैतावास खर्द सांग्वान गाम में बख्तावर के दो पुत्रों के साथ गोत्र छयाकर षादी को गई जिस पर कि पूर्ण विचार करने के बाद यह पाना गया कि यह रिश्ता बहिन भाई का है। इस रिश्ते के करवाने में लड़कियों के नाना श्री गंगाराम और उसके पुत्रों का पूरा-पूरा हाथ पाया गया । इस विषय परपंचायत ने निम्नलिखित फैसला किया :-

1- बारह पंचायत ने पूरे अधिकार नूरणखेड़ा गांव को दिये गये कि जो भी नूरणखेड़ा गांव फैसला करे बारह उसका पूर्ण समर्थन करता है और बारह से जो भी किसी प्रकार को सहायता चाहिये उसमें बारह पूर्णत: सहयोग देगा।

2- श्री बलराज सांग्वान नूरणखेड़ा के पूरे परिवार का सामाजिक बहिष्कार किया जाता है । यदि कोई भी रिश्तेदार व नूरणखेड़ा गांव और बारह का कोई भी व्यक्ति इनके घर व इन से बातचीत करते पाया गया तो उस पर ।।00/- रूपये जुर्माना व सामाजिक बहिष्कार होगा।

3- बलजीत व चन्द्रगुप्त पुत्र गंगाराम व जब तक सुषीला पुत्रो श्री बलराज सांग्वान नूरणखेड़ा में हाजिर नहीं को गई तब तक इन को अपनी देखरेख में नूरणखेड़ा गांव में रखा जायेगा।

4- जब तक इस रिश्ते का सम्बन्ध विच्छेद नहीं होता तब तक यह फैसला लागू रहेगा ।

5- कोई भी आदमी इस बारे में विचार विमर्ष करेगा वह बारह के प्रधान से बात कर सकता है। बाकि और किसी से नहीं।

यह फैसला पंचायत में पढ़कर सुनाया गया और इसे सर्वसम्मति से मन्जुर किया गया ।

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

CONFIDENTIAL (For Research Purpose Only)
Individual Perceptions

1	NAME (Optional)	7 Education
2	Gender	8 Occupation
		Do you know your
3	Social Group	9 Khap
		Are you associated
4	Caste	10 with any khap
		Have you attended
5	Place	11 any khap meeting
6.	Age	

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Skip
1	Khap Panchayats are active in this region.						
2	No definite procedure being followed to elect Khap Head.						
3	Khap Panchayats serves equal interests of all social group members of Village.						
4	In Khap Panchayats there is single caste (Jat) dominance.						
5	Valid to give punishments like village banishment to punish couple who opt for inter caste marriage with own choice.						
6	Valid to give punishments like village banishment to punish couple who marry within Gotra						
7	Valid to give punishments like village banishment to punish couple who marry within Gaon						
8	Valid to give punishments like village banishment to punish couple who marry within Gawhand						
9	Khap Panchayat decisions are accpted by majority of people in the area						
10	Decisions of khaps are more a belief issue for villagers so hardly anybody goes against the decisions.						

11	Decisions of Khaps have more acceptability due to fear of hard punishments like, public shaming, social ostracism and economic loss is associated with it.						
12	Khap Panchayats enforce their decisions through family members and relatives						
13	Khap represents local issues in effective manner.						
14	Khap Panchayats play crucial role in social reform in rural society.						
15	Khap Panchayats succeeded in curbing the prevailing social evils. (Dowry, Liqour, DJ)						
16	Khap 'Farman' on daily choices like dress, mobile, etc are welcomed by people in Khap area.						
17	Do you welcome and accept the khap 'farmans' on daily choices like dress, mobile, etc?						
18	Khap Panchayat decisions are rational and judicious.						
19	Khap panchayat relevance is declining due to modern institution (Like media, police) influence?						
20	Khap's relevance is limited to the rural area only, in urban area people follow modern institutions for any problem?						
21	In the present times of Judiciary and democracy the relevance of Khaps is shrunk to educated young.						
22	INFLUENCE OF POLITICS AND POLITICAL ELITES INCREASED IN KHAPS NOWADAYS (From historic times)						
23	Khaps many a times seem to relax certain norms Rural elites or Rich.						
24	Khap Panchayats are mainly the domain of males only.						
25	Do you believe that Khaps are required in present time?						