

**PARTICIPATION OF DALITS IN POLITICS OF PUNJAB: A CASE  
STUDY OF DOABA REGION**

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Submitted By

Jaswinderjit singh

Regd. No. 11617414

Supervised By

Dr. Munendra singh

Assistant Professor of History

Lovely professional University

Phagwara, Punjab (India)

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## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled **Participation of the Dalits in Politics of Punjab : A Case Study of Doaba region** embodies the work carried out by Mr. Jaswinderjit singh himself under my supervision and that it is worthy of consideration for the award of the M Phil degree.

**Dr. Munendra Singh**

Assistant Professor

Department of History

Lovely Professional University

Phagwara (Punjab)

.....

Day Month Year

## DECLARATION

I hereby affirm that the work presented in this thesis is exclusively my own and there are no collaborators. It does not contain any work for which a degree/diploma has been awarded by any other University/ Institution.

**Jaswinderjit Singh**

.....  
Day Month Year  
Countersigned

**Dr. Munendra Singh**

Assistant Professor  
Department of Social Science  
Lovely Professional University  
Phagwara (Punjab)

.....  
Day Month Year

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**(Jaswinderjit Singh)**

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AISCF	-	All India Scheduled Caste Federation
BAMCEP	-	Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation
BSP	-	Bahujan Samaj Party
BCs	-	Backward Classes
CPI	-	Communist Party of India
CPI (M)	-	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
DS-4	-	Dalit Soshit Samaj Sangharash Samiti
ILP	-	Independent Labour Party
LBP	-	Lok Bhalai Party
M.L.A.	-	Member of Legislative Assembly
M.P.	-	Member of Parliament
P.S.P.	-	Praja Socialist Party
PEPSU	-	Patiala and East Punjab State Union
PRIs	-	Panchayati Raj Institutions
RPI	-	Republican Party of India
S.A.S	-	Nagar - Sahibjada Ajit Singh Nagar
S.B.S. Nagar	-	Shaheed-Bhagat Singh Nagar
S.S.P.	-	Samyukta Socialist Party
SAD	-	Shiromani Akali Dal
SAD (M)	-	Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann)
SC	-	Scheduled Castes
ST	-	Scheduled Tribes

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## **Abstract**

The present study was undertaken to assess the Political participation of Dalits in Punjab, focusing Doaba region of Punjab. It being an empirical study was based on primary data collected through intensive field work. Interviews were conducted with Dalit masses of Doaba region of Punjab, though the main focus was on understanding the political participation of the Dalits. The major findings of study are as under: The Dalits in the Doaba region selected for the study. The overall socio-economic status of the Dalits is found to be low, as is evident from the profile of our sample of three hundred Dalit respondents from the Doaba region of Punjab.

The level of political awareness is found to be very low among the Dalits. There was no perceptible difference between the levels of political consciousness among respondents in the Whole districts. The level of awareness was judged by asking questions like the names of political parties, leaders of Dalits, political news etc. The low-level of political participation was indicated by the small number of respondents' participation in election campaign and other election activities. Even though Bahujan Samaj Party claims itself to be the party of the Dalits, it was observed that the Congress party and its leaders occupied a pre-eminent position in the minds of the Dalit respondents. Thus the study reveals that the Dalits in Punjab still constitute a low social economic and political position. Though they do not experience social and religious exclusion of extreme kind, and few of them have availed of the opportunities in education and employment, yet majority of the Dalits are still not getting benefits. Their level of political awareness is low, because of illiteracy and poverty. In the name of political participation – voting is the only activity in which majority of the Dalits are participating. Their participation in other activities of political participation is low. Reservation in education, employment and political decision making bodies (Panchayats and Legislatures) has not resulted in an active political participation of the Dalits. There is absence of any strong leadership and the Bahujan Samaj Party has failed to organize Dalit as a political force.

**Key Word:** Political Participation, Social Exclusion, Dalit Assertion, Sanskritisation

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## **Introduction**

In India, historically it has been seen that the Indian society was divided into four categories on the basis of occupation. These four categories or castes were Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vyshyas and Sudras. It was called the Varan system. Its explanation had given in 10<sup>th</sup> Mandal of the Rigved. At that time, rules of caste were not rigid. Anyone can change their occupation and caste, because caste was not basis of the birth, but in later Rigvedic age the rules of caste were very rigid, in this period base of caste was birth. Nobody was allowed to change their caste. Bhramins were the religious guru of the Hindus. Generally, they looked down upon the Sudars as Untouchables. The Sudars were the lowest class of the society and they were also known as Dalits.

The caste system was first time found in hymns of Purasukta of the Rigveda and appeared in Bhagwat Gita on the basis of Guna (deed) and Dharma (religion). At the time of Samriti are Sutra, there was a various caste groups. There was a hard rule and regulation for occupation, Food conduct and marriage. Any one cannot change their occupation and caste. The caste system became very rigid at this time. Untouchability was on climax in the society. Untouchability is most prominent factor of the caste system. This system is very ancient in origin. Iravti Karve said that it is a sub caste of Sudars and according to Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar it is a byproduct of the caste system.

Ancient Indian society had divided in many parts during Rigvedic age. There was a rigid rule and regulation for caste system in Purasukta hymns of Rigved. It was written in 185 B. C. It was very ancient in origin and prevalent today world. Varan or caste system influenced the Social, Economic, Religious and Political life of the Society. First trace of Varan or caste system was found in Purasukta tenth Mandal of Rigved. It was very famous in ancient times. These four Varan are mention in this text like Brahmins, Kashtriya, Vaish and Sudras. Brahmins have high status in the society. They organized religious programs and festivals. Kashtriya were brave person. They participated in war against state enemies and protect the whole empire from invaders. Vaish was the third class of the Society. Agriculture was the main occupation of them and participated in small business. Sudar were lowest section of the society. They were allowed to service of upper three castes and cleaning the street and drains. They are considered as polluted person for this occupation.

Many social reformers strived to uplift the social condition of Dalits in the society. They organized many movements that time. They had given main contribution to inequality in Indian Society. But these movements failed to change the attitude of orthodox class. Because of caste system, Indian Society has a unique place in the all over world. Many philosophers deeply studied of caste system or Varan system of the India. Many of them believed that this system is spread in the world but many believe that it is found only in India. It is a complex matter. Social reformers more constrained on the study of Indian caste system. English word caste derived from Portuguese word casta. It used by the European to indicate the different categories of the society. Varan, Jati and Rang word are used in India. In 1515 A.D. the caste was used in the form of Race. In 1818 A.D. the word caste was used first time in France.

This system is used to differential to from one to another people. The word Jati was first time used in Purasukta hymns of the Rigveda. In the Bhagwat Geeta, the word caste is based on Gauna (Deed) and Dharma (Religious). There were a many different categories of the caste during the time of Sutra and Samiti. Sudar have a low grade in the Society. Anyone cannot change their occupation and caste and many sub castes emerged that time. The upper castes were drastically behaved with lower section of the society. The feeling of untouchability increased that time.

Untouchability is a main factor of the caste system. It is a main issue of conflict and is found in every society. According to Karvey caste system is a sub caste of the Sudars while Ambedkar Varan means color. Every caste people were bear different color clothes like as Brahmins white, Kashtriya red, Vaish yellow and Sudars black. It indicates different division of the castes. It is a system in which different castes are found. Every caste had a grade on the basis of the occupation under this system. Upper section had a very prosperous life from the lower castes. They had distinct grade in the Indian Society. Because this region, upper section people were progressive from lower castes. All castes were belonged to occupation like Brahmins had upgrade, Vaish in middle grade and Sudars had lowest grade in the society. Low paid was give to Sudars to every work for this they had low status. In the Mauryian period, Unani (Greek) ambassador Megsathneez had written in their book Indica, that Indian society was divided in seven parts. It explained that people were got married in their castes and were prohibition to marry in other caste. They were also not allowed to change their profession. The first initiated

against the caste system was undertaken by Mahavir Jain and Mahatma Buddha. The Mahavir Jain had not believed in caste system. According to them all the castes are similar. Anybody can involve in Jain sect without any restriction. He focused on the equality of human in the Society. Jains were against all false rituals of Hindus. Many Hindus were involved in this cult that time. Thus, caste system had been challenged by them. Mahatma Budha also believed in equalization of human. He was against the Varna system of the Hindus. According to him, “every human, meanwhile he belong to anyone caste, he attain salvation”. He tried to involve every caste in their sect and to remove the inequality from the society.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was born in Maharashtra, but his ideology spread all over the country became the base of every Dalit movement in India. With his inspiration, the Dalit of started their demand for the socio-political rights. Under his guidance, they achieved it. The early life of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, his socio-political activities in the pre independence period and his impact on Punjab Dalit will be discussed.

In Punjab, the first significant Dalit organization was founded by the Balmikis of Jalandhar with the name of Punjab state Balmikis Sabha in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The significant leader of the community from all parts of Punjab namely, Mahatma Garib Dass of Sham chaurasi (Hoshiarpur), Pandit Dittu Ram of Kandholan Kallan (Jalandhar) Pandit Kirpa Ram of Dasuya (Hoshiarpur) and many other participants in it. Babu Garib Dass war elected the president of the Sabha. They formed his organization because they were considered as untouchables. Similarity Balmikis Sabha was founded in all the significant tehsils of Punjab. It mobilized the Balmikis of Punjab and united them to agitate for their judicious socio-political rights. They mobilized the sweepers of different municipality under this organization. Initially they joined Ad Dharm Mandal for their political rights but they became more assertive after 1932 when they left this Ad Dharm Mandal of Ravidasis and organized their own Balmiki Sabha in different parts of Provinces. Jat Pat Mandal founded by Sant Ram B.A. in 1922. The main objective of this Mandal was to work for social equality and break system by arranging and promoting inter-caste marriages. It was under the dominance of Punjab.

An enlightened Ravidasis of Punjab, Mangu Ram Mungowal, laid the foundation of Ad Dharm Mandal in Punjab 1926. He organized a conference at his native village Muggowal where his leader of Balmiki community, Kabirpanthiis and follower of Bhagat Namdev participated

with full zeal. In this conference, an organized was formed with the name of Ad Dharm Mandal and they also declared Ad Dharm as their religion. In this view, they had rich culture and civilization. However, the Hindu came from outside and enslaved the original inhabitants. The Hindu had destroyed the qalum, their history and culture. This movement of lower caste of Punjab was the outcome of the volatile social and political circumstances in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century all over the country. They were all ready to deprive of the rights over the land according to Hindu customary laws. Even the British government gave no fever to them while giving electorate significance to the Muslim and the Hindu under various reforms from time to time. This movement insisted on the principal of socio-economic equality.

The attempt was made to forge a united front of the Dalit at nation level but there was a difference of opinion regarding the foundation this front. As Swami Achutanand opined that there should be a common platform all over India with the name of Adi Hindu and all the regional formed Dalit organization should be merging in it. But the delegates from Punjab objected the use of word Hindu in the name of this organization. They further added that the need of the time is so firstly attain regional strength under separate names and then unite a common front. The nation leader of Dalit was M C Rajah, but it was suspected that he had a hidden alliance with a Indian Nation Congress, so the Dalit of Punjab now turn toward Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar for the fulfillment of their dreams. Now these organizations took the objective to mobilize the community for the demand of similar socio-political rights.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is the backbone of the movement for the upliftment of the Dalit. He launched a life-long crusade for liberating them from their centuries-old enslavement and ostracism. He was born on 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1891 at village Mhow which was a cantonment of Baroda state, presently a part of Indore district of Madhya Pradesh. The name his father was Ramji Maloji and that of his mother was Bhima bhi. His father belonged to a village namely Ambawade in Ratnagiri District of Maharashtra. Bhima Bhi belonged to the Murrbadkars, an untouchable Hindu family. She was fair by completion, a board forehead, curly hair, round growing eyes and short nose. Her father and six uncles, all were Subedar Majors, a very significant post in British Indian Army. It was well-paid and carried a considerable amount of prestige and the Subedar Majors effectively was the head the solders and provided the essential interface between the soldiers and officers. This is important to point out that Bhim Rao

Ambedkar came from a family which was already in an important leadership in the contemporary society.

After the independence, some special provisions have been made to upgrade the social, political and economic status of Dalits. The reservation policy has been quoted in the Constitution of India for this purpose in 1950. It has provided the equality before the law for all Indians.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) was floated on 14 April 1984, which represented the interests of Dalits. The term Bahujan was used by Budha for the first time. About 2,500 years back lord Budha exhorted the Bhikku Sangha to work and strive for Bahujan Hitai, Bahujan Sukhai. Bahujan labeling was done by Budha with sole purpose of creating welfare state through Bhikkusanghas opposing Brahminic monopoly of pleasure in Indian Sociality. Mahatma Phule continued Buddhist tradition of majority welfare, identifying them as Sudras and Antisudras. Later on Dr. B. R. Ambedkar fought for the same cause and succeeded in destroying the monopoly of twice born castes in various fields through reservation policy. Kanshi Ram in contemporary India made Bahujan term a Political movement with the same motto of majority welfare by majority rule widening its definition and scope including minorities in list of Bahujan communities. Kanshi Ram launched Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in the context of growing inspiration among SCs, STs, OBCs and minorities for proportional share in various fields. He developed it within the frame work of Phule-Ambedkar's theory of Social Justice. But the launch was lack-luster. It had a dismal outing in the general election at the end of that year. In the strong sympathy wave in favor in Congress after Indra Ghandi's assassination, all the BSP candidates together polled a mere 1,000,000 votes. In the Subsequent UP (Uttar Pradesh) Assembly election, the party later claimed its presence helped 45 Lok Dal and six Janta Party candidates win. Its own share of votes, however, was just 7000,000 Kanshi Ram fielded his protégée Mayawati from the Kairana Lok Sabha constituency-not reserved for the Schedule Castes-UP Muzaffar Nagar district only to be swept away by the Congress deluge. Out of all the BSP candidates, all over India, she got the highest number of votes, Kanshi Ram's small consolation.

Multiple identities like Dalits and Bahujan are democratic as they are designated on principles of liberty, equality, fraternity and unity among SCs, STs and OBC. But benefits of

their fight may go in favor of advanced castes within SCs, STs and OBCs giving scope for exploitation of weaker by the advanced within them.

In the modern perspective the meaning of term Dalit has changed. It has become a ray of hope for downtrodden section of society. In the context of Punjab, Dalit symbolizes the Chamars, as they constitute majority among the Dalits. They are economically and politically more influential as compare to other categories of Dalit in Punjab. The political history of Punjab is recorded of struggle for power among the different contenders of power mostly the upper section of society. The Dalit remained, by and large, neglected in the socio-religious sector, and by extension, in politics for a long period. For this Christian missionaries, Arya Samaj, Singh Sabha Movement and many other missionary organizations made effort to attract the Dalit in their mission. They remained successful in their task to some extent as Dalits joined Christianity, Arya Samaj, Singh Sabha Movement and other missionary organizations. These missionaries organizations educated the Dalits, which helped in their upliftment they became politically conscious. The Dalit recognized their strength, and in Punjab they founded an organization with the name of Ad Dharm Mandal. The foundation of Ad Dharm Mandal by Mangu Ram Mugowalia in 1926, laid down the foundation of Dalit politics in Punjab. This organization played an important role in the mobilization of the Dalits of Punjab. Under the banner of Ad Dharm Mandal, the Dalits first time contested election in 1936. With these elections, the Dalit finally proved their strength by securing seven seats out of eight reserved for the Dalits in Punjab. Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar has played a significant role in mobilizing the Dalits in India as well as in Punjab. It is due to his efforts that Dalits realized their political importance and became active in Punjab politics. We can also say with his ideology, the formal politics for Dalits, as Dalits, begins in Punjab.

### **Dalits Politics after Independence**

As compare to other districts in Punjab, the Dalits of Jalandhar remained aware of their rights since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Its historical evidence is the foundation of some organizations by them like. Balmikis Sabhas, Ad Dharm Mandal and Megh Udar Sabha. These were the originations of Balmikis, the Ad Dharmis and the Meghs, respectively. The Dalits on the platform of these organizations started their struggle for Socio-Religious rights. They have established difference pressure groups, over the years, such as Vigilant Brotherhood of the Ad

Dharmis by Manohar Lal Mahey in 1989, state Balmikis Sabha of the Balmikis by Mona Gill in 2003, Bhagat Mahasabha of the Meghs by Raj Kumar in 2000, and many, many more with their headquarter at Jalandhar. These pressure groups are not only working to protect and promote the interest of Dalits but also make them aware about their rights in society. Along with the social mobilization, they started influencing the political setup of the state.

The Dalits constitute a big vote bank; so different political parties pay attention to attract them for their favor. Almost all the political parties both nation and regional established special cell for this group of society in their party organization. The election manifestoes of all the political parties give special attention to this section just to attract them. The Dalits themselves realized their strength and importance in the political setup and that is why instead of becoming a vote bank of any party they formed their separate parties and through them they started directly participating in elections. The important political parties of the Dalits are Schedule Caste Federation, Republican Party of India, Bahujan Samaj Party, Bahujan Samaj Party (Ambedkar), Bahujan Samaj Mocha and etc. the active participation of Dalits in political brings a change in the social, economic and political setup on the one hand, and on the other hand, it is changing the position of Dalits in the social, economic and political setup in Punjab.

The Dalits have become aware about their rights and they do not hesitate to protest against any violence against their rights. The Talhan episode of June 5, 2003 at Jalandhar is the example of Dalit assertion in Punjab. In this case, the Dalits of the village Talhan opposed the Jat dominance in the village shrine and remained successful to get their demands fulfilled. Before this incidence, they had not the member of the management committee of this shrine. They protest against it, and ultimately, two of the Ad Dharmis of the village were included in the management committee of the shrine. This incident shows that by the end of 29<sup>th</sup> century, the Dalits became assertive in their mode and has for reaching impact not only on the social, economic and political set up of Punjab but also the country at large. At present, the Dalits do not form homogeneous groups politically and socially. The Dalits especially Valmikis, feel discriminated by other castes. They complain that the welfare scheme of the center and state governments meant for all scheduled castes are appropriate for them. While the conditions of other castes have improved, those of Balmikis remained bad. Hence, it requires in a depth research to understand the Dalits politics in Punjab in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Punjab is a state where the percentage of Dalits is highest of the country. The overall percentage in India is 16.23 percent (2001 census). The population of the Schedule castes to total population in Punjab has consistently been rising from 22.25% in 1961 to 24.07% in 1971, 23.3% in 1981, 28.8% in 1991, 28.85% in 2001 and 31.94% percent in 2011. The rate of decadal rise in the schedule cast population has been consistently higher than the rate of rise in the non-SCs population since 1961.

However, it is interesting to note that it is not Punjab but Uttar Pradesh where the Dalits (21.1% in population) are in a position to make a recognizable impact on Politics of the state. Other state like Maharashtra have much lower percent but there also the mobilization of Dalits is more organized as compared to Punjab. The rise and expansion of BSP and Dalit aspiration symbolized by the leadership of Mayawati in Uttar Pradesh is seen as an example of assertion of Dalits, but Dalits in Punjab have not been able to emerge as a Political force. To understand this, we need a proper understanding of the pattern of Politics of Dalits in Punjab.

In Political participation, we do not confine them to the act of voting alone, but also in other political activities which are important indicators of political participation. The participation covers a wide range of activities like participation in rallies, becoming a member of different parties, other pressure groups forming their own political party or raising issues of political parties through different mediums as Television, Radio, newspaper etc. The political consciousness and level of participation of Dalits in these activities in Punjab have not yet been explored by any of the researchers. Therefore, considering the importance of these facts an attempt has been made to understand and analyze the Political participation of Dalits in Punjab.

In the sixth century, the caste system was on the climax in the Society. Upper sections of the society were drastically behaved with the lower caste people. They did not want to be in the Social relation with lower caste. The upper section of Society was not in favor to provide the education to lower caste. Thus, the inequality was still a major concern before the Indian society.

During the British rule in India, the Dalits were designated as depressed classes, untouchables and scheduled castes for providing certain concessions in their political interests. The British government searched for designation of Dalits with intention to provide concession to



this section in various fields (Muthaiah, 2004). British rule in India Made an effort to define and quantify the population of depressed classes. It is significant to note, in 1916 and again in 1920, the Government of India called for a report from all local government as to the moral and material condition of depressed classes and proposed various measures for development of depressed classes. During 1920-30, the designation and special concessions in the field of education, employment and politics triggered depressed classes movement in India. For the first time the British ruler introduced egalitarian ideology of social justice through.

In India caste system was related with people from birth to death. It was control Social, Economic, Religious and Political life of people. It influenced to every aspect of the life. For the rigid caste system rules sudars faced drastic behave of the upper castes. Caste system was not rigid before Rigvedic period and anyone can change their occupation and caste. But in Purasukta rule were rigid for society. All the castes had a Social status on the basis of occupation in the society. It system spread all over India.

M N Srinivasan is a anthropologist, he viewed that caste system emerged on large scale in India. False ritual gave more contribution to develop it. In the Indian Society, spread of education and sources of association gave prominence contribution to spread it.

According to Risley, caste system is a organization of families and categories of families. They perceived from elder persons and related with occupation. Anyone can change their caste and occupation but not marriage with other caste. Sub castes had found in every area and people were marriage within and prohibition in another.

According to Rigveda, the caste system was made from ancestor man. Brahmins were born from mouth, Kashtriya arms, Vaish legs and sudars from feet, Upper three castes were born in twice time, which called Dawiz. Upper three castes understood their right to use the holly hymns of Upnyan of the Rigveda while sudars not allowed using it.

These four Varans or categories are mentioned in Purasukta hymns of the Rigveda. It defines occupation of the four Varans. Brahmins allowed performing religious works like organization of Hindu ceremonies or programs. Kashtriya were warrior and they allowed participating in wars and protecting the empire form invaders. Vaish were third categories of the society and main occupation of their was agriculture. Sudars had a low grade in the Society and

they allowed to service of upper caste and cleaning the streets. Every divided on the basis of occupation in the Society.

Sudars were considerable untouchable from upper section. They were engaged in menial works and they had low status in the Society. Anyone had same status within caste and the cannot change their occupation and caste. They were very poor on the basis of Economic and Political. They were allowed to service of upper section and not allowed to up work.

Upper castes were badly behaved with them. They believe that Dalits are impure and their intact can pollute. They were called untouchable them. From the centuries Dalits denied from the Society. They allowed polluting works like that cleaning of toilets and streets, repaired shoes, washing clothes, making ropes and all small kinds' works. Upper castes were appointing their successor within families. Dawiz means twice born. They were bearing the sacred thread around the chest upper the shoulder. They had distinct right to use the hymns of the Rigveda. Dalits not allowed reading and hearing the slams of the Veda.

Two great epics Ramayana and Mahabharata were written in 6<sup>th</sup> century. They described downfall of the Dalits. Ramayana depicts the low status of the Dalits during the time of the lord Rama. Upper section of the society allowed performing the Yajans. Sudars were not allowed for it. Samvuka was a Sudar and he worshiped in order to perceiving the divinity. As a result, a fifteen year old Brahmin was died. When lord Rama reached to know about it accident then Samvuka meets the lord Rama. He told that he was born in Sudar family. I want to meet the god through rigid penance. I will not tell a lie, I am Sudar of caste. As soon as he uttered these word lord Rama threw their sword from their bow and cut of Samvuka head from trunk.

Mahabharata asserted the degrade of Dalits in the society. Ekalavya was born in Sudar family and he was very skilled in archery. His right thumb was cut off because he was equal in archery that of Arjun. So that time, Dalits had not any right to education. The road of skill was close for them. They remained socially, economically and educationally backward. Upper section every time strives to down the grade of Dalits. They called them untouchables. They had accepted entry of Dalits in temple and other religious places. They prohibited for fetch from common wells and from using common benefits.

Thus, for years, upper castes were badly behaving them and they deprived from every Social facility. They exploited socially, economically and educationally. They had very low status in the society. They were denied from several occupations. Main work of them was to cleaning the streets mad service of upper castes. They were traditionally occupation like as make rope, cobbling and make leather shoes.

Blunt says that, Brahmins had high status in the society. They were segregate to Dalits from Hindu religion. Dalits were not allowed to use the slams of Vedas. They cannot enter in Hindu temples. They celebrated all ceremonies without Vedic Mantras and Brahmins also go away from any domestic ceremony for them.

### **Dalits movements and organizations in India**

Many political leaders and social reformers were started many movements to against the Hindu orthodoxy and uplift the social status of the Dalits. Various efforts had done by reform movements to find out the solution of problem of Sudars in country. Dalits organizations formed in many parts of India. It is clear that many political leader and social reformers raised their voice against upper section. Joytiba phulle, E K Nayar, M K Gandhi were the prominent leader of Dalits. They were strived to improve the social condition of the Dalits. Mahatma Joytiba Phulle was the first Dalits leader who gave their main contribution to upliftment the Dalits and fought against the Hindu orthodoxy.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was the most prominent leader of the Dalits which known as constitution maker. He was the main Dalit leader in round table conference in London (England). British government announced the Communal Award related with lower section. In this award was two types vote and separate electoral for the Dalits. Ambedkar wanted separate electoral but Gandhi was against it. He was gone to fast until death. Ambedkar was against Gandhi ji Philosophy. But later he was agreed to settlement which is known as Poona Packet. There was organizing various Dalits parties. Some of important are mentioned below:

### **Ad-Dharm Mandal**

In the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, many movements and political parties formed in many parts of country. The main aim of these organizations was to disengage from Hindu orthodoxy.

The Ad-Dharm Mandal was most important movement which started by political leader Mangoo Ram mungowalia and other Dalit leaders in 1925. Its first meeting held in Jalandhar in 1925 and told his view by Swami Shardanand, Vasant Rai, Thakur Chand and other political leaders. Ad-Dharm movement was contemporary of Mahar movement which created by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. The main aim of the Ad-Dharm Mandal was to get the liberate identity for Dalits. In some time it was famous in lower section of the Punjab. It was divided in two parts in 1929. All India Dharm Mandal was under the leadership of Vasant Rai and it was meeting in Arya Samaj in 1929. But Ad-Dharm Mandal played a major role in politics of Punjab. For more than two decades, Ad-Dharm Mandal gave distinctive contribution. It helped the Dalits to seek their social identification through process of cultural transformation. It gave new identity and name. It was success to raising the awareness among the Dalits of the Doaba region of Punjab. But Ad-Dharm Mandal cannot change the attitude of upper section. Dalits frequently faced oppression of Hindu orthodoxy.

### **Independent labor Party**

It was formed by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in 1936. The main purpose of this party to uplift the Dalits at religious, social, economic and political realms. It was the first political party of the untouchables. This was necessary because there was absence of Dalit political party. Which could demands and fights for rights of the Dalits? Because it Dr. B. R. Ambedkar established independent labor party.

### **All India schedule caste Federation**

It was created by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in 1942. It was a political organization of lower castes. It was limited to Dalits in anew betel for political power. Its main objective was secure political rights for Dalits. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was established the AISCFC at all India Depressed class conference in Nagpur in July 1942. It was totally against the congress policy. It was challenged the Congress claim to represent the Dalit interest. In short period, it was famous in all over India. Main aim of AISCFC was uplifting Dalits and fight their rights.

### **Republican Party of India**

All India Schedule Caste Federation renewed as Republican Party of India. It was formed in October 1957. This party was not led by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. RPI focused on fundamental principle of the constitution of the India such as Justice, equality, freedom and brotherhood for all people. The main objective of the party was fight against Hindu orthodoxy. From society. It took up many issues that applied to the Dalits. The RPI had hard work to solve the problem of Dalits. RPI played a major role to foundation of workers organizations, students organizations and women organizations etc. they failed to maintained the Dalits movement. Party was gone to downfall. After some time, party was divided in May groups. Party was failed to eradication of root of Hindu orthodoxy and solves the problem of the Dalits.

### **Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation.**

Kansi Ram was a greatest political leader and politician. He was born in Ropar district of Punjab. In Early 1970, he emerged as dynamic leader after Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. He wants to create an organization of employees for uplift of the Dalits. He formed a party of educated employees from Pune and Bombay. Which is known as BAMCEF? It was launched in 6 December 1978 in Delhi. Kansi ram made 'A poll of brains talents and funds'. The main objective of this party to educate the Dalits who make use of the benefits of government policies. Most employees involved in this party. It did not rely but only held seminars. Main work of the BAMCEF was supply fund to the Bahujan Samaj party. Which was founded in early eighteens?

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is the backbone of the movement for the upliftment of the Dalit. He launched a life-long crusade for liberating them from their centuries-old enslavement and ostracism. He was born on 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1891 at village Mhow which was a cantonment of Baroda state, presently a part of Indore district of Madhya Pradesh. The name his father was Ramji Maloji and that of his mother was Bhima bhi. His father belonged to a village namely Ambawade in Ratnagiri District of Maharashtra. Bhima Bhi belonged to the Murrbadkars, an untouchable Hindu family. She was fair by completion, a board forehead, curly hair, round growing eyes and short nose. Her father and six uncles, all were Subedar Majors, a very significant post in British Indian Army. It was well-paid and carried a considerable amount of prestige and the Subedar Majors effectively was the head the solders and provided the essential interface between the soldiers and officers. This is important to point out that Bhim Rao

Ambedkar came from a family which was already in an important leadership in the contemporary society.

After the independence, some special provisions have been made to upgrade the social, political and economic status of Dalits. The reservation policy has been quoted in the Constitution of India for this purpose in 1950. It has provided the equality before the law for all Indians.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) was floated on 14 April 1984, which represented the interests of Dalits. The term Bahujan was used by Budha for the first time. About 2,500 years back lord Budha exhorted the Bhikku Sangha to work and strive for Bahujan Hitai, Bahujan Sukhai. Bahujan labeling was done by Budha with sole purpose of creating welfare state through Bhikkusanghas opposing Brahminic monopoly of pleasure in Indian Sociality. Mahatma Phule continued Buddhist tradition of majority welfare, identifying them as Sudras and Antisudras. Later on Dr. B. R. Ambedkar fought for the same cause and succeeded in destroying the monopoly of twice born castes in various fields through reservation policy. Kanshi Ram in contemporary India made Bahujan term a Political movement with the same motto of majority welfare by majority rule widening its definition and scope including minorities in list of Bahujan communities. Kanshi Ram launched Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in the context of growing inspiration among SCs, STs, OBCs and minorities for proportional share in various fields. He developed it within the frame work of Phule-Ambedkar's theory of Social Justice. But the launch was lack-luster. It had a dismal outing in the general election at the end of that year. In the strong sympathy wave in favor in Congress after Indra Ghandi's assassination, all the BSP candidates together polled a mere 1,000,000 votes. In the Subsequent UP (Uttar Pradesh) Assembly election, the party later claimed its presence helped 45 Lok Dal and six Janta Party candidates win. Its own share of votes, however, was just 7000,000 Kanshi Ram fielded his protégée Mayawati from the Kairana Lok Sabha constituency-not reserved for the Schedule Castes-UP Muzaffar Nagar district only to be swept away by the Congress deluge. Out of all the BSP candidates, all over India, she got the highest number of votes, Kanshi Ram's small consolation.

Multiple identities like Dalits and Bahujan are democratic as they are designated on principles of liberty, equality, fraternity and unity among SCs, STs and OBC. But benefits of

their fight may go in favor of advanced castes within SCs, STs and OBCs giving scope for exploitation of weaker by the advanced within them.

First time the British ruler introduced egalitarian ideology of social justice through compensatory measures in the interests of depressed classes and gave a death blow to Manudharama, which made all the benefits, the monopoly of upper castes. In fact it was the beginning of falling hegemony of upper castes in various fields. They also introduced the liberal democratic ideology of social justice, which believes in providing special protection to weaker sections of society. Dalit term originated from Hebrew language word Dal which means, "Trampled under the feet" but in the context of India it means "Trampled under the feet of upper class". So, Dalit is that strata of the society which is backward, poor and exploited (**Kumar, 2009**). They were not allowed to participate in the religious functions and temples of Hindus. They were also not allowed to use the wells of water of another caste. Their life was very miserable.

In India, the caste system is an integral part of the society. Large number of the Philosophers, Socialists and Reformers has tried to abolish it, but they did not succeed completely. With the passage of time, the structural changes have been occurred in caste system in India and inequality has been observed to be reduced. Some socialist has argued that, the situation of Dalits has changed, but some are not in this favor. It existed everywhere in the sub-continent and every one practiced it; in Hinduism, the caste system and untouchability had an ideological section, the other communities also practiced it. Even when not legitimized by their religious philosophies (**Jodhka and kumar 2007**). The caste system and situation of Dalits have undergone different changes in India. The brief story of this system has been given as follow.

Dalits were known as the aborigines of India. In the Aryans time, they were designated as Dasa and Chandala. They were politically deprived from land and human status. According to **Dr.B.R. Ambedkar**, "The purpose of Aryan war against Dalits were (1) stealing of cattle,(2) stealing women (3) stealthily grassing of cattle in the pastures belonging to other tribes". The war between settled (Dalits) Tribes and Nomadic Tribes (Aryans) in primitive stage of their development was nothing but a war for economic benefits and existence (**Ambedkar, 1990**). Rigveda, Upanishads, Manusmriti and Mahabharata also represented the degraded picture of Dalits. It is a fact, Purushsuktha of Rigveda which was composed around 1500-1000 B.C.

provides an evidence of the fact that there existed five castes that is Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vyshyas and Sudras including Dasyu (**Macdonell and Keith, 1958**).

The stories of Mahabharata written in later period explain the politics behind designation of Dalits in India. The Agasthya maharishi created a story to drive Karthama away from the land, according to which Karthama was born to Brahmin woman and a Sudra male, so he was calledas Chandala, Untouchable and unseen (**Jagannathm,1990**).



## **Scope of study**

In the recent years the Dalits have an affected the Social, Political and Economic aspects of Punjab with their active participation generally the middle class of the Society are the Dalit class. They are more aware of their participation in the Social, Political, religious and economic aspects. The Political participation is a multifaceted process, involving participation before, after and during elections. Thus it there is need to study that participation in various programs from different aspects. Accordingly, the present study has selected the Doab region of Punjab because of concentration Dalit population and their assembly seats. Thus the study has made an attempt to find out that whether the political participation of Dalits in Punjab, has increased or not?

## Literature review

During the last few decades' number of studies have been done in the various aspects of Dalits in different parts of India

**Neeru Sharma (2009)** has tried to examine the caste system in Punjab and culture assertion of Schedule castes. For this paper the study has considered the two important categories of schedule casts like Ad Dharmis and Mazhabhis in the Punjab. These two categories have largest population in Punjab than other categories of schedule castes. The study has found that there is an absence of strong political representation for the interests of schedule castes. On the other hand, the culture assertion of schedule caste has changed with the passage of time. It has regulated the emergence of Deras, construction of separate Gurudwaras. There is also increase in cases of caste and community related violence and production of social exclusion, lack of long run economic development and political marginalization of the schedule caste in the Punjab.

**Krishan (1998)** in his paper has put some light on the growth of schedule castes in Punjab. The study has found that urbanization of the schedule caste is occurring at faster rate in Punjab. The population of schedule caste is increasing annually. It has increased to 4.3 percent in 1961 against the 2.9 percent in case of non schedule castes population. Mainly the Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur have been occupied rapid increase in the population of related castes.

**Rajan Kothari,(1954)** exhibition the role of caste in Indian politics. The authors emphasize that political mobilization of different caste groups has been a major technique with various political parties for expending their support base.

**Paul Hershman (1981)** pointed out in his study by taking the fieldwork in villages near Jalandhar. He was not agreeing with the idea that purity and impurity did not exist in Punjab or that caste in the region functioned more like class.

**Gupta (2004)** found in the study that as compared to the rest of India, the caste hierarchy in Punjab is considered to be relatively weak. The reason for this need to be attributed to the “presence of reformist religions in Punjab-Islam, Sikhism and Christianity with their reforming zeal and their ever increasing rivalry in matters of proselytization that not only had a demoralizing effect on caste-rigidity and on the institution of the untouchability but also positively helped in improving the status of the depressed classes.

**Bhim Rao Ambedkar's (1970)** in his book described the significant work to understand the Dalit perspective of caste. It was originally written as a speech to be delivered at the conference of Jat Pat Todak Mandal, Lahore. But the news of his arrival for the presidential remarks disturbed the fanatic Hinds in Punjab and many important leaders of the organization kept them aside of the session. Ultimately, the organized postponed the conference but Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, who had already framed his presidential address, decided to publish it.

**Khare (1984)** he has studied various aspects of the life of the Chamars of Lucknow. Khare's importance in the empathic method that he proves for the study of social groups that is suppressed both symbolically and politically. He is a socialist but his avoidance of survey research and the use of the empathic method based on personal observation and interviews is something that he finds attractive in studying the changing history of politics of Dalit assertion in Punjab. He studies the changing aspects of life of the Ad Dharmis of Bootan Mandi, Meghs of Bhargava Camp, and Balmikis of Ali Mohalla.

**Ibbotson's (1970)** he has given detail of various castes in Punjab. The first group is Landowning and Agriculture castes, second group is that of Professional and Mercantile castes and the third group is that of Vargants, Menials and Artisans. The last of three group comprises all the lower strata of the society which is subdivided into 11 columns one out of them is leather workers. as per record in Jalandhar district the total number of Vergent, Menial and Antisense castes is 338 out of 121. It is an informative work for a historian to make a base to study the any of the caste, sub caste in Punjab.

**Jaspal (1997)** he made paper on the role of Dalits of Haryana and emergence of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP). He studied the social and political aspects of lower section. He said that BSP held

first rally in Faridabad on 12 October. Before it BSP held rallies in Ambala, Kaithal, Karnal and Chandigarh. These rallies were not able to gather mass support of Dalits. BSP contested first election in 1996 without any alliance. They secured 7.20 percent of votes in legislative assembly and 6.59 percent in Parliament Assembly. The Dalits of Haryana, which were traditionally related to Congress. They felt that Congress benefitted them to some extent. They have need for their political organization. They found their political party in BSP.

**Briggs (1920)** he pointed out that in the early life of 20<sup>th</sup> century Dalits, particularly Chamars, were leading a simple dependent life. Their social, political, economic and religious life was not considered important in the society, particularly among the upper class. He has described in his work the detail of social, economic, religious and cultural life with special reference to their customs. Though, the scenario has changed a lot, but this study from a historical point is very important for the historian to understand the initial stage of the condition of the Chamars, which had changed in many respects.

**Ronki Ram's (2004)** it is an informative study with an idea to establish a base to work on the Dalits in Punjab. He has elaborated the history of Ad Dharm Mandal and its impact on Punjab in general and the Ad Dharmis in particular. He has mentioned the locality of Bootan Mandi, its important leaders, some of the organizations working at the place and sense of awakening among the people of the vicinity towards the rights of the Dalits. It also helps to study the other significant Dalit locality of Jalandhar, to make a clear idea of the position of Dalits in the district.

## **Objective of the Study**

To examine socio-economic profile of Dalits in Doab region of Punjab.

To highlight the awareness of Dalits regarding the Politics of Doab region of Punjab.

To study the pattern of Political participation of Dalits in various Political activities and parties.

To access the picture of emerging Dalits leadership Doab region of Punjab.

To examine the role of Dalits before, after and during the elections.

## **Methodology**

Research Methodology is the theme of any research work; define the way how to reach on conclusion of the problem. The method adopted for the study is analytical that is analysis of historical records and documents. The published and unpublished data will be used in this research. The researchers will collect the unpublished data such as archival records such as Census reports and Gazetteers of India from the National Archive of India, New Delhi and State Archives, Punjab

Researchers will also visit different local and university libraries for collecting the secondary data such as Journal of History and social sciences, Journal of Regional History, Past and Present, Punjab History Conference Proceeding and Indian History Conference Proceeding.

## Proposed work plan with time table

SL. NO.	Topic name	Date
1	Collection of data	From 1 to 30 January
2	Literature review	From 1 to 15 February
3	First draft	From 1 to March and from 15 to 30 March
4	Second draft	From 1 to 15 April
5	Final draft	From 15 to 25 April
6	Submission	April 29

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## **DALIT LEADERSHIP IN GRASSROOT AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY**

India is a Democratic country. Leadership plays a vital role in every politico-administrative association. The elections gave us polity less supply of uncorrupt leaders from Panchayat to Parliament. Leadership is an efficient element for development of every society. Indian society has many castes and caste affects the polity of the country. For a long time, upper section of society is belonged to polity and most cases leadership is a feature of family functions. Some leaders are related to lower section of the society. Dalits have many politics rights like reservation in every state on basis of their population through Constitution provisions. Robert D Putman viewed that, mostly political leaders are related to middle and upper community, are brought up in lower class homes. He also believes that leadership generally in favors of that class from which they come. So the study of leadership is important because it helps to know the behavior of leadership. In this chapter we tried to analyze the preventative of dalits in Panchayat Raj institution as well as social and economic background of Dalits legislator in different Legislative assemblies in Punjab.

### **Meaning of Leadership**

Many scholars reveals the meaning of leadership. There is no contradiction among the scholars view s regarding the meaning of leadership. According to Bernard M. Bass “Leadership is a kind of interaction among the people. Many efforts on the components of group members to change the attitude of one or more members are a strive to leadership. The word leadership utilizes in all over world. Political leader, social reformers and scholars used it in their address and writing. It is a group procedure by which individual formed their activity for obtaining the aim of community by working and evolving the influential organizational.

J.M. Burns vied leadership as a system, aim and for that motive, utilizing the resources. He said potted in the context of rivalry and dispute. What were pivot and the mutual process between leaders and followers?

David Kingsley had denied leadership as, the connection between a follower and a group built around some common interactions and behaving in a manner controlled by him.

There are three main elements of leadership: the leader, follower and the situation. It is communication of leader and followers in a particular situation. It is a tripartite situation because attitude of one is generally affected by the behavior of the other while the behavior of both is controlled by the nature and formation of social system in which they influence. Therefore, in simple words, the art of planning, leading and guiding the movements of a group of people to obtain a common aim is called leadership which is an act of convince the people to cooperate in the achievement of a common objective.

### **Dalit leadership: Panchayat Raj Institution**

In many countries like India, the theory of decentralization needs to go ahead in politics and economic influence. The people have most intensity to involve in decision making process and for similar relationship at grassroots level is essential. The main objective of PRI is to act as factor of themselves knowledge for people and involve them in the decision making process. The formation of Panchayat Raj Institution gave most contribution to development of rural area of the country. The procedure of Panchayat Raj Institution is known as policy maker.

M.K. Gandhi said that “true democracy cannot be controlled by twenty men setting at the center, it has to be worked from below by the people of every village”, and Gandhi has announced in their address “my notion of democracy id that under it, that weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest”. This was the dream of M.K. Gandhi about Indian democracy.

M.K. Gandhi’ philosophy of Gram swaraj was established Panchayat Raj system in Indian society which provided real swaraj to people rural area people. Therefore, union government created many commissions to formed a Panchayat raj Institution which can help the people to remove poverty, illiteracy and unemployment. The main committees were Balwant Rai Mehta committee, GVK Rao committee and Ashok Mehta committee.

Constitution amendment (73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup>) of 1992 is belonged with its development which main objective to provide institution status to Panchayat raj Institution. This amendment is monument in the history of local government in India.

The amendment provides the certain for reaching levels to strengthen Panchayat. Article 243 (a) recognizes Panchayat as institution of self The Amendment envisages the establishment

of constant three tier system- Village Panchayat at village level, Panchayat Samiti at block level and Zila Parishad at district level. The Amendment also laid down necessary guidelines for the reservation of seats for the weaker groups including women.

1. Reservation of seats in favor of Scheduled Castes on the basis to their population and reservation of one third seats for women at all level (Including SC women).
2. Reservation of one office of Panch for BCs in a Gram Panchayat where their population in the Gram Sabha area is more than 20 per cent of the total population.
3. Reservation in the cases of Sarpanches and Chairman/Vice Chairman in Panchayat Samiti has been provided on the basis of the proportion of Scheduled Caste population in the district, in the case of Chairman/Vice Chairman Zila Parishad on the basis of SC population in the State.

It is a major departure from the earlier Panchayati Raj System in the aspect of gender and caste reservation in all the three tier system for both seats and positions. This kind of constitutional provision has formed scope for Dalits to exercise their political rights in local governance and steadily give thrust to more of Dalit friendly grassroots governance. New Panchayat Raj system brings all those whose interests are influenced by the decisions, to have voice in decision making through the participation in PRIs.

### **Panchayat in Punjab**

In October 1961, the Punjab state government announced to reorganize its Panchayati Raj system on the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee's views of three tier structure of PRIs. The new three tiered system became operative between 1962- 1963. The Gram Panchayat formed under this new scheme continued to function over the years but the Panchayat Samiti and the Zila Parishad had breaks in their tenures. They functioned as representative bodies from 1965 to 1970 and again from 1975 to 1978 and remained superseded in the intervening years. During the period of oppression, these bodies were administered by government officers.

Following the 73rd constitutional Amendment, the government of Punjab supported the Punjab Panchayati Raj Act, 1994. The New Act replaced the Punjab Gram Panchayat Act, 1952 and the Punjab Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Act, 1961. The new Act came into force on 21 April 1994 and created three tiers Panchayati Raj system in the state.

New rules were framed under the provisions of this new Act and the first elections to 138 Panchayat Samiti and 14 Zila Parishad were held in 1994. The next elections to existing 141

Panchayat Samiti and 17 Zila Parishad was held in 2003 and after those elections to 141 Panchayat Samiti and 20 Zila Parishad were held in 2008. Elections to the Gram Panchayat were held almost regularly since independence with exceptions of 1988 due to the turbulent situation in the state. The Gram Panchayat elections were held in June 2008. At present 12821 Gram Panchayat exists in Punjab.

### **Gram Panchayat**

Under the three-tier system, Gram Sabha and Gram Panchayat is lower tier. Gram Sabha is a small administration unit of the state declared in any village with a population of not less than two hundred. After the demarcation of the Sabha area, a Gram Sabha may be established by name in every Sabha area. The government may include or exclude any area from the State area. Gram Sabha is a body of all the young living in its area whose names are involved in the electoral roll.

Gram Panchayat is the representative body which consists of elected members. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the base of the true Panchayati Raj and, therefore, the success of PRI's depends on the vitality and effectiveness of the village Panchayat. It is, in fact the executive committee of Gram Sabha.

To ensure equality of participation and involvement, provision has been made reservation for any election to the weaker community of the society in the Gram Panchayat. SCs, BCs and women have right for reservation in the constitution of India. Within the seats reserved for SCs, one third of the seats are further reserved for SC women

If no SC got elected as Panch, a defeated candidate belonging to this category and getting the highest number of votes was made a Panch, and failing that, a SC was co-opted if the population of SCs was five percent or more of the total population of the Panchayat Area.

A Panchayat have several Panches and a Sarpanch. The Sarpanch has a leading status in village activities and affairs. There has been great difference regarding the elections of Sarpanch. In some states Sarpanch is directly elected by the members of Gram Sabha while in some states Sarpanch is elected by Panches. Earlier, In Punjab Sarpanches were elected by the voters of the whole Panchayat area. But in the 2008 Panchayat elections Sarpanches were elected by Panches.

### **Panchayat Samiti-The Middle Tier**

In the creation of Panchayati Raj, Panchayat Samiti is the middle tier. It has emerged as a pivot of the entire Panchayati Raj system as most of the activities related with rural development is entrusted to this tier. The Panchayat Samiti acts as it bullock.

Panchayat Samitis are governed by the Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act, 1961; According to this Act, the government is authorized to form a Panchayat Samiti either for every\tehsils or for every Block in a district. However, Punjab government gave their declaration to constitute this body at the Block level which coincides with the Community Development Blocks demarcated in 1952. The jurisdiction of a Panchayat Samiti is confined to the rural areas of a community development blocks. Like the Gram Panchayat every Panchayat Samiti is a corporate body having perpetual successions and a common seat with power to acquire, hold and dispose of property and to contract and is capable of sue and being sued by others.

There is also a provision for the reservation for the office of chairman and vice-chairman. The number of the offices reserved for SCs in a district is to be in the same proportion as the SC population to the total population in the State. The reservation is to be allotted on the basis of population.

In Punjab the total Panchayat Samitis are 141 having 2715 members. Out of the total members 1187, 592, 896, 307 and 33 are General, women, Dalits, Dalits women and backward castes respectively. The Dalit elected members represent 21-95 per cent of the total members. Percentage of the Dalits in Panchayat Samitis is 33.25 per cent if we include the Dalit women members that are higher than their population in Punjab.

Highest number of Dalit Panchayat Samiti members 29.9 per cent in Jalandhar which is the part of Doaba region where the concentration of Dalit population is higher than the Majha & Malwa.

### **Zila Parishad-The Upper Tier**

A Zila Parishad, constituted for every district is the third tier of the Panchayati Raj setup. It is the successor to the district boards in Punjab. Unlike Maharashtra, where it is vested with wider powers, Zila Parishad is a coordinating and advisory body in Punjab. Like other two tier of Panchayati Raj, it is also a corporate body, having perpetual successions and a common seat, can sue and be sued and is empowered to enter into contracts.

In Punjab government has been in favor of a strong Zila Parishad various committees and study teams appointed by the government of Punjab from time to time favored the creation of a strong body at the district level. Despite all the recommendations, the Zila Parishad in Punjab is purely and advisory and co-coordinating body.

After coming to power in March 2007, the newly formed SADBJP government headed by Parkash Singh Badal announced the Zila Parishad elections in Punjab. The elections were conducted in one single phase on 12th May while some polling station was declared sensitive, where elections were holding on 26th may with Panchayat elections. After the announcement of elections the political parties go ahead before the electoral with their respective manifestos.

After issuing the notification of election congress, SAD-BJP alliance and BSP selected their candidates. Besides these parties, other political parties who were also involved in Zila Parishad elections were CPI and CPM, but their role was not very effective because the main fight was between congress and SAD-BJP alliance to capture the power.

If the village Panchayat Election in 2008 were aimed at acquiring Legitimacy, rebuilding people's confidence and restoring democratic political process in the state of Punjab, the objective of the Zila Parishad/Panchayat Samiti polls in May 2008, particularly according to the opposition parties, was to consolidate the position of the ruling party in the state. These parties alleged large-scale electoral malpractices. The congress party members accused the ruling party of throwing overboard all democratic norms. They termed these elections as a fraud which violated all democratic and normal values. Although Akali rejected these allegations as false and politically motivated. The elections overwhelming majority of Akali's as Chairman and Vice-Chairman of Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad.

As the consequence of the reservation policy for Scheduled Castes in Panchayati Raj institutions following the 73rd & 74<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment, it was expected that Panchayat Raj Institutions would now ensure representation to Dalits, so as to make it more democratic. Through structural changes, it was that the new leadership would be different from traditional leadership in the sense that it would not represent just the dominant strata of society, as has been the case so for.

The literature on grassroots leadership studies shows that number of Dalits in Panchayati Raj institutions was meager before 73rd constitutional Amendment Act. One or two Dalits were either co-opted or nominated. People of upper castes and political influential families dominated

positions reserved for Scheduled Castes in PRIs. The Panchayat election of 1994 has brought a major change in the character and composition of Panchayati Raj institutions. A large number of people from the underprivileged section of society have not only been elected to various position but have also come to occupy important positions like chairman of Panchayat Samiti and president of Zila Parishad Reservation may be the only way to ensure the presence of Scheduled Castes in the PRIs as the traditions and conservations of rural areas, patriarchal nature of family, the lack of education and access to information and media, the poor exposure of outside world etc have been obstructing the opportunities of the SCs earlier.

.The influence of caste on the politics of Punjab is evident. One has seen that the person who occupied the top position socially, economically and educationally is the one who actually dominate the politics of Punjab. In reality, it is not the people of all categories who control the politics of this state but it is guided by a limited category of people. As far as leadership at the grassroots level is concerned the village scene reflects the tradition of leadership role of the landed class. The important fact is that a handful of the landed elite have been dominating the Gram Panchayat and the other two Panchayati Raj Institutions. The poor and marginal farmers are not allowed to have any effective say in village affairs. Elite among the Dalits have been recognized as leaders of their castes and communities. In some areas where they were numerically or economically dominant, leadership role was assumed by them at the district, sub-division or village level.

### **Dalit Leadership in Punjab Legislative Assembly**

In the democracy, the Legislators are so significant that they represent the sentiments, psyche as well as the physical entities of their people. Members of the legislative Assembly are chosen through direct elections by territorial constituencies in the state. Legislators are the key figures in the socio-economic and political affairs of the state. The role of legislative leadership is important in the developing countries where the gap between political elite and masses is wide. Leaders are perhaps the only link between rulers and the masses and between upper and lower classes.

The term legislative leadership is restricted in its application. It generally includes all those leaders, who happen to be members of the representative Assemblies or Legislatures. Since these Legislators play a decisive role in the management of the state affairs and to that extent they can be termed as political leaders. The Punjab Legislative Assembly was formed after



independence in the year 1952. The number of members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly has been revised several times. In 1952, the number of members was curtailed and reduced from 154 to 81. The strength of the Assembly was again revised after the general elections of 1967 and the Assembly was given the permission to accommodate 104 members. Again in 1977, the number of seats in the Assembly was increased to 117 on the basis of the 1971 census. Presently the strength of the Punjab Legislative Assembly is 117. Similarly, the Dalits representation in Punjab Legislative Assembly has also been revised. In 1967 to 1977, 23 out of 104 seats were reserved for Dalits. Since 1977 the number of reserved seats was increased to 29. However it needs to be noted that with the latest delimitation of the constituencies the number of reserved seats in Punjab has been raised to 32.

The politics of Punjab has been eventful since its reorganization on November 1966. The Congress party and the Shiromani Akali Dal have been the main power contenders in Punjab. Before 1967 elections, there was the dominance of the Congress party in the state political system but after 1967 elections, the Shiromani Akali Dal has broken its dominance. After 1967, Akali Dal formed its government. And in subsequent years, both Congress and Akali Dal formed governments in the state by rotation. Political parties have politicized the caste system because they take caste into consideration not only while selecting candidates for elections but also while assigning ministerial berths and even filling the posts of organizational hierarchy. The economic status of Jat Sikhs has been enhanced by the benefits of the Green Revolution and this led to the politicization of their caste affiliations. As they constitute the majority of the rural population, they obviously control the strings of the political power in the state and command a position of considerable influence in both the major political parties- the Akali Dal and the Congress. The Jat Sikhs form the main support base of the Akali Dal and it always selects a Jat Sikh as the Chief Minister and the party President. Even the Congress party, which is based on secularism, is not immune from the caste and religion. There was always a Jat Sikh Chief Minister in Congress except the one OBC Chief Minister.

In the context of Dalit politics, Punjab is an important state because it has the highest proportion of Dalits in its total population (Census, 2001). The Dalits account for approximately 30 per cent of the total population of the state. The position of Dalits in Punjab is different from the rest of the country. They are more educated, conscious, liberated and empowered. The Sikhism is supposed to have been one of the liberalizing influences on the lives of the Dalits of

Punjab which has also provided enormous scope for Dalit identity formation and assertion. The Sikh Gurus' opposition to Brahminical orthodoxy and caste reduced the oppressive nature of Casteism in Punjab. In Punjab, Dalit leaders have not been able to mobilize Dalit people politically on the basis of caste because the question of untouchability is not so strong as in other north Indian states.

Dalits in Punjab have experienced political power either through two main political parties i.e. the Congress and the Akali Dal or through BSP which claims to be their representative. The support base of the Communist Parties (CPI or CPI (M)) is not limited to any single caste, rather it is broad based. Infact, Dalits have been numerically dominant amongst the Communist leadership also.

As the main focus of this part is on the profile of the Dalit Leaders in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the data for the same has been collected from 1967 to 2007. Table 4.5 shows the number of the Dalit leaders who were able to become members of the Legislative Assembly from different political parties from 1967 to 2007.

### **Age**

All the world constitutions require the attainment of a certain age by the representatives for reasons of experience and knowledge. This is necessary for the discharge of legislative duties which are not likely to be possessed by minors. India is no exception. Here the qualifying age for entry into the state Legislative Assembly as well as the Lok Sabha has been fixed as 25 years by the Indian Constitution. It was assumed by the Constitution makers, that a person is mature enough at that age for active participation in Legislative. The constitution lays down no upper age limit.

### **Education**

Education is a pivot around which the gradual development of a country revolves. There are no two views about the desirability of educated persons being returned to the legislatures because education level is not only a major indicator of one's personality, but also enables him to think and tackle the problems being faced by the people. Bhatt (1967) accorded importance to education and observed that illiteracy restricts one's capacity to give thoughtful judgment on issues of importance. Education facilitates the development of a progressive attitude in individuals towards social and economic problems for the present analysis, the educational qualification of the members has been classified into 5 categories i.e. (i) illiterate (ii) under

matriculates (iii) matriculates/Higher secondary or intermediates (iv) graduate (v) post graduates Including, Law, M.Ed. and Technical qualification.

### **Occupation**

Modern era is an era of functional specialization. In the present age, the society has been divided into numerous occupational groups. The standard of living of the people in any country largely depends upon the national income of the country. National income depends upon the per capita income and per capita income is the resultant of occupation. In Punjab, almost 90 per cent people directly or indirectly have a deep relation with agriculture.

The members of Punjab Legislative Assembly come from various walks of life. Income is one of the important criteria not only to determine the social status of a member but also to enable him to play a useful role as a legislator. To classify the Dalit legislators according to their occupation was not an easy task. The reason for this was that many Legislators had more than one occupation but out of the fear of divulging their real income they do not tell anything about their multifarious business activities. They just record agriculture, business, advocate, politics or social service as their main occupation. But they have additional sources of income like - transport, contracts, mines, brick kiln, rice sellers etc.

### **Legislative Experience**

It is a common practice of all political parties to re-nominate the majority of its sitting members. A change is affected only when it is warranted by local requirements. Old and experienced members of the party are thus returned again and again and being already conversant with rules of the game, they acquire influence and power in the process.

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## **Profile of Doaba region of Punjab**

History, geographical condition, demography, socio-economic background of a community considerably affects the behaviors, values and discernment of the individuals composing it. So for the proper examines of the role of social elements to political participation, a brief account of socio-economic profile of Doaba region of Punjab in general and socio-economic profile of the Dalit respondents in particular is presented in the following pages.

### **Profile of Jalandhar**

History of Jalandhar District involves three ages - ancient, medieval and modern. The history of Jalandhar District, in ancient period, the district involved the entire of the Upper Doaba from Ravi River to Sutlej River. According to the Padama Purana, Jalandhar district name is derived from the demon king Jalandhara. The whole Punjab and the region of Jalandhar District was area of the Indus Valley Civilization. Mohenjodaro site was under the Indus Valley Civilization having been found expands. Many archaeological explorations have done during the recent years and have pulled the ancient times of Jalandhar District of Harappa.

Further, the ancient history of Jalandhar District tells that this certain district was a part of the large areas covered by the Indus Valley Civilization during the history of ancient time. This civilization developed dominates to the Aryan Civilization of this Area. The excavations done in Jalandhar District have described the traces of Harappa culture in east Punjab. The earliest historical describe Jalandhar District during the age of Kanishka. From the latter half of the tenth century up to 1019 AD, Jalandhar district was under in the Shahi Kingdom of Punjab and it was a most prime city in the empire. In the medieval period, Jalandhar played a major role in administration of Doaba region of Punjab under the Mughal Emperors and it remained capital of this region.

In 1766 AD Jalandhar was under the leadership of the Sikh Misal of the Faizullapuria, Khushal Singh was a great warrior. His son Budh Singh was his successor and emerged as prior leader of this misl. He created a bricks fort in the capital, the site of which is now called Killa Mohalla. Many other leaders establish forts of fire bricks. In 1811, Maharaja Ranjit Singh declared to invade the Faizullapuria misl of the Jalandhar Doab and he sent Diwan Mohkam for this purpose. The first Anglo Sikh War (1845-46 AD), was not fought in Jalandhar Doaba.

Sardar Ranjodh Singh Majithia with their force passed through Doaba region and was met to the army of Ahluwalia chief. Because of defeating of the Sikhs in this battle, this region between Sutlej and Beas River was gone under the influence of British government.

The modern history of Jalandhar District remembers that after the annexation of Punjab in 1846 John Lawrence was the first commission of Jalandhar Doab. Many military Camps were create at Jalandhar, Phillaur, Nakodar and Kartarpur. And, a railway track was lie from Beas to Jalandhar in 1869 and was completed to Phillour by next year. The Doaba region was linked to other cities of Punjab by Railway Bridge. Beas `Bridge was built in 1869 and over Sutlej in 1870. The formation of the District Congress Committee was done in the year 1917. It was permitted by the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. The representative of the District Congress Committee of Jalandhar involved in the Provincial Political Conference that was held at Lahore in 1917. In March 1919 The Rowlatt Act was passed by the British government. Modern history of Jalandhar District also tells that the formation of Khilafat movement was done in early 1920. The main aim of this movement was force to British rulers to change their policy or behavior towards Turkey. Mahatma Ghandi was gave their sympathy and support to this movement. Jalandhar District was announced 'Proclaimed Area' under the Seditious meetings Act. After the independence the Jalandhar district was affected by communal despites and withdrawal of minority community from both sides of the frontier, consequent upon the partition of the country.

Jalandhar city has a Municipal Corporation which is under Jalandhar Metropolitan region. The Jalandhar city is relate to Punjab region of India. The Jalandhar city name is derived from a demon king who is found in the Puranas and Mahabharata. According to many philosophers, Jalandhar was the capital of the state of lav, son of Rama. Jalandhar' means area inside the water, it is situated between the two rivers Sutlej and Beas, the Jalandhar was known as Trigartta, because its area was surrounded by three rivers, Sutlej, Beas and Ravi.

As per provisional reports of Census India, population of Jalandhar in 2011 is 862,886; of which male and female are 457,636 and 405,250 respectively. Although Jalandhar city has population of 862,886; its urban / metropolitan population is 874,412 of which 463,636 are males and 410,776 are females.

## **Places of interest**

### **Imam Nasir Mausoleum and Jamma Masjid**

Imam Nasir is a good-looking original mausoleum situated in the heart of Jalandhar and is 800 years old. The Jama Masjid nearby is approximately 400 years old.

### **Shiv Mandir**

The temple situated at Gur Mandi near Imam Nasir mausoleum and established by the Lodhi rulers. It was considered that this temple was create by the Nawab of Sultanpur Lodhi, This temple has a mix art of Muslim Hindu architecture. The main gate is built in the style of a mosque while the whole of the building is in Hindu style.

### **Sodal Mandir**

The festival of Sodal is celebrated in 'Anand Chaturdashi' in September. Thousands of devotees mass is coming on this occasion the child Deity here is believed to grant wishes of devotees.

### **Gurdwara Chhevin Padshahi**

The sixth Guru of the Sikhs, Guru Hargobind was come in Jalandhar during his tour of Doaba region and he was discussion with a holy Muslim saint, Shaikh Darvesh. There is a Gurudwara sahib in Basti Shaikh called Chhevin Padshahi where the talk was held. The great debate had between Guru Ji and Shaikh Darvesh about spiritual matters which created good impact on the holy man. Baba Deep Singh and some scholars prepared a copy of Sri Guru Granth Sahib between 1715 and 1728.

### **St Mary's Cathedral Church**

St Mary's Cathedral with its rare cosmo-culture design is praise to the Punjabi tradition. This Cathedral at Jalandhar garrison, begin by prototypical of His Holiness Pope John Paul II is the only one of its form in the East. The old church compelled to St. Patrick was built in 1947 and the creation of this new church was laid in 1986.



## **Tulsi Mandir**

Tulsi Mandir is known as Temple of Vrinda and is an early gravestone in the city situated in the Kot Kishan Chand locality. The formation of this temple was in prestige of Vrinda who was wife of the demon king Jalandhara. There is storage chamber in temple for bathing and washing the cloths.

## **Desh-Bhagat Memorial Hall**

Desh-Bhagat Memorial Hall has been established to sustain the memory of revolutionary who has lost their lives in the fight for freedom from the British rule.

## **Wonder Land**

Wonderland is a merriment water playground with water games and water mount. This Park has over 11 acres with many exciting rides and provides healthy entertainment to all age groups. The park is situated far away 6 kms from Jalandhar Bus terminus and 8 kms from the Railway Station on Nakodar Road. The water rides involves bumper cars, flying jets, horror house, boating, kiddies' boating, play house, flying dragon and a slide splash. The wave pool is another desirability of the water park. There is an dance floor, where boys and girls enjoy dancing on the tunes of the latest Punjabi hit songs and a canopy that has artificial clouds from where the water comes down like a rainfall.

## **Profile of Hoshiarpur district**

History of Hoshiarpur district was an area of Indus valley Civilization. Current describing that the whole region near the Sivalik Foothills was chooses for occupation not only by the Paleolithic man also by those in the historical period. In the investigations, seven early Stone Age artifacts have been found there. Alone side these discoveries, among the archeological remains in Hoshiarpur district. The temples at Dholbaha is located in Hoshiarpur district far away 24 kilometer in north side and especially the regional epic throw light on the early history of the district. The myths associate several places in the district with Pandavas.

16 sites have been founded from the Sivalik Front Range in Hoshiarpur district to managed Stone Age tools. The archeological excavations effectuated Dholbaha located at a distance about 30 Km. from the north-west of Hoshiarpur and defines its correspondence with the pre-historic period. This region has been a place of residence right from the all early times; the archeological excavations have belonged it's out of dates to the Pleistocene period. Sand stone sculptures of medieval period reveals the importance of Dholbaha and drift to creation the fact that Dholbaha valley was captured by the wealthy iconolatry at various intervals.

The present Hoshiarpur district probably was under the leadership of Mohammedan rule on the fall of Jalandhar in 1088 AD but the hills were always remained under the Hindu chieftain. Before the first Mohammedan attack, Raja Shankar Dass was create a fort to protect the empire in the present town of garhshankar, But it was captured by Mahmud Ghazni and subsequently given to Man Singh of Jaipur by emperor Shahab-ud-din Ghori. The certain region of Shivalik hills like Ghuram, Hansi, Sarusti, Samana and other areas were captured by Sultan Muhammad Ghori.

In 1398-99, Amir Taimur was return back from Kabul to Delhi then he exploited to it on large scale. Taimur was want to prevail on Nagarkot, but did not pierce so far in internal the hills. The Hindu Rajas gave him idea to battle. He moved through Bajwara and Dasua in the District. In 1432 AD, Mubarak shah shifted Jalandhar and Lahore from the alter of Nusrat Khan to that of Malik Allahabad kaka Lodhi. Lodhi, who was not yet on his way to Lahore to take over the change was attacked by jasrat, who was forced to pursue sheltor at kothi which located between Jaijon and Mahhalpur about 16 Km in the south of Bajwara in Hoshiarpur district. Jaijon of the Hoshiarpur district was ones the place of Jaswal rajas.

After death of Aurangzeb in 1707, Punjab was split into six Doab. Jalandhar Doab had 69 Mahals. In the Doab, the most important areas like as Sham Churasi, Tanda, Mukerian and Hoshiarpur were gone under the Hoshiarpur district. Further, history also tells that Hoshiarpur district was captured by British government at the end of the first Anglo-Sikh War. In March 1846, John Lawrence became the first Commissioner of the trans-Sutlej states, and the division was commanded by him until 1848, when the Commissioner was made inferior to the Resident at Lahore, when the Second Sikh War start in 1848, the Rajas of Jaswan. Kangra and Datarpur rebel against the British government.

The Sepoy Mutiny 1857 did not affect the Hoshiarpur region. However, a large number of safeguard estimates were taken by the British supremacy. Unpopular policy of the British Empire raised a political tempest in Punjab covering the Hoshiarpur area. To strengthen the political position in Punjab, district congress committees were created in all the districts, the district congress committee, Hoshiarpur was set up in 1917. The members of this community participated in the provisional political conference that was held at Lahore the same year. The Hoshiarpur congress committee held a public conference at Hoshiarpur on 23 July 1920 for support of the Non-Cooperation organization. The Indian National Congress passed the Quit India Resolution on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1942. Thus, the history of Hoshiarpur played a fantastic role in the revolutionary organizations of the country.

### **Significant of City**

Among the numerous early cultural sites in Hoshiarpur district was the Jaijion region. It was initiated by Jaijjat rishi around 11th century at the Shivalik foothills, Jaijion was a prosperous trade site.

It was also known as a pivot for eastern works. Many philosophers and proponents of Sanskrit, Astrology, Ayurveda and music came there for their work. Music composers Pandit Husan Lal and Bhagat Ram and prominent Pakistani poet Tufail Hoshiarpuri were related to this place. The late Ayurveda scholar Pandit Govind Ram Vatsyayan and late Sanskrit laureate Acharya Vishwanath belonged to Jaijion town. After the years when Chandigarh came under Jaijion then lost its distinction and now it is a sleepy town on the frontier of Punjab and Himachal.

Mahilpur is an early village on the Shivalik hills. Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang came there who wrote about this village as Sri Mahipalpur in his notes. Now Mahilpur has a grade of a town. Sadarpur is situated near Garhshankar in the Shivalik hills. It is a small conurbation. There is a small early railway station in Jaijion from the British Era.

### **Population**

According to the 2011 Census, Hoshiarpur district has a population of 1,586,625. The Rural population of male and female of this district is 63,4470 and 61,7146. Its total is 125,

1656. The Urban population of male and female is 17, 4587 and 16, 0382. Rural population has 78.89% and Urban 21.11%. The SC population of this district male are 236295 and female 228742 of rural area and urban area population of male and female is 4, 8027 and 4, 4440. Total of SC Rural area population is 4, 65037. It has 35.14% population from the whole district population. The district has a population density of 683 inhabitants per square kilometer (1,770/sq mi). Its population growth rate over the decade 2001-2011 was 17.95%. Hoshiarpur has a sex ratio of 962 females for every 1000 males, and a literacy rate of 85.40%.

Schedule castes population in the district is 35.14% percent of the total population. The proportion of Scheduled Castes population in Hoshiarpur district is higher than the state's Schedule Castes population (32 percent) and is graded at the 5th position from all the districts. It may be stated that part of the Scheduled Castes population differs among blocks of Hoshiarpur district. In four blocks the population of Scheduled Castes is more than 40 percent.

Two blocks namely, Hoshiarpur-1 and Hoshiarpur-II have 48 percent Scheduled Castes population. In Mahilpur block the proportion of Scheduled Castes population is 44 percent and in Bhunga block it is 41 percent while in the remaining blocks the proportion of Scheduled Castes population is less than 40 percent.

### **Profile of Nawanshahr**

Nawanshahr is established in the 14<sup>th</sup> century by the afghan general Nav-Sher-Khan in the time of Allaudin Khalji (1295-1316). It was known as Naushar that time which changed after the time to Nawaanshehar, it was blaimed that many people eradicated by changing course of Sutlej River and they came at this place to satteled. It knows as Nawaanshehar which mean a new city.

The history of Nawanshahr is belonged with Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, Sikh misls and maharaja Ranjit singh. Main motive of Sikh misls of Doaba region was freedom of the Sikhs from Muslim invaders. They make faujdar to Shams khan of their region to fight against the stark behavior of the Muslims and make some changes in their attitudes.

Orthodox Muslin rulers were against the Sikhism. Banda Singh Bahadur was a brave worrier. He attacks the Rohan fort which was under Mugal jagirdar Lnayak khan and they

captured it. Afterwards Sikhs had face many defeats. Shams Khan wanted to spread the feeling of Jihad in Muslim peoples. He captured the Rohan fort from Sikhs. When Shams Khan went back from their region. The Sikhs could not prevail on Rohan Fort but the whole Doaba region which includes Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Kapurthala and SBS Nagar (Nawanshahr). The Sikhs faced again drastic behavior of Muslim rulers after Banda Singh Bahadur's death in 1716.

During the period of 1716-1753, the Sikhs had to bear rigid actions of the Muslim rulers, like Abdul Sumed Khan, Zakaria Khan and Mir Manu.

Abdali in 1757, This area was conquered by Afghan ruler Ahmed Sha. He declared himself as administrator. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was belonging to Ahluwalia misls; he captured this region in 1767 when he returned back from Kabul. Nawanshahr, Nakodar and Naushera area came under the chieftain of Tara Singh Gheba of Dalewalia misl and declared his capital to Rohan city. Maharaja Ranjit Singh conquered the whole area of Dalewalia misl after the death of Tara Singh Gheba in 1807. Jarnail Khushal Singh was a brave warrior and he established a Baradari in Nawanshahr which had twelve doors and big domes in all of its corners, it remains still obvious there.

Sikh gurus and great Sikhs visited in this area. Baba Sri Chand was the eldest son of Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji. He was passed through this area to Kiratpur Sahib where he expended the three years under the Tahli tree. There is now built a Gurdwara Sahib which called Tahli Sahib. Ninth Sikh Guru, Sri Guru Teg Bahadur Ji came this area in August 1665. When he was going to Anandpur Sahib with his wife Mata Gujri Ji and stayed for five months here. There is situated a Gurdwara Sahib which called Manji Sahib.

This region came under of British government after first Anglo-Sikh war in 1846. Who conquered the whole Punjab in 1847?

For administrative purpose this area divided in four districts like Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Kapurthala and SBS Nagar (Nawanshahr). British government was not gave their attention to develop this area. Now Nawanshahr involved of the earlier Nawanshahr sub division of Jalandhar district and Balachaur tehsils of Hoshiarpur district.

Nawanshahr district have a wider participation in the freedom struggle of country. Saheed S. Bhagat Singh was born in Khatkar kalla which is far away 11Km. from Nawanshahr district. A museum related with S. Bhagat Singh and their family is built in this village. His Uncle S. Alit Singh, S. Kisan Singh and S. Swaran Singh were involved in Kisan movement.

Many Gaddari babes belonged this area who was involved in Gaddar movement in 1914-15. The Babbar Akali movement formed in this area in 1921-22. Baba Karam Singh Daulatpur was editor of Babbar Akali Akhbar (newspaper). This movement was based on violent activities for gaiting their aims. Master Kabul Singh Gobindpur was belonged to Gobindpur village of this district. He took the fast-unto-death during the freedom movement of the country. 85 persons appointed in Indian National Army which created by netaji Subash Chander Bose. People of this area had high patriotic spirit.

The grade of district level provided to Nawanshahr as sixteen district of Punjab on November 7, 1995. This district has the total area of 1267sq. Km. and it has large area from district of Fatehgarh Sahib which has an area of 1173 sq Km. It is situated in 31\*8\* north and 767 in east. The district headquarter of Nawanshehar is about 55 kilometer and 88 Km. from Chandigarh with Phagwara via Ropar. It is linked by railway to Phagwara and Jalandhar. Chief Minister of Punjab S. Parkash Singh Badal on 27 September 2008 on the birth anniversary of S. Bhagat singh announced changing name of district from Nawanshehar to Saheed Bhagat Singh Nagar.

According to Punjab Statistical abstract 2011 the population of Nawanshehar is 612,310. The SC population of male and female of this district is 108494 and 104495. In the context of Dalit population Nawanshehar has highest Dalit population i.e. 42.51% per cent. Out of the total Dalit population 88.66 per cent live in rural areas 89.7 and 11.33 per cent in urban areas. The number of females per thousands of males in this district 913 and this ratio is quite higher than the overall average of 874 for the state as a whole. The density of population per square Km. of this district is 463 only which is lower than the state's average by about. 3.9 per cent.

The overall literacy rate of this district is 76.86 per cent while for male and female, this percentage stands at 83.67 and 69.52 respectively. There are five Panchayat Samitis having 82 members and 440 Panchayat. Elections were held for 426 Panchayat in 2003. The remaining 14

Panchayats were elected. In the district political bodies there are 440 Panchayats. Out of 2808 Panchayat members, 958 are from General category, 577 which are women. 759 are Dalits, 392 are Dalit women and 122 backward classes. These Panchayats are headed by 112 Dalit Sarpanches and 55 are Dalit women Sarpanches. Nawanshehar has 3 Legislative Assembly seats. Out of the 3 seats 2 seats are reserved for Dalits. Congress and Akali Dal candidates have been winning these seats rotationally. Although both these parties have been winning these elections but B.S.P. and communist have also their mass bases. B.S.P. in particular has strong position in this area. Nawanshehar is a productive district.

The people of this district are very diligent. This district has not any family whose members have not migrated to foreign countries for obtaining jobs. Nawanshehar district is also known as for their huge involvement in the freedom movements of the country. Shaheed-e-Azam Bhagat Singh was born this district. The Babbar Akali movement also developed from this area. Except Balachaur subdivision, all other sub-divisions of Nawanshehar district are socially, economically and politically well enlarged. Nawanshehar has a number of agro-based producing units On the basis of functional classification,

Nawanshehar has been categorized as a town with diversified activities where service, trade, commerce and industry have been establish equally important in the lives of its people. In the context of Dalits, Dalits have a highest population in the state. Dalits in this district are economically well established. Ad-Dharmis are commanding in this district. The literacy gap between Dalits and general category is not high from other districts.

### **Socio-Economic Background of the Respondents'**

The socio-economic variables to a great extent determine the variations in political participation level. Political behavior like any other aspects of human behavior takes place in a particular socio-economic and cultural milieu. It is affected by social structure, economic development and historical factors combining together. Background characteristics of an individual play an important role in formulating his/her preference and decisions. After having given the over all profile of the two districts – Patiala and Nawanshehar in this part, an attempt has been made to analyze the socio-economic background of the respondents (300 in all) from these two districts.

## **Profile of Kapurthala**

In the 11th Century Kapurthala was established during the period of Mahmood Gaznvi. The town was founded by Rana Kapoor of Rajput Gharana of Jaisalmer. The royal family of Kapurthala is successor of Nawab Jassa Singh Ahluwalia who was a synchronous of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah. Nawab Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was intelligent person and he made himself the chief leader of Sikhs of that time. In early time Kapurthala held property on either side of the Sutlej and even in the Bari Doab. Kapurthala had a specific place in history. It was the capital city of Kapurthala State which called the princely state during the time of the British rule. The Kapurthala was under the leadership of royal families.

This state was founded by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in 1772. He was a brave Sikh warrior and Misdar of the Ahluwalia force. He was born in village Ahlu or Ahluwal near Lahore because it he was famous as Ahluwalia. The Kapurthala state was administrated by this dynasty.

Badar Singh was grandson of Sada Singh. He was married with daughter of a trivial Sardar of the district. Their son Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was born in 1718. Jassa Singh was five years old when his father died in 1723. Later his mother was solicitation to Mata Gujri, the widow of Sikh Guru, Guru Govind Singh to take protection of their son Jassa.

The Sikh sact was spread in all regions under the leadership Nawab Kapoor Singh. Jassa Singh shortly obtained high ranks and respectable job in Sikh Misl. Kapur Singh nominated him his descendent in 1753. And after the seize of Lahore in 1761, Khalsa prestige him with the title of Sultan-ul-Qaum (King of the whole people). He was the first Sikh misl leader take on the surname Ahluwalia (or Walia nowadays) and his forces use the surname Walia or Ahluwalia. He established the state of Kapurthala in 1772, and his followers remained powerful leader in Punjab until the emerge of Ranjit Singh (1780–1839).

Jassa Singh had two daughters and he was dead in 1783. He was pyre at Burj Baba Atal Sahib. Bhag Singh was successor of Jassa Singh. In 1859, Maharaja Randhir Singh obtained 700 square of region in Oudh by the British ruler. It was also known as Oudh Estate of Maharaja



Kapurthala. This area was directive by the Ahluwalia Empire and he was led Sikh leader during the alliance. He was a Misdar of the Ahluwalia Misl.

After the succession to India, Kapurthala State was a area of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union in 1948. Kapurthala is one out of the 22 districts of Punjab. The head quarter of this district is the city of same name that is Kapurthala city. According to population, its rank is 15 out of the 22 districts of Punjab.

### **Geographical position of Kapurthala**

Beas River constructs its some part of its frontier in the north and whole in the East. It is different from district Gurdaspur in the north and Amritsar and Tarn Taran in the in the West. River Satlej unconnected it from district Ferozpur in the south Jalandhar is in the east of Kapurthala district and Hoshiarpur is in the North-West. It may look curious that tehsils Phagwara of this district is geographically not attached with rest of the district. It is neighboring districts like as Jalandhar, Nawab Shah and Hoshiarpur.

### **Towns and Cities in Kapurthala**

Kapurthala has 7 cities and towns in their district. These are Phagwara (Municipal Corporation), Kapurthala (Municipal Council Class-1), Sultanpur Lodhi (Municipal Council Class-2), Begowal (Nagar Panchayat), Bhulath (Nagar Panchayat), Dhilwan (Nagar Panchayat) and Nadala (Nagar Panchayat). Kapurthala district has four tehsils and two sub-tehsils. Tehsils are Bhulath, Kapurthala, Phagwara, Sultanpur Lodhi and sub tehsils are Dhilwan and Talwandi Chaudhrian.

There are four Legislative Constituencies area like Bhulath, Kapurthala, Phagwara and Saltenpur Lodhi. The villages of the district are divided into 5 development blocks. Dhilwan Kapurthala Nadala Phagwara and Navtej Sing Cheema from Sultanpur Lodhi.

### **MLA from Kapurthala**

During the last assembly elections contested in 2012, out of the 4 MLAs from the district, one belongs to Shiromani Akali Dal, 1 is from BJP and 2 MLAs are from Congress. The list of MLAs from Kapurthala elected in 2012 elections is Jagir Kaur from Bhulath. She belongs to

SAD. Rana Gurjit Singh of Congress was elected from Kapurthala. Som Parkash of BJP was elected from Phagwara and Navtej Singh Cheema from Sultanpur Lodhi.

## **Population**

Kapurthala State was sometime princely state of Punjab. It is develop across 352 square miles (910 km<sup>2</sup>). According to the 1901 census the state had a population of 314,341 and accommodated two towns and 167 villages. In 1930, Kapurthala became part of the Punjab State Agency and endorsed to the Union of India in 1947.

According to 2011 census Kapurthala had a population of 101,854, males were 55,485 and females were 46,169. The literacy rate was 85.82 per cent. As of 2001 India census Kapurthala had a population of 817636. Males constitute 55% of the population and females 45%. Kapurthala has an average literacy rate of 65%, higher than the national average of 59.5%: male literacy is 67%, and female literacy is 62%. In Kapurthala, 11% of the population is under 6 years of age. According to 2011 census, the total population of Kapurthala district is 815168.

## **Moorish Mosque**

A striking example of the temporal history of Kapurthala is the Moorish Mosque. It is fantastic model of the Grand Mosque of Marakesh, Morocco and was create by a French architect, Monsieur M Manteaux. It was founded by the last ruler of Kapurthala, Maharaja Jagatjit Singh and was complete after 13 years of foundation from 1917 to 1930. It was sacred in the trace of the late Nawab of Bhawalpur. The Mosque's inner dome comprises adornments by the artists of the Mayo School of Art, Lahore. The Mosque is a National gravestone under the Archaeological Survey of India. It was one of the tombstone formation in the State under the leadership of late Diwan Sir Abdul Hamid Kt., CIE, OBE. It was his anxious interest with Maharaja's favor that the mosque was completed. It has wooden entrance of the Lahore Museum.

## **Jagatjit Club**

Jagatjit Club is an wonderful building situated in the heart of the Kapurthala. It is based on the Greek Roman style of architecture. Its design favors the Parthenon on the Acropolis of Athens and features the Coat and Arms of the former ruling family of Kapurthala with their royal

motto "Pro Rege et Patria" (For King and Country). The building has been used for a kind of motive since it was established and was operated as a church in the early nineteenth century, as a cinema hall in the 1940s and now houses a local club which involves a well built badminton court, a card room and a dining hall.

### **Shalimar Garden**

Shalimar Gardens are located in the centre of Kapurthala and provide a bolt from the hustle-bustle of the town. The Shahi Samadhs (The Royal Cenotaphs) in the Shalimar Gardens highlight the former ruling Dynasty. Marble Obelisk inside the red tombstone Chambers, are reminders to the former Kings and their families. Grand structure created with marble plinth in 1880, houses the Samadhs of Maharajas Kharak Singh, Jagatjit Singh and Paramjit Singh.

### **Panch Mandir (Five Temples)**

Panch Mandir is located in Kapurthala. The temple complex has a fantastic formation and it has five small temples. Built during the age of Sardar Fateh Singh, a specific feature of this temple is that from the entry door, one can view all the five figures and pay veneration to all. There is a temple Mandir Shivala Dewan Banna Mal Gautam in Nawanshahr which is model of Panch Mandir Kapurthala. Dewan Banna Mal Gautam was Chief Minister of Kapurthala State and Manager of His Highness Maharaja Sir Randhir Singh Bahadur of Kapurthala's estates in Oudh.

### **The State Gurdwara**

The State Gurdwara was situated in Kapurthala and consecrated in 1915 under the in charge of Revail Singh. Built in the Indo- Saracenic style, it has most payment of marble haloed by the feet of the hundreds of followers. It is located in the center of the city on the Sultanpur road.

### **Brahmkund Mandir**

11 Mukhi Shiv Ling Brahmkund Temple is belong to jathere of Gautam Brahmin Family of Dewan Banna Mal Gautam (Misr). This temple was established by Dewan Banna Mal's sons Dewan Achru Mal Gautam and Dewan Sundri Mal Gautam. Dewan Banna Mal was Dewan of

Maharaja Randhir Singh Bahadur of Kapurthala and Manager of Kapurthala's estate in Oudh. Bana Mala Wala village in Mand area of Kapurthala is after Banna Mal's Name and Dewan Banna Mal has also built Shivala Dewa Banna Mal in Nawanshahr.

### **Gurdwara Ber Sahib**

The famous Gurudwara Ber Sahib is located at Sultanpur Lodhi. Kapurthala has four sub division It has most specification to Sikhism where the First Guru of Sikhs sact, Guru Nanak Dev ji, expend 14 years of his life and achieved knowledge while bathing in a small river, the Bein. The place known as its name from a Ber tree. He first uttered the Mool Mantra or the "Sacred Word or Revelation" of Sikhism

### **Kanjli Wetlands**

Kanjli Wetlands is located on the western Bein of Kapurthala and has been involved in under the Ramsar ordinary. It is a very famous site for bird watching and boating. An extensive project is currently being tackle here to develop it into a destination for bird watching replete with modern-day facilities. Sadly the Kanjli Wetlands have been in a state of neglect lately with little attention being given by the authorities to the condition of flora and fauna and its surrounding infrastructure.

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## **Political Participation of Dalits in Doaba region of Punjab**

In Indian society, almost supreme power is commanded by the upper sanction of society. Many celebrity Dalits have made strong place in politics of India. The Constitution of India provides many political rights. The political status of Dalits became different much less than what the independent successes show.

Caste biasness is an inaccurate artifact as morally, legally and democratically. But caste equality can come about only when Dalits use political weapons that provide to them to achieve it, that is political bustle is mandatory to the struggle for Dalits' rescue.

Political participation has whole kinds and difference in soul in different countries and in dissimilar constituencies within a country. In the first chapter, political participation mention to these directives described to influence the behavior and liveliness of political decision makers and it squeezes many activities create to obtaining this end. It is asserted to sway the choice of political leaders and the choice of public policies. The elevation of involvement is not uniformly interrupted throughout the population. Diverse studies have depicted that political participation is directly belonged to category or income level, educational qualifications, professional position, caste and religion. It has also been related with a diversity of other components.

Lester, W. M Milbrath<sup>30</sup> (1965), proposed four levels of political involvement on the basis of a study of enlist design among local party solemn in the United States, The first level involves to "Apathetics" they have not understanding about of the political position around them. Many of them have not involvement in voting system or have not any attentiveness during voting. Many researches, nevertheless, tells that non- participation appears from many processes and has many dissimilar manifestations the political system. Non- voting, in fact, may be a participatory react an act of objection or in upshot a negative conclusion.

An Indian research of 1972 Assembly polls in Bihar has also described this side of non-voting. The second altitude of involvement is related to those who are engaged in "spectator activities". This resemblance to what Angus Campbell has called "the peripheral voters"<sup>30</sup> they have grasping politics bustle and some understanding about it but they have not more involvement in the actions of voting. The third level is formed of those participated in conversion activities which participate attending a political meeting, involvement in campaign ventures or making a benefaction to a political party. The final level is created of those who involve in the

political arena and participate in "gladiatorial activities" such as level for and belongings public and party offices.

Elevations of political participation of Indian electorate have been examined by Bashiruddin Ahmad (1971). He has seized into version the participation of the electorate in thirteen political activities which collects money for a party and/or a favorite candidate for voting. On this basis, he denied five steps of participation or group voters, viz. Apathetic, Peripherals, Spectators, Auxiliaries and Politists. The first, second and the fifth levels are the same steps used by American scholars (Palmer, 1975). The other two steps form the third group "Transitional activities" of Milbrath. According to Ahmad, 'Spectators' are those who only involvement in voting and have activeness and knowledge about politics as well as those who vote with ordinary level of passion and engage in some other work. Auxiliaries tell about those who vote and participate in one or two other political activities with medium levels of absorption and knowledge. According to his guess, nearly 12% of Indian electorate is high Politists. Auxiliaries and high Politists, according to him, special observation will be given to category of electoral. "It is these two groups representing about 29% of the electorate, who together formation and impact political outcomes." Political participation is a procedure of expansion of people. The main impel in Dalits' involvement is how far they have supposed the role of cines beyond their conventional roles and to what remaining such a role has been validated to the political structure.

Involvement of the Dalits in politics is so much main because of social move, Dalit organizations were based on right a demand for equality in caste based anatomy. The right is appraised to be essential in the present conditions for entering the caste ruling society of political decision making. The right to vote and reservation in political stake gives an individual with an important indirect chance to be the ruler of his own destiny. In India, the nationalist movement, social movements, Dalit movements and the Indian Constitution all were main in Dalits' political participation. The role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Mahatma Gandhi and Kanshi Ram is value state in this context. The main center of their libration Dalits from the caste slavery to active politics. It is often held that political participation is the inventory of democracy. The higher the terms of participation, the healthier is the democratic system. Participation is a system which relates people with the political system. In a society where all categories are traditionally straggling behind the others, where they can be grouped as the lower section or disadvantaged class broad

participation and mobilization at higher levels is necessary for their upliftment and that in spins is healthier for the democratic system.

Most of the people participate in politics during the election period. But involvement through voting is only seasonal and cannot bring out the whole importance of political participation. Participation during election period could be much more significant. Although the magnitude of participation is considerable in elections, electoral participation is not equal to voting which in inclusion to voting involves other participation such as attending election meetings, campaigning in the election or collecting funds etc. The area of participation has been examined here in two parts - in expressions of voting participation and in terms of political participation other than voting. Since all reacts are but a sub set of the same occurrence, knowing about a person's involvement in one activity authorizes us to evaluate at least to some area how far he/she is likely to participate in another movement. Those persons who involve in the most challenging form of participation will likely also participate in the less demanding methods. For example, it may be excluded that a person who has taken a zealous part during campaigning would also caste his/her vote. As this chapter attempts to measure the level of political knowledge and political participation of the Dalit respondents numbering 150 from Doaba region of Punjab, a number of respondents were choosed. On the basis of the responses the examines is given below:

### **Level of Political Awareness**

#### **Respondents' Interest in Politics**

To begin with it is important to know how far the respondents have an interest in politics. Accordingly they were asked to designate their interest in the political affairs. An attempt was made to obtain the strength of political interest of the respondents on the basis of their answers.



**Table 1.1**  
**Respondents Interest in Politics**

<b>Interest in Politics</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>21 (42%)</b>	<b>18 (0.36)</b>	<b>9 (36%)</b>	<b>10 (40%)</b>	<b>58 (38%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>29 (58%)</b>	<b>32 (64%)</b>	<b>16 (64%)</b>	<b>15 (60%)</b>	<b>92 (62%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

Not everyone is attentiveness in politics; the majority of our respondents (62%) conveyed that they had no interest in politics. Mainly people acquire interested in politics only during election times; and lesser number of people take periodic attraction separately from elections. In our representative only 38% of the respondents showed interest in politics. It may be anticipated that youngster would have a excessive level of interest in politics. But the investigator has found no constant design of connection between age and interest in politics. Still it has been attention in this research that interest in politics keenly decreased from the age category of 60 and above. This examination may be explained in the illumination of distinctive remark of some of the respondents. Some aged person appeared to have lost their interest in politics perhaps due to the reality that they establish hardly any similarity between the professed doctrine and the real politics of the survive political parties. But the younger people arrived to be more escorted by exercise than by ideologies and, therefore, they were initiated to be more attraction in politics contrasted to the aged people. In the context of female respondents the level of interest was initiate to be much lower than in the instance of the male respondents.

### **Knowledge about M.P. and M.L.A. of the Area**

To check of the political consciousness of respondents they were asked very easy questions. For example, they were asked the names of the candidates in previous legislative assembly election, the name of the MLA of their area and their separate party integration. The replies are given in the following three table viz. Table No .2.

**Table 1.2**  
**Respondents Knowing the Name of MLA**

<b>Know the name of MLA</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>31 (62%)</b>	<b>38 (76%)</b>	<b>18 (72%)</b>	<b>19 (76%)</b>	<b>106 (70%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>19 (38%)</b>	<b>12 (24%)</b>	<b>7 (28%)</b>	<b>9 (24%)</b>	<b>47 (30%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (400%)</b>

It has been noticed that only in instance of information about MLA's, majority of the total respondents (70%) were well advised. Only 30% per cent of the respondents did not realize the name of their local M.L.A. Similarly, about the BSP candidate of the region, only 32.7 per cent of the overall respondents knew. Thus, it is clear that more respondents knew about the MLA. The causes for this are not considerably to perceive; first, the electorate are more straight treated with the MLA in terms of development welfares and political sponsorship. Secondly, the area of an MLA's constituency is smaller than that of an MP's constituency. The campaigning inclines to be focused and thus more in depth in sometime than in the latter which in revolve descriptions

for considerable information about MLA. Finally, it is important as his/her umbrella may help the MLA's in their political campaign.

### **Perception towards Dalit Issues**

The Dalit respondents were questioned to give their opinion to a fundamental issue i.e. whether the Dalits should involve energetically in politics or not.

**Table 1.3**  
**Respondents Participation in Politics**

<b>Participation in Politics</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (SBS Nagar)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>38 (76%)</b>	<b>42 (84%)</b>	<b>17 (68%)</b>	<b>14 (56%)</b>	<b>111 (74%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>12 (24%)</b>	<b>8 (16%)</b>	<b>8 (32%)</b>	<b>11 (44%)</b>	<b>39 (26%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

Interestingly a majority of them (74% overall) concurred to the design of involvement. Around 26% per cent from certain the districts did not think it obligatory where as some felt that it depended on the condition. A little percentage did not have any proposal regarding participation. Not much distinction was initiated in the answers from the whole districts.

Orderly to grasp the realization elevation of the respondents more specifically, they were asked to documentation their judgment on the query of the Dalits having a separate part

**Table 1.4**  
**Respondents Have a Party**

<b>Dalits have a Party</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (SBS Nagar)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>44 (88%)</b>	<b>42 (84%)</b>	<b>19 (76%)</b>	<b>17 (68%)</b>	<b>122 (81.3%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>6 (12%)</b>	<b>8 (16%)</b>	<b>6 (24%)</b>	<b>8 (32%)</b>	<b>28 (18.7)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

When questioned if the Dalits should have a different party virtually all the respondents in whole the districts confluence confidently. Out of 150, 81.3% respondents realize that they have a party and 18.7% respondents ignored. Only a tiny number perceived that there was no need to have any political party separately for them.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) is a dynamic party in Indian politics. In supplement to having been the paramount party in Uttar Pradesh, it plays a pivotal role in national politics also. Punjab which has the highest focus of Dalit population in the country also has Bahujan Samaj Party which has not been talented to make use of the Dalit support base to make blemish in the state's politics. But, it asserts to be the only political party constituting the interests of the Dalits in the state.

Orderly to realize what the voter has in intellect while throwing the vote the respondents were questioned to remember what they had topmost in their mind while voting: Party, candidate, caste or religion. The responses are ordered below.

**Table 1.5**  
**Respondents Influence factor**

<b>Voted on the basis</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Party</b>	<b>22 (44%)</b>	<b>19 (38%)</b>	<b>8 (32%)</b>	<b>6 (24%)</b>	<b>55 (36.6%)</b>
<b>Candidate</b>	<b>9 (18%)</b>	<b>8 (16%)</b>	<b>6 (24%)</b>	<b>5 (20%)</b>	<b>28 (18.7%)</b>
<b>Caste</b>	<b>9 (18%)</b>	<b>14 (28%)</b>	<b>7 (28%)</b>	<b>9 (36%)</b>	<b>39 (26%)</b>
<b>Religion</b>	<b>10 (20%)</b>	<b>9 (18%)</b>	<b>4 (16%)</b>	<b>5 (20%)</b>	<b>28 (18.7%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

On the starting point of data it appears that out of one hundred fifty 18.7% respondents had the candidate in mind while voting. On 26% percent and 18.7% percent retain the caste and religion in intellectual respectively. But the great majority of the people 36.6% had the party in mind. This is unavoidable because the voters are instructed that method. The information is directed in terms of party more than in term of candidate and religion or caste. It is also suitable for the voters. The voters take less time to realize the sign of a party at the time of election. To find out the name is also inconvenient for many because of illiteracy. But the sign of parties are importantly printed on the ballot paper and during polling the workers make attempts to bring home to the respondents' intellect the sign of the party rather than any other thing.

In researches on political conduct in India, it has been examined that big standing people play a prominent role in formation the political outlook of Dalits. Effect on a person during and on the day of election is obligatory to recognize.

**Table 1.6**  
**Pressure on Respondents**

<b>Pressure on Respondents</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Upper caste</b>	<b>13 (26%)</b>	<b>9 (18%)</b>	<b>7 (28%)</b>	<b>6 (24%)</b>	<b>35 (23%)</b>
<b>Family member</b>	<b>18 (36%)</b>	<b>22 (44%)</b>	<b>8 (32%)</b>	<b>9 (36%)</b>	<b>57 (38%)</b>
<b>No Pressure</b>	<b>19 (38%)</b>	<b>19 (38%)</b>	<b>10 (40%)</b>	<b>11 (44%)</b>	<b>59 (39%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

Upper caste impact on Dalits' poll conduct is obvious from the table given above. 38% per cent respondents acknowledged that they voted as per the desires of higher castes. 39% per cent respondents describe cast their vote according to their family wishes. The family head appreciates a prestige status and exerts a commanding impact on the family. The family head escorts the political conduct of the members. Mostly women are under this class. It has been famed that for married women, the important impact males are their wife, while for single women; fathers play main role in view change. It is attentiveness to note that, in principle, most of the respondents concur with the formation that the right to vote should be worked by Dalits in liberate freedom, but in practice most of respondent's acknowledge that Dalits are impacted

mostly by the upper caste section or by their own family members. This space between supposed perfect and real opinion is a great barrier to the participation of the Dalits in politics.

**Table 1.7**  
**Respondents Interest in Poll Result**

<b>Interest in Election Result</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>14 (28%)</b>	<b>18 (36%)</b>	<b>12 (48%)</b>	<b>9 (36%)</b>	<b>53 (35.3%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>36 (72%)</b>	<b>32 (64%)</b>	<b>13 (52%)</b>	<b>16 (64%)</b>	<b>97 (64.7%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

Table 1.7 distributes the voters as per their attentiveness in political results. Though election results are keenly observed and debated by the people in common but out of our specimen only 35.3% per cent of the respondents described to have shown interest in election results and the rest of the respondents i.e. 64.7% per cent expressed that they had no interest in such results.

Utter earlier, though voting is the most feasible form of involvement there are other chief kinds of participation as well. It is crucial to find out the participation of Dalits in other political regions because election turn out alone cannot investigate the successful and authentic participation As of Dalits as a whole. So, strive has been made to analyze Dalits' political participation in other areas of the political form in addition to voting. In order to analyze the participation of the respondents in political areas other than voting, they were questioned whether they had participated in the poll campaign, contested any election, debated politics, visited in political meetings etc. Here, only the real voters have been taken into deliberation that

is those who did not exercise their vote have been eliminated. It must be kept in mind that the number of respondents who did not vote is extremely small.

### **Participation in Election Campaign**

Campaign is an crucial part of the poll process. We cannot except of any election in any country being held today without any campaign at all. Strength and area of campaign may certainly differ from one country to another and one instance to another. But there is always some workers previous the election and in Punjab like the area of India campaign is done quite rigorously.

**Table 1.8**  
**Respondents Participation**

<b>Participation in election Campaign</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>14 (28%)</b>	<b>12 (24%)</b>	<b>8 (32%)</b>	<b>11 (44%)</b>	<b>45 (30%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>36 (72%)</b>	<b>38 (76%)</b>	<b>17 (68%)</b>	<b>14 (56%)</b>	<b>105 (70%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

As far as the participation in election campaign of the Dalit respondents is worried, the Table 1.8 shows that overall a great majority i.e. 70% of the respondents did not participate in election campaign and only 30% did. Participate in poll campaign. This shows that most of the Dalits have not zealous interest in activities other than voting. There are a very few people who have not, at one time or another, watched a play of some kind being level. But this does not mean that all of them, or even most of them, have actively participated in the leveling of the play. The same thing may be said about a poll campaign. Many of them perceive interested in the



campaign, but the interest may not be occasion enough to lead to participation in the campaign. While it may be true that all of those who participate in the campaign are engaged in it, the converse would be inaccurate zeal in campaign and participation in campaign are Doaba region of Punjab. We tried to obtain the method of participation of our respondents in poll campaign. As only 60 respondents out of the total 150 had reportedly involved in the election campaign, they were further grade according to their participation in the campaign activities. For further examines these 80 respondents have been taken who can be referred to as "active respondents".

### **Inspiring the Voters**

Out of the total 150 respondents from the four districts who involved in election campaign as many as 70.7% asserted that they inspired the voters to vote. Out of 150 respondents 29.3% asserted that had not inspired the voter for their favored candidate during election similarly. So majority of respondents have zealous inspiration during the election

**Table 1.9**  
**Respondents inspire the Voters**

<b>Inspire the Voters</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (SBS Nagar)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>38 (76%)</b>	<b>34 (68%)</b>	<b>16 (64%)</b>	<b>18 (72%)</b>	<b>106 (70.7%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>12 (24%)</b>	<b>16 (32%)</b>	<b>9 (36%)</b>	<b>7 (28%)</b>	<b>44 (29.3%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

Thus the data shows that those who were participate in election campaign were not only questioned the voters to cast their votes but were also inspiring them to vote for a area candidate.

### **Donation of election funds**

The addition of a helping hand in collection of funds for poll campaign of a favorite candidate or party It is an important index of the commitment of the electorate. Here it is relevant to clarify that there are two aspects of "Fund Collection" – firstly donation or giving funds from one’s own budget and secondly collecting funds from the other subscribers. Thus the respondents were questioned about donation of funds.

**Table 1.10**  
**Respondent’s contribution**

<b>Donation</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (SBS Nagar)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>14 (28%)</b>	<b>13 (26%)</b>	<b>7 (28%)</b>	<b>6 (24%)</b>	<b>40 (26.7%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>36 (72%)</b>	<b>37 (74%)</b>	<b>18 (72%)</b>	<b>19 (76%)</b>	<b>110 (73.3%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

One may point out in this context that giving election funds is normally done by the standing party elite or the core supporters of an independent candidate and normally the ordinary elector is not involved in this work. This indicates that only 27.7% of the active participants answered in positive as far as donation to election funds were concerned. Majority of them did not contribute financially. The percentage of respondents contributing funds for party/candidate is almost the same in both the districts. In fact, many of them were involved in the collection of fund. The

Table shows that in whole the districts nearly fifty percent of these respondents were involved in raising funds for the party/candidate in whole the districts.

### **Participation in Election Meetings**

Election meetings are one of the important manners for resembling the electorate collectively. This is used to constant the electorate about the party, its programmer and sign, as also for introducing the candidates to the electorate. This is also important because it gives a chance to the candidate and the party to reveals to the competitor candidates their strength and the support that they rule. It is for this reason that strives are made to mobilize large number of people to visit a public meeting.

Here again two activities are involved as far as participation in election meeting is concerned. One is that the persons are only attending an election meeting and second is that he or she not only attends the meeting but also plays a role in arranging the election meeting.

**Table 1.11**  
**Respondents Participation in Election meeting**

<b>Participation in Election Meeting</b>	<b>No. of Respondent (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>23 (46%)</b>	<b>29 (58%)</b>	<b>9 (36%)</b>	<b>13 (52%)</b>	<b>74 (49.3%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>27 (54%)</b>	<b>21 (42%)</b>	<b>16 (64%)</b>	<b>12 (48%)</b>	<b>76 (50.7%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

When the respondents were asked regarding involvement in election meetings they were almost equally divided with a somewhat more percentage of those not participating. The overall percentage being 49.3% of those who participated. The percentage of those participating in election meetings was moderately lower in certain districts recompense for the lower percentage.. The corresponding percentage for Nawanshehar was respectively. Regarding the preparation of election meetings, the majority of the respondents did not take active part. However, around 51.7% of the active respondents asserted to be non- involved in organizing the election meetings.

### **Preparation/Distribution of Slips/Posters/Banners**

Like public meetings, election posters also play a main role in popularizing parties, their sign and their candidates. They are also used by way of drawing distortion of parties and candidates in against. Posters can be valued by the literate growth, though their influence is not absolutely lost on the illiterate masses also because they can be affected by the visual impact if not the written word.

**Table 1.12**  
**Respondents Preparation**

<b>Preparation Poster/Banner</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>11 (22%)</b>	<b>13 (26%)</b>	<b>6 (24%)</b>	<b>8 (32%)</b>	<b>38 (25.3%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>39 (78%)</b>	<b>37 (74%)</b>	<b>19 (76%)</b>	<b>16 (68%)</b>	<b>112 (74.7%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

Only a small percentage of the respondents were erect to be involved in this, in whole the districts. Out of 150 respondents 25.3 asserted that they have participated in campaign through Posters and Banners However less of the "active respondents" are seen taking posters, slips and banners. 74.7% respondents have not interested in participation of campaign through posters and banners. The table shows that more than per cent of the respondents in whole the districts were reportedly not involved in this election activity.

### **Door To Door Election Campaign**

Participation in door to door campaigning is a more effective activity which perhaps specifies a higher degree of political participation. The candidates are expected to do significant door to door campaigning in system to meet the voters individually. It is visualized that the frequency of such events increases during the latter periods of the election campaign. Further these are carried out mostly during mornings and evenings when voters are expected to be at home. Besides, the candidate, his election workers or supporters also are expected to carry out such campaign. The sample consisting of 82% respondents who asserted that they have participated in election campaign were questioned whether they involved in door to door canvassing on behalf of any candidate or party.

**Table 1.13**  
**Respondents Election campaign**

<b>Election Campaign door to door</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>42 (84%)</b>	<b>45 (90%)</b>	<b>19 (76%)</b>	<b>17 (68%)</b>	<b>123 (82%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>8 (16%)</b>	<b>5 (10%)</b>	<b>6 (24%)</b>	<b>8 (32%)</b>	<b>27 (18%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

Table 1.13 clearly shows that almost 82% per cent of the active respondents participated in door-to-door campaign. The corresponding figures for Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Kapurthala and Nawanshehar were 84%, 90%, 76% and 68% per cent respectively. This shows that Hoshiarpur respondents had a highest participation in door to door campaign from other districts. Thus the above few Tables showing the participation involvement of the "active respondents" (40 out of the total sample of 150) help us in drawing the conclusion that the participation of most of them is limited to attending the meetings, collecting the funds for the elections, distribution of campaign material and more to door to door campaign. Very few of them contributed to party funds or participated in preparation of banners, organized the election meetings and participated in preparation of campaign material. The scenario did not differ much in the two districts.

### **III. Interaction with Mass Media**

Separately from research the problem of political participation a strive was made to obtain the influence of different communication manners on the minds of the respondents. In fact, the communication media (both print and electronic) in the past two decades has gained tremendous significance in impact the attitudinal pattern of the individuals throughout the world. Beginning with newspapers, films and radio, then with television and presently with satellites and other sophisticated delivery systems, modern communication system has been impel in to almost every angel of the world. Lerner regards the developments of the mass media as the key in a society's march from a state of traditionalism to that of modernity. It may be expected that a rise in media subjection would be attended by a corresponding impact on the attitudinal pattern of the respondents.

#### **Interest in Political News:**

Three questions regarding political news were - whether they were interested in political news, did they discuss the political issues with others.

**Table 1.14**  
**Interest in Politics News**

<b>Interest in Political News</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>32 (64%)</b>	<b>35 (70%)</b>	<b>17 (68%)</b>	<b>13 (52%)</b>	<b>97 (64.7%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>18 (36%)</b>	<b>15 (30%)</b>	<b>8 (32%)</b>	<b>12 (48%)</b>	<b>53 (35.3%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

As far as the responses to the asked about interest in political news is concerned the table describes that out of total respondents 64.7% per cent were found to have a high degree of interest in political news whereas 35.3% per cent respondents not were having a interest in this type Out of the whole districts under study, the level of interest in political news was found to be slightly higher in the Dalit respondents of Doaba region respondents. In identifying the source of political news, the respondents gave a variety of answers which is tabulated ahead.

#### **Discussion of Political Issues**

Transformation is a good pastime of people in India, more so in the rural area. In rural areas tattle and conversation, that is, person to person or face to face debate is a very common part of communication of opinions, news, information, knowledge, and view. Political debates have a place of their own in a democracy. Besides, the family, there are friends and community members with whom a voter might discuss the elections. These groups might control the political attitudes and impact voting decisions, because the individual look to them for guidance.

**Table 1.15**  
**Political Discussion**

<b>Political Discussion with others</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>28</b> <b>(56%)</b>	<b>33</b> <b>(66%)</b>	<b>14</b> <b>(56%)</b>	<b>17</b> <b>(68%)</b>	<b>92</b> <b>(61.3%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>22</b> <b>(44%)</b>	<b>17</b> <b>(34%)</b>	<b>11</b> <b>(44%)</b>	<b>8</b> <b>(32%)</b>	<b>58</b> <b>(38.7%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b> <b>(100%)</b>	<b>50</b> <b>(100%)</b>	<b>25</b> <b>(100%)</b>	<b>25</b> <b>(100%)</b>	<b>150</b> <b>(100%)</b>

If the responses to the question about discussing political issues with their friends and family members are examined, the data describes that only 61.3% of the overall respondents answered in positive. 38.7% per cent of the respondents have not participated in political discussion. 40 per cent of the total respondents did not take part in political discussions with the family members or with the other members of the community. Thus it may be inferred that a substantial number of Dalits in the whole districts avoided indulging in political discussions. Category of those discussing political issues only on special occasions. These special occasions usually are the time of election

#### **Party Membership/Preference of Party or Leaders**

Political participation has a place at different kinds and methods. Voting, as stated earlier, is the most directive manner of this which is undertaken by all or most of the citizens. However,



party membership could be taken as assertive of active involvement in politics. The membership of all the parties, in India, is more or less liberally allowed. Such membership demands merely the payment of a small annual contribution and a written acceptance of the principles of the party concerned. Under the existing rules, government servants and servants of semi governmental associations are prohibited from becoming members of political parties.

**Table 1.16**  
**Membership**

<b>Membership</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>12 (24%)</b>	<b>9 (18%)</b>	<b>7 (28%)</b>	<b>8 (32%)</b>	<b>36 (24%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>38 (74%)</b>	<b>41 (82%)</b>	<b>18 (72%)</b>	<b>17 (68%)</b>	<b>114 (76%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

Regarding the question of membership of any political party, only 36 out of the total 150 respondents from Jalandhar responded in positive which comes out to be only 24% per cent and the rest of the respondents (114) were not having membership of any political party. The corresponding figures for Jalandhar were 24 (18%) and 122 (82%) respectively. Above the two districts have low percentage from Kapurthala 28% and Nawanshahr 32%, there were found to be having political membership, whereas the majority (72%) of the respondents did not have membership of any political party. When the respondents having party membership were further asked about holding any party officer. To further probe the interest and level of their involvement the respondents were asked to pick their favorite politician out of a list of some

prominent political leaders of state. They were also asked to name the party which addressed the Dalit issue.

**Table 1.17**  
**Politician**

<b>Politician</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Capt. Amrinder Singh (Congress)</b>	<b>21 (42%)</b>	<b>19 (38%)</b>	<b>8 (32%)</b>	<b>6 (24%)</b>	<b>54 (36%)</b>
<b>S. Parkash singh Badal (SAD)</b>	<b>15 (30%)</b>	<b>18 (36%)</b>	<b>7 (28%)</b>	<b>9 (36%)</b>	<b>49 (32.7)</b>
<b>Avtar singh Krimpuri (BSP)</b>	<b>9 (18%)</b>	<b>10 (20%)</b>	<b>6 (24%)</b>	<b>5 (20%)</b>	<b>30 (20%)</b>
<b>Devi Dass Nahar (BSP Ambedkar)</b>	<b>5 (10%)</b>	<b>3 (6%)</b>	<b>4 (16%)</b>	<b>5 (20%)</b>	<b>17 (11.3%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

When the respondents, were questioned about their favorite politician, majority of the them (36%) named captain Amrinder Singh at overall level, followed by Prakash Singh Badal (32.7%) , Avtar Singh Karimpuri (11.3%) and Devi Dass Nahar (11.3%) . In Jalandhar 42%% of the respondents favoured Captain Amrinder Singh, followed by Parkash Singh Badal 30% Avtar

Singh Karimpuri 18% and Devi Dass Nahar is 10%.. Similarly, in case of Hoshiarpur 38% per cent of the respondents favoured Captain Amrinder Singh, followed by Parkash Singh Badal 36. Avtar Singh Karimpuri 20 and Devi Dass Nahar 6%. In case of Kapurthala 32% per cent of the respondents favoured Captain Amrinder Singh, followed by Parkash Singh Badal 28%. Avtar Singh Karimpuri 24% and Devi Dass Nahar 16%. In Nawanshahr 24% of the respondents favoured Captain Amrinder Singh, followed by Parkash Singh Badal 36% Avtar Singh Karimpuri 20% and Devi Dass Nahar is 20%. In case of One special feature in case of Nawanshehar was that in this district, 9.3% of the respondents out rightly reported having no favorite politician. The perceptions of the respondents regarding the party raising and protecting Dalit issues are presented in Table

### Contesting Elections

Going beyond voting, attending political meetings, participating in election campaigns or becoming members of some political parties, the most active participation is contesting elections at any level-local, state or national.

**Table 1.18**  
**Contested Election**

<b>Contested Election</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>7 (14%)</b>	<b>6 (12%)</b>	<b>4 (16%)</b>	<b>6 (24%)</b>	<b>23 (15.3%)</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>43 (86%)</b>	<b>44 (88%)</b>	<b>21 (84%)</b>	<b>19 (76%)</b>	<b>127 (84.7%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

When the respondents were asked this question it was found that of the total 150 respondents in the whole districts, only 15.3% had contested elections and 84.7 % had not contested any election. Only one respondent had contested the Vidhan Sabha election. None of the respondents from both the districts had ever contested a Parliamentary election. This means that the elections contested were of Panchayat level. This speaks of their low political involvement at state or central level. An attempt was also made to know the views of the former and sitting members of the village Panchayats regarding their position in Panchayats as members. They expressed their unhappiness over the working of the Panchayats and their weak authority vis-à-vis the political executives. Almost every one complained of the interference and dominance of the high caste elites.

### **Perceptions towards Governance**

An effort was made to find out the respondents' capability to understand the politics and complications of governance. Table 6.31 presents the responses of our respondents.

**Table 1.19**  
**Government Policies**

<b>Government Policies</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Jalandhar)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Hoshiarpur)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Kapurthala)</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (Nawanshahr)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Understand</b>	<b>12 (24%)</b>	<b>16 (32%)</b>	<b>6 (23%)</b>	<b>5 (20%)</b>	<b>39 (26%)</b>
<b>Do not Understand</b>	<b>38 (76%)</b>	<b>34 (68%)</b>	<b>19 (77%)</b>	<b>20 (80%)</b>	<b>111 (74%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>50 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>25 (100%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>

It is clear from the Table that percent of respondents admitted that government and its working was so complicated that they could not understand what was going on. Because majority of the respondents did not understand the policies of governance, they were not able to talk about the policies or programmes launched by government. Out of 150 respondents 26% had understanding the government work while 74% had not understanding about government policies. However they still had some opinion about the overall working of the government. As a common man is affected on the day to day basis by the services provided by the government and expects a lot from it, the collective opinion of the public is of great importance in a democracy.

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## Conclusion

In this thesis, we have tried to find the history of dalit politics in Punjab. Inevitably, this meant inspection the interface between the colonial social and economic context of Punjab, the rise of ceremonial political depiction and Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar's informative efforts at supporting the dalits to come out in the formal political arena and the special spaces provided by independent India for dalit assertion. Dalits were considered as the lowest strata of the society by the caste Hindus. They were given the menial works to perform and the return for it was also very low. With the arrival of the British rule, the dalits obtain some rights on the basis of equality. However, they were not implemented in the private domain of life. In Punjab, the young educated Chamars, inspired by the Arya Samaj, founded the Ad Dharm Mandal. They were attracted by some of the ideals of Arya Samaj which held open the promise of purification or Shuddhi to the low castes. They became disillusioned by the control of upper castes in the movement and rejected completely the paternalistic implications of Shuddhi that untouchables needed to be 'purified'. They considered the British rule better than the Brahminical rule. They initially least favoured the national movement. They put forward their demands in front of the British and tried to get these demands fulfilled.

In this study, we have discussed the caste system in India with a special reference to the dalits. In the context of Punjab, the dominant caste is the Sikh, and it is considered an egalitarian religion. The study of contemporary social scientists like Surrender Singh Jodhka and Ronki Ram reveals that the caste discrimination prevalent in Sikhism motivated the dalits to assert the right to equality. The immediate reaction of this assertion was the foundation of Ad Dharm Mandal by the dalits of Punjab, as they have seen the formation of Adi movements in different parts of the country. The rise of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar endorsed this assertion, and the dalits not only in Maharashtra but also in Punjab, started their struggle for both social and political rights. It started a phase of consciousness among the dalits. In the study of Punjab generally and Jalandhar particularly, there are three dominant dalit castes namely, the Ad Dharmis, the Meghs and the Balmikis with the localities of Bootan Mandi, Bhargava Camp and Ali Mohalla, respectively. The leaders of these castes have dominated the local politics in Jalandhar. Among them, the Ad Dharmis and Meghs are artisans whereas the Balmikis are the laborers. Being artisan, it was easy for the Ad Dharmis and Meghs to assert them. Traditionally, they belonged to

the leather industry and sports industry, respectively. With the progress of leather and sports goods industry, they became economically sound and educated. It made them aware of their socio-political rights. On the other hand, the Balmikis being laborers, remained behind these two in the sphere of education. The Ad Dharmis of Doaba region of Punjab dominated the political arena. The Ad Dharmis of Doaba region constitutes the vote bank of either Congress or Bahujan Samaj Party. The Balmikis are mostly the voters of Congress. In the study of election politics with a reference to Punjab Assembly Elections, we may analyze that whole districts is dominantly won by candidates of the Ad Dharmis. The one point of stress and antinomy within our research concerned taking the dalits as a homogenous category for study.

The formation of BAMCEF was an effort of the dalits to assert, and to make an effort to unite the educated among them all over the country. It was not a political organization but the educated members of this organization could guide the political leaders of the Dalits in a better way. It was a movement of the educated employees, but not for the educated employees. The main objective of the organization was to pay back to the oppressed and exploited society and to discharge their social obligation towards their unfortunate brethren amongst whom they were born. Its founder, Kanshi Ram, while participating in the election politics, realized the necessity of a political organization to protect the political rights of the dalits. With this objective, Kanshi Ram, on 6th December 1981, founded a political organization namely Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti, Popularly known as DS-4. The slogan of this organization was 'Samta aur Sanman'. Kanshi Ram started a cycle march from Kanyakumari in the South, Kohima in the North-West, Porbunder in West and Puri in the East to Delhi. This cycle march was joined by about 3 lakh dalits all over India.

This organization was later on reformed with the name of Bahujan Samaj party by Kanshi Ram on 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1984. The Bahujan Samaj Party was a political party formed with the objective to protect all right of the dalits all over India. Kanshi Ram gave the slogan of 'Jatti Torro, Samaj Jorro' to popularize this party. The declared aim of his life was to establish the rule of Bahujan Samaj in India. The Bahujan Samaj Party started working for the cause of dalits in Punjab. It started contesting the Punjab Assembly elections and won 9 seats in 1992 elections. It was the biggest conquest of the Bahujan Samaj Party., Bahujan Samaj Party in Punjab Assembly elections seems to be on the back foot in all the elections in comparison to the Congress candidates



In the second chapter an attempt has been made to analyze the representation of Dalits in Panchayati Raj Institutions as well as social and economic background of the Dalit legislators in different Legislative Assemblies in Punjab Leadership is a group process through which every individuals initiate activities for achieving the common objective of the group or community by working.

Panchayati Raj Institutions, the formation of this organization is providing service to every rural area. The objective of the PRI is to act as an element of self- education for people and involve them in the decision making process so as to ensure proper implementation of policies and programmes.

In October 1961, the Punjab state government decided to establish Panchayati Raj system on the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee's recommendation of three tier structure of PRIs. The new three tiered system became operative between 1962- 1963. The Gram Panchayat was create under this new scheme to function over the years but the Panchayat Samitis and the Zila Parishads had breaks in their tenures. They worked as typical bodies from 1965 to 1970 and again from 1975 to 1978 and remained supplanted in the intervening years. During the period of suppression, these bodies were managed by government officers. Following the 73rd constitutional Amendment, the government of Punjab enacted the Punjab Panchayati Raj Act, 1994. The New Act replaced the Punjab Gram Panchayat Act, 1952 and the Punjab Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act, 1961. The new Act came into force on 21 April 1994 and established three tiers Panchayati Raj system in the state.

In the democracy, Members of the legislative Assembly are direct elect by the people through the election. The Punjab Legislative Assembly was formed after independence in the year 1952. The number of members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly has been revised several times. In 1952, the number of members was curtailed and reduced from 154 to 81. The strength of the Assembly was again revised after the general elections of 1967 and the Assembly was given the permission to accommodate 104 members. Again in 1977, the number of seats in the Assembly was increased to 117 on the basis of the 1971 census.<sup>26</sup> presently the strength of the Punjab Legislative Assembly is 117. Similarly, the Dalits representation in Punjab Legislative Assembly has also been revised. In 1967 to 1977, 23 out of 104 seats were reserved for Dalits. Since 1977 the number of reserved seats was increased to 29. However it needs to be noted that

with the latest delimitation of the constituencies the number of reserved seats in Punjab has been raised to 32.

A brief account of socio-economic profile of Doaba region of Punjab in general and socio-economic profile of the Dalit respondents in particular is presented in the following. The modern history of Jalandhar District remembers that after the annexation of Punjab in 1846 John Lawrence was the first commissioner of Jalandhar Doab. Many military Camps were built at Jalandhar, Phillaur, Nakodar and Kartarpur. And, a railway track was created from Beas to Jalandhar in 1869 and was finished to Phillour by next year. The Doaba region was linked to other cities of Punjab by Railway Bridge. Beas `Bridge was built in 1869 and over Sutlej in 1870. The formation of the District Congress Committee was done in the year 1917. It was authorized by the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. The representative of the District Congress Committee of Jalandhar participated in the Provincial Political Conference that was held at Lahore in 1917. In March 1919 The Rowlatt Act was passed by the British government. Modern history of Jalandhar District also tells that Khilafat movement was started in early 1920.

Jalandhar city has a Municipal Corporation which is under Jalandhar Metropolitan region. The Jalandhar city belongs to Punjab state of India. The Jalandhar city name is derived from a demon king which is mentioned in the Puranas and Mahabharata. According to many philosophers, Jalandhar was the capital of the empire of Lav, son of Rama. Jalandhar' means region inside the water, it is lying between the two rivers Sutlej and Beas, another name of Jalandhar was Trigartta, because it was waters by three rivers, Sutlej, Beas and Ravi.

As per provisional reports of Census India, population of Jalandhar in 2011 is 2193590; of which male and female are 528,790 and 503,639 of rural area and its urban population male and female are 616,421 and 544,770 respectively. Rural area has 47.07% and urban 52.93% population. Schedule caste population of rural area like male and female are 264,466 and 250,876 and urban area population of male and female are 177,658 and 161,444. This population has 38.95% of the total area population.

Hoshiarpur district was a region of Indus valley Civilization. Current revealing that the whole region near the Sivalik Foothills was chosen for occupation not only by the Paleolithic man also by those in the historical period. In the investigations, seven early Stone Age artifacts

have been found there. Alongside these discoveries, among the archeological remains in Hoshiarpur district. The temples at Dholbaha is located in Hoshiarpur district far away 24 kilometer in north side and especially the regional epic throw light on the early history of the district. The legends associate several places in the district with Pandavas.

As per provisional reports of Census India, population of Hoshiarpur in 2011 is 1,58,6625 of which male and female are 634,470 and 617,186 of rural area and its urban population male and female are 174,587 and 160,382 respectively. Rural area has 78.89% and urban 21.11% population Schedule caste population of rural area like male and female are 236,295 and 227,842 and urban area population of male and female are 48,027 and 44,440 This population has 35.14% of the total area population

Kapurthala was founded during the period of Mahmood Gaznvi in the 11th Century. The town was established by Rana Kapoor of Rajput Gharana of Jaisalmer. The royal family of Kapurthala is successor of Nawab Jassa Singh Ahluwalia who was a synchronous of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah. Nawab Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was intelligent person and he made himself the main leader of Sikhs of that time. At one time Kapurthala held property on either side of the Sutlej, and even in the Bari Doab. Kapurthala had a specific place in history. it was the capital city of Kapurthala State – the princely state during the time of the British rule. The Kapurthala came to under the royal leadership.

After the succession to India, Kapurthala State was a region of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union in 1948. Kapurthala is one of the 22 districts of Punjab. The head quarter of this district is the city of same name that is Kapurthala city. According to population, its rank is 15 out of the 22 districts of Punjab.

According to 2011 census Kapurthala had a population of 101,854, males were 55,485 and females were 46,169. The literacy rate was 85.82 per cent. As of 2001 India Census Kapurthala had a population of 817636. Males constitute 55% of the population and females 45%. Kapurthala has an average literacy rate of 65%, higher than the national average of 59.5%: male literacy is 67%, and female literacy is 62%. In Kapurthala, 11% of the population is under 6 years of age. According to 2011 census, the total population of Kapurthala district is 815168.

Nawanshahr is founded in the 14<sup>th</sup> century by the afghan general Nav-Sher-Khan in the time of Allaudin Khalji (1295-1316). It was famous as Naushar that time which changed after the time to Nawaanshehar, it was blamed that many people eradicated by changing course of Sutlej River and they came at this place to settle. It knows as Nawaanshehar which mean a new city.

The history of Nawanshahr is belonged with Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, Sikh misls and maharaja Ranjit singh. Main motive of Sikh misls of Doaba region was freedom of the Sikhs from Muslim invaders. They make faujdar to Shams khan of their region to fight against the stark behavior of the Muslims and make some changes in their attitudes.

According to Punjab Statistical abstract 2011 the population of Nawanshehar is 612,310. In the context of Dalit population Nawanshehar has highest Dalit population i.e. 40.46 per cent. Out of the total Dalit population 88.66 per cent live in rural areas 89.7 and 11.33 per cent in urban areas. The number of females per thousands of males in this district 913 and this ratio is quite higher than the overall average of 874 for the state as a whole. The density of population per square Km. of this district is 463 only which is lower than the state's average by about. 3.9 per cent.

Nawanshehar has been classified as a town with diversified functions where service, trade, commerce and industry have been found equally important in the lives of its people. In the context of Dalits, population of Dalits in this district is highest in the state. Dalits in this district are economically well off. Ad-Dharmis are dominating in this district. The literacy gap between Dalits and general category is not as high as in other districts.

In the fourth chapter, we tried to examine the political participation of Dalits of Doaba region of Punjab. It has been noticed that only in instance of information about MLA, majority of the total respondents (70%) were well advised. Only 30% per cent of the respondents did not realize the name of their local M.L.A. Interestingly a majority of them (74% overall) concurred to the design of involvement. Around 26% per cent from certain the districts did not think it obligatory where as some felt that it depended on the condition. On the starting point of data it appears that out of one hundred fifty 18.7% respondents had the candidate in mind while voting. On 26% percent and 18.7% percent retain the caste and religion in intellectual respectively. But the great majority of the people 36.6% had the party in mind. Upper caste impact on Dalits' poll

conduct is obvious from the table given above. 38% per cent respondents acknowledged that they voted as per the desires of As far as the participation in election campaign of the Dalit respondents is worried, the Table 1.8 shows that overall a great majority i.e. 70% of the respondents did not participate in election campaign and only 30% did. Participate in poll campaign. higher castes. 39% per cent respondents describe cast their vote according to their family wishes. Only a small percentage of the respondents were erect to be involved in this, in whole the districts. Out of 150 respondents 25.3 asserted that they have participated in campaign through Posters and Banners However less of the "active respondents" are seen taking posters, slips and banners. 74.7% respondents have not interested in participation of campaign through posters and banners. 82% per cent of the active respondents participated in door-to-door campaign. The corresponding figures for Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Kapurthala and Nawanshehar were 84%, 90%, 76% and 68% per cent respectively. When the respondents were asked this question it was found that of the total 150 respondents from the whole districts, only 15.3% had contested election and 84.7% respondents realizes they had not contested any election.

Thus it is evident that over the decades the dalits in Punjab have come a long way, at least in the political sphere. Earlier there were only a handful of well known leaders among

It has been seen that the Dalits were the deprived and lowest section of the society in Punjab as well as India. Their participation in Political, Social, religious and Economic activities was not satisfactory. With the passage of time some changes have occurred to uplift their rights. After the Independence, the constitution of India has mentioned the special provisions like reservation for the Dalits to improve their status in the Society. In Punjab at present it has been observed that the participation of Dalits in Politics has increased. They are vote bank for different Political parties and these parties always try to attract their favor. They provide special treatment to Dalits in their Manifestoes. The Political participation of Dalits has increased in number but socially they are not equally treated by the upper section. The study results that their participation is increasing the Politics of Doaba region of Punjab, but they have not strong base or strong representative. As a result, they are supporting to different political parties.

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## Political Participation Survey

1. Name
2. Sex
  - a- Male      b- Female
3. Age
4. A- 18-30      b- 31-42      c- above 42
5. Locality
  - a- Urban      b- Rural
6. Marital Status
  - a- Married      b- Widowed      c- Divorced      d- Separated      e- Never married

Religion

  - a- Hindu                      b- Muslim                      c- Sikh                      d- Christianity
7. Qualification
  - a- Illiterate
  - b- Up to middle
  - c- 10+2
  - d- Bachelor's degree
  - e -Master's degree (or higher \_\_\_\_\_ )
8.
 

		Job	Scenario
a-	Self employed (State field _____ )		
b-			Labor
c	-		Student
d-		Government	Job
e-	Agriculture		
9. Income
  - a- to – 1500

b- 1600 – 3000

c- 3100 – 5000

d- 5100 – 10000

10. Social Status of Class?

a- Upper b- Middle c- Lower d- Other

11. Have you interested in Politics?

a- Yes b- No

12. Do you know the name of MLA (Member of Legislative Assembly) of your area?

a- Yes b- No

13. Have you a Political party?

a- Yes b- No

14. Do you know about the Political party of Dalits?

a- Yes b- No

15. Have you participated in any pressure group?

a- Yes b- No

16. Which factors influence during voting?

a- Party b- Candidate c- caste d- Religion

17. Do you have any pressure during election?

a- Upper caste b- Family member c- No pressure

18. Had you interested in last election result?

a- Yes b- No

19. Had you participated in last election campaign?

- a- Yes                      b- No.
20. Had you inspired the voters to vote for a favorite candidate?
- a- Yes                      b- No
21. Had you donated the funds to your supporting party?
- a- Yes                      b- No
22. Had you participated in election meeting?
- a- Yes                      b- No
23. Had you involved in door to door election campaign?
- a- Yes                      b- No
24. Do you have any interest in Political news?
- a- Yes                      b- No
25. Have you discussed any political issues with your friends or family members?
- a- Yes                      b- No
26. Do you have membership of any political party?
- a- Yes                      b- No
27. Which is your favorite Politician?
- a- Captain Amrinder Singh (CONGRESS)                      b- S. Parkash singh Badal (SAD)
- c- Devi Dass Nahar
- (BSP Ambedkar)                      d- Avtar Singh Krimpuri (BSP) .
28. Have you contested any election?
- a- Yes                      b- No.

29. Do you understand the guidelines of election commission regarding the election?
- a- Understand
  - b- Do not understand