EMERGING PATTERNS IN THE ELECTORAL POLITICS OF POST 1984 PUNJAB: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

A Thesis Submitted For the Award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
POLITICAL SCIENCE

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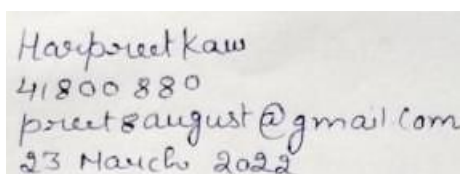**(Associate Professor)**

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2022

DECLARATION

I, Harpreet Kaur, declare that the work exhibited in this research is the certified work done originally completed by me and has not been distributed or submitted anywhere else for the necessity of this research degree program. Any writing, information or work done by others which is used inside this thesis has been given due affirmation and recorded in the reference segment.

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ABSTRACT

In a representative democracy like India conducting free and fair elections is a constitutional commitment which ensures the participation and involvement of citizens in public affairs. Steiner puts forth, "political participation is a significant human right without which none of the rights exist" (Steiner, 1960). This political participation in the form of elections is the basis of representation of people in a representative or indirect democracy. Elections, in this manner, come out to be a method to find the will of the people and those possessing the highest number of representation (votes) emerge as the representatives of the voters who govern the state. Thus political representation and elections go side by side. A good, fair and honest electoral system is the launch pad to protect the belief of voters in a democratic process. As Pollock observed, "Unless public elections are conducted with accuracy and efficiency, not only the public services are discredited but the whole democratic system is endangered" (Pollock, 1934).

Electoral politics of Punjab coincided largely with state of affairs at the central level (the dominance of a single party- Congress), from 1947 to 1970s excluding some of the instances which emerged out to be significant at a later stage. In the mid 70 and early 80s, the electoral politics of Punjab was largely influenced by Indira Gandhi's centralisation of power. Her strategy of taking all the political machinery in her hands alone urged those in opposition to unite and voice their opinion in favour of the decentralisation at both central and regional level. 1980s saw the awakening of electorate which further provided for the rise of regional parties.

The voters in the 80s were seeking for political representation in order to secure their interests. Regional parties worked on the agenda of religion, ethnicity and socio-economic issues of a particular region which strengthened their stance among the electorate. The upper castes enjoyed a dominated position among the local leadership in regional parties because of their wealth, education and social status but lower classes too emerged as an important part of the electorate. As in case of Punjab, having 32 percent Dalit population, the so called lower classes decide the electoral results of assembly election. That is why the electoral politics of India shifted towards the preferences of voters rather than taking them as figures of electoral turnout.

Regional politics along with the decentralisation of electoral politics gave rise to the multi party system in the 1990s. It was the time when Shiromani Akali Dal working on the agenda of regional specifications (which cut across religious, ethnic, social and economic lines) awakened the electorate to turn against the Congress; which was propagated by SAD as an anti- Punjab party. SAD was successful in representing the interests of Sikhs along with its policy of secularism by stitching a historic alliance with BJP that suited the cause of Hindus in Punjab.

While studying the electoral politics of any state, the focus remains on understanding state policies, the structure and ideology of political parties, how elections are held, and how people react to these activities. Depending on their interests and preferences, the voters show attention to a particular party, and those running that party get votes as feedback. Voters decide whom to vote or not provide a stage of competition among those who contest elections, and the game is settled when one party gains the majority of the votes. The preferences made by the electorate are based on their socio-economic status, religious affiliations, education level, along with the likings and feelings of the voters towards a specific political party. All these features provide for the patterns of voting behaviour and decide which party will fare well in the elections.

Electoral politics and political processes are directly proportional to each other. With the help of political awareness, political institutions are established in the electoral process, and elections provide a fair opportunity for the recruitment of leaders by the electorates (Muhammad, 2000).

Political participation and awareness of the voters result from the choices made based on welfare state ideas, corruption, and good governance. That is why the politicians try to lure the voters by making false promises, half-truths and other lucrative strategies while campaigning and during election rallies. Political behaviour is affected by the assurance provided by the politicians. Voters, too, get their quota of satisfaction by hearing what they want to hear, and they feel like they are making the right choice. Actual voting on the voting day itself provides an opportunity to study the political behaviour of the voters (Rush, M and Althoff, 1971).

The higher voter turnout is considered the significant factor in assigning good credits to the health of the political system in a particular democracy. On the day of elections, a political party can see the effect of its strategies in getting votes. The educated voter

bases his vote on his study of the electoral issues, election manifestos and the overall performance of a particular contestant or political party. This way, a specific political affects a voter and vice versa.

The present work is aimed at studying the electoral politics of Punjab. While looking into the electoral issues and studying assembly elections since 1984, the study focuses on how elections are won and lost, how the contestants influence political participation, how election manifestos are framed and how the whole electoral process works getting influenced by the factors that decide the results and electoral performance of the political parties.

The electoral politics of Punjab is dynamic which has gone through many ups and downs. The present research work aims to study the electoral politics of Punjab since 1984 in a phased manner while exploring the electoral outcomes and performances of different political parties. The research also focuses on the different electoral issues and other factors like religion, region, and caste that influence Punjab's electoral politics. Since the reorganization of Punjab in 1966, the politics of Punjab has mainly revolved around SAD and Congress. The arbitrary division of electoral politics of Punjab since 1984 provides us with three different phases- the period from 1984-1997, 1997-2017, and the period from 2017 to date. During the dark phase of the 1980s, it experienced the imposition of President Rule along with violence and bloodshed.

The boycott of elections and dissolution of government was customary in those days, and the rule of Punjab was in the hands of the Central government. After the militancy was suppressed, there came an era of the revival of democracy in Punjab. The assembly elections in 1985 and 1992 were welcome signs for the mushrooming of democracy that was permanently established in 1997 with the victory of the SAD-BJP alliance in Punjab. ASR, Punjabi Suba Movement, and Dharam Yudh Morcha were the main issues on which Akali politics was based in the 1980s and early 90s, but after the 1997 elections, the new era of Punjab politics registered its arrival. Historically, SAD emerged as a political party that caters to the interests of the Sikh voters of Punjab, but in a practical sense, it has converted its stance to be more inclusive and working on a secular agenda.

Undoubtedly, electoral gains are the main focus of every political party, and SAD is no exception. Stitching an alliance with BJP in 1997 was part of shrewd tactics by Parkash Singh Badal, which provided the SAD-BJP combine an opportunity to rule over the people of Punjab successfully three times since 1984. With senior Badal on his road to retirement, President Sukhbir Singh Badal is up to lead the party out of the troubled waters. Poor poll results, factionalism, defamation of the party concerning religious and moral matters have created a deep ridge between the voters and the party leadership. Nothing short of a miraculous recovery is the need of the situation if SAD has to register its presence in the electoral politics of Punjab. If Congress has been able to return to power in Punjab in 2002 after being labelled as an anti-Sikh party, it is only because of the role played by Captain Amrinder Singh in leading the Congress as a national party committed to the concerns of the region.

Captain as a CM candidate is still looking for another term in the absence of any competition from any of the leaders in the Punjab Congress. AAP looked promising to lead the electoral politics toward developmental and welfare issues as a powerful alternative to the bi-party system in Punjab, but it lacked inner discipline and experience to turn the electoral outcome in its favour. Only solid local leadership can put the party on track. The complex and heterogeneous structure of the electorate influences the electoral politics of Punjab effectively. Having the highest number of SCs, the Dalit population still failed to create a homogeneous vote bank, but still, certain demographic factors affect the electoral outcomes of specific assembly constituencies. The urban Hindu voters have also shifted sides accordingly in every single assembly election.

Religious institutions like SGPC, Akal Takht, and many localized Deras have exploited the voters' religious sentiments to support the political party they prefer. Being the largest region of Punjab- Malwa plays a dominant role in Punjab politics. Different electoral issues have registered their presence from time to time, but the issues related to the regional specifications have found remarkable coherence among the political parties of Punjab. At first, these local demands were put forth based on language; afterwards, it took a religious turn which resulted in violence and blood-shed. Religio-ethnic nationalism took a back seat only after SAD (B) emerged as the dominant faction among other Akali groups. Working on the moderate ideology of

seeking justice and putting Punjab on the road to democracy, SAD shifted the electoral politics of Punjab in a new direction. Modern-day politics deals with the issues of unemployment, health and drugs, corruption, economic and agrarian crisis and the development of the state in every sphere. Comparing the electoral issues before and after 1997, there has undoubtedly been a paradigm shift in the electoral politics of Punjab.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The research work presented in this thesis would not have been possible without the cooperation of many persons. It is an opportunity to extend my sincere thanks to all those who guided and inspired me in my PhD thesis.

At first, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Manvendra Singh, for accepting me as his pupil and his untired efforts towards completing this thesis. I am also thankful to Professor (Dr)Pavitar Parkash Singh, Dean and HOS, School of Humanities, LPU and Professor (Dr) Kirandeep Singh, HOD Department of Political Science, LPU.I am indebted to my spouse cum mentor Mr. Maninder Singh (Assistant Professor),who brushed and groomed my skills after pinpointing my shortcomings like an expert throughout this journey. I also thank my parents, who supported me financially and emotionally in my academics. My sincere thanks also go to my dear friend and colleague, Mrs. Alka Chauhan of Ramgarhia Girls College Ludhiana, who equipped me with the essential technical assistance needed in my project.

Last but not least, I am indebted to all those who helped me collect the primary data, without which the project could not have been a success.

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Date: 23 March 2022

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Abbreviations	:	Full Form of Abbreviations
AD (B)	:	Akali Dal Badal
AAP	:	Aam Aadmi Party
AIIMS	:	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AISSF	:	All India Sikh Student Federation
ASR	:	Anandpur Sahib Resolution
BJP	:	Bharatiya Janta Party
BSP	:	Bahujan Samaj Party
CM	:	Chief Minister
CMP	:	Common Minimum Program
CONG	:	Congress
Congress (I)	:	Congress (Indira)
CPI	:	Communist Party of India
CPI (M)	:	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
DIG	:	Deputy Inspector General of Police
INC	:	Indian National Congress
LIP	:	Lok Insaaf Party
MLA	:	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	:	Member of Parliament
NRIs	:	Non Resident Indians
NSA	:	National Security Act
OBC	:	Other Backward Class
PPP	:	The People's Party of Punjab
PDA	:	Punjab Democratic Alliance
POTA	:	Prevention of Terrorists Activities
PM	:	Prime Minister
RSS	:	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SAD	:	Shiromani Akali Dal
SAD (A)	:	Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar)
SAD (B)	:	Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal)
SAD (D)	:	Shiromani Akali Dal (Democratic)

SAD (K)	:	Shiromani Akali Dal (Kabul)
SAD (L)	:	Shiromani Akali Dal (Longowal)
SAD (M)	:	Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann)
SAD (T)	:	Shiromani Akali Dal (Talwandi)
SAS	:	Sahibzada Ajit Singh
SBS	:	Shahid Bhagat Singh
SC	:	Scheduled Caste
SFI	:	Student Federation of India
SGPC	:	Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhik Committee
SHSAD	:	Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal
SYL	:	Sutlej-Yamuna Link
TADA	:	Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention), Act
UAD	:	United Akali Dal

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

The peculiarity of electoral politics becomes even more intriguing when it is taken into account in the context of Punjab. The state of Punjab comprises a majority of the Sikh population, which extended its territorial reach during Maharaja Ranjit Singh, fought valiantly in the British army during World War I and II, and took an active part in the independence of India. The invaders from the North used Punjab as a gateway to India. The valiant Sikhs always took a stand against these oppressors and were able to gain political ground in the leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Punjab played a vital role in the politics of India before the partition of the country in the 20th century.

The partition of India was not between India and Pakistan; actually, it was the division of Punjab into two parts. With this division of Punjab, Indian Punjab, which was made up of 29 districts before partition, shrank into only thirteen districts. The Punjab division of 1947 made the Punjabis aware of their political interests and having the spirit of courage in their blood; strengthened by the continuous attacks they suffered at the hands of invaders, Punjab politics became even more special. Shiromani Akali Dal emerged as the political arm of the Sikhs, which started fighting for the interests of the Sikhs. Demand for a separate Punjab based on the linguistic basis changed the dynamics of the politics of Punjab. The southern Hindi-speaking areas were given to Haryana, which comprised 35.80% of the land area and 37.37% of the population. The Hindi-speaking areas of the North, allotted to neighbouring Himachal Pradesh, accounted for 23% of the land and 7% of the population (Kumar, 2005). At present, Punjab has become a Sikh-majority state in which Hindus are in the minority. Most of the area of Punjab comprises rural population.

The Centre-state relations have remained at the core of Punjab politics. The very existence of Punjab is itself an issue in Punjab politics. After independence, Punjab was to lose its prominent status as it had in pre-independent India. Thus, the same division of Punjab became a matter of discord between the state and Centre. All the political parties have tried to get political gain from the Punjab issue from time to

time. It has been a long pending demand of the Punjabi leaders and SAD to get an autonomous state for Punjab, free from the control of the Centre. From 1966 until the end of the militancy era, religion played an essential role in the politics of Punjab. The Shiromani Akali Dal, known as the leading political party of the Sikhs, contributed to the politics of Punjab, which dates back to the Gurudwara Reform movement to the creation of the Punjabi-speaking state. Until the 1980s, the politics of Punjab went through such challenging times, which included the imposition of presidential rule, the dissolution of governments, and the agreement with the Central government to resolve the Punjab issue. The Shiromani Akali Dal and the Congress party have been significant parties in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha elections.

Religion, caste and region are becoming essential factors affecting the electoral politics of Punjab. The role of religion and caste in the electoral politics of Punjab has remained so significant that regardless of the ideological differences between the Akali Dal and Congress, their leadership has always been concentrated in the hands of Jat Sikhs. Though Sikhs became a majority in reorganized Punjab, the demographic structure of Punjab gave birth to its division in Malwa, Majha and Doaba based on regions, further dividing the Sikh community into different social strata. Politically, it was a significant factor for the political parties when it turned out that they could not form a government independently, bringing the politics of coalition into Punjab. The changing support base of political parties in the electoral politics of Punjab and the rise of social class protests came at a time when the two-party system of Punjab was hoping for a third alternative, whether it was Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) and the new arrived parties like Punjab People's Party (PPP), Aam Aadmi Party (AAP). To counter the hegemony of Shiromani Akali Dal, minor political parties of Punjab have always made opportunistic alliances. Factionalism within the political parties and coalition politics has become a hallmark of the electoral politics of Punjab.

It is quite a revealing fact that since India got freedom, the electoral politics of Punjab has been dynamic. Be it the religious factors or socio-economic turbulences, the political scene of Punjab has always remained a space of moves and counter moves. The research study aims to identify such a paradigm shift in the electoral politics of Punjab if it is there. The study will focus on the Assembly Elections and the issues

that were central to the electoral politics of Punjab. The main focus will be on the political issues that made their presence felt after the post-militancy era from the 1990s. The arrival of new parties like AAP, LIP and PDA has given the electorate an alternative to the traditional bi-party system with only one to elect from Congress or Akali Dal: the major political parties of Punjab. While narrowing down, the study will focus on the voting patterns in Punjab, election manifestos of the political parties and the performance of political parties in the assembly elections and the political issues that motivate them to vote.

1.2 Nature of the Study

Electoral politics of any country is not bound to only the process of elections itself. It consists of many such factors, which, when come together, complete the whole phenomenon. Factors like religion, caste, leadership, political parties, electoral issues, voting behaviour, and demography are very crucial to the very concept of electoral politics. In the Indian context, too, these factors are significant if one has to study the electoral politics of Punjab. To explore the electoral politics of Punjab, one needs to analyze the role of Gurudwara and Dera politics to study the link between religion and politics. In electoral politics, the role of electoral issues is central to the elections. Every political party tries to raise only those issues that will help them in achieving electoral gain. The issues that make sense with the electorate help the candidates of respective political parties to win the elections.

The study of these electoral issues is the key to explore the complexities of electoral politics. The importance of caste-based implications is significant to study Punjab's electoral politics and the role of Deras in influencing the voters while voting. For instance, the regional specifications, the three regions of Punjab: Malwa, Majha and Doaba influence the electoral politics of Punjab in a specific manner. The regional division of Punjab into Majha, Malwa and Doaba is crucial because it also divides the electorate of Punjab on the lines of religion, caste and urban/rural dichotomy. Moreover, the study of different political parties is a significant step towards studying the electoral politics of Punjab. In the case of Punjab, the analysis of major political parties/alliances like SAD-BJP, Congress, AAP and other minor political parties is significant.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Electoral politics is an integral part of any representative democracy in the world.

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Being one of the largest indirect democracies globally, India is also one of the most prominent battlegrounds to see electoral politics at its work. The case of electoral politics of Punjab is rather interesting in the sense that since the independence of India, Punjab has crossed through many hills and valleys in the field of Politics. Punjab is one of the nine states where the non-Congress government could rule for the first time after the independence. It shows that Punjab and those nine states were the states in which regional political parties found a voice to air the local interests of the region. In this case, the role of SAD was instrumental in localizing the core issues which suited the very interests of Punjab as a state alienated from the national politics. No doubt, with the help of Janta Dal (the future BJP), it created a stir in the annals of Indian politics where the state as a regional power registered its presence for the first time, challenging the hegemony of Congress. Keeping this fact alone in mind, it became interesting to study the electoral politics of Punjab. The present study, though, only focuses on the assembly elections of Punjab since 1984. However, the study of political regimes comprising regional political parties like SAD and AAP and national political parties like Congress, BJP and BSP make it an exciting combination to explore these significant parties, their performance, support base, and ideology. The in-depth analysis of election manifestos of the political parties puts forth the core agenda on which these political parties focus and how the electorate responds to these issues while voting. The electoral outcome in which the electorate chose one party over the other helps to study voting patterns and the more prominent issues during the elections. While studying the electoral politics of Punjab, the present study gave an edge to the readers to explore the performance of different political regimes. These various elements influence electoral politics and the emerging trends that have emerged on the political scene of Punjab.

1.4 Scope of the Study

The research study will focus on the performance of political parties in the assembly elections of Punjab with particular reference to the three major regions of Punjab: Majha, Malwa and Doaba. The role of personality culture will be under scrutiny, keeping in mind the performance of political parties. Voting patterns will be the main focus of the study. The overall focus will be on the determinant factors that define and influence the electoral politics of Punjab. The electoral performance of political

parties such as Shiromani Akali Dal, Congress, AAP, BJP, CPI, and CPI (M) will be given a special weightage in the study. The role of religion, caste and regional identities will be explored at length. All other political factors that encompass the field of electoral politics will be the subject of this study.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The assessment of voting behaviour involves the complex working of human emotions, attitudes and perceptions, which cannot be hundred percent correct all the time. Hence it would be a challenge to maintain the scientific standards of the research. The scope of study demands extensive field study, including travelling expenses and other contingent expenses, making this research an arduous task to complete. The research work indulges in the involvement of the voters, so, to get valuable and successful feedback from the respondents will be a challenge of its kind. The field of electoral politics is a sensitive one regarding issues like religion and caste, so the research demands an empathetic attitude to be developed among all those involved in reality and manipulation.

1.6 Electoral Politics in India: A Case of Punjab

In a representative democracy like India conducting free and fair elections is a constitutional commitment which ensures the participation and involvement of citizens in public affairs. Steiner puts forth, "political participation is a significant human right without which none of the rights exist" (Steiner, 1960). This political participation in the form of elections is the basis of representation of people in a representative or indirect democracy. Elections, in this manner, come out to be a method to find the will of the people and those possessing the highest number of representation (votes) emerge as the representatives of the voters who govern the state. Thus political representation and elections go side by side. A good, fair and honest electoral system is the launch pad to protect the belief of voters in a democratic process. As Pollock observed, "Unless public elections are conducted with accuracy and efficiency, not only the public services are discredited but the whole democratic system is endangered" (Pollock, 1934).

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The voters in the 80s were seeking for political representation in order to secure their interests. Regional parties worked on the agenda of religion, ethnicity and socio-economic issues of a particular region which strengthened their stance among the electorate. The upper castes enjoyed a dominated position among the local leadership in regional parties because of their wealth, education and social status but lower classes too emerged as an important part of the electorate. As in the case of Punjab, having 32 percent Dalit population, the so called lower classes decide the electoral results of assembly election. That is why the electoral politics of India shifted towards the preferences of voters rather than taking them as figures of electoral turnout.

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process, and elections provide a fair opportunity for the recruitment of leaders by the electorates (Muhammad, 2000).

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1.7 Electoral Politics of Punjab: A Historical Perspective

The main focus of the research study is to analyze the emerging electoral trends in Punjab since 1984. For this purpose, the whole political history of Punjab can be categorized into two major phases. In the first phase, the historical background of Punjab politics before 1990 will be considered in the context of political parties, Sikh politics, regional specifications, and sociological factors in the electoral politics of Punjab. The phase up to the 1990s can be further divided into two sub-phases (1947-1966) and (1966-1990). This division is significantly based on subsequent political events that took place in the politics of Punjab. The second phase will focus on the emerging patterns that seem crucial in Punjab politics from 1990 onwards.

1.7.1 Pre-Independence Punjab (1865 to 1947)

Hindu-Sikh Divide and British Initiative

Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was the first to mark a line of distinction between the Hindus and Sikhs with his ideology that differentiated from Hinduism and other religions. His successors continued to strengthen the roots of Sikhism until the tenth Guru, Guru Gobind Singh, nourished it with a unique identity and named the baptized Sikhs as Khalsa Panth. Now, having a distinct identity reinforced by their unique appearance and philosophy, Sikhs trained themselves into brave soldiers and earned pride in their achievement of establishing a kingdom of their own known as Khalsa Raj under the leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This was the time when the British rulers spotlighted the Sikhs as a powerful military arm to be used as a defence: a strategical move adopted by the East India Company and the British government to use against their enemies. As Chhanda Chatterjee pointed out, "Sikhs in the Indian army have been studiously 'nationalized' or encouraged to regard themselves as a distinct and separate nation" (Chatterjee, 2019). As we go through history, we notice many shreds of evidence that clarify that the divide between the Hindus and Sikhs was the masterstroke of the British colonizers to fulfil their political motives.

Nevertheless, it added to the Sikhs' sense of being a separate nation and gave impetus to their struggle against the subordination meted out to them by their oppressors. Sikh regiments were established by the British army to unite Sikhs under one flag. The census conducted in 1868 by the British government also differentiated between the Sikhs and Hindus, a strategic plan to convince the Sikhs of colonial power. Later, in 1883, Chief Khalsa Diwan was established to control and manage the different Singh Sabhas working for the welfare of the Sikh community.

Hindu- Sikh Divide and Sikh Reinforcement

The pre-independence struggle of Sikhs against any oppressive powers was marked by the demand for a different status to be granted to the Sikh community. Though insignificant in numbers, the Sikhs were a dominant force regarding their economic and military status. It was a shameful thing for them to be considered as subordinates to Hindus and Muslims. With the lack of political representation having no political

party, Sikhs were always fearful of the Muslim League of Muslims and the Congress party of Hindus. Thus the Central Sikh League came into being in December 1919, and it further laid the foundation of the Shiromani Akali Dal in 1920. The Central Sikh league took charge of reforming the Gurudwaras, which were run by the Mahants, who were the hand-picked servants of the British government to manipulate the sentiments of Sikh folk by making their actions commendable and acceptable to a great extent without any backlash from the Sikh community. It was the Gurudwara Reform Movement in the 1920s, which further redefined the distinct Sikh identity. Gurudwara Reform Movement bore fruits in 1925 with the approval of a bill under the Sikh Gurudwaras Act. An apex body named by Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhik Committee was elected to work as the custodian of Gurudwaras.

The Gurudwara Act of 1925 provided Sikhs with the political rights to control and manage their Gurudwaras. It was a welcome step to give Sikhs the feeling of political representation as they moved ahead with pushing their agenda to unite the Sikhs under the religious flag of Shiromani Akali Dal. The efforts by the Sikh leadership and Sikh organizations were destined to come out with the demand of Khalistan in 1940. A well-drafted document was also released as to what would be the face of Khalistan. It was an "amalgamation of the Sikh states and the Shimla hill states with the British ruled districts of Jalandhar, Ambala, Ferozepur, Lahore, Amritsar, Lyallpur, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Montgomery, Hissar, Rohtak, Karnal, Multan and Delhi. It was also to access the Gulf of Cutch through a small corridor across Sindh, Bahawalpur and Rajputana" (Chatterjee, 2019). However, in 1947, the Sikhs realized that their aspiration of a separate Sikh state was betrayed by the British and Congress alike. SAD was short of providing political support, and the Sikhs lost the battle to the mighty population of Hindus and Muslims. Their courage and military skills, close affiliations with the British were dwarfed in a game of numbers. Hence, India got freedom from the colonizers, but the Sikhs looked into the future under a continuous threat of being colonized by other majorities. Their struggle for a separate Sikh state continued after 1947.

1.7.2 Post-Independence Period and Punjab (1947-1966)

Pre-independence India boasted of a multi-communal country living in unison with each other, oblivious to the divisive communal forces. The partition of India was done

considering the power of two communal majorities- Hindus and Muslims. Having been engulfed by totally different communities on both sides, Sikhs became apprehensive of the situation they found themselves in after the independence. After the partition, the Sikhs dragged themselves in an open fight with the union government to protect their interests. A bird's-eye view projected India as a secular country; a custodian to different communities and religions, but the ground reality was a far cry from any such secularism, as Master Tara Singh condemned "although the Constitution of the country pretends of one nation and citizenship, irrespective of caste and creed, in practice the entire administrative working and implementation of the laws of the country is oriented by communal considerations" (Joyce, 1980).

It remained a fact that after 1947, the real power politics of Punjab centred on the issue of protecting the interests of Sikhs because after independence, like many other states, the Sikhs also started demanding a separate state 'Punjabi Suba' based on the Punjabi language. Sikhs wanted Punjab to become 'a state of Khalsa' but this Sikh formula was weakened tactfully when Hindi-speaking people separated themselves on the basis of language. They argued that they did not know Punjabi. As per the census of 1951, Hindus constituted 61 per cent of the total population in the post-partition Punjab. With a 35 percent Sikh population in central Punjab, Akali Dal created a Sikh majority state. A parliament committee was formed under the chairmanship of Hukum Singh (the then speaker of Lok Sabha) to look at the matter. The committee report was submitted on 18 March 1966 to the then Home minister Gulzari Lal Nanda which recommended the reorganization of the state based on language. After announcing in the parliament, a commission headed by Justice Shah with other two members was appointed on 18 April 1966, whose report came on 31 May 1966. Sikh elements reframed their religious base of their demand into linguistic one on the refusal of Centre government. Unfortunately, it divided Punjab into Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Chandigarh. Hindi-speaking areas were given to Haryana, and people with Pothohari dialectic formed the Himachal Pradesh. Chandigarh was established as a joint capital of both Punjab and Haryana.

1.7.3 Post-Reorganization Period of Punjab (1966-1990)

Sikhs emerged as the majority population in the post-1966 Punjab, which gave new dimensions to the sociological and economic life of the Punjabis in general and Sikhs

in particular. Prosperity and progress arise out of the lap of the green revolution placed the jats of rural areas in the front line of the politics of Punjab. Akali leadership of pre-1966 was from upper-class urban areas, and after the succession of Sant Fateh Singh, a Jat, as a president of Akali Dal, the domination of Jat Sikhs marked its first presence which is continuing till date. Master Tara Singh of the Khatri caste gave way to a Jat with a rural background which mobilized the social, economic and political aspects of rural life within the Sikh community. Thus it started the politics of autonomy, having its allegiance to the age-old demand of the Sikhs to have a Khalsa Raj. Punjabi Suba movement, a disguised communal demand based on language, was a first step towards attaining a state for Sikhs. The counter measures by the Hindu community by rejecting the Punjabi language in place of Hindi in the census of 1951 and 1961 and the Centre government's strategic resistance to curtail the territories of Punjab weakened the cause of Sikhs in getting an autonomous state. The backing of finance and social status and the urge to gain political ground filled the peasantry Sikh elite with the urgency to get power. It resulted in the Anandpur Sahib resolution of 1973, a document that enlists the demands, the core of which is to curtail the centralization of powers in the hands of Centre government. The post reorganization period up to the 1990s was an era of Punjab's fight with the Indian federalism, which in the eyes of Akali leadership turned out to be lethal in suppressing the state's legal rights.

The Akali leadership was becoming a force to be reckoned with, and it was for the first time that the Shiromani Akali Dal came into power, though for a short-lived tenure. Congress was well aware of the situation that was arising in the political arena of Punjab, and it played its card by placing a saint named by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale to weaken the Akali influence which was building up in the name of Dharam Yudh Morcha: an Akali initiative to put pressure on the central government in implementing the Anandpur Sahib resolution. Bhindranwale stole the show in an adventurous interplay of religion and politics with the backing of the Centre, and his rise to power was the decline of Akali Dal in Punjab. The confrontation between the extremists (the supporters of Bhindranwale) and moderates (the supporters of Longowal) took many political turns before the government decided to end the military activities of Bhindranwale running down the Golden Temple in 1984.

The violent attack on the religious shrine of Sikhs in Amritsar further deteriorated the ties between Punjab and the central government. This act of Mrs. Indira Gandhi was a forgetful blow on the Sikh integrity and resulted in her murder by the Sikh outfits. While Sikh militancy resurrected again from the remains of the Bhindranwale's spirit, the government machinery failed in Punjab, and it was a dark phase that turned the political scene upside down. Religious fundamentalism choked the political space of Punjab, resulting in the cancellation of elections owing to the activities of terrorists and political parties. It was only until the late 1990s which 'reflected a shift in the electoral politics of Punjab in the sense that politico-economic issues have increasingly replaced the ethno-religious issues (Kumar, 2005).

1.7.4 The Democratic Voices: Punjab Politics from 1990 onwards

Democratic leanings could be the best possible way to move forward in the direction of light after the dark phase of militancy. The needful happened for the first time in 1990s when Punjab surfaced to witness a shift in electoral politics. The issues like development, economic planning, and the welfare of the whole populace emerged as a happy sign in the political arena of Punjab. The factionalism continued to deepen within the Akali Dal. Tohra, Simranjit Singh Mann and others fought for their place in Punjab politics and tried their best to link themselves to the prestigious legacy of Akali Dal. However, Shiromani Akali Dal, led by Parkash Singh Badal, bubbled as the winner. Making a pact with BJP redefined the Sikh-Hindu relationship. Leaving behind communalism, the newly formed alliance focused on the concept of 'Punjab, Punjabi and Punjabiyat'. For the whole Punjabis, eliminating the bitterness of religion, language and community, the alliance stood for and continued to stir the electoral politics of Punjab until 1997, when it became victorious in assembly elections.

The phase after 1997 shows a drastic change on the political front of Punjab wherein people of Punjab, in general, became weary of the violence they witnessed during the 80s and stamped ballots in the name of peace and development. This period is still in a continuation that also witnessed Congress's return in Punjab, which was marked by the resurgence of Congress in Punjab, though it was the same political party that hurt the sentiments of Sikhs in 1984. Led by Captain Amrinder Singh, this phase of Punjab politics highlighted the influence of personality cult before party and anti-

incumbency. People were in there for political issues, not for the historical backgrounds to which political parties ascribe. The tag of the bi-party system and coalitions defined electoral politics of Punjab in the 21st century, which could not be shed so easily until the Aam Aadmi Party emerged in 2012 in Delhi, which was the outcome of a campaign against corruption. Punjabis jumped on the opportunity to try a new third front which made its presence felt in Lok Sabha election in 2014 by winning four out of thirteen Lok Sabha seats. Though AAP failed to gain ground in the Assembly elections of 2017, it shook the foundation of SAD by derailing it as the opposition party in Assembly. It has challenged the bi-party nature of Punjab politics along with its unorthodox approach towards politics. With the arrival of AAP, Punjab saw a consolidated third party in the electoral politics of Punjab. How far it can move is not an easy task to interpret.

1.8 Punjab: A Glance

Table: 1.1 Punjab: A Glance

Creation	1 November 1966
Capital	Chandigarh
Boundaries	International: Pakistan National: Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana And Rajasthan
State Language	Punjabi
Geographical Area	Total- 50,362 km 2 Rural- 48,265km2 (96%) Urban- 2,097km2 (4%)

Source: Jindal, M. (2017). Sada Punjab, MM Writings, India

The new state of Punjab was created on 1 November 1966, after it was bifurcated into Himachal Pradesh and Haryana. The division was based on a linguistic basis. Hindi-speaking areas were given to Himachal Pradesh and Haryana, while Punjabi-speaking areas remained with Punjab. The union territory of Chandigarh was named the capital of both Punjab and Haryana. Punjab shares its international boundary with Pakistan and national boundary with Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Jammu, Kashmir, and Rajasthan. The total geographical area of Punjab spans 50,362 km square, whereas 48,265 (96%) falls under rural and 2,097 (4%) falls under urban area.

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Table: 1.2 Administrative Divisions and Districts of Punjab

Name of Divisions	Name of the Districts
Faridkot	Faridkot, Bathinda and Mansa
Ferozepur	Ferozepur, Fazilka, Muktsar and Moga
Jalandhar	Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Kapurthala, Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur and Pathankot
Patiala	Sangrur, Patiala, Ludhiana, Barnala and Fatehgarh Sahib
Ropar	Rupnagar, SBS Nagar (Nawanshahr) and SAS Nagar (Mohali)

Source: Jindal, M. (2017). Sada Punjab, MM Writings, India

Punjab is divided into five administrative units, and it has 22 districts.

Table: 1.3 Demography

Total Population	277.43 Lakh
Male Population	146.39 Lakh (52.8%)
Female Population	131.04 Lakh (47.2%)
Rural Population	173.44 Lakh (62.52%)
Urban Population	103.99 Lakh (37.48%)
Scheduled Caste Population	8860179
Scheduled Caste Population to Total Population	31.94%

Source: Census 2011.

According to the 2011 census, the population of Punjab is 277.43 lac, in which 146.39 (52.8%) are male, and 131.04 (47.02%) are female. The rural population comprises 173.44 lac (62.52%), and 103.99 lac people (37.48%) reside in the urban area. Schedule Caste population counts for 31.94% of the total population of Punjab.

Table: 1.4 Religion Wise Population

Sikh	57.69%
Hindu	38.49%
Muslim	1.93%
Christian	1.26%
Jain	0.16%
Buddhist	0.12%
Other Religions	0.04%
No Particular Religion	0.31%

Source: Census 2011.

Sikhism and Hinduism are dominant religions in Punjab Sikhs make 57.69% and Hindus 38.49% of the total population. Other religions are marginal as far as the religious division of Punjab is concerned.

Table: 1.5 Administrative Units

State Legislature	Unicameral
Sub Tehsil	87
Block	149
Towns	143
Cities	74
Inhabited Villages	12581
Gram Panchayats	12775
Zila Parishad	22
Municipal Committees	164
Municipal Corporations	10 (Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Patiala, Bathinda, Mohali, Phagwara, Pathankot, Moga and Hoshiarpur)
Lok Sabha Seats	13
Raj Sabha Seats	7
Assembly Constituencies	117

Source: Compiled from Department of Planning Punjab.

There are 13 Lok Sabha, 7 Raj Sabha and 117 Assembly Constituencies respectively in Punjab.

Table: 1.6 Regional Representations in Punjab Legislative Assembly

Majha	25
Malwa	69
Doaba	23

Source: Jindal, M. (2017). Sada Punjab, MM Writings, India.

According to the regional division, Majha has 25, Malwa 69, and Doaba has 23 constituencies.

1.9 Determinants of Electoral Politics of Punjab: A Bird's-Eye View

Certain traits of Punjab electoral politics made it different from the other North Indian states. These features include the dominant position of religion in the politics of Punjab. Strong regional identity, language, caste, and leadership factors have influenced different elections to set contrasting electoral consequences (Kumar, 2004). With no exception to identity politics, the electoral politics of Punjab has been dominated by these identities. The field of electoral politics is a dynamic one. A historical survey of the politics of Punjab gives a clear-cut picture of the factors that were central to the electoral politics owing to the partition of India, the reorganization of Punjab and the emergence of militancy. With the changing times, these factors also took new turns, somehow clinging to their basis. Nevertheless, the push to these factors was quite a strong one in determining the nature of electoral politics and influencing the voting behaviour of the people of Punjab.

1.9.1 Caste: A Case of Casting A Vote

Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth guru of Sikhs, while founding the new religion in the name of Khalsa Panth, stressed the elimination of any untouchability prevailing in the society. Naturally, it improved the status of the low caste populace, who joined the new religion, which allowed them to assert themselves at par with other so-called upper castes. Dramatically, religion turned out to be a saviour of the underprivileged people living miserable lives in the complex cobwebs of social hierarchy. The

theoretical framework of Sikhism is totally against the purity-pollution syndrome caste system (Judge, 2002). Islam too practices the same ideals as far as their approach towards casteism is concerned.

Furthermore, the Hindus' assertion of Brahminical hierarchy was further cut down by the movements like Arya Samaj. 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 the caste-rigidities and the institution of the untouchability but also positively helped in improving the status of the depressed classes" (Gupta, 1985). That is why, Punjab as the highest Schedule Caste population state in India has never been a destination for scholarly studies exploring the role of Dalits in electoral politics. Though the part played by the caste system in the politics of Punjab is in strict contrast with other states of India, caste is still a dominant factor that influences the electoral politics of Punjab. The Jats as a social class have been dominating the politics of Punjab till date. Jats are considered superior as they are the owners of the land. Most Sikhs are from the peasantry class (Jats) which dominate by its number, property and religion. Dalits were not given the right to buy land under the Punjab Land Alienation Act (1901) (Ram, 2012). As Chandhoke & Priyadarshi stated, "Though the SCs comprise 28 percent of the population in the state, they only hold one-tenth of the land". The reservation policy has failed to curtail the political marginalization of the SCs of Punjab. This fact is evident while noticing that no non-Jat except Giani Zail Singh has ever become a CM face in Punjab (Kumar, 2017).

Table: 1.7 CMs of Punjab

Sr No.	Name of CM	Party	Period	Caste
1.	Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir	Congress	01-11-1966 to 08-03-1967	Jat Sikh
2.	Justice Gurnam Singh	SAD	08-03-1967 to 25-11-1967	Jat Sikh
3.	Lachman Singh Gill	SAD	25-11-1967 to 23-08-1968	Jat Sikh
4.	President Rule	-	23-08-1968 to 17-02-1969	-
5.	Justice Gurnam Singh	SAD	17-02-1969 to 27-03-1970	Jat Sikh
6.	Parkash Singh Badal	SAD	27-03-1970 to 14-06-1971	Jat Sikh

Sr No.	Name of CM	Party	Period	Caste
7.	President Rule	-	14-06-1971 to 17-03-1972	-
8.	Giani zail Singh	Congress	17-03-1972 to 30-04-1977	Ramgarhia Sikh
9.	President Rule	-	30-04-1977 to 02-06-1977	-
10.	Parkash Singh Badal	SAD	02-06-1977 to 17-02-1980	Jat Sikh
11.	President Rule	-	17-02-1980 to 06-06-1980	-
12.	Darbara Singh	Congress	06-06-1980 to 10-10-1983	Jat Sikh
13.	President Rule	-	10-10-1983 to 29-09-1985	-
14.	Surjit Singh Barnala	SAD	29-09-1985 to 11-06-1987	Jat Sikh
15.	President Rule	-	11-06-1987 to 25-02-1992	-
16.	Beant Singh	Congress	25-02-1992 to 31-08-1995	Jat Sikh
17.	Harcharan Singh Brar	Congress	31-08-1995 to 21-01-1996	Jat Sikh
18.	Rajinder Kaur Bhattal	Congress	21-01-1996 to 12-02-1997	Jat Sikh
19.	Parkash Singh Badal	SAD	12-02-1997 to 26-02-2002	Jat Sikh
20.	Captain Amrinder Singh	Congress	26-02-2002 to 01-03-2007	Jat Sikh
21.	Parkash Singh Badal	SAD	01-03-2007 to 06-03-2012	Jat Sikh
22.	Parkash Singh Badal	SAD	06-03-2012 to 16-03-2017	Jat Sikh
23.	Captain Amrinder Singh	Congress	16-03-2017 to till present	Jat Sikh

Source: Compiled from Kumar, A. (2017) and Jindal, M. (2017)

The reorganization of Punjab in 1966 led to the concentration of power in the hands of land-owning Jat Sikhs. The economic inequalities and the cleavages of social mobilization created by the green revolution gave rise to factions within the society, so far, devoid of any such groups. The dominance of agricultural Jats dwarfed the "political role of other castes groups among the Sikhs namely upper castes, Khatris, Aroras, Ahluwalias; artisan castes, like the Tarkhans or the Ramgarhias or the Rais and the Lohars, Chimbas, Lannas, Kumahars and the Dalit castes like the Chamars, Chuhras or Valmikis also called Mazhabhis and Ramdasias, thus

creating internal cleavages within the Sikh community" (Singh, 1984). Based on economics, the Hindu elite consisting of high caste Khatris, Aroras and Baniyas, who deal in trade and industry, comes second in the new hierarchical system which emerged in the post reorganization era. The factions developed on the lines of occupation out-classed the schedule caste labourers in social, political and economic representation, giving birth to a new kind of cultural assertion among the Dalits of Punjab.

Indian National Congress, with its moderate politics, has been the defender of the Dalit cause and still dominates Punjab's electoral politics. The only exception was the era between 1985-1997 when its political support base was shrunk with the arrival of BSP on the political scene of Punjab. The period before and after this era witnesses the popularity of Congress among the Dalit voters. The failure of BSP: a political party committed to Dalits all over the country owes to the immaturity of the party to reach out to the grassroots of the Dalit population, its shocking alliance with SAD and weak leadership. With the BSP diminishing as the political competitive in 1997, the Dalits could not cling to any political support and were forced to shift their allegiance between Congress and SAD. The urge to be at par with the other castes witnessed the emergence of Deras in Punjab, and the Dalit response to the political marginalization meted out to them has blurred the lines between the religion and politics, thus forming an amalgamation of recurrent yet perplexing possibilities.

1.9.2 Sikh Identity and Religious Implications

There can be numerous reasons which wear the veil of a clear-cut connection to define the divide between Hindus and Sikhs. Nevertheless, the split owes its genesis almost apparent to the perception of the Hindus to appraise the Sikhs as an unbreakable offspring of their religion and Sikhs' relentless fight to come out as a separate sect of a people with an altogether different culture. For Sikhs, it is a struggle to define themselves against the convenience of getting defined by others (Hindus). In Punjab, all the strategies, diplomatic weaponry and slogans hurled in the political battlefield have a severe religious backing for Hindu-Sikh strife. It has defined the politics of Punjab: a state where Sikhs are in the majority (though an insignificant minority across the country) ever since the independence of India. Pre-partition Punjab comprises over 60 percent Hindu population and 31 percent Sikh population

(Cheema, 2015). The tabulated data below shows the drastic shift in population belonging to different religious communities compared to 1971.

Table: 1.8 Punjab Populations by Religion

Religion Wise Population	Census 1971	Census 2011
Sikh	60.2%	57.69%
Hindu	37.6%	38.49%
Muslims	0.8%	1.93%
Christians	1.2%	1.26%

Source: Census 2011

Keeping in mind the history of India, it becomes evident that the Indo-Pak division in 1947 was the outcome of religious and identity implications, thus colouring the political ground of Punjab with communal orientation. Like other regions across the country, identity has been part and parcel of the electoral politics of Punjab. Since its transformation from a minority to a majority, the Sikh religion has been integral to the politics of Punjab. Religion has been the main electoral issue among the political parties, especially for Shiromani Akali Dal, for five decades after the reorganization of Punjab in 1947. Besides steering the Centre-state relations, it has been the basis of demanding more autonomy in the federal structure of India.

As the religion of the majority population of Punjab, Sikhism provided supremacy to its people in social and political institutions. It has been providing the flagship to the political parties. Despite being the Centre of the electoral support base for political parties, it remained the determinant factor in influencing the voting behaviour of the people of Punjab. Whereas Sikhism made the Shiromani Akali Dal a robust political party, it also checked the entry of any non-Sikh political competitor in the politics of Punjab.

1.9.3 Regional Representations: Mighty Plains of Malwa

Punjab was known to be the land of five rivers named Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum. Rivers flowing through the land of Punjab divided it into three regions: Majha, Malwa and Doaba. Majha region covers Beas and Ravi River, spread over

four districts: Gurdaspur, Pathankot, Amritsar and Tarn Taran. The region which falls between the river Sutlej in the North and river Ghaggar in the south isconsidered Malwa. It covers the most significant part of Punjab and also holds the political key to 69 assembly constituencies. This region comprises 14 districts: Ferozepur, Faridkot, Fazilka, Bathinda, Barnala, Sangrur, Mansa, Patiala, Mohali, Moga, Muktsar, Ludhiana, Rupnagar and Fatehgarh Sahib. The Doaba region is bounded by the river Sutlej and Beas, which includes four districts: Kapurthala, Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur and Nawanshahr (Jindal, 2017).

The state of Punjab has witnessed the role of regional identities in politics. These significant regions have provided different support structures and electoral bases to different political parties in Punjab. The social and economic structure change brought political awareness to people and turned the tables in electoral politics. Since the partition of Punjab in 1947, the region has contributed indirectly to Sikh politics till the 1990s. However, after the democratic values were reinforced in Punjab, it made a significant change in the political agenda of major parties, especially Shiromani Akali Dal. For decades, the regional division into Majha, Malwa and Doaba has contributed to the electoral trends in the politics of Punjab. Malwa has been politically more influential with a higher number of Sikhs than the other two regions. Malwa remains the key player contributing to the strength of the Shiromani Akali Dal in Punjab. Being the focal point of Punjab politics, Malwa provided Akali Dal to swing in the region. In the Malwa belt, SAD has the stronghold both in legislative assembly and parliamentary elections. Akali Dal is relying on the Malwa region for its political leadership. SAD's dependence on the Malwa region owes to Jat-Sikh peasantry, who are in the majority in this region. During the hours of the Akali torrent, the party has performed a grand show in this region. In 1967, the Akali Dal won 20/58 seats from the Malwa region because of the factor of the peasantry (Bhushan, 1985). Peasantry leadership (for instance, Parkash Singh Badal) of Akali Dal provides the basis to lure the Jat-Sikh peasantry class to win elections for the party. The Malwa region was also the cause of the headwind for the Congress party to counter the Akali Dal.

Whereas Shiromani Akali Dal has remained dominant in the Malwa region, its position in Doaba is not as impressive as in Malwa. This was the large proportion of

the Scheduled caste and Hindu populace found in the Doaba region of Punjab. Congress party has a strong foothold in the Doaba region, where the party performed well from 1967 to 2012, winning seats in urban and Dalit constituencies of the region. The vote share of the Congress party depends on the urban constituencies and the Scheduled caste dominated region of Doaba (Kaushik, 2005). On the other side, the party could not do well in the Majha region (5/23) because it failed in gaining Hindu support, which dominates the Gurdaspur district, which was in the grip of BJP and SAD. Despite the times when there had been the Congress wave, Akali Dal could still get 1/3 of the assembly seats contested by them. Amritsar district of Majha region comprises majority Sikh population, which is instrumental in providing Akali Dal with the chances of victory. Congress only did well in Hindu dominated areas of Gurdaspur district in the Majha region. Being a rural constituency, Tarn Taran remains a successful fort for Akali Dal in the Majha region.

The beginning of a change in politics after militancy has brought a change in the working of major political parties, but the role played by the region itself has taken an eventful turn. 2007 Assembly elections are a significant example of this turn where the support base of Shiromani Akali Dal and Congress has shifted hands.

Table: 1.9 Performances of Major Parties in the Majha Region (1967-2017)

Year of Election	SAD Won/Contested	Congress Won/Contested	BJS/BJP Won/Contested	BSP Won/Contested	AAP Won/Contested
1967	5/15	12/22	4/13	-	-
1969	10/14	7/23	3/8	-	-
1972	2/15	18/19	0/13	-	-
1977	14/15	3/22	6/10	-	-
1980	9/18	15/27	0/11	-	-
1985	14/21	10/27	2/8	-	-
1992	1/10	21/27	2/16	0/21	-
1997	18/18	0/24	7/8	0/13	-
2002	7/19	17/24	0/8	0/18	-
2007	17/19	3/27	7/8	0/27	-
2012	11/17	9/25	5/8	0/25	-
2017	2/17	22/25	1/8	0/24	-

Source: Election Commission of India.

Table No. 1.10   Performance of Major Parties in the Malwa Region (1967-2017)

Year of election	SAD Won/Contested	Congress Won/Contested	BJS/BJP Won/Contested	BSP Won/Contested	AAP Won/Contested
1967	18/35	24/57	3/28	-	-
1969	28/42	17/57	4/13	-	-
1972	22/46	28/49	0/12	-	-
1977	36/46	10/53	10/17	-	-
1980	22/44	32/65	1/17	-	-
1985	48/63	12/65	2/12	-	-
1992	2/40	47/64	4/33	3/61	-
1997	44/58	9/56	6/6	0/32	-
2002	27/58	29/57	1/7	0/57	-
2007	19/58	37/65	5/7	0/64	-
2012	34/61	31/69	2/8	0/69	-
2017	8/61	40/69	1/7	0/65	18/64

Source: Election Commission of India.

Table No. 1.11 Performance of Major Parties in the Doaba Region (1967-2017)

Year of Election	SAD Won/Contested	Congress Won/Contested	BJS/BJP Won/Contested	BSP Won/Contested	AAP Won/Contested
1967	1/9	12/23	2/8	-	-
1969	5/9	14/23	1/9	-	-
1972	0/11	20/21	0/8	-	-
1977	8/9	4/21	9/14	-	-
1980	6/11	16/25	0/13	-	-
1985	11/16	10/25	2/6	-	-
1992	0/8	19/25	0/17	6/23	-
1997	13/16	5/25	5/8	1/22	-
2002	7/15	16/24	2/8	0/25	-
2007	13/17	4/25	7/8	0/25	-
2012	11/16	6/23	5/7	0/23	-
2017	5/16	15/23	1/8	0/22	2/23

Source: Election Commission of India.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature review is an integral part of any research project. It provides us with an opportunity to look into the theoretical and methodological contributions to the research problem. It includes all the scientific knowledge in relation, either directly or indirectly, to the research topic. The literature review of this research project includes secondary resources in the form of books, research articles/papers, newspapers, magazines, government reports, and online web articles. The literature has been divided into three parts according to the different political phases of the electoral politics of Punjab. In the first part, the literature which deals with the pre-1984 electoral politics of Punjab has been included. The studies related to the electoral politics of post-1984 Punjab have been given space in the second part. Finally, the last part focuses on the new emerging patterns in the electoral politics of Punjab.

2.1 Studies on the Electoral Politics of Pre-1984 Punjab

Jeffrey, R. (1994). "What is Happening to India? Punjab, Ethnic Conflict, and the Test for Federalism" portrays the incidents that led to the Punjab Crisis in the wake of a secessionist movement. The ethnic conflict in Punjab, which was in its full swing in the 1980s, challenged the supremacy of the Central government. It can be taken as the model for the whole of India wherein states are demanding sovereignty. The concepts like socialism, secularism, nationalism, and non-alignment have lost their previous influence in modern India and have been impregnated with new implications still to be analyzed on a large scale. Some of the political issues we analyze today in Punjab politics are still valid as they were in the days of emergency.

Pettigrew, J. M. (1995). "The Sikhs of Punjab: Unheard Voices of State and Guerrilla Violence" is a courageous work that chronicles the violent phase of the conflict between the Sikh militants and Indian security forces since the attack on the Golden Temple in 1984. The book is an intriguing read which depends upon the humanistic approach to demystify the struggle. Though defeated in their cause to get an independent Khalistan, the purpose of the militants and the causes of the violent movement is still undervalued and unaddressed. This violent phase not only rocked Punjab but also created a terrifying buzz in the political annals of Indian politics.

Mahmmod, K. (1996). "Fighting for Faith and Nation: Dialogues with Sikh Militants" is outstanding documentation of the interviews and conversations with the Sikh militants fighting to create a separate Sikh state. Though their fight was dipped in religious Sikh traditions to protect their faith and identity, it also calls for a pragmatic resolution on the common ground of humanity. The author puts forth a strong case for militants suggesting the multifaceted nature of the problem. It is necessary to peel down the layers before jumping to an open and shut conclusion. The book also provides a theoretical and methodological framework for analyzing the politics of violence and gaining political ground.

Tally, M., & Jacob, S. (2001). "Amritsar: Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle" is a groundbreaking account of the fortification of the Golden Temple Amritsar in 1984 and the events that led to the assassination of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Sikhs were in great pain to see their holy shrine dusted and violated and see it as an attack by a Hindu Prime Minister over the minority population. The book tries to uncover the truth behind the decision of Indira Gandhi. She would not have been wanted the blood and bullets in the premises of Golden Temple had it not for the militants who were using the holy shrine as their last resort of defence. It was a tactical attack gone wrong to weed out the handful of armed militants, and there was nothing against the innocent Sikh people. Nevertheless, it turned out to be Indira Gandhi's last battle which took her life and unleashed violent crimes against the Sikhs.

Judge, P. S. (2002). "Religion, Caste and Communalism in Punjab" explores the ties between the caste division among the Sikhs and the birth of communalism in Punjab. According to the author, there is a vast difference between the case hierarchies in Hinduism and Sikhism. Hinduism divides all human beings into four varnas: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaish and Shudra. The varna scheme is static, putting Brahmins at the top as an upper caste, though not necessarily a dominant caste among the Hindus. This caste stratification in Hinduism is based on manual and non-manual labour, classifying one as 'pure' and the other as 'polluting'. On the contrary, Sikhism provided an opportunity for those considered lower castes. Having achieved economic prosperity, the likes of Jats (Shudras among the Hindu caste hierarchy) needed to attain their upper status. In Sikhism (in the form of the creation of Khalsa), their aspirations bore fruits andmoved upwards. If Sikhism supported their cause, in turn,

they strengthened the roots of Sikhism in Punjab. Though considered a casteless religion, Sikhism is full of caste hierarchies, but this caste system is 'qualitatively distinct from Hinduism. The existence of these 'distinct caste hierarchies' has paved the way for the mushrooming of communalism in Punjab at the beginning of the 20th century.

Punia, S. K. (2002). "Electoral Politics of Punjab: Emerging Trends and Changing Patterns (1966-2009)" is a detailed study of the electoral politics of Punjab. It focuses on the different phases of electoral politics of Punjab from 1967 to 2007. The study provides a detailed analysis of the emerging trends and changing patterns of post-1997 elections. During this time, there was a shift of focus from ethnoreligious issues to development-oriented issues. The work has extensively used the party election manifestos, electoral issues, the performance of different political parties, and their support base.

Gessler, S. (2005). "The Role of Akali Dal in Punjab Crisis 1981-1986" analyses the militancy period of the Punjab crisis and the role of Akali Dal in this problem, underlining that leadership plays a vital role in a political party. During the period of the Punjab crisis, Akali Dal's leadership was divided into moderates and extremists. Factionalism in SAD pushed the Punjab crisis into the worst situation. Moderate leadership of the party wanted a political solution through negotiation, but extremists did not want a peaceful way out of this situation. The fiery attitude of the central government towards the demands of Punjab further aggravated the Punjab crisis and it turned Punjab into a violence-ridden state. Another point discussed in the research paper highlights that the regional parties can not adhere to homogeneity at any cost.

Sridharan, E. (2005). "Coalition Strategies and the BJP's Expansion, 1989-2004" the paper analyzed that the BJP has performed a great job in the Lok Sabha election and assembly election. BJP has expanded from 1984 to 2004 through its strategy of coalition building. BJP has scored well in ten states named Maharashtra, Haryana, Assam, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamilnadu. BJP has succeeded in establishing dominance in Punjab through a coalition with SAD to counter the Congress party.

Tatla, D. S. (2005). "The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood" serves as the authoritative work on the concepts like race, ethnicity, and international migration.

The book highlights the complex yet the profound relationship between the Sikh diaspora and Punjab's place of birth. The book highlights that the storming of the Golden Temple in 1984 by the Indian government unified the Sikhs worldwide in realizing the need to protect the Sikh identity. This unexpected event was seen under the light of a Hindu majoritarian government attacking the minority community, hence interfering with the religious beliefs of Sikhs. Diasporas living worldwide felt an immediate concern to protect their identities and provided a helping hand to create a separate Sikh state while using their current base as a shelter working outside of India. Though successfully planted in foreign lands, they are always eager to nourish their roots back home.

Grewal, J. S. (2017). "Master Tara Singh in Indian History: Colonialism, Nationalism, and the Politics of Sikh Identity" in his exhaustive biography of Master Tara Singh, the prominent Sikh leader delineates the role played by Sikhs for the freedom of India and the struggle of Sikhs to protect their identity in the wake of policies adopted by the British government and the Indian National Congress. The book outlines the efforts of Master Tara Singh in protecting Sikh interests by initiating movements like the Punjabi-Suba Movement and by focusing on his different stance on the vision of the 'Indian National State'. By comparing and differentiating him with Nehru, the book epitomizes him as the prominent Sikh face in the politics of Punjab (India). The fact remains that whatever he desired to do was in the interest of Sikhs and Punjab. To what extent he did will remain the matter scrutinized under the scholarly eyes of coming times.

2.2 Studies on the Electoral Politics of Post-1984 Punjab

Singh, G. (1992). "The Punjab Elections 1992: Breakthrough or Breakdown" analyses the significance of the 1992 assembly election in Punjab, as Punjab remained under the president's rule since 1987. The new government fails to make a critical point. The paper explores these reasons while focusing on the electoral politics from 1984-1992 and pinpointing the 1992 assembly elections. The research paper outlines Congress' efforts to gain electoral balance after the fall of 1984. The paper also explores the political scene before the 1992 election, party politics over the Rajiv-Longowal pact, efforts to pacify the environment of Punjab, and the prospects for the future.

Singh, G. (1998). "India's Akali BJP Alliance: The 1997 Assembly Election" also focuses on the political scenario of Punjab which remained helpful for the alignment of SAD and Bhartiya Janta Party. The 1997 election was necessary because there was a shift in the ideology of the main political parties in Punjab. SAD was not representing the Sikh people in this election. It took into consideration the developmental issues in this election. Now, SAD was supporting cooperative federalism. There was a steep decline in identity politics.

Singh, G. (2007). "The Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections of February 1997: The BJP's Regional Road to Power?" in Contemporary South Asia journal concludes that the SAD-BJP alliance suit both the political parties to foster their respective interests. At the same time, SAD is hopeful of gaining autonomy in the violence-ridden Punjab. BJP eyes to gain importance at the union level while allying with the regional party to throw the established Congress out of power. Both parties have much in common, which will further give new dimensions to Indian politics.

Chima, J. S. (2010). "The Sikh Separatist Insurgency in India: Political Leadership and Ethno Nationalist Movements" states that a new variable, 'patterns of political leadership' which has influenced the politics of Punjab, is the substance of this book. It is an exciting and intriguing read on the changing nature of political leadership, which has linkage in sowing seeds of the 'Punjab Crisis'. This book is also an authoritative commentary on the political history of the Sikh separatist insurgency and the course of military actions that were never conducted on such a large scale in any state. The work is also an essential document on the ethnic groups and how their relationship with the state government influenced the overall political scene of Punjab. Above all, it is an attempt to shed light on the secessionist movement run by the Sikh militants to create an independent Sikh state free from the clutches of any central power.

Panwar, N. S. (2010). "Uneasy Alliance: SAD-BJP Coalition in Punjab and Economic Development" in his thesis explores that there is a vast difference between SAD and BJP as far as their respective ideologies are concerned. The alliance is only an electoral necessity. The author has analyzed the electoral performance of the SAD-BJP alliance since 1997 on its role in economic development in Punjab. Akali Dal stitched an alliance with BJP only to lure the Hindu voters; on the other hand, BJP is

helping a regional party- SAD strengthening its base to capture power at the centre.

Sehgal, M. (2014, June 9). "Days of Terror: Punjab Backs in the 1980s" (www.indiatoday.in) highlights the re-emergence and significance of the image of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale among Punjabi youth. Though dead, he is revered as a Saint, Punjabis and non-Punjabis have been seen buying merchandise bearing his name. The article represents how Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale is seen as a warrior who stood against the bad things rampant in the 1980s. He is labelled a social reformer and a radical Sikh preacher involved in a dispute with Nirankaris. Later on, he got accused of the murder of Lala Jagat Narain and is seen as a hero who stood against the Hindu government working against the Sikh interests. Backed by Gurcharan Singh Tohra, he kept on climbing the stairs of fame and tried to put forth the demand of Khalistan before the Central government. Some saw his radical activities on the positive side, while others regarded him as a militant. Lastly, his image in the minds of Sikh people is still afresh, and Punjab faces crop failure, unemployment, and drugs. There is a high chance that the history of the 80s can repeat itself.

Thukral, G. (2014, January 3). "Governor Arjun Singh Looks to Get Akalis to Agree to Hold Elections in Punjab" (www.indiatoday.in) presents before us the turbulent times of the 1980s and the hope that there would be elections in due course to place democratic government to cement the temporary phase of peace. Arjun Singh, the then governor of Punjab, insisted on holding elections to strengthen democracy in Punjab. According to him, holding elections is the natural outcome of the success of the Rajiv-Longowal pact. Akali Dal is divided on the issue of the success of the Rajiv-Longowal pact. Congress (I) is definitely in a mood to catch on the people's nerve to give them a representative government by holding elections, but the opposition parties like CPI, CPI (M) are not ready for elections. Though, in actuality, they are bound by their political obligations, they are pretending that the elections would only spoil the communal harmony, and the temporary peace would be interrupted by the Sikh radicals and their supporters.

Arjun Singh is keen to hold elections and argues that terrorism is part of life and should face it. He believes that delaying elections is not suitable for democracy, and only a political process can strengthen this hard-earned peace. Congress wants to see Akalis in the saddle by conducting elections because only the Akalis can

diplomatically pacify the Sikh people. On the other hand, Akali Dal is divided, Longowal leads one faction, Badal and Tohra head the other. The Akal Takht seems to favour holding elections on the condition that all Akali factions are united. Overall, the article presents the political situation that surfaced in 1985 after the Rajiv-Longowal pact was signed and seen as a success to hold elections in the future.

Thukral, G., & Dubey, S. (2014, January 8). "Campaign for Punjab Elections Gets off to a late Start Amidst Unprecedented Security" (www.indiatoday.in) tells the story of the 1985 assembly election and the clouds of violence and boycott threats looming large over the entire political scenario in Punjab. The article highlights that elections were the only way to establish peace in the state, and Congress (I) was hoping for the best after achieving success in sealing a pact with the Akali Dal. United Akali Dal and AISSF called for a boycott, and it was assumed that they would indulge in violence to do so. On the other hand, all the candidates from different political parties have started their election campaigns. Some have been heavily guarded by policemen, armed forces, along with private bodyguards and while others have shown their popularity among the public and moving freely among the masses to lure them to vote in their favour. The candidates are enthusiastic about participating in the electoral process. This election would be a unique one in the history of Punjab as it is going to be held under the watchful eyes of police and armed forces as it is not welcomed by the radical Sikh forces and some of the political groups/leaders inclined towards separatist ideology. The pomp and show and all the electioneering noises are missing in this election, and even the people are fearful of practicing their right to vote. The author highlights that hot-headed youth are given the training to conduct acts of violence to disrupt the peace in the state by the militant outfits, and there is also a possibility of cross-border assistance from Pakistan to spoil the political atmosphere in Punjab.

The author also pinpoints that as Longowal is dead now, he is a hero for those who wanted peace, and for militants, he was a traitor who sold out Sikh interests to the anti-Punjab Centre government. There is also the feeling that Congress (I) wants to see the Akalis in power as this would be the victory of the pact and democracy both, though the party has opined that this news is merely rumours. Lastly, the author concludes that who wins matters a little, but the state seems to be on the way to democracy, as after a long period of violence and turmoil, Punjab is witnessing some

political activity in the name of elections.

2.3 Studies on the Emerging Patterns in the Electoral Politics of Punjab

Rai, S. M. (1986). "Punjab since Partition" reveals that Akalis tried every political move to remain in power and indulged in stitching alliances keeping in mind the electoral opportunities. Events like the army attack on Golden Temple, Indira Gandhi's association, anti-Sikh riots and speeding up of the communal powers in Punjab is also hinted at. A great deal of focus is given on the analysis of Rajiv Longowal pact. The historical framework of the Punjab politics is covered in a convincing manner, though; the political consequences of the Rajiv Longowal pact are not discussed.

Dhami, M. S. (1990). "Patterns of Communal Polarisation and Electoral Support in Punjab: The Context and Case of the 1985 Assembly Elections" in Richard Sisson and Ramashray Roy's book 'Diversity and Dominance in Indian Politics' reveals about the communal wave which went against the Congress during the period of militancy in Punjab. The author points out that the effect of communalism was higher in urban areas. In rural areas some of the Sikhs voted for Congress because of the internal conflicts within the political community of Sikh peasantry. SAD got 73 seats and Congress bagged 32 seats, BJP got 6 seats in 1985 assembly elections. SAD bagged votes from the non-SC Sikhs and it is the slight possibility that some portion of the SCs (which are the core vote bank of Congress) voted for Akali Dal. The Communist parties were not able to score significantly and even Congress was unaffected by their vote share. Hence, the author concluded that Akali Dal's victory was mainly due to the leakage in the vote bank of Congress.

Kaur, R. (1992). rises a point on the problem of identities and national integration related to Sikhs in her book "Sikh Identity and National Integration". She observes that there are so many factors responsible for disturbance in Punjab like historical, cultural, psychological and economic. Moreover political parties like BJP, Congress and Akali Dal also played major role to enhance the political complexities in the state. She has a view that national integrity is in no danger until the regional identities are not challenged by the government. If they are defamed by the authority then there can be a chance of revolt. According to her, Akali Dal and SGPC played an eminent role to develop the particular identity among Sikhs. Moreover language issue, idioms and

religious symbols were used by Akali Dal to inculcate the feelings of Sikh identity in Sikhs.

Singh, D. (1993). "Akali Politics in Punjab 1964-85" focuses on the historical background of Punjab politics. It sheds a light on the political philosophy of SAD, their political structure and strategy. Above all it also analyses the Anandpur Sahib Resolution and Operation Blue Star.

Sidhu, L. S. (1994). "Party Politics in Punjab" studies different political parties in respect of their organisation, electoral performance and their role in Punjab politics. It also studies the conditions and situations governed by the role of castes, religion and language in which these parties work to gain political edge.

Grewal, J. S. (1996). "The Akalis: A Short History" reveals the Akali Dal's role in Punjab politics. It provides an opportunity to throw light on economic and political policies and ideology of SAD. The book studies the political demands put forth by the Akalis during the 1930s and 40s when India was under the British rule. There is no mention of the other political parties like Congress that was a dominant force during those times.

Bakshi, S. R. (1998). "Contemporary Political Leadership in India" focuses on the SAD-BJP pact in the Punjab politics. It discusses the role of Parkash Singh Badal as the leader of SAD in Punjab. Though, the role of BJP as an associate party is not studied at length as it should be.

Hansen, T. B., & Jaffrelot, C. (1998). "The BJP and the Compulsion of Politics in India" evaluates the emergence of SAD-BJP alliance in the context of religion since 1990s. A significant study of political developments which remained supportive for stitching this partnership has been given in this paper.

Kaur, K. (1999). "Akali Dal in Punjab Politics: Splits and Mergers" studies the process of splits and mergers in Akali Dal and how they separate and then reunite again due to specific compulsions. It also pays attention on the role of Sikh priests, various political leaders and other organisations which worked for the unity of Akali factions. Among many other reasons the role of Congress and the ego of political leaders of Akali Dal is significant in splitting the SAD.

Verma, P. S. (1999). The article "The Punjab Congress" in the book "Punjab in Prosperity and Violence: 1947-1997" edited by J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga shows that Congress was a dominant party after independence. Its vote bank declined after the reorganisation of the state in 1970s. The major portion of their vote bank- Hindus turned towards BJP in the late 90s which was a great set back to Congress in urban areas. SCs and BCs shifted their loyalties towards BSP. The article studies systematically the big guns of Congress party. Their social status and economic capabilities are also scrutinised. The electoral performance of different political parties from 1967-1992 is also studied. The author also highlighted the region wise performance of Congress in assembly elections from 1990 to 1995.

Verma, P. S. (1999). "Akali-BJP Debacle in Punjab: Wages of Non-Performance and Fragmentation" in Economic and Political Weekly makes an attempt to show that people always judge a ruling government and the government in return endeavours to probe its value. Unsatisfied voters definitely switch their loyalty towards other political parties if they are not happy with incumbent government. Congress failed to get votes in 1997 assembly election on the basis of the issue of peace. Congress failed because of the corruption, abuse of power, the wrongs done by the police. On the other hand, the victorious SAD-BJP alliance had to lick the dust because of their non-performance. Congress voiced the issue of corruption, price hike, ineffective power supply and procurement system and unemployment and got victory by gaining confidence of the voters in revealing the shortcomings of the ruling government.

Kumar, A., & Kumar, S. (2002). "Assembly Election: Decline of Identity Politics" focuses on the 2002 assembly elections in Punjab. The author has analyzed the performance of contesting political parties in the election. A comparative analysis of the performance of the two main parties has been given in this paper. It highlights this election, as Congress won for the first time after the militancy era in Punjab. The paper has started the shift in the regional support base of leading political parties. There was a failure of the Panthic agenda.

Singh, S. (2002). The chronology of historic events is well explained in "The Sikhs in History". It explains the whole period of terrorism starting from 1978 to 2002 till Congress became the ruling party led by Captain Amrinder Singh after defeating Parkash Singh Badal. The author further analyses the defeat of Shiromani Akali Dal

during 2002 elections due to the split of Akali Dal into Badal group and Tohra group. Both groups underestimated their weaknesses and strengths. Badal underestimated the hold of Gurcharan Singh Tohra who had served as the president of SGPC for 25 years. On the other side, Gurcharan Singh Tohra overvalued himself. He did not realise that his political position had not been the same as it had been before.

Kumar, A. (2003). "State Electoral Politics: Looking for the Larger Picture" states that there is a severe lack of 'theoretically sensitive studies' in the study of electoral politics. There is no such academic effort as to cover the changes which are taking place in Indian politics. The analysts are of the two extreme opinions; one lobby follows 'mindless empiricism' and the other favours to profess 'impressionistic theorization'. Both of which are incomplete attitudes towards a sincere study of electoral politics. The author highlights one such attempt. A workshop was conducted jointly by the Indian School of Political Economy and the Department of Politics and Public Administration. The workshop attempted to develop a systematic and coherent theoretical framework to study state electoral politics. Some scholars believe that there can be no generalization that can be ascribed to the electoral politics of India, as every state differs from others in many aspects; events in one state cannot affect the others.

Nevertheless, the author points out that despite the region-specific nature and rise of distinct identities in electoral politics, we can find many commonalities across the country. The paper also reveals that there has been the emergence of a bipolar party system in most states, and Congress has declined as 'a party of natural governance'. The contest is now between two political parties or two alliances at the state level.

Kumar, A. (2004). "Punjab: In Search of New Leadership" explores that it is surprising, given the fact Hindus and Sikhs feel about each other, the alliance between SAD and BJP has worked out well. The anti-Congress stand of the alliance in the wake of atrocities faced by the Sikhs in Punjab has played an essential role in the alliance's victory. On the other hand, Congress has failed to deliver good performance, ineffective governance, and effectiveness of the policies. BSP, too, failed to find any foot with the Dalit voters. The author argues that SAD won the Jat Sikh votes by airing their voice favouring the Gurudwara Reform Movement and Punjabi Suba movement. This, coupled with the inefficiency of Congress at every

front, has resulted in the loss of the ruling party. It seems that the bi-party system, the author argues, is going to sustain, as it has outlived any third alternative in the past three decades.

Khan, J. A. (2006). "Akali-BJP Coalition: Bases and Working in the Punjab During 1997-2002" explores the political performance of SAD-BJP alliance since 1997 to 2002 in the electoral politics of Punjab. Main focus of this article remained on the working of partnership with different ideological bases. The issues where both allied co-operate with each other and where alliance had to come against each other also had been the centre of focus.

Singh, J. (2006). The article "Akali politics since Amritsar declaration studies the working of Shiromani Akali Dal during the time of Amritsar declaration till the general elections of 2004 in Punjab. The article shows that ideological differences make way for the factionalism in Akali Dal. The article also reveals that Akali leaders fought for power and used the basis of ideology to hide their political agenda.

Dhaliwal, S. (2007). in his article on "Punjab Politics Goes in for Big Change" describes the changing nature of both dominant political parties- Shiromani Akali Dal and Congress towards the voters of Punjab. Developmental issues like roads, employment, water supply and electricity etc. were prioritised by both parties in their election campaigns to gain the support of all and sundry. There was the change in the support base of SAD and Congress party. Sikh peasantry class which was the strong vote bank of SAD shifted towards Congress party. The author has also pointed out that there was a change in the preference of issues of voters.

Kumar, A. (2007). "The 2007 Punjab Election: Exploring the Verdict" explores that election after election, the results have shown that the people of Punjab are in no mood to repeat the party in power. It seems that they are out of the option to choose any credible party which contests elections on issues like development. The election manifestos show a significant gap between the 'political economy and 'political processes' regarding the ground reality. So, they only vote for the less evil party and less corrupt candidates regarding voting patterns.

Kumar, A., & Sekhon, J. S. (2009). "Punjab: Resurgence of Congress" analyses the 2009 Lok Sabha election in which the Congress party emerged as a winner for the

second consecutive time.

Singh, P. (2007). "Punjab's Electoral Competition" in his research paper explores that Akali Dal's move for transforming itself into a regional party from a Panthic party has begun. Akali Dal has opened its membership to Hindus and provided an option to align with a regional party instead of a national party like BJP and Congress. On the other hand, Congress under Captain Amrinder Singh has strengthened the party's position in Punjab by committing to the state's interest. Now, SAD is not the sole defender of Punjab's interests regarding economic and cultural issues. State-level leadership of both parties has emphasized the political agenda that is deeply rooted in the region's welfare. Moreover, the paper has also pointed out the severe influence of capitalism in framing Punjab's cultural and political framework. All the political parties have failed to address the adverse effects of capitalism that can be fatal in the times to come.

Kaur, A. (2009). "Recent trends in Legislative Leadership of Shiromani Akali Dal in Punjab(1997-2007)" has analyzed the legislative leadership patterns of Shiromani Akali Dal from 1997 to 2007 on various grounds such as gender, age, profession, caste, education, and political experience. The number of SAD women legislators remained low in the assembly. Giving weightage to experience, parties chose aged persons for their legislators. Agriculturist and Jat-Sikh communities remained dominant in the candidature of the party. The party has included the most number of graduates. Young people got the chance to contest elections with the political backing of their families.

Jaijee, I. S. (1999). in his book "Politics of Genocide: Punjab 1984-94" talks about the wrongs done on the Sikh Community by the central government, even he goes on to say that it was like genocide and the Sikhs were at the receiving end. The sacrifices of the Sikhs and their role in the freedom struggle have been mentioned. The role of Sant Bhindranwale has been pointed out who had a plan of his own to uplift the cause of Punjab in order to get maximum benefit from the central government. The author here points out that the centre government has always remained hostile towards Punjab and he hints at the incidents like Punjabi Suba movement, river water crisis, the issue of Chandigarh and the shortage of electricity. All these issues, according to the author, are central towards the autonomy of Punjab and Congress has turned deaf ear to all

these issues leading to the enmity between the centre and state.

Singh, B. (2009). "Punjab Assembly Elections 2007: An Analysis" in his paper has analyzed the 2007 assembly election in Punjab along with the political strategies of parties, electoral outcomes, and a brief historical overview of the electoral politics of Punjab. It has been explored that there was a shift in electoral politics from religious issues to developmental issues. Rising prices, inflation, water, food, and public welfare were central in election campaigning. Political parties went on testing alliances to gain political power.

Singh, D. (2011). "Coalition Government: Recent Trends with Special Reference to Punjab" analyse the coalition rule of SAD-BJP for the terms of 1997 and 2007 in the state of Punjab. It was the first time in the political history of Punjab that alliance with different religious implications successfully ruled over the state for the full term.

Chaudhary, A. (2012, January 28). "Over 9000 Deras in Punjab, Some as Old as Sikh Religion itself" (indianexpress.com). The article studies the impact of deras on the electoral politics of Punjab. The article has four main deras: Dera Sacha Sauda, Radha Soami Satsang Beas, Dera Sachkhand Ballan, and Bhaniara Wala Dera. The article highlights that these deras flourished because the Sikh institutions (The Akal Takht and SGPC) failed to guide the Sikh population. The article also highlights the strong connection between religion and politics.

Economic and Political Weekly (2012). "Fourteenth Assembly Elections in Punjab" has focused on the fourteenth assembly elections in Punjab. For the first time in the state's political history, a party or alliance has won the ruling power consecutively for the second time. People's party of Punjab of Manpreet Singh Badal emerged as a new entrant but failed to mark the electoral outcomes. Voter turnout went high to 79 percent this time, with the highest participation of women. It was not the victory of SAD-BJP but the Akalis' putting a face of multi-ethnic party face which took the party back into power.

Judge, P. S. (2012). "Punjab Elections: Entrenching Akali Politics" has analyzed the 2012 assembly election in which the Akali-BJP alliance won for the second consecutive time. The further exploration reasons the fall and victory of political parties in the 2012 Punjab Legislative Assembly while studying 2007 and 2012

assembly electoral outcomes. The delimitation of constituencies, internal strife of Congress led the party and its candidates to face defeat with slight margins. Factors such as caste and religion remained at the center of politics. SAD-BJP alliance as a Hindu-Sikh unity will re-emerge more strongly in the future. The mantra to the success of any candidate relies upon local-level politics. RSS has a crucial role in providing success to BJP.

Kumar, A. (2012). "2012 Assembly Election in Punjab: Ascendance of a State-level Party" analyses that in the 2012 Punjab assembly elections, the main political parties made their presence felt in the electoral battlefield for winning electoral seats. The parties strengthened their support base in Majha, Malwa and Doaba region. Deras are also playing an essential role in politics. SAD with its ally BJP and Congress offered populist schemes to win maximum seats. Development and good governance remained the main agenda in this election.

Kumar, A. (2012). "Politics of Autonomy in a Comparative Perspective: Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir" focuses on the comparative study of the political process after the post-partition period (1947) in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. Both the states have many similarities in respect of geography, historical background, cultural and regional specifications. The independence of India truncated Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. The geographical structure of the two states remained a point of critical importance for the politics of India. Besides, both the states have common sociological factors influencing the polity of the state. Although there were movements for autonomy in the two states, they contributed differently to the Indian government. There was peace in Punjab after the secessionist movement in the 1980s, but the case was not the same for Jammu and Kashmir. Instead of solving the problem and accommodating the people's demands, the government replied with a bullet. No democratic way was adopted to meet the problems of Jammu and Kashmir citizens. Conditions that remained varied for the two states were the involvement of Pakistan in Kashmir in the autonomous movement, which was not the case in Punjab. Secondly, unlike Punjab, there was no harmony between Hindu-Muslim communities in Jammu & Kashmir. Jammu and Kashmir echoed for self-determination, whereas Punjab demanded autonomy under the Union government. Although having commonalities between two states, these were the points that distinguish them in the arena of establishing peace.

Ram, R. (2012). "Caste and Marginality in Punjab: Looking for Specific Cities" presents a unique and robust case for the role played by caste in Punjab politics. In this article, the author has distinguished the state of Punjab from other states across the country in its social stratification. Caste's hierarchical structure in Punjab is not based on the 'purity-pollution syndrome' prevalent in the country. After the reorganization in 1966, Punjab could not make unity among different socio-cultural and linguistic levels. Punjabi Suba movement of 1966 provided for the state of Sikh majority. However, it has remained divided into region-specificities as Majha, Malwa and Doaba. The paper mainly focuses on caste identification among the regions of Punjab. However, untouchability is strongly forbidden in the preaching of Sikhism, but it could not weed out the caste system from the society of Punjab state. Caste stratification in Punjab is usually not based on Brahminical principles. Jats (a social community) constitute the majority of the Sikh religion in Punjab. Having enjoyed a dominant position, the Sikh religion has provided a superior status to the Sikh people in society.

Moreover, Jats are the landowners, which has also given them the upper rank in society. No doubt, casteism is not exceptional to Punjab, as Dalits have been exploited here too. Dalits, who comprise one-third of the state population, have a negligible share in land ownership, which has pushed them towards deras in the quest to be labelled as equals and refraining from social suppression.

Singh, K. (2013). "A History of the Sikhs 1849-2004" provided an insight into the effects on the Punjab Politics till 2004 when Congress was in coalition with other parties and unable to form government on its own at centre. The sentiments of Sikhs are deeply scratched by the memories of Golden Temple in June 1984. This particular event becomes the reason to widen the gap between the Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab. Moreover, it disturbed the peaceful environment of Punjab as the two communities started hating each other. The brutality during that course of time affected the whole political and social scenario. The writer acknowledged that with the emergence of Shiromani Akali Dal in 1997, Punjab came on the right track.

Singh, P. (2014). The author in his work "Class, Nation and Religion: Changing Nature of Akali Dal Politics in Punjab, India" analyses the Akali politics and its changing role in Punjab politics. Akali Dal is much more than a common regional

party as it has deep rooted history owing to the subject of its creation and organisation. This paper explores that how Akali Dal has coped with the circumstances originated in the arena of class, religion and nationalism. The paper has also defended the Akali Dal as a Sikh nationalist party which does not protect the Sikh interest only but Punjabi interest also.

Kumar, A. (2014). "2014 Parliamentary Election in Punjab: Explaining the Electoral Success of AAP" analyses the 2014 parliamentary election in Punjab. AAP came on the scene in 2012 in Punjab for the first time. SAD, Congress and BJP were the main political parties fighting for political power. SAD and Congress changed their ideology according to the times in order to achieve victory. The paper also focuses on the performance of parties in central regions- Majha, Malwa, Doaba and political strategies adopted by different political parties.

Singh, S. (2014). "AAP in Punjab: Exploring the Verdict" the author has explored the 2014 General election in Punjab in which the Aam Aadmi Party made an impressive debut by winning four seats, solely from the Malwa region of Punjab. AAP's issue-based campaign ensured people to get rid of corruption, agriculture indebtedness, red-tapism, crime against women, agrarian crisis, drug menace, and farmer suicides. It posed a threat to dominant political parties (SAD and Congress) in 2017.

Chima, J. S. (2015). "SAD and Emerging Ideological Cleavages in Contemporary Sikh Politics in Punjab: Integrative Regionalism Versus Exclusivist Ethnonationalism" the paper highlights two poles in Sikh politics based on ideological differences. One is SAD, Akal Takht, and SGPC, and the other is the faction that supports Sikh ethnonationalism. This faction (SAD (A), Damdami Taksal, and others) leaned towards the ethnographic agenda and has always tried to lead the Sikh people to achievetheir religious agenda. It has remained outside the political system, and on the other side, SAD, working on its secular agenda, has always adopted agitational methods to meet its demands. There has been an intense clash between these two factions in which SAD has emerged as a winner being inclusive, working on the agenda of multi-ethnicity attracting masses while the other faction has laid stress only on the Panthic agenda.

Chima, J. S. (2015). "The Sikh 'Political Prisoner' Issue and Hunger Strikes" In this paper, the author analyzed the factors working behind the failure of Sikh

ethnonationalism in Punjab. The author has given a theoretical interpretation of the agenda of Sikh ethnonationalism. Sikh mobilization depends on a bipolar system that consists of religious-political backing. One is the organized 'Sikh political system' which includes SAD (B), a political party with the support of SGPC and Akal Takht. Political agitations like the Gurudwara movement of the 1920s, Punjabi Suba movement of 1966, and Dharam Yudh Morcha of 1982 were backed by the Sikh people because they were led by an organized Sikh political leadership- SAD, SGPC, and Akal Takht. Presently this 'Sikh political system' is working under the leadership of Parkash Singh Badal and has expressed its adherence to the moderate nature of Sikh ethnonationalism. Citing a particular case of the failure of hunger strike (for the release of political prisoners) by Gurbaksh Singh Khalsa, the author has highlighted that in the absence of Sikh organized political support. The strike was unable to mobilize the Sikh people. Small Sikh religious and political groups (SAD (A), Sikh preachers, and other religious organizations) were only marginally successful in impacting this particular instance.

Gill, A. S. (2015). In the article "Non Congress Politics in Punjab 1947-2012" explains the political reasons behind that led to the lack of emergence of Non Congress parties into mainstream till 1977. Only after Shiromani Akali Dal declared itself as the party of Punjabi community at Moga conference in February 1996 that Punjab politics saw a new rival party. SAD put forth a particular ideology of the party in the name of Sikh identity which had been earned by the help of untold sacrifices. On the other side Parkash Singh Badal acted in a realistic manner to cement Hindu-Sikh unity through making close relationship with BJP. The author also pointed out that Dalits and Leftists were not able to create a mark in the Punjab politics.

Kumar, A. (2015). "AAP and Emerging Political Scenario on the Eve of the 2017 Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections" analyses the political scenario of Punjab. SAD and Congress were the main political parties. PPP emerged on the scene in 2010. AAP's emergence in 2012 changed the political scene of Punjab and gave rise to a triangular party system. This paper explores the party's organization after 2014. AAP set 'Mission 2017 election' in which the main focus was on triple C- good character, free from corruption, no criminal record. The paper also explores the drawbacks of AAP's work and focuses on the impact of this change on major political parties of

Punjab named SAD and Congress.

Trehan, P. (2015). "Understanding Obstacles to Dalit Mobilization and Political Assertion during the 2017 Punjab Elections" paper discusses the hindrances in the mobilization of Dalits in Punjab. SCs have the highest population in Punjab among all the Indian states. The SCs as a political group have performed dismally. Chamars, Ad-Dharmis, Valmikis, and Mazhabhis, are dominant castes among the SCs. Divided, though, they significantly influence the electoral politics of Punjab. All the political parties have tried their best to lure them and make them their permanent vote bank, but the political agendas and populist schemes could not have their permanent say over the Dalit population. SCs' division on the lines of different sub-castes has given birth to the Deras, which have successfully mobilized them politically to a limited extent. However, the complexities based on the different religious/caste affiliations are still dominant to unite them as a vote bank of a particular political party.

Vasudeva, V. (2015, November 23). "Tough to Separate Politics from Religion in Poll-Bound Punjab" (www.thehindu.com). The article highlights that religious sentiments make their presence felt ahead of the 2017 assembly elections as it is hard to separate religion from politics. SAD is in trouble after their decision of granting pardon to Dera Sacha Sauda head Gurmeet Ram Rahim Singh, who was accused of hurting Sikh sentiments by his act of blasphemy. Congress bagged this occasion by sending Rahul Gandhi to Punjab, whose Captain Amrinder Singh and Bajwa shook hands publicly to ensure no factions. BJP, on the other hand, is silently consolidating its support base in the rural areas of Punjab.

Bhatnagar, G. V. (2016, April 23). "The Art of War – What Rahul and Sukhbir Need to Learn in Punjab" (www.thewire.in) puts forth a hypothesis that what would be the state of affairs if there are no veteran leaders like Captain Amrinder Singh and Parkash Singh Badal leading Congress and SAD respectively? As far as this article is concerned, the author has no positive answer to offer. Punjab has always been a turf of two political parties contesting for power, but this time, a newbie, AAP, emerged on the political scene, and it has changed the political annals for the time being. The party is gaining ground with the underprivileged and masses of Punjab, but Congress Vice-President Rahul Gandhi claims that AAP is just creating hype by misusing public funds, which it got from Delhi. The same is the case with SAD President

Sukhbir Singh Badal. He propagates that it is Congress versus SAD again. The party veterans Amrinder Singh and senior Badal of Congress and SAD respectively are in no mood to overlook that AAP does hold some ground. Both of them, in their speeches, have given weightage to AAP as their chief opponents. Certainly, junior Badal and Rahul Gandhi have much to learn from the veterans if they stand any chance against AAP. The author concludes that it is for the first time that the upcoming elections will be a contest between the three political parties.

Bhatnagar, G. V. (2017, January 12). "Arvind Kejriwal Clarifies He Will not Become Punjab Chief Minister" (www.thewire.in) underlines the fact that, in the history of Punjab, it is for the first time that there is the fuss about the Chief Ministerial candidature; if he would be a Punjabi or non-Punjabi. This discussion owes to the arrival of AAP in Punjab. Though to date, AAP remained silent about the CM face, this went against them, for it gives space to the speculations that Arvind Kejriwal will be the next Chief Minister. To pacify any such speculations and ensure that the opponents benefit from such propaganda, Kejriwal made it clear that CM will be from Punjab. The article highlights that Punjab, under any circumstance, will not accept an outsider. While SAD and Congress aim to flourish on the point that the people of Punjab are facing outsiders, AAP has its problems while choosing a CM face. However, what seems problematic for AAP is good for the politics of Punjab, as, for the first time, Punjabis are aiming for a significant change in the field of electoral politics.

Burakowski, A., & Iwanek, K's (2017). "India's AAP: Are the Newcomers Rocking the National Politics?" focuses on political programs and consecutive steps taken by the Aam Aadmi Party from the time of its establishment. The paper analyses the old and new political techniques and highlights the party's strategy, ideology, and political agenda in the Delhi assembly election.

Jolly, A. (2017, February 6). "Down to the Wire" (www.indiatoday.in) focuses on the assembly elections of Punjab in 2017, which is going to be the first triangular affair that had always been a fight between two major parties: Congress and SAD. This time, AAP looks promising as one can sense the political wind blowing in Punjab. Both AAP and Congress are cashing on anti-incumbency and projecting themselves as the saviour of the people of Punjab. On the other hand, SAD is boasting about its

achievements in putting Punjab on development tracks. The party leadership is fully confident to make it for the third time in a row. Both AAP and Congress are targeting Badals and defaming them in public as if there is no other issue to be discussed to get the votes. The article highlights that the arrival of Captain Amrinder Singh as the Chief Ministerial face is welcomed by the people, whereas; AAP is silent about its Chief Ministerial candidate. SAD has come with yet another bag of promises to win the hearts of the voters.

Jodhka, S. S. (2017, August 27). "Why Do People Go to the Dera?" (www.thewire.in) article studies the support that deras generate among the Dalit population. Apart from the essential features that a dera provides to the commoners, a dera is also a space to provide a sense of security to marginalized people.

Kumar, A. (2017). "Electoral Politics in Indian Punjab: A New Phase" takes an overview of electoral politics of Punjab since partition. SAD remained as the primary representative party of the Sikh population in Punjab. SAD is committed to the solution of the Punjab problem. Anandpur Sahib Resolution, transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab has remained the main issue for the party. The author also explores the shift in electoral politics of Punjab like SAD and BJP's alliance to solve the Punjab problem and reduce Congress's power. Socio-economic developmental issues replaced Ethno-religious issues.

Ram, R. (2017). "Internal Caste Cleavages among Dalits in Punjab" in his paper pinpoints that due to internal caste divisions among the Dalit population in Punjab, there is no unity as far as political expression is concerned. Despite the highest SC population in Punjab, they cannot assert themselves as an electorate showing adherence to a particular political party. Sub castes divided into the lines of their affiliation to different religions and religious sects make them a highly heterogeneous group, unable to be labelled as simply- Dalits. Accordingly, the SCs are divided into 39 sub castes.

Rathi, N. (2017, August 30). "Why Deras and Sects Find Punjab Fertile for Growth?" (indianexpresss.com) states that modern Sikhism failed to provide social equality, which created a space for the anti-Sikh deras to flourish. The article argues that the deras exploit the factor of caste to strengthen their ties with the Dalit population and flourish on the religious sentiments of the people.

Sekhon, J. S., & Sharma, S. (2017). "Evaluation of SAD-BJP Government (2007-2017)" analyses the political regime of the SAD-BJP partnership since 2007 based on various grounds. A comparative analysis has been done with the previous alliances. Akali Dal was able to make the first-ever coalition government in 1969 with the support ofthe Communist Party and Jan Sangh. Since the reorganization of Punjab, Akali Dal has successfully ruled Punjab three times (1997, 2007, and 2012) out of five elections, and every time BJP has proved to be the helping hand in forming the government. Though the populist politics mixed with the developmental initiatives like Aata Dal and Shagan Scheme, free power supply to tube wells, and laying of roads and bridges and flyovers have been successful in luring the voters, still, Punjab has been lagging on the lines of the financial crisis, agricultural failure, and the degradation of law and order. Issues like a financial burden on the state, desecration of Guru Granth Sahib, Akali monopoly in transportation, mining, and media earned a bad name for the party, and the result was their apparent loss in the 2017 election. Indeed, the government failed to deliver on the agrarian crisis, and all the promises were proved to be mere lip service.

Bhatti, H. S., & Jeji, T. S. (2018). "Making Sense of 2017 Punjab Legislative Assembly Election Results" the author focuses on the 2017 Punjab assembly elections and makes a comparative study of voter turnout with the help of the last two assembly elections. Drugs and drug addiction, SYL, corruption, monopolization of business, mafia control & law and order, farmer suicides & indebtedness were the main electoral issues dominating the 2017 election. While analyzing the election process and electoral outcomes, the author discovered the shrinking base of ideological parties. Women's representation and youth participation increased. NRIs and Deras have been influencing Punjab politics. The paper explores the failure of the third alternative, AAP. The party focused more on the Malwa region. That is why it could not win any seats in Doaba and Majha. The delay in declaring the CM candidate, inability to clear its view on SYL, the arrogance of AAP leaders, and controversies surrounding party leaders were some of the reasons that made the party ineffective.

Financial Express (2018, September 13). "Religion Again to the Fore before Polls in Punjab" (www.financialexpress.com) the article shows that there is a strong connection between religion and the electoral politics of Punjab. In the wake of the upcoming general election, the religious issue of sacrilege cases of Guru Granth Sahib

is surfacing on the political scene of Punjab, and Congress has been using this issue tactfully and won 77 seats in the 117 member assembly. The author also highlights that Congress also used the issue of drug abuse and corruption. There is also a mention of the AAP's unsuccessful attempt of mixing religion with politics when it took sides with radical elements. According to the article, it is not a new thing that religious issues are dictating the electoral outcome of Punjab elections. However, the emergence of ideas and sects in the recent past has certainly given a new impetus to the state's blend of religion and politics.

Gill, S. S. (2018). "Explaining the Loss of the SAD-BJP Alliance and AAP: Role of Poor Governance and Policy Paralysis" has analyzed the 2017 assembly election along with the causes and factors responsible for the defeat of SAD. AAP's promise to rule over Punjab while emerging as a third alternative was only short-lived. The party was inexperienced in handling the internal strife and interference of Delhi leadership in Punjab politics, along with the expulsion of prominent faces like Sucha Singh Chottepur, and the distribution of seats reversed the fortunes the crucial times. AAP's failure in turning popularity into votes benefited Congress. On the other hand, the people of Punjab were desperate with the rule of the SAD-BJP alliance. Law and order situation in Punjab had become worse, which went against the ruling party, as were Akal Takht's grant of pardon to Dera head Ram Rahim and the desecration of Guru Granth Sahib.

Hasan, Z. (2018). "Collapse of the Congress Party" presents brief pictures of the 2014 General elections and electoral outcomes of the main political parties. The anti-corruption movement of 2011 brought a turning point in Indian politics which created the leadership crisis in the Congress party. While exploring the ideological drift in the party, the paper focuses on the working of UPA government I and II. Lack of internal democracy in Congress, failure to project new leadership, and lack of a lustrous campaign were the drawbacks that made the condition for a resurgence of the right-wing.

Kaur, H. (2018). "Akali Dal-BJP Coalitions as Marriages of Convenience: A Historical Perspective on the 2017 Election" analyses that after the 1997 election, SAD and BJP allied to counter Congress as there was a lack of ideological understanding between the both. The paper analyses the alliance from two

perspectives: the post and pre-election alliance both. Identity politics had grown ever since the pre-independence period of India. SAD-BJP alliance emerges after the state reorganization act in Punjab. The political situation of Punjab was not peaceful. The main parties were focusing on the problem of Punjab like the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, Longowal pact. However, with time, there was a change in the electoral issues of the main parties. SAD became the party of Punjabis instead of only Sikhs (that it used to be) and allied with BJP.

Khanna, R. (2018, November 27). "Why is Punjab Sitting on a Tinderbox Again" (www.thewire.in) concludes that the political scene in Punjab always remains volatile and religious sentiments play a vital role behind this volatility. At the same time, presenting the latest violent incidents before us, the author points out that these incidents have always helped those in power to sideline other essential issues of utmost significance. The political scene is left with the same two old opponents: Congress and SAD after AAP lost in the assembly elections, which is still struggling to stand on its feet. The Bargari agitation has received full support from the people, and it has been doubted that the hardliners and pro-Khalistan elements can disturb the peace in Punjab. The article highlights that the SAD has lost faith among the Punjabis to protect Sikh interests after failing to prosecute those responsible for the desecration of the Holy Scripture Guru Granth Sahib. The people of Punjab want an independent Akal Takht and SGPC free from the hold of Badals. Meanwhile, the author concludes, the 'governance is zero' and the real issues have been silenced. The fact of the situation is that Punjab is sitting on a 'tinderbox'.

Kumar et al., (2018). "The 2017 Assembly Elections in Punjab" focuses on the point that this assembly election was significant in itself because it ended the bi-party system and started a triangular party system. Electoral politics became a battlefield among the main political parties SAD, CONG, BJP, and AAP. AAP emerged as the second-largest party in this election. The paper focuses on the shift in electoral performance of these political parties along with particular features in this election. It has analyzed the voting patterns, political leadership, campaign strategies, and main electoral issues. The main focus of political parties in this election was on political parties' political development and governance from the 1997 to 2012 assembly election in Punjab.

Ram, R. (2018). "What Went Wrong with the Third Alternative?" focuses on the Aam Aadmi Party as a third alternative in politics. While focusing on the emergence of party and performance in the Delhi assembly elections of 2013 and 2015, the paper explores the weak points in AAP's strategy to acquire the center stage. AAP got popularity because there was desperation among Punjabi youth for a change. Looking into the answers to why the party became a third alternative, the paper analyses AAP's organizational and structural leadership, which helps identify the factors of its failure. The author concludes that there was a lack of internal democracy within the party. The central leadership had a dictatorial attitude regarding distributing electoral tickets and passing strategical orders from the top.

Sekhon, J. (2018). "Dynamics of Electoral Process of 2017 Assembly Election in Punjab" explores the dynamics of electoral politics. There are two phases of electoral politics: pre-reorganization of states 1947-1967 and post-reorganization of states. The paper makes a comparative analysis of electoral performance, the support base of political parties in Punjab. It presents the survey results on the electoral issues in the 2017 assembly election.

Singh, P. (2018). "Aam Aadmi Party's Electoral Performance in Punjab: Implications for an All-India Political Scenario" explores that though most of the AAP leaders were from other states like Haryana, there are similarities in geographical and cultural context as far as both Haryana and Punjab are concerned. Punjab has particular features which distinguish it from other states in India, as it is the homeland of Sikh people. Sikhs are in the minority in India but are in the majority in Punjab. So, the Modi wave of 2014 could not succeed in Punjab. The paper concludes that the suppression of the movement of the 1960s and militant movement of the 1980s by the government of India moved the people in favour of AAP in Punjab. AAP also gained the support of the Sikh diaspora, Dalit voters, and upper caste Hindu youth. The absence of the Modi wave in Punjab was also due to most Sikh people in Punjab.

Bhatnagar, G. V. (2019, October 3). "Accusing BJP of 'Unethical' Behaviour, SAD Ties Up with INLD in Haryana" (www.thewire.in) focuses on the point that SAD parted ways for the first time in history from its ally BJP. The poaching of one of the leaders of the SAD in the Haryana General Elections has not gone down well with the party. The author focuses on the ambitious strategies adopted by the BJP to belittle its

alliance which forced SAD to join hands with INLD in Haryana. An insignificant move as far as the elections are concerned, this event proves that there is an atmosphere of distrust between the two parties. It would be interesting to see if this particular event would affect the relations of the two parties in Punjab or if it is merely a one-time move that will go down in history as an insignificant one. On the whole, the BJP must rein their horses of autocracy and stop displeasing the SAD.

Dhawan, P., & Singh, S. (2019, June 5). "Punjab's Politicians are Using the Bogey of Militancy Again" (www.thewire.in) explores the reason behind the victory of Congress despite its poor governance in Punjab from yet another angle. The most common fact is that the people of Punjab rejected the right-wing communal force, which threatens the interests of the Sikhs, who feel marginalized in the national electoral and political agenda. On the other hand, Congress did nothing new to win the voters; they picked the historical pattern of using the bogey of militancy to perplex the electorate. It was the only agenda that Congress pushed so successfully and hid its failure as a political party committed to the cause of development. The authors further outline that every time a severe issue emerges on the front,the parties in power very tactfully handle it. The authors present a historical pattern of such instances where the issues were lost in the wake of religious sentiments and other fake propaganda. There is also a mention of the arrival of the AAP on the scene and how it was derailed by the tactful policies adopted by the contesting political parties. The delegitimization of the mass movements through fake propaganda was more pronounced in the 2017 Assembly elections. The agenda of making use of such bogus propaganda has continued to date. One such instance is that of Captain Amrinder Singh's policy of keeping people in fear of the deterioration of law and order through claims that Pakistan is backing militant elements to disturb the peaceful atmosphere of the border state of Punjab. This has helped the chief minister of Punjab in pacifying the issues of utmost concern projected by the media from time to time.

Dharowal, K. S. (2019, August). "By Supporting What happened in J&K, Akali Dal Has Betrayed Punjab" (www.thewire.in) explores that of late, the revocation of Article 370 and the announcement of reorganizing Jammu and Kashmir into two separate union territories got a mixed response from the political parties. The author states that this move by the Bhartiya Janta Party proved to be significant in pushing the Hindutva agenda in the states. Congress and other opposition parties raised a

strong protest in the upper House, but as the author puts in his words, the support from the SAD in favour of BJP proves to be a 'biggest embarrassment'. SAD as a regional party is expected to uphold the rights of the state and ought to be committed to the concept of federalism, which SAD has done so far, but when everyone in Punjab, even the Jathedar (so-called mouthpiece of Badals), is condemning this move, the party president Sukhbir Singh Badal, on the contrary, welcomed this step. The author reminds of the fact that the party which always aired the concept of decentralization of power has suddenly given away its very ideal on which it contests election. It has won many elections on the federal agenda, and now it has betrayed the very cause of federalism. It is dangerous for a regional party like SAD to support BJP in this move, as this can put Punjab into a similar situation in the times to come. The author concludes that SAD has proved that they are loyal to BJP, and they are playing politics of opportunity and have no respect for Punjabis and the state's autonomy.

Dogra, C. S. (2019, May 25). "Why Punjab's Sikhs Majority Shunned Modi's Hindutva to give Congress Eight Seats" (www.thewire.in) asserts that it is not good governance and the issue of development that helped Congress to bag eight seats in this Lok Sabha elections but rather, it is the overt Hindutva agenda pushed by BJP-SAD alliance which motivated Sikh voters to keep distance from them. The SAD-BJP alliance worked well in the past, but it dismantled the traditional voting patterns this time, and the Sikhs felt insecure as a community and voted against the alliance. The SAD failed to pacify the sentiments of the Sikh *Sangat* on the issue of the desecration of the religious scripture at Bargari in October 2015 when Parkash Singh Badal was in office. The SAD, it is believed, is playing into the hands of the RSS and the radical Sikh elements are aware of these advances. Overall, the author concludes that the people of Punjab did not vote for Congress but voted against the threats; if BJP comes into power in Punjab, the Sikhs will not be able to protect their religious interests in the wake of majoritarian agenda pushed by the BJP.

The Hindu. (2019, October 06). "SGPC not an Akali Body: Sukhbir Badal" (www.thehindu.com) describes that according to Sukhbir Singh Badal, SGPC is a democratically elected religious bodythat has nothing to do with Shiromani Akali Dal. Captain Amarinder Singh and Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa accused Akali Dal of using SGPC to gain political incentives, but in his statement, junior Badal clarified that it is Congress doing politics on religious issues.

Kumar, A. (2019). "Electoral Politics in Punjab: Factors and Phases" stresses the need to prioritize the states to be taken as the single units for electoral analysis. It has remained a litmus test for the center to protect the federal structure of India ever since. The book focuses on the electoral issues taken up by the political parties in the elections of Punjab. The book provides a comparative study of the issues taken up in Lok Sabha and Assembly elections, proving that Punjabis vote differently for the different elections, a unique feature of Punjab politics. The book also charts down the different trends and movements in Punjab's electoral politics, which shaped India's political face.

Rebbapragada, P. (2019, April 5). "AAP's Punjab Unit in Disarray Because Delhi leaders Undermined Local Politicians, Failed to Nurture Credible Sikh Face" (www.firstpost.in) concludes that sectarianism plays an essential role in the politics of Punjab. She took many historical examples along with the present scenario to put forth this point. While explaining the failure of AAP in Punjab, she highlights that any party willing to govern the state of Punjab must put a local face to build a loyal voter base to win the elections. Khaira remarked that it was pretty clear that Punjabis were more than willing to give another party a chance to make a mark, but AAP failed to live up to the expectations. The internal division within the party defamed the party, but this division, too, was the result of the autocratic nature of the party supremo Arvind Kejriwal. The local leadership was devoid of any autonomy, and the people of Punjab sensed this lack and voted against the party. The author also pointed out the critical event in which Arvind Kejriwal apologized to the former Akali minister Majithia after accusing him as a kingpin in a drug cartel. It hurt the sentiments of the Punjabis. The author concludes that AAP leadership failed to sense the nerve of the people of Punjab.

Singh, S. (2019, December 21). "BJP's Punjab Card: Political Jumla vs. Anti-Sikh Past" (www.newsclick.in) pinpoints that BJP is keen to win 2022 assembly elections in Punjab on its own in the absence of weakened Akalis and factions in AAP. To lure Sikh voters, they appoint Jat Sikh faces in their rural leadership and shape their political agenda to influence the Sikhs. The author highlights that these pro-Sikh steps are merely an eye-wash as, in reality, the BJP and Sangh had an anti-Sikh past. On the other hand, though Modi and BJP try their best to make friends with the Sikh population, they are not welcomed by Punjabi Sikhs in Punjab and abroad. So, it is

unlikely for the BJP to gain ground on its own in the upcoming 2022 assembly elections.

Times of India (2019, May 15). "Hindus in Punjab Do not Take Sides, Swing between BJP and Congress" (timesofindia.indiatimes.com) highlights that the Hindu population of Punjab is the most strategic one while voting in elections. Sikhs and Dalits, thoughthey have a higher percentage of votes, the Hindus matter the same. In 2017 Congress won the urban seats due to the support it got from the Hindus. The article also points out that Hindus in Punjab have been mainly supporting Congress, but they are strategic enough to switch sides between BJP and Congress to suit their needs of 'perception of security, national issues, and business interests'.

Sharma, P. (2020, February 23). "Second Gurudwara Movement to Rid SGPC of Badals" (tribuneindia.com) underlines Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa that SGPC is a tool in the hands of Badals and Shiromani Akali Dal, and it is necessary to free it from the clutches of Badals. Various veteran Akali leaders accused Badals of misusing SGPC funds for political gains, pardoning the controversial Dera Sacha Sauda chief, and failing to arrest the sacrilege accused. Dhindsa stressed that they had launched a second campaign on the footprints of Gurudwara Sudhar Lehar of 1920 to remove the Badals from the SGPC.

Business Standard (2020, February 20). "Akal Takht SGPC should be away from Politics Dhindsa" (business-standard.com) states that Akal Takht is the top temporal seat of Sikhs, and according to Dhindsa, Akal Takht and SGPC should be away from political interference as they are purely religious institutions.

2.4 RESEARCH GAP

An idea of a full-fledged review on all the literature available on a given topic is impossible to conceive, let alone the implementation. After reviewing the available literature on the topic, it has been noticed that the electoral politics of Punjab is dynamic, where significant electoral trends emerge from time to time owing to the electoral aspirations and strategic planning of the political parties and overall contemporary situations. It is significant to note that many research projects are already undertaken in the direction of electoral politics of Punjab up to 1984, but a significant gap has been found in the study of electoral politics of Punjab since 1984,

which can be filled by continuing in the direction of the research project at hand. The new democratic aspirations and the new political players have emerged on the political scene, and the researcher aspires to conduct a comprehensive study on the electoral politics of Punjab since 1984. It will bridge the different phases in the electoral history of Punjab politics andtry to analyze the electoral politics of Punjab in a new and innovative way.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

Every research problem demands a particular research methodology, and it cannot be the same for every research. While looking for the methodology that caters to the research's needs, the researcher decides which techniques and procedures best suit the research problem at hand. In this way, the researcher can define the whys and hows of his/her research procedures to evaluate the researcher's results. "Why a research study has been undertaken, how the research problem has been defined, in what way and why the hypothesis has been formulated, what data have been collected and what particular method has been adopted, why particular technique of analyzing data has been used, and a host of similar other questions are usually answered when we talk of research methodology concerning a research problem or study" (Kothari, 2004).

Design a methodology for the problem is the most significant step in research. It focuses on the systematic methods to carry out the research. The main focus of research methodology is describing and explaining the procedures by which the researcher approaches the problem. It is also defined as the study of methods by which knowledge is gained. It aims to give the work plan of research (Rajasekar. 2006). Every research process includes some crucial steps that are interlinked in following the due course of the scientific conclusion of the research problem. At times, these steps tend to cooperate and overlap one another instead of following a strict pattern of rules which only adds to the quality of the research. In this way, in a given research project, one cannot decide which step would come first or last. Instead, all steps evolve simultaneously according to the requirements of the study. Still, the following are the steps that are significant to approach any research problem.

1. Identifying the problem

2. Literature review

3. Development of hypothesis

4. Formulating the research design

5. Selecting sample design

6. Collection of data

7. Action was taken on the project

8. Analysis of data

9. Testing hypothesis

10. Interpretation and discussion of the results

11. Conclusions

3.1 Exploratory Research Design

The nature of the problem and its systematic study decides what type of research problem we are dealing with. According to the objectives of the research project, we can classify research into different types of research- Descriptive, Analytical, Applied, Fundamental, Quantitative, Qualitative, Conceptual, Empirical, Exploratory, Historical and so on.

The present research project is exploratory. It tends to go deep into the electoral politics of Punjab in a new way to explore new emerging trends and formulate some conclusions after scientifically studying them and recommend some suggestions for future researchers to study more about the electoral politics of Punjab.

3.2 Qualitative and Quantitative Research Approach

The study has made use of Quantitative and Qualitative Research approaches, making it a mixture of both. Using a mixed approach, the researcher studied the data in figures and assessed respondents' behaviour, attitude, and opinion. Overall, the study has used the mixed approach to suit the needs of the project. The qualitative method makes use of non-numerical data collected in the form of "case study, personal experience, introspection, life story, interview, artifacts and cultural texts and productions, along with observational, historical, interactional and visual texts" (Norman et al., 2005).

For the quantitative approach, the researcher has preferred the Questionnaire method while collecting and analyzing data, and for the qualitative approach, the researcher has chosen the interview method. All the secondary sources add to the qualitative needs of the research work.

3.3 Research Design

Formulating the design of the research project is a significant step in every research process. It depends on the ability and knowledge of the researcher how he arranges the whole apparatus to conduct research which will suit his mindset and the overall requirements of the given research work. It involves some significant activities like selecting items to be observed, the conditions within which these items would be observed, how the information will be gathered and analyzed, and the procedures and methods used to carry out the data analysis. It helps the researcher look into the research's needs so that the research moves in the right direction and there is no confusion in the organization of the research process. As the research uses primary and secondary data, the researcher has utilized the data accordingly to achieve the desired objectives.

The research design involves the systematic approach to conduct research, which involves data collection and analysis to solve the research questions and discuss the outcomes of this data. The current project is exploratory and investigates the research objectives accordingly. Since the research study is exploratory, the primary focus has been on the elements and factors that constitute the whole electoral process.

In this case, a comprehensive study has been conducted on the electoral politics of Punjab since 1984. Since the study aims to explore the dynamics of electoral politics of Punjab, the researcher has used qualitative and quantitative research techniques both, making it a mixed approach to study the problem. As this research technique involves the systematic study of the hows and whys of the research problem, all the apparatus used in this research methodology has been a great help.

3.4 Secondary Data and Qualitative Research Techniques

Secondary data has been taken as per the needs of exploring the problem into different phases. The first phase studies the electoral politics and other relevant social, cultural, religious and economic issues of Punjab that influenced the state before 1984. It deals with the electoral issues that affected the politics of Punjab. The second phase includes works associated with the electoral complications that surfaced on the scene. The sources which comprise the third phase focus on the emerging trends in the electoral politics of Punjab. Apart from this, the government reports and data

collected from the election commission are used to study the assembly elections since 1984 systematically. This data is also valuable for quantitative research techniques.

3.5 Primary Data and Quantitative Research Techniques

Primary data collected through questionnaires and interviews have been analyzed both in a numerical and non-numerical manner. Whereas personal opinions of the interviewees have been analyzed to explore the whys of the research questions, the questionnaire provides the researcher with an opportunity to represent the data with the help of column charts, bar charts, tables and percentages. The results have been discussed in the chapter- Findings, Results and Recommendations.

3.6 Sampling Design

It is not possible to study the whole population of Punjab to analyze the electoral politics of Punjab. So, it is of significant value to collect the representative samples in such a manner as to uphold the research ethics and scientific outlook. It makes exhaustive and intensive study possible with much less time, money and material. As W. G. Cochran stated, "In every branch of science, we lack the resources to study more than a fragment of the phenomenon that might advance our knowledge" (Cocharn, 1953). David S. Fox also underlined, "In the social sciences, it is not possible to collect the data from every respondent relevant to our study but only from some fractional part of the respondents. The process of selecting the fractional part is called Sampling" (Fox, 1997).

Therefore, giving symbolic representation to three geographical regions of Punjab, the sample design includes the population which hails from different districts which fall under Majha, Malwa and Doaba.

The researcher has chosen the three regions of Punjab: Majha, Malwa and Doaba. It is mainly because Punjab is divided into three regions, and it is a logical and systematic way to approach the research problem at hand. For sample collection, the researcher has further narrowed down these regions into districts giving symbolic representation to the population of each region.
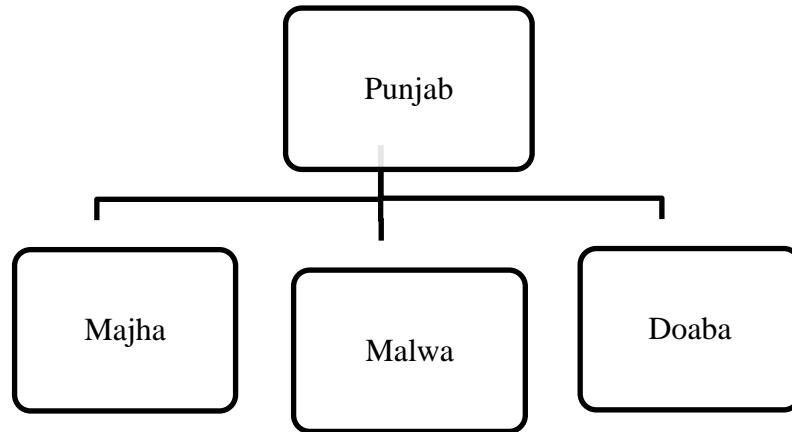
Figure 3.6.1 Punjab- Three Regions

Source: Primary Data

3.6.1 Sample Selection from Majha
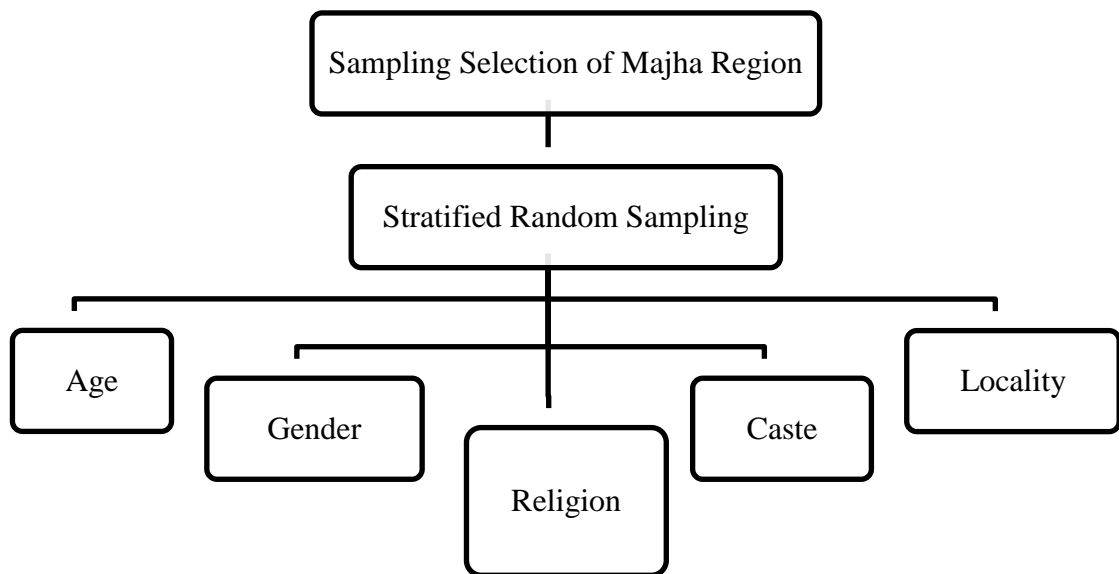
Figure 3.6.1.1 Sampling Selection from Majha Region of Punjab- Variables

Source: Primary Data

A stratified random sampling technique is used, which covers a significant number of the population of Punjab. The population is divided into stratas based on some characteristics like age, region, religion and locality). Apart from this, the researcher has also made an indirect use of the variants like education and economic background.
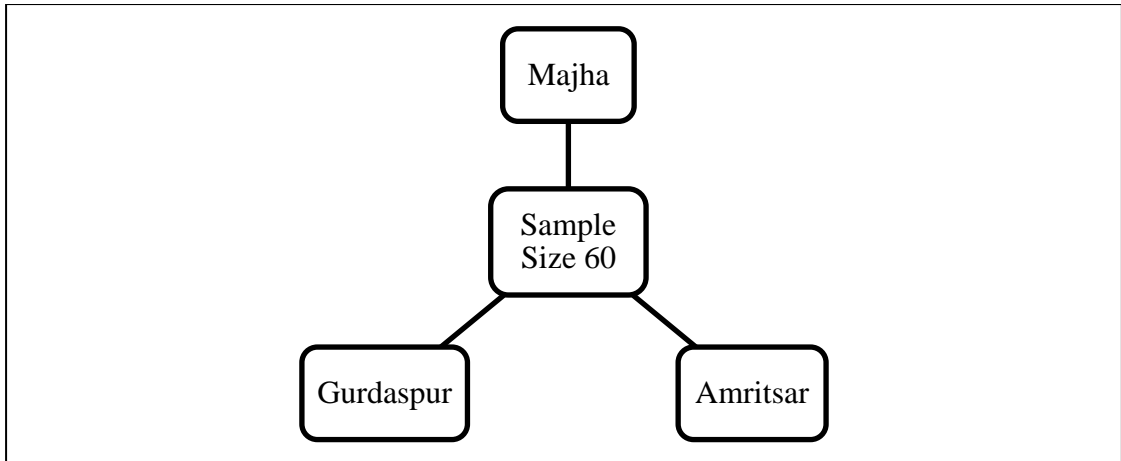
Figure 3.6.1.2 Sample Selection from Majha- Districts

Source: Primary Data

So, keeping in mind the limitations of financial expenses and value of time, a sample of 60 voters has been taken from Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts. Many respondents were not willing to actively participate in the research, so, at times, convenience sampling is used to fulfill the research's aim.

3.6.2 Sample Selection from Malwa
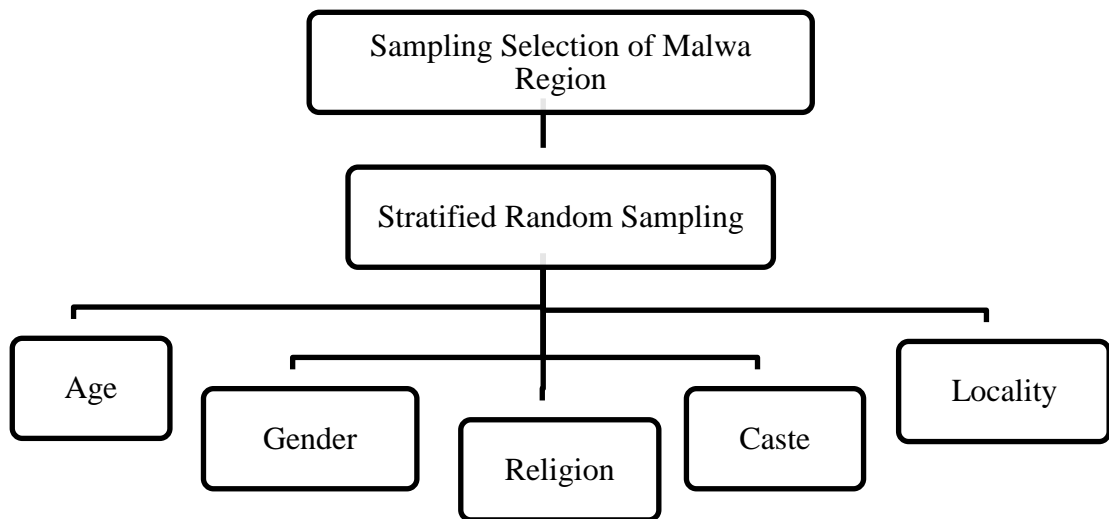
Figure 3.6.2.1 Sampling Selection from Malwa Region-Variables

Source: Primary Data
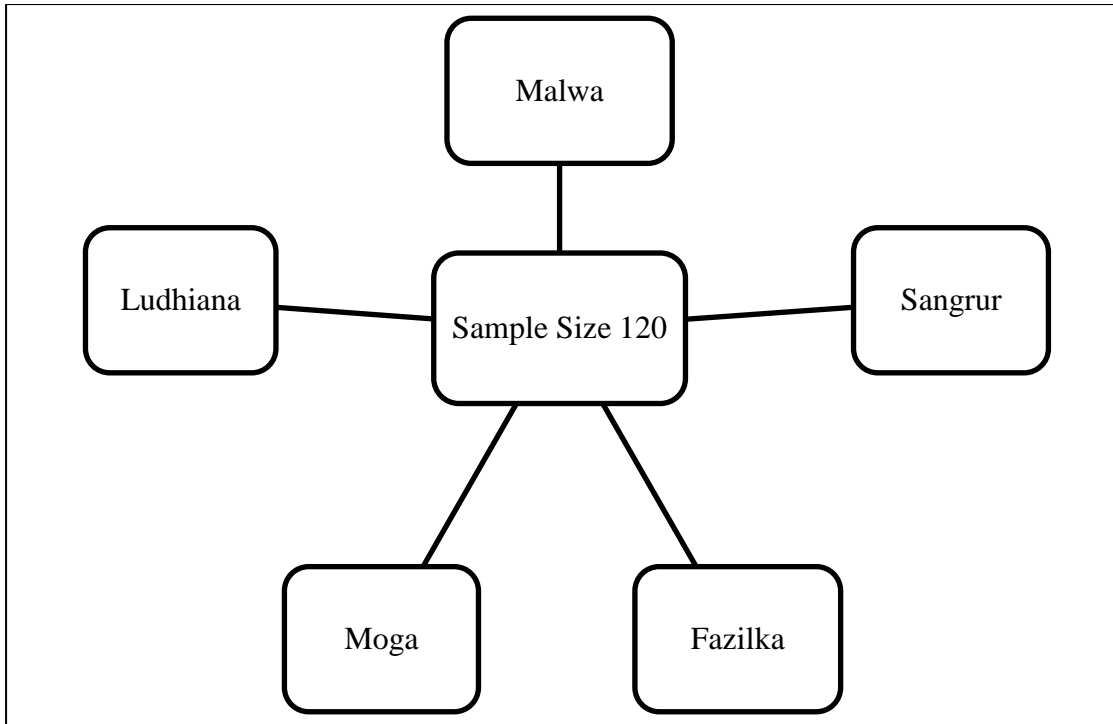
Figure 3.6.2.2 Sampling Selection from Malwa- Districts

Source: Primary Data

Malwa is the most prominent geographical and political region of Punjab. The researcher has given symbolic representation to this region and selected the four districts- Ludhiana, Sangrur, Moga and Fazilka. From these districts, a sample of 120 respondents has been taken randomly based on strata. Variables such as age, gender, caste, locality and religion have been adopted. From these 120 respondents, responses were collected through the questionnaire method, which was close-ended in nature. Due to the COVID-19 outbreak in the country, the researcher has sent a questionnaire in Google Form via electronic mail and WhatsApp. Apart from this, another ten respondents from these districts interviewed vital informants and authoritative persons.

3.6.3 Sample Selection from Doaba

As Doaba consists of four districts, the researcher has taken the same sample size from this region. In the Doaba region, the researcher has taken 60 samples from two districts- Jalandhar and Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar. The respondents are taken into account keeping in mind the different variables such as Age, Religion, Caste, Locality and Gender.
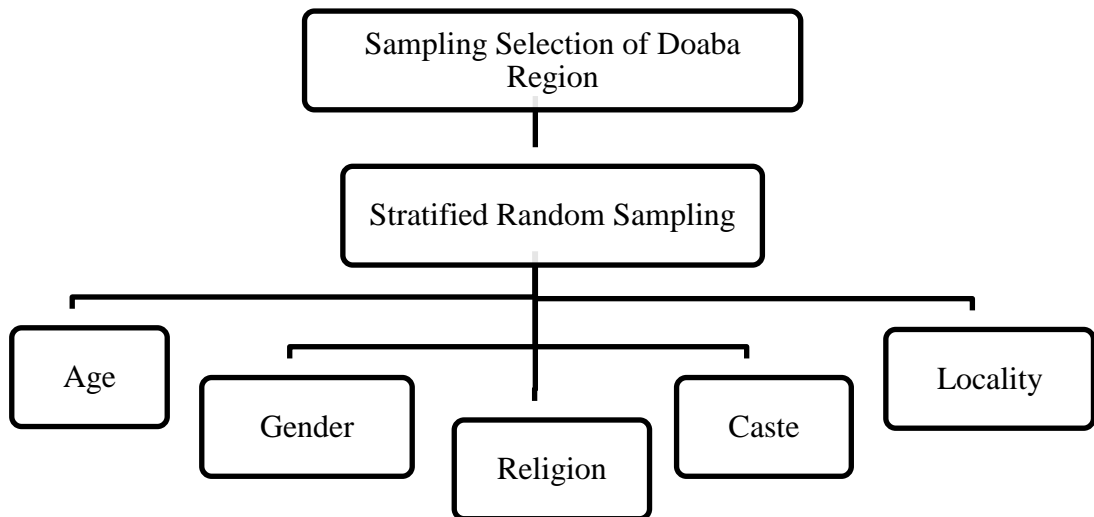
Figure 3.6.3.1 Sampling Selection from Doaba Region- Variables

Source: Primary Data
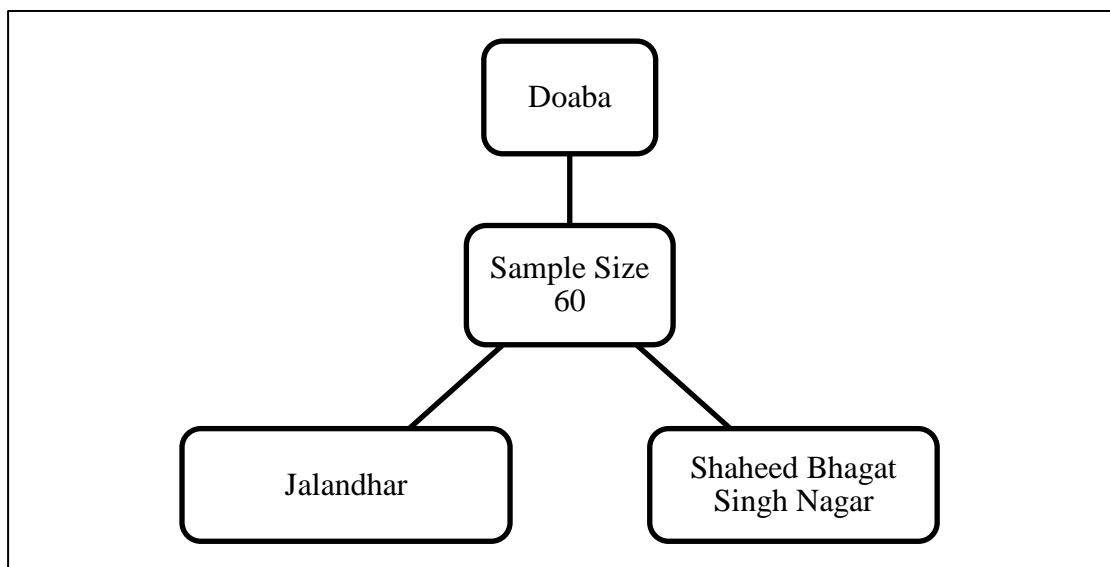
Figure 3.6.3.2 Sampling Selection from Doaba Region- Districts

Source: Primary Data

3.7 Methods of Data Collection

Data collection plays a very important role in statistical analysis. Different methods can gather information in a research project, which falls into twocategories, i.e. primary and secondary data (Douglas, M. 2015). There should be a systematic approach to record the data/responses during data collection. The data has been

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collected through primary and secondary sources.

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                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │    Data     │
                    │ Collection  │
                    └─────────────┘
                     ┌──────┴──────┐
              ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐
              │ Primary  │   │Secondary │
              │ Sources  │   │ Sources  │
              └──────────┘   └──────────┘
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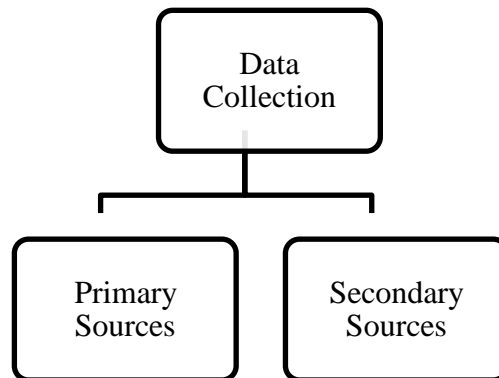
Figure 3.7.1 Data Collection

Source: Primary Data

3.7.1 Primary Sources

Primary data can be defined as the data collected by or on behalf of the person or people who will use the data refers to primary data. "Sociological studies by and large use three methods for data collection: observation, interview and questionnaire" (Bottomore, 1971). The researcher has relied upon all three methods: observation, questionnaire, and interview to collect the data helpfully.

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                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │   Primary   │
                    │   Sources   │
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             ┌───────────┐   ┌──────────┐
             │Questionnaire│  │ Interview│
             │  Method    │   │  Method  │
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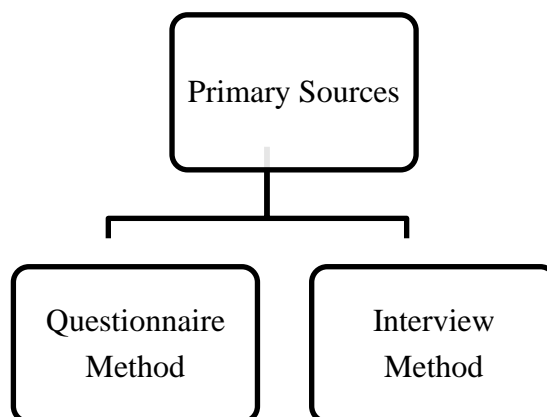
Figure 3.7.1.1 Primary Sources

Source: Primary Data

3.7.1. 1 Questionnaire Method

A questionnaire is the formal set of questions for obtaining information from

respondents. Questionnaire uplift, motivate and encourage the respondent to become involved in the interviews, co-operate and complete the interviews. The researcher has designed the questionnaire to collect personal information of the sample population to assess the impact of their personal lives on the electoral process. The questionnaire, though, close-ended in nature but the aim of the project is not a hard and fast one to ensure only the replies in affirmative or negative, but to study the voters' feedback in detail. This has ensured that the researcher can get the attitude/perception of the voters towards the whole electoral process. The variables have further intensified the research scope and the nature of the questions incorporated in the questionnaire. The researcher has aimed to administer the questionnaire to the population with the help of emails, social media (WhatApp) and in person, where possible.

3.7.1.2 Interview Method

The researcher has tried to make direct contact with authoritative persons to expand the scope of the research. The personal interview has become helpful in this context. It gives an edge to the researcher to minutely observe the attitudes of the people who are a significant part of the hierarchy of electoral politics. The researcher has made use of structured interviews to suit the research project's needs. Spontaneous interaction has helped enhance the quality of the research. The researcher has focused on conducting interview sessions with the selected sample population's authoritative political, social, and religious backgrounds. Government reports and statics, election manifestos of political parties like SAD, INC, BJP, BSP, Lok Insaaf Party, AAP and others have included.

3.7.2 Secondary Sources

The data used by a person or people other than the people by whom or for whom the data were collected is called secondary data. The secondary data has been compiled from prominent regional and national newspapers like Hindustan Times, The Hindu, Indian Express and The Tribune, interviews of prominent leaders published in newspapers or aired on T.V. or Radio and other official documents. The research
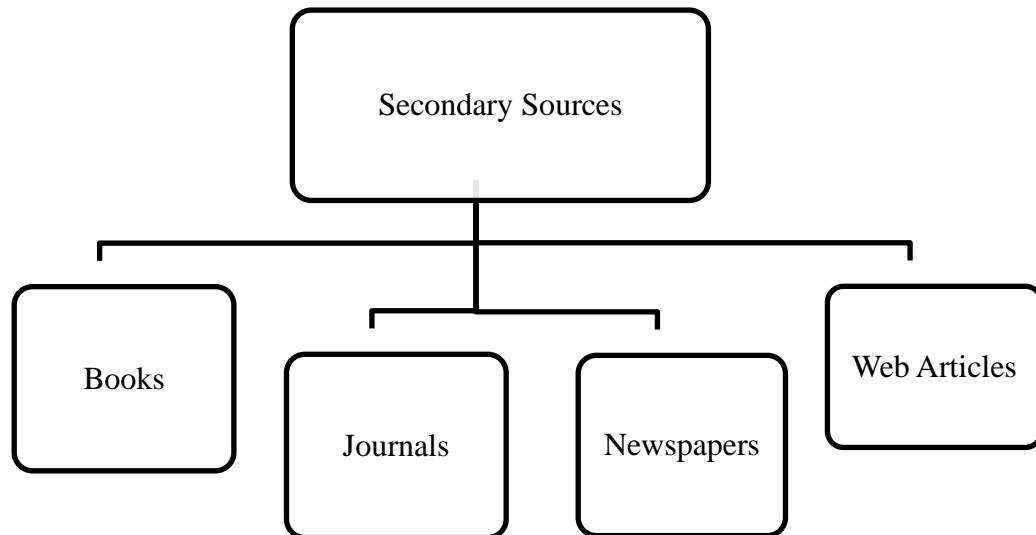
Figure 3.7.2.1 Secondary Sources

Source: Primary Data

project has also made use of books, journals, political magazines and Internet sources.

3.8 Data Analysis

The primary data collected in the form of questionnaire and interview method has been logically analyzed to study the impact of different variables on the electoral outcomes in the electoral process. The outcomes and findings have been shown in tables, diagrams, percentages, and summaries incorporated in different research chapters (where required). The primary data collection aims to ascertain the relationship between the theoretical framework and the ground realities of the fieldwork. The process of data analysis has successfully developed the conclusions of the research project scientifically.

3.9 Research Objectives

- To study the electoral politics of Punjab into different political phases
- To examine the various elements that have impacted the electoral politics of Punjab, especially after 1984
- To assess the performance of governing political regimes like Congress and SAD- BJP alliance
- To explore and study the emerging trends in the electoral politics of Punjab

since 1984

3.10 Research Questions

The framing of the following questions will be crucial in conducting the research.

1. Why Shiromani Akali Dal (B) failed to gain a majority of the Sikh vote in Punjab?

2. Why Shiromani Akali Dal (B) could not represent the Jat Sikh community in Punjab?

3. Why SAD has to look towards the Centre for its political purposes?

4. What were the factors that changed SAD's stance as a Panthic party?

5. What usually shapes and influences the voting behaviour of the people of Punjab?

6. What are the unique attributes of Punjab politics?

7. How the different political parties have performed from the beginning?

8. How has Gurudwara politics influenced the politics of Punjab?

9. What are the prospects of Punjab politics?

10. What have been the issues and challenges in Punjab politics?

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The present chapter focuses on the methods of data collection and tools for analyzing the collected data. For this purpose, the whole chapter has been divided into three main parts. In the first part, the researcher has provided the three regions of Punjab- Majha, Malwa and Doaba, and the respective respondents' profiles. Data collection tools have been included in the second part, and the third part comprises the methods used in data analysis.

4.1 Profile of the Malwa Region

Malwa region of Punjab lies between Sutlej and Yamuna rivers in the south-east of the state. It has 15 districts- Ludhiana, Sangrur, Moga, Muktsar, Mansa, Bathinda, Fatehgarh Sahib, Patiala, Barnala, Rupnagar, SAS Nagar, Fazilka, Faridkot, Ferozepur, and a newly formed district- Malerkotla. It is the most significant region of Punjab. SAD has a firm grip over this region, and interestingly both veteran leaders Shri Parkash Singh Badal and Captain Amrinder Singh hails from this region. Out of the 117 assembly constituencies, 69 falls in this region, making it the forerunner in deciding the political fortunes of any political party in assembly elections of Punjab. As compared to other regions of Punjab, Malwa is socially and economically backward. Issues related to agriculture and farmers dominate in this region as far as the assembly elections are concerned. Dalits also comprise a significant number of vote-bank from this region. Important Deras like Dera Sacha Sauda and Dera Sachkhand Ballan fall in this region.

4.1.1 Demographics of Ludhiana District

Ludhiana, which is known for Manchester of Punjab, is located at the center and falls in the region of Malwa. There are 7 tehsils in this district- Samrala, Khanna, Payal, Ludhiana East, Ludhiana West, Raikot, Jagraon and 14 Assembly constituencies in the district- Atam Nagar, Dakha, Gill, Jagraon, Khanna, Ludhiana Central, Ludhiana East, Ludhiana North, Ludhiana South, Ludhiana West, Payal, Raikot, Sahnewal, and Samrala.

Total population of the district as per the 2011 census is 34,98,539. Out of this, 18,67,816 are male and 16,30,923 are females. The rural population of the district is

14,29,031 (40.8%) and 20,69,708 (59.2%) falls in urban locality.

82.2 percent population is literate. In the district of Ludhiana, 53.3 percent population is affiliated with Sikhism, 42.9 percent with Hinduism, 2.2 percent with Islam, 0.5 percent with Christianity, and 0.6 percent with Jainism. 26.4 percent population is Scheduled caste.

4.1.2 Demographics of Sangrur District

Sangrur falls under the Malwa region of Punjab and was one of the biggest districts of Punjab before Barnala was carved out of it as a new district. There are six tehsils in Sangrur district- Malerkotla (declared as a new district on 14th May 2021), Dhuri, Sangrur, Sunam, Moonak, Lehra. Sangrur is divided into eight assembly constituencies- Amargarh, Dhuri, Dirba, Lehra, Malerkotla, Mehal Kalan, Sangrur, Sunam.

The total population of the district is 16,55,169, including 878,029 males and 777,140 females. 68.8 percent of the population is rural, which numbers at 1139,204 and 515,965 people (31.2%) belong to urban areas. The literacy rate of Sangrur is 68.0 percent, which is lower than that of the state's overall percentage. Religion wise 23.5 percent of people are Hindus, 65.1 Sikhs, 10.8 Muslims, 0.14 Christians, 0.2 Jains, 0.1 others. The Scheduled caste (SC) population comprises 27.9% of the total population of the district.

4.1.3 Demographics of Moga District

Moga falls in the Malwa region of Punjab, and it became the 17th district in 1995 after being separated from Faridkot district. Moga is divided into three tehsils- Moga, Bagha Purana, Nihal Singh Wala. It has four assembly constituencies- Moga, Bagha Purana, Nihal Singh Wala, and Dharmkot.

The total population of Moga is 995,746, which includes 525,920 males and 469,826 females. The rural population is registered as 768,500 (77.2%) and urban population is 227,246 (22.8%). The literacy rate is 70.7 percent, which is lower than the state literary rate, 75.8 percent. According to the 2011 census, there are 158,414 (15.9%) Hindus and 818,921 (82.2%) Sikhs. Other religions are very marginal, and the population of these religions only touches the insignificant number of 365. SC population accounts for 36.5% in the Moga district.

4.1.4 Demographics of Fazilka District

Fazilka is a district situated in the Malwa region of Punjab. It was created as a new district in 2011. It has three tehsils- Fazilka, Abohar, Jalalabad. There are four assembly constituencies in the district- Abohar, Balluana, Fazilka, Jalalabad (W). It falls under the Ferozepur Lok Sabha constituency. As per the 2011 census, the total population of Fazilka is 76,492, comprising 48 percent females and 52 percent males. The average literacy rate of the district is 70.7 percent.

4.2 Composition of the Respondents

Respondents taken based on different variables come from different strata of the Malwa region. Out of the total 120 respondents, 59 are rural, and 61 are urban. Based on caste, 39 belong to Scheduled caste, 39 belong to backward classes, 42 belong to the General caste. Keeping in focus the religion variable, respondents are taken from three main religions, 83 were Sikh, 27 Hindu, and 10 Muslim. Taking both the variables of locality and religion, 44 comes out to be rural Sikh, 8 Hindu rural, 7 Muslim, 39 urban Sikh, 19 urban Hindu, 3 urban Muslim. There are 65 males, 55 females and keeping the age variable, 34 respondents are above 50, and 86 are below 50.

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                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │ Composition of the Respondents of Malwa  │
                    │                 Region                   │
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                                        │
                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │ Stratified Random Sampling               │
                    │ Total number of Respondents 120          │
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                                        │
                ┌───────────────────────┴───────────────────────┐
          ┌───────────┐                               ┌───────────┐
          │ Religion  │                               │   Caste   │
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          ┌─────┴─────┐                               ┌─────┴─────┐
    ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐               ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐
    │  Sikh    │  │ Muslim   │               │   SC     │  │  Gen     │
    │   83     │  │   10     │               │   47     │  │   35     │
    └──────────┘  └──────────┘               └──────────┘  └──────────┘
              ┌──────────┐                             ┌──────────┐
              │  Hindu   │                             │   BC     │
              │   27     │                             │   38     │
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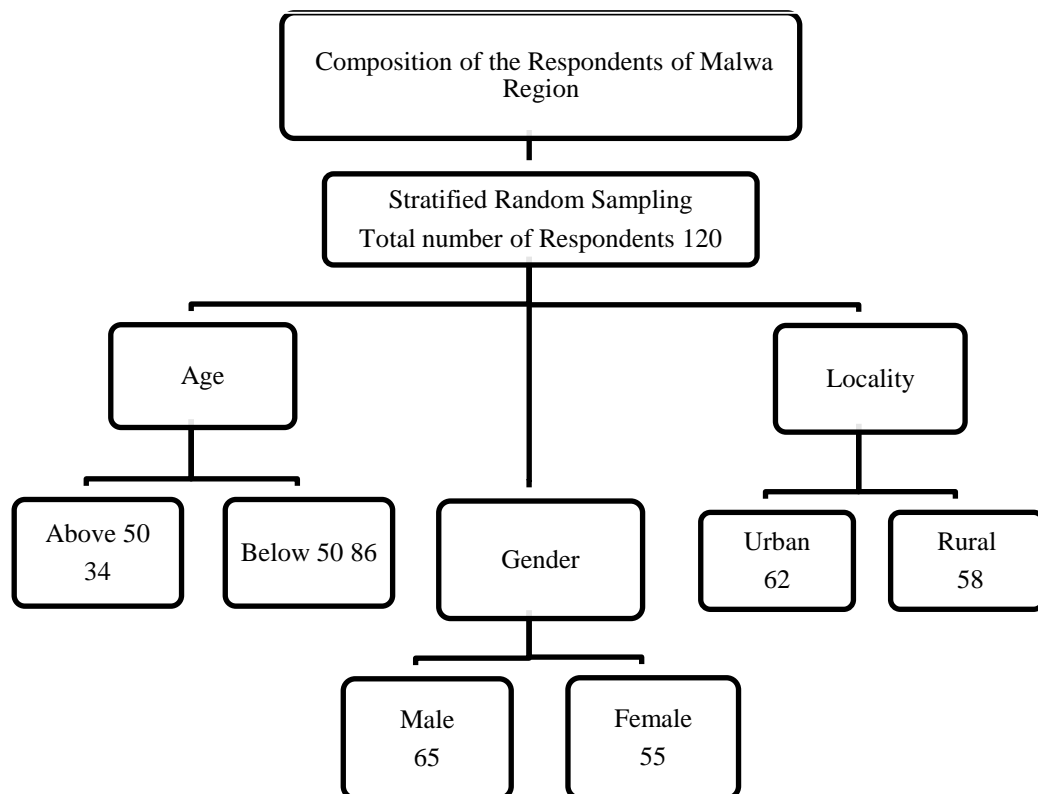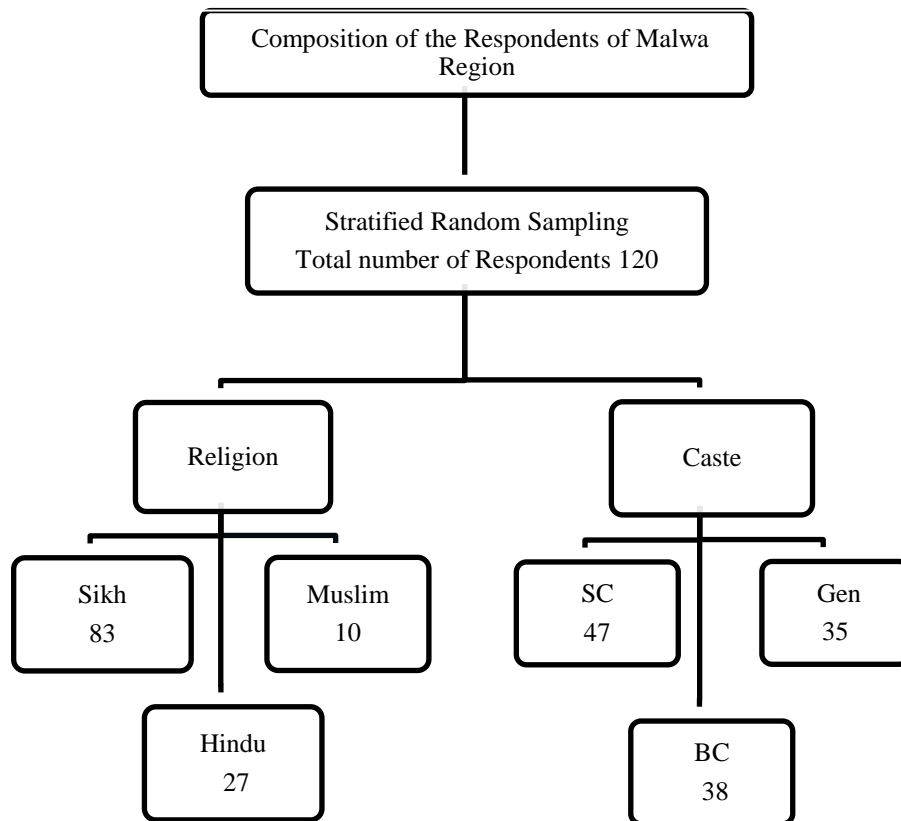
Figure 4.2.1 Composition of the Respondents of Malwa Region

Source: Primary Data

The following variables have been used while selecting the respondents.

4.2.1   Composition on the Basis of Region

The study of the electoral politics of Punjab can be done systematically after dividing it into different regions. Each region has its specifications based on religion, caste, demography, area size, number of constituencies, and support base of specific political parties. For this purpose, the whole study project is divided broadly into three central regions- Malwa, Majha, and Doaba and respondents have been chosen on the lines of these three regions.

Table 4.2.1 Region-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Region	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	Majha	60	25%
2	Malwa	120	50%
3	Doaba	60	25%
	Total	240	100%

Source: Primary Data

As Malwa is the most significant region of Punjab, the researcher has taken more respondents from this region than other regions. As presented in the above table, 120 informants belong to the Malwa belt, representing 50 percent of the total respondents. The other two regions (Doaba and Majha) account for the remaining 50 percent of participants, taking 60 respondents each from the respective regions.

4.2.2 Composition on the Basis of Religion

Religion plays a vital role in affecting the political sphere of the voters, and therefore the researcher has given due importance to the variable of religion while choosing the respondents based on religion. There are seven religions found in Punjab. However, four religions are dominant in the state-Sikhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. These religions can influence the formation of election manifestos, electoral issues, and outcomes.

Table 4.2.2 Religion-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Religion	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	Sikhism	83	69.16%
2	Hinduism	27	22.5%
3	Islam	10	8.33%
	Total	120	100%

Source: Primary Data

The table depicts the religious beliefs of the subjects. These religions are Sikhism, Hinduism, and Islam. As Punjab constitutes the majority of the Sikh population

(57%), 69 percent of the participants are affiliated to the Sikh religion out of the total respondents from the Malwa region. Hinduism is the second significant religion in Punjab. The researcher has selected 22 percent of respondents from the Hindu community and 8 percent from Islam.

4.2.3 Composition on the Basis of Gender

Gender determines the differences found in decision-making as far as the male/female dichotomy is concerned. To explore these differences, the researcher has divided the entire research population into male and female. It is interesting to note the influence of gender preferences while studying the electoral politics of Punjab.

Table 4.2.3 Gender-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Gender	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	Male	65	54.16%
2	Female	55	45.83%
3	Total	120	100%

Source: Primary Data

In the composition of respondents based on gender, 65 are male, which accounts for 54 percent of the total, and the rest of the surveyors are females. It is informative to know that except Smt. Rajinder Kaur Bhattal no female candidate has ever been appointed as CM of Punjab. So it is beneficial to draw the attention of females in the concerned matter.

4.2.4 Composition on the Basis of Locality

The dichotomy of urban/rural plays an essential role in the electoral politics of Punjab. As 70 percent of the population resides in rural areas, which is sufficient to mould the electoral trends. The demographic nature of these areas can turn the table in a specific direction. This composition remains at the center of focus for political parties in the assembly elections. In order to study the influence of the locality on political decision-making, the respondents have been categorized into urban and rural.

Table 4.2.4 Locality-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Locality	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	Rural	58	48.33%
2	Urban	62	51.66%
3	Total	120	100%

Source: Primary Data

The ratio of respondents on the grounds of locality is approximately in equal proportion. 58 are rural, and 62 belongs to urban locality. The mixture of two fulfills the objectives of the study.

4.2.5 Composition on the Basis of Caste

Caste is one of the influential factors of the electoral politics of Punjab. The caste of respondents influences the socio-political activities of their lives. It is worthy of knowing that caste has been affecting Punjab politics. For instance, no non-Jat face except Giani Zail Singh has become the CM of Punjab since the reorganization of the state in 1966. While choosing the variable of caste to select the respondents, the researcher has kept in mind to explore the effect of caste on the electoral politics of Punjab.

Punjab has a blend of many castes, which have been grouped into further sub groups such as artisans, traders, and Dalits. The researcher has included the main castes in her sampling structure- Scheduled caste, Backward class, and General class.

Table 4.2.5 Caste-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Caste	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	SC	47	39.16%
2	BC	38	31.66%
3	Gen	35	29.16%
	Total	120	100%

Source: Primary Data

As shown in the above table, 39.16 percent belong to Scheduled caste and 31.66

percent of respondents belong to Backward classes. The rest, 29.16 percent affiliates to the general category.

4.2.6 A Blend of Religion and Locality

It is helpful to look at the composition of respondents based on religion and locality so that the impact of locality with the dominance of specific religion on the state's politics could be assessed. The intermingling of both sets the political fortunes of parties. Therefore, the mixture of religion and locality is worthy enough to have its mark on the electoral politics of Punjab.

Table 4.2.6 Number of Respondents Based on their Religion in the respective Locality

Sr. No	Locality	Sikh	Hindu	Muslim	Total
1	Rural	44	8	7	59
2	Urban	39	19	3	61
	Total	83	27	10	120

Source: Primary Data

The number of rural Sikhs is 44, 53 percent of the total (83) Sikh respondents. The remaining 39 Sikhs (47 percent) are of the urban locality. Thirty percent (8) Hindus belong to the rural area, and 70 percent (19) are urban Hindus. Seventy percent of the total Muslim respondents fall in rural areas and 30 percent in urban places. In other words, out of the 59 rural participants, 44 are Sikh, 8 Hindus, and 7 are Muslims. Out of the 61 urban respondents, 39 are Sikh, 19 Hindus, and 3 Muslims. A large part of rural and urban participants is Sikh dominated, 75 and 64 percent respectively of the total rural numbers. Hindus account for 14 percent and 31 percent in rural and urban composition, respectively.

4.2.7 Composition on the Basis of Age

Age is a determinant factor/variable in any kind of research. It shows the experience and maturity while making decisions and responding to certain situations. While choosing the respondents, due importance has been given to explore the influence of the variable of age on the electoral politics of Punjab.

Table 4.2.7 Age-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Age Group	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	18-50	86	71.66%
2	Above 50	34	28.33%
	Total	120	100%

Source: Primary Data

There are 65 male and 55 females out of the 120 respondents. Based on the variable of age, the researcher has divided the respondents into two age groups. One is 18-50, and the other is above 50. 86 belong to the 18-50 age group, and 34 fall in the age group of above 50. The division into two age groups is made taking into cognizance the study of two different phases of the electoral politics of Punjab. The respondents comprising an age group above 50 allow the researcher to record the responses of those who were there to observe the advancements in electoral politics of Punjab before and after 1984. The age group, 18-50, allows the researcher to include the respondents that can relate themselves with the emerging trends in the electoral politics of Punjab. In this way, the division of respondents into two age groups suits the objectives of the study.

4.3 Profile of the Doaba Region

Doaba falls between the rivers Sutlej and Beas. It comprises Hoshiarpur, Kapurthala, Jalandhar, Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar (former Nawanshahr). The region has the maximum number of NRIs and is also dominated by the Scheduled caste population. In the Doaba region, the SC population comprises 37% of the total SC population of Punjab (which is 31% of the entire SC population in India) according to the 2011 census, which shows that the issues related with Dalits and the marginalized people influence the electoral politics of Punjab significantly. The vote bank of Doaba is traditionally divided between Congress and BSP, but this trend has been changing considerably with each assembly election.

4.3.1 Demographics of Jalandhar District

Jalandhar is a famous district located at the center of the state and falls in the Doaba region. There are five tehsils in the district- Shahkot, Nakodar, Philaur, Jalandhar-I

and Jalandhar-II. There are nine assembly constituencies in the Jalandhar district-Adampur, Jalandhar Cantt, Jalandhar Central, Jalandhar North, Jalandhar West, Kartapur, Nakodar, Phillaur, and Shahkot.

According to the 2011 census, the total population of Jalandhar is 2,193,590, which can be further categorized into 1,145,211 males and 1,048,379 females. Out of the total population 1,032,419 (47.1 per cent) falls in rural area 1,161,171 (52.9 per cent) belong to urban area. 82.5% of the population is recorded as literate in the district, which is much higher than state literacy. 32.7 percent belong to Sikhism religion, 63.6 percent belong to Hinduism, 1.4 percent belong to Isalm, 1.9 belong to Christianity, 0.5 belong to Buddhism, 0.2 belong to Jainism. SC population comprises 39.0 percent of the total population.

4.3.2 Demographics of Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar District

Formerly, Nawanshahr, which was carved out of the Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar districts of Punjab in 1995, became known as the 16th district of Punjab and later took its name from the freedom fighter Sardar Bhagat Singh as Shaheed Bhagat Singh Nagar to commemorate his martyrdom. It falls under the Doaba region of Punjab. The district is divided into three tehsils- Nawanshahr, Balachaur, Banga, and the same three tehsils are known to be the assembly constituencies.

The district has a total population of 612,310, comprising 313,291 males and 299,019 females, which is 2.2% of the population of Punjab. 486,894 (79.5%) belong to rural area while 125,416 (20.5%) belong to urban area. Out of the district's total population, 79.8 percent is literate compared to the state percentage of 75.8. The Hindu population is on the higher side in the district, making 65.5 percent of the entire population. Sikhs account for 31.5 percent, Muslims 1.1 percent, Christians 0.2 percent, Jains 0.1 percent, and Buddhists 0.9 percent. As far as the Scheduled castes population is concerned, it accounts for 42.5 percent of the state's entire population.

4.4 Composition of the Respondents

The research study focuses on the electoral politics of Punjab, which is trifurcated into three regions. While taking the respondents, the same variables have been applied to the Doaba region. The sample size is 60. These 60 respondents have been chosen from two districts- Jalandhar and Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar based on religion,

gender, age, locality, and caste.

Table 4.4.1 Religion-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Religion	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	Sikhism	38	63.33%
2	Hinduism	21	35%
3	Christianity	1	1.66%
	Total	60	100%

Source: Primary Data

In the Doaba region, 63 percent of respondents are affiliated with Sikhism and 35 percent to Hinduism, 1 is of Christianity. In the Malwa region, Islam was taken as the third religion, but in this region, there is the inclusion of Christianity

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          Composition of the Respondents of Doaba
                         Region
                           |
            Stratified Random Sampling
            Total number of Respondents 60

     Age                                      Locality

 Above 50    Below 50                    Urban 39    Rural 21
   11          49

              Gender

        Male 23      Female 37
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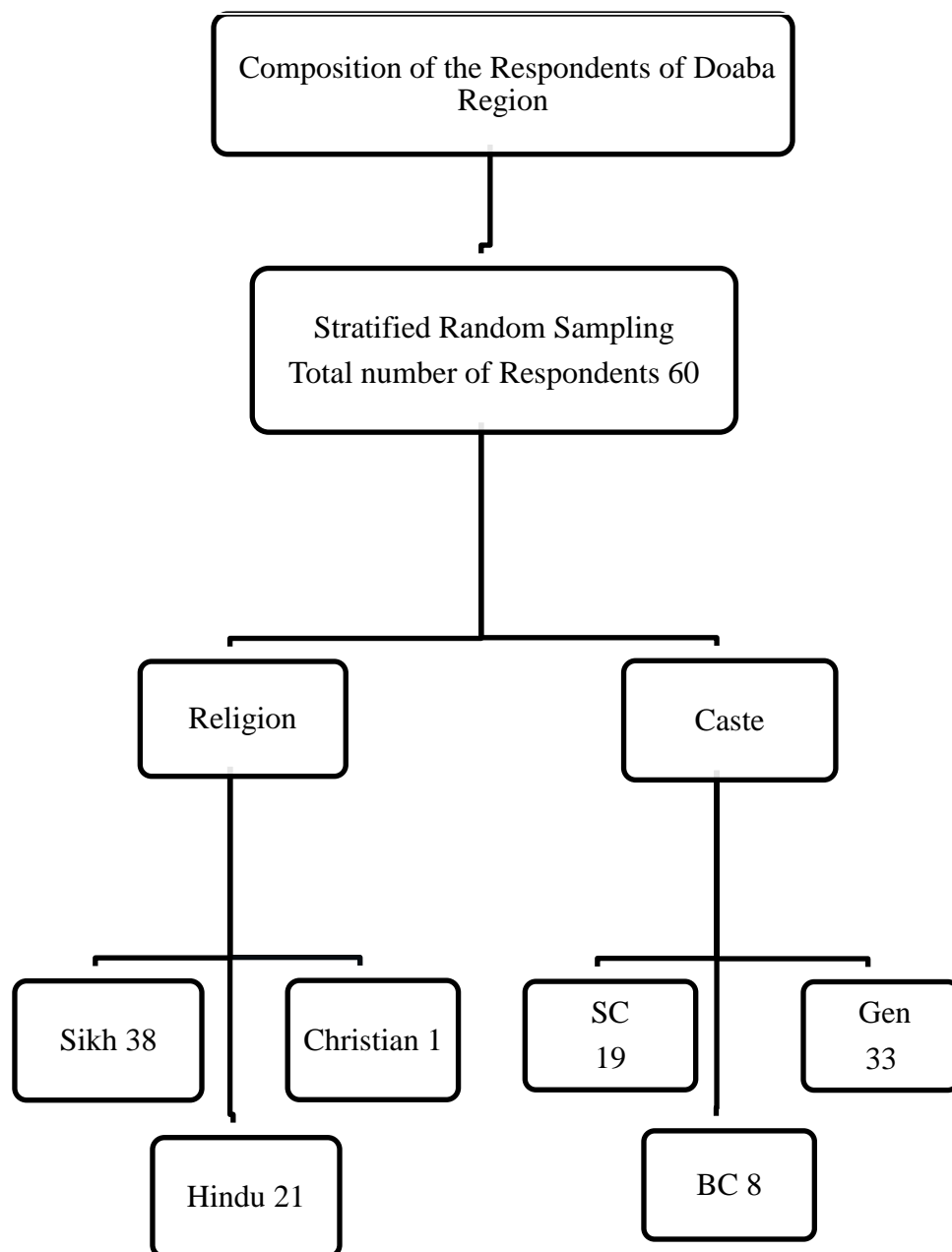
Figure 4.4.1 Composition of the Respondents of Doaba Region

Source: Primary Data

Table 4.4.2 Gender-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Gender	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	Male	23	38.33%
2	Female	37	61.66%
	Total	60	100%

Source: Primary Data

Based on gender, 38 percent are male, and 62 are females. The proportion of

respondents has been taken based on the convenience of the researcher.

Table 4.4.3 Locality-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Locality	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	Rural	21	35%
2	Urban	39	65%
	Total	60	100%

Source: Primary Data

Thirty-five percent of respondents have been taken from the rural locality and 65 percent from towns of the Doaba region.

Table 4.4.4 Age-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Age Group	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	18-50	49	81.66%
2	Above 50	11	18.33%
	Total	60	100%

Source: Primary Data

The age groups are the same in the Malwa region. 81.66 percent of the respondents fall in the 18-50 age group and 18.33 percent in the category above 50.

Table 4.4.5 Caste-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Caste	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	SC	19	31.66%
2	BC	8	13.33%
3	Gen	33	55%
	Total	60	100%

Source: Primary Data

55 percentof respondents are generals. SC comprises 31.66 per cent of the total respondents, while BC accounts for 13.33 per cent. In this way, the reserved classes make 45 percent of the total population taken during the field research.

Table 4.4.6 Number of Respondents according to Their Religion in the Locality

Sr. No	Locality	Sikh	Hindu	Christian	Total
1	Rural	17	4	0	21
2	Urban	21	17	1	39
	Total	38	21	1	60

Source: Primary Data

Out of the total 60 respondents, 21 are rural, and 39 are urban. Respondents based on caste include 18 Scheduled castes and nine from Backward classes, 16 are Hindu General, and 17 belong to Jat caste. Keeping in view the variable of religion, respondents are taken from three main religions- Hinduism, Sikhism, and Christianity. Thirty-eight belong to the Sikh religion, 21 belong to Hinduism, and 1 is Christian. Taking both the variables of locality and religion, 17 emerged as rural-Sikhs, 4 Hindu rural, 21 urban Sikhs, 17 urban Hindus, one urban Christian.

There are 23 male and 37 females out of the 60 respondents. Based on the variable of age, the researcher has divided the respondents into two age groups. One is 18-50, and the other is above 50. 32 belong to the age group 18-50, and 28 falls in the age group above 50.

4.5 Profile of the Majha Region

Majha, being the heartland of Punjab, is also the center of Sikhism, which lies between the rivers Ravi, Beas, and Sutlej. This historical region was separated into two different regions- Indian Punjab and Pakistani Punjab in 1947 after the partition of India and Pakistan. It has four districts- Amritsar, Pathankot, Gurdaspur, and Tarn Taran.

4.5.1 Demographics of Amritsar District

Amritsar district is the historical and the second largest city of Punjab, which falls in the Majha region. The Sikh religious institutions- SGPC and Akal Takht operate from this city. The district comprises six tehsils- Amritsar-I, Amritsar-II, Ajnala, Baba Bakala, Majitha, Lopoke. There are 11 assembly constituencies in Amritsar- Baba Bakala, Attari, Amritsar (South), Amritsar (East), Amritsar (West), Amritsar (Central), Amritsar (North), Jandiala, Majitha, Rajasansi and Ajnala.

According to the 2011 census, the total population of Amritsar is 24,90,656 including

13,18,408 males and 11,72,248 females. 11,56,045 (46.4%) people live in rural areas and 13,34,611(53.6%) reside in urban area. Amritsar alone accounts for more than two-thirds (86.9%) of the district's urban population. The literacy rate of the Amritsar district at 76.26 percent is significantly higher compared to that of Punjab. According to the 2011 census, there are 68.9 percent Sikhs, 27.7 percent Hindus, 2.1 percent Christians, 0.5 percent Muslims and 0.1 Jains. The SC population comprises 31.0 percent of the total population in the district. Considering the rural/urban dichotomy, 40.2% SC population resides in a rural area, and 22.9% live in the urban area.

4.5.2 Demographics of Gurdaspur District

Gurdaspur falls under the Majha district of Punjab, which borders Amritsar, Pathankot (former part of Gurdaspur district), Kapurthala, Hoshiarpur. It consists of 5 tehsils- Gurdaspur, Batala, Dera Baba Nanak, Dinanagar, Kalanaur. Gurdaspur has seven assembly constituencies- Sri Hargobindpur, Dinanagar, Gurdaspur, Dera Baba Nanak, Batala and Fatehgarh Churian Qadian.

According to the 2011 census, the total population of Gurdaspur is 2,298,323, comprising 1,212,617 males and 1,085,706 females. It makes 8.3% of the entire population of the state of Punjab. Out of the total population of the district, 71.3% reside in the rural area and 28.7% in the urban area. The district has a literacy rate of 79.95 percent, which is quite higher than the state's (75.8%). The 2011 census registered 46.7 percent Hindus, 43.6 percent Sikhs, 7.7 percent Christians, and 1.2 percent Muslims in this district.

It is to be noted that all the data provided here is as per the 2011 census, and the data includes all the demographics of Pathankot (previously a tehsil of Gurdaspur, which was declared a new district on 27th July 2011).

4.6 Composition of the Respondents

From the region of Majha, the researcher has taken a total of 60 based on some variables in which 31 are male, and 39 are females. Out of these 60, 85 percent are related to Sikhism, and 15 percent are Hindus. The number of respondents who belong to rural localities is 35, accounting for 58.33 percent of the total, and 25 respondents accounting for 41.67 percent are urban people.
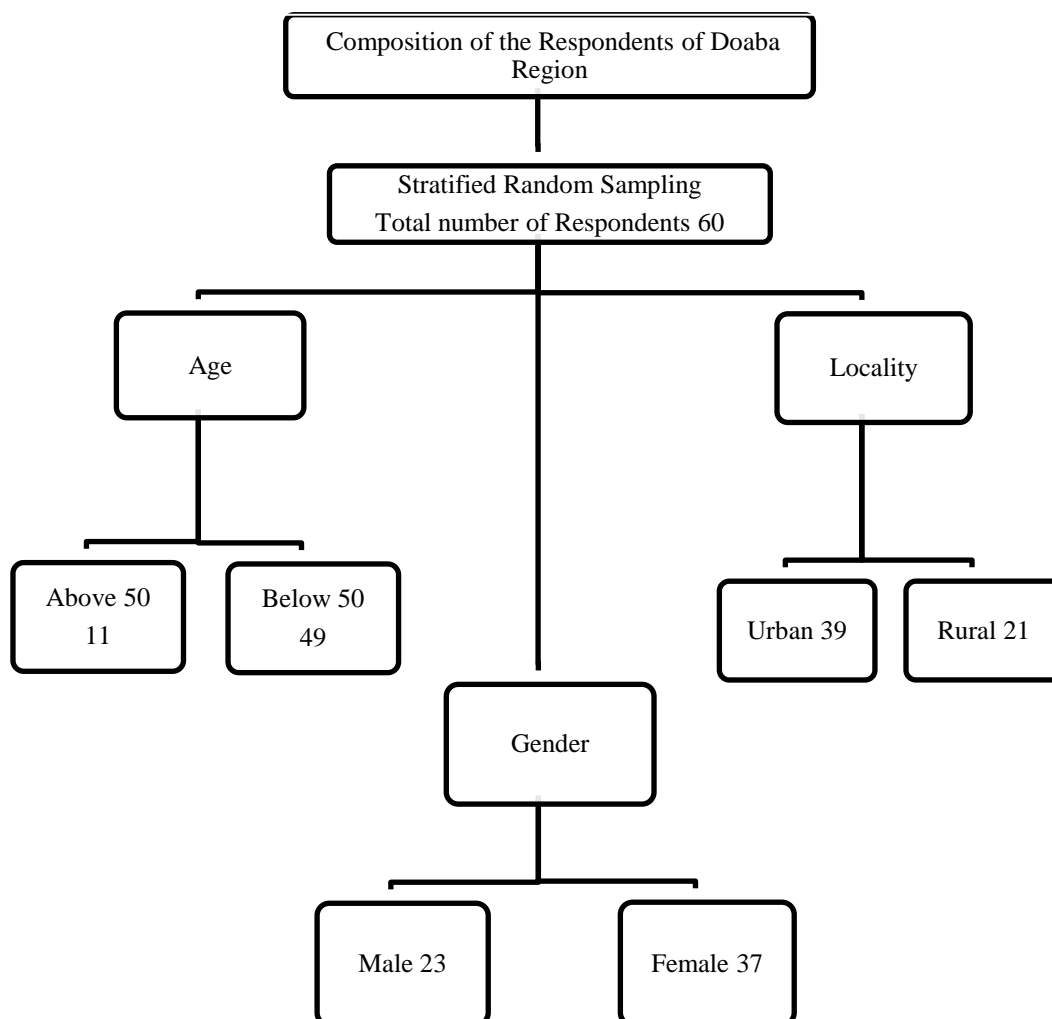
Table 4.6.1 Religion-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Religion	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	Sikh	51	85%
2	Hindu	9	15%
3	Muslim	0	0%
	Total	60	100%

Source: Primary Data

In the composition of respondents based on religion, 51 are Sikh which makes 85 percent, and nine practice Hinduism, which accounts for 15 percent. From the Majha region, the researcher could not succeed in taking the responses of Muslims.

Table 4.6.2 Gender-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Gender	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	Male	31	51.66%
2	Female	29	48.33%
3	Total	60	100%

Source: Primary Data

In this region, the researcher has taken 52 percent male and 48 percent female. There is a little fluctuation in the number of respondents.

Table 4.6.3 Locality-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Locality	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	Rural	34	56.66%
2	Urban	26	43.33%
3	Total	60	100%

Source: Primary Data

Based on locality, 56.66 percent of respondents are rural, and 43.33 percent are urban.

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           ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
           │  Composition of the Respondents of Majha  Region  │
           └─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                │
           ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
           │         Stratified Random Sampling          │
           │      Total number of Respondents 60         │
           └─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                    ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
              ┌──────────┐                     ┌──────────┐
              │ Religion │                     │  Caste   │
              └──────────┘                     └──────────┘
           ┌──────┴──────┐                  ┌──────┴──────┐
     ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐      ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐
     │  Sikh    │   │  Muslim  │      │   Sc     │   │   Gen    │
     │  51      │   │   0      │      │   11     │   │   28     │
     └──────────┘   └──────────┘      └──────────┘   └──────────┘
              ┌──────────┐                  ┌──────────┐
              │  Hindu   │                  │   BC     │
              │   9      │                  │   21     │
              └──────────┘                  └──────────┘
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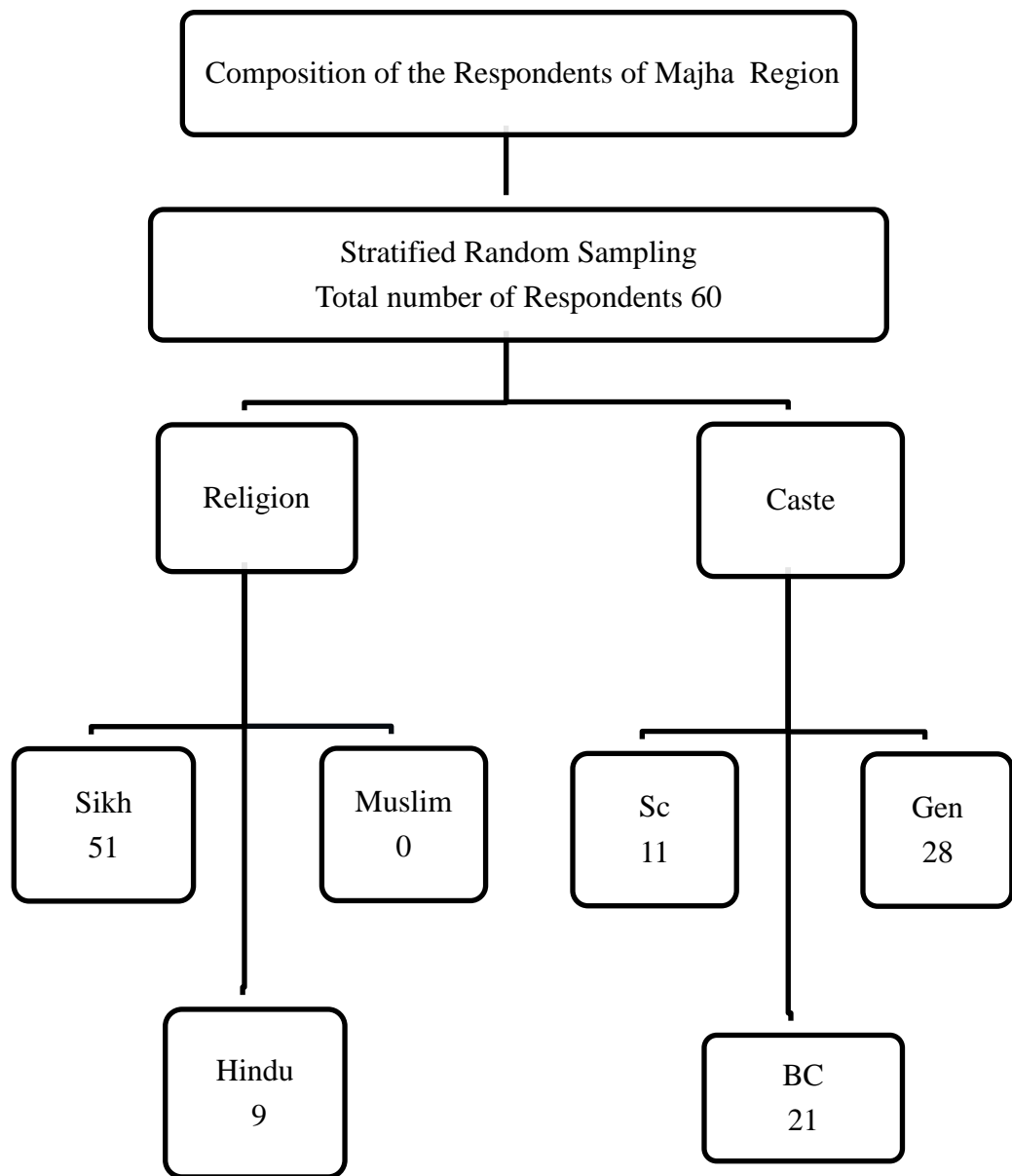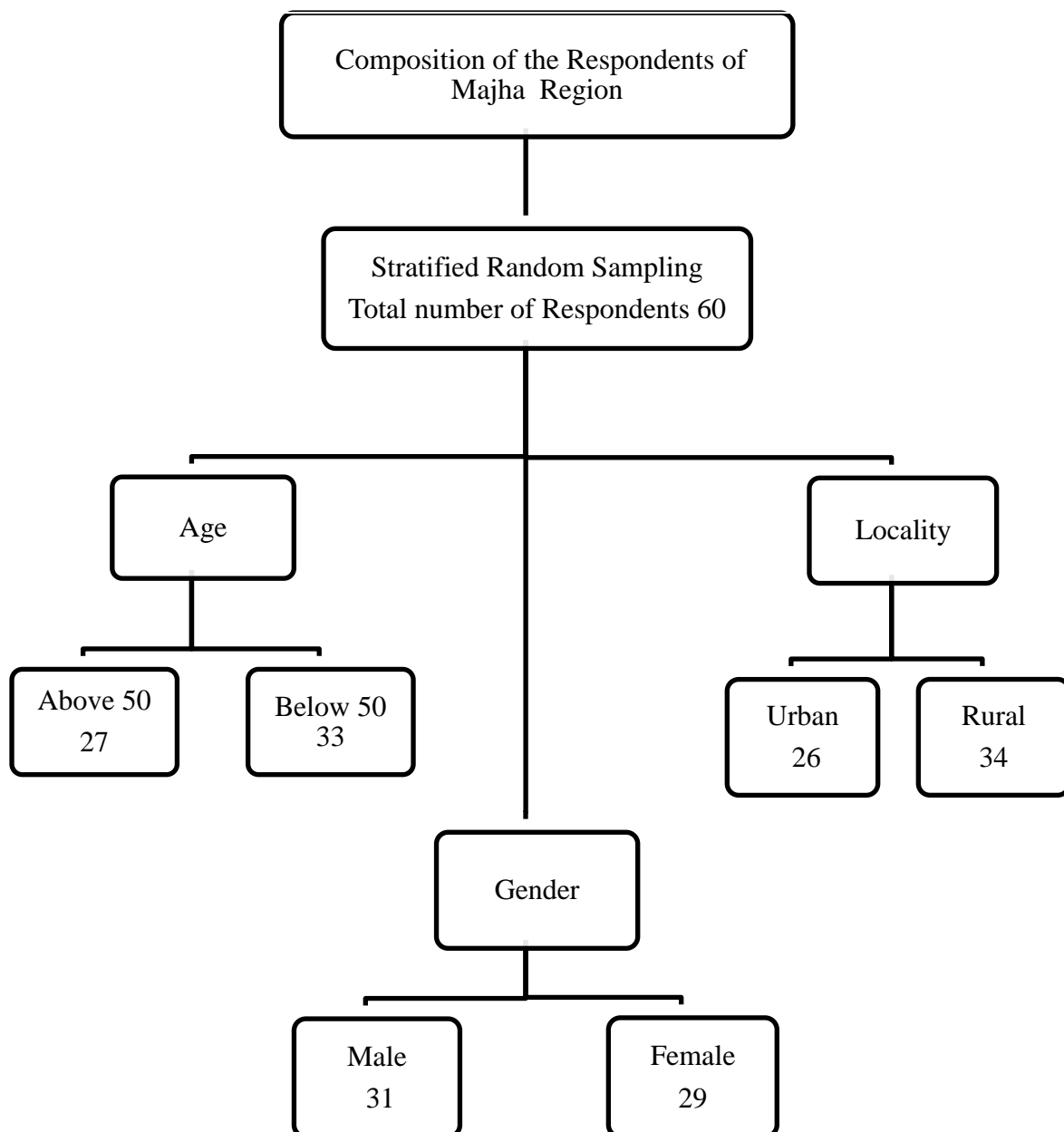
Figure 4.6.1 Composition of the Respondents of Majha Region

Source: Primary Data

Table 4.6.4 Caste-Wise Number of Respondents

Sr. No	Caste	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	SC	11	18.33%
2	BC	21	35%
3	Gen	28	46.66%
	Total	60	100%

Source: Primary Data

In the structure of respondents, 18.33 percent belong to a Scheduled caste, 35 percent to a Backward caste, and 46.66 percent subscribe to a General caste.

Table 4.6.5 Age-Wise Number of the Respondents

Sr. No	Age Group	Number of Respondents	Percentage of the Total
1	18-50	33	55%
2	Above 50	27	45%
	Total	60	100%

Source: Primary Data

Sixty-two percent of respondents fall in 18-50 age and 38 percent in the above 50 age group.

Table 4.6.6 Number of Respondents according to Their Religion in the Locality

Sr. No	Locality	Sikh	Hindu	Total
1	Rural	35	0	35
2	Urban	16	9	25
	Total	51	9	60

Source: Primary Data

In the blend of religion and locality, out of the total Sikh respondents, 35 are rural, and the rest are from the urban locality. On the other side, all Hindu respondents are from the urban locality.

4.7 Methods of Data collection

Primary as well as secondary data have been used for this research project. Secondary data has been collected through books, journals, newspapers, magazines, web sources, and other government reports.

Primary data has been collected through questionnaire and interview method from the three regions, and the total number of respondents is 240, 120 from Malwa and 60 each from Majha and Doaba.

4.7.1 Questionnaire Method

The questionnaire has been drafted keeping in mind the research objectives and fully justifies the study's needs. Considering the previously developed research questions comprehensively, a detailed and full-length questionnaire has been prepared to

comprise 60 questions based on the determinant factors that influence the electoral politics of Punjab. The nature and number of questions have been decided to provide for the needs of the research so that there is an opportunity to receive the required responses systematically and enthusiastically. All the questions are close-ended in nature- some in dichotomous form while others are in the form of multiple-choice questions (MCQs).

All the questions in the questionnaire are an attempt to inquire and gather information about the electoral politics of Punjab. For instance- questions have been designed to gather data about the performance of different political parties of Punjab and the influence of religion and caste on the electoral politics of Punjab, to mention a few of them. The questionnaire also includes the personal profile of the respondents to gather critical information about them. All the personal details of the respondents in the questionnaire are as per the variables that have been applied to collect the primary data.

4.7.2 Interview Method

The interview method is an excellent opportunity to gather first-hand information from the key informants. These key respondents can have vital information which caters to the needs of the research objectives. Every researcher chose his/her respondents based on their social, economic, religious, political, and cultural background. The researcher has selected 20 key informants from Malwa. The researcher has used a structured form of an interview that includes five key questions in a structured manner. The interview has been conducted via mail as the questions are in written format.

4.7.3 Socio-Political Profile of the Key Informants from the Malwa Region

For the present study, the researcher has selected 20 critical informants of Sangrur and Ludhiana districts from different spheres of public life, which are directly or indirectly related to Punjab's electoral politics. These include personalities associated with religious institutions like head priests, Gurudwara secretaries and presidents, former SGPC members, and other authoritative religious personalities. Key informants having political backgrounds have also been interviewed; these include village Sarpanchs and Panchs, tehsil/block level leaders of different political parties,

and former contestants of different local bodies' elections. Apart from this, many informants working as social workers, senior press reporters working in digital or print media,knowing politics, were interviewed to take their stance on the electoral politics of Punjab.

Most of the key informants are above age 50, and the remaining ones have also acquired 30. They come from different professions having good academic qualities with the experience to look closely at the day-to-day politics of Punjab. Their positions and status allow them to get in touch with the public. The researcher has also successfully selected the critical informants from different religious beliefs and communities and rural and urban backgrounds.

4.7.4 Tools of Data Analysis

Tools of data analysis are essential, which comes after gathering information by a systematic approach. The researcher has made use of different research tools to analyze the data collected through different modes.

For data collected through questionnaire, taking the assistance of technology, the researcher has used Google Form of questions. After collecting the data, it has been categorized according to the research objectives with the help of Microsoft Excel. The responses have been decoded in percentages and numbers, represented through tables and charts.

4.8 Problems Faced by the Researcher

Factors like religion and caste are personal. While recording the respondents' responses, the researcher has faced difficulties getting valid personal details about their profiles. They avoided disclosing their religious faith and caste specifications. Many respondents left the space blank where they were asked to fill about their religion and caste. Some of them just fill invalid information only for the sake of filling the questionnaire. Some of the respondents tried not to disclose their mobile numbers and provided the same on multiple requests.

Due to the spread of the Corona virus, the researcher failed to conduct face-to-face interviews and relied on the interview conducted via email/ Whatsapp in written format. The unstructured interview method might have provided extra information

that could have enhanced the interview quality effectively. Apart from this, many key informants avoided giving appropriate responses to some of the questions with religious and political connotations, while others responded unsystematically and invalidly. The same problem persisted while recording responses in the questionnaire method. Many of the respondents were ignorant about the nature of questions asked in the questionnaire and did not show any enthusiasm while filling the questionnaire, while those willing to provide genuine and authentic responses requested to do so with anonymity.

The researcher has not taken any financial aid while conducting this research, and the same could help arrange travel expenses as the research demanded a great deal of travelling.

CHAPTER 5

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL REGIMES OF PUNJAB SINCE 1984

The present chapter probes into the political performances of various political parties-SAD, BJP, CONG, BSP, CPI, CPI (M,) and AAP in the electoral politics of Punjab. The electoral politics of Punjab has remained bipolar since 1947. Indian National Congress and Shiromani Akali Dal have been performing the role of the ruling party. Apart from Shiromani Akali Dal and Congress, the Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist), BJP, and Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann) have also fielded their candidates in elections. Meanwhile, there are the parties that are coming into existence and declined over time. In 2012 a new political party came into existence, i.e. Punjab People's Party of Manpreet Badal (nephew of Parkash Singh Badal). In the 2017 Assembly elections, new entrant Aam Aadmi Party made its debut and reached House as an opposition party. There are also new parties like Lok Insaaf Party and Punjab Ekta Party, working on corruption-free Punjab. The main focus will be on leading political parties such as Shiromani Akali Dal, Congress, BJP and BSP, and AAP.

For this purpose, a detailed analysis of the party manifestos, electoral issues, and political support base has been done and also the recorded responses in the field research have been given due weightage to arrive at certain salient features of every assembly election since 1984. Though it is challenging to see Punjab as an alienated state from India as far as the field of politics is concerned, keeping in mind the limitations and systematic fulfilment of the research objectives, the researcher has only chosen the study of assembly elections of Punjab to probe into the electoral politics of Punjab. So, it is clear that the study of the electoral performance of political parties is only limited to Punjab. In future, there is a scope for the researchers to study the electoral politics of Punjab as running parallel to the national politics.

5.1 The Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections of 1985

The state of Punjab has been fighting for political, economic and socio-religious demands since the independence of India in 1947. It is considered that the Central government has not worked in the direction of fulfilling the interests of the state; the

Centre has usually tried to dwarf the role of Punjab in Central politics, and hence the development of Punjab in all the spheres is not satisfactory as intended. Firstly, it was bifurcated in 1947 with the division of India into India and Pakistan on the religious lines. Secondly, in 1966, three states were carved out of Punjab, namely Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Chandigarh, on a language basis. The representative political party of Sikhs, Shiromani Akali Dal, launched the Dharam Yudh Morcha (1982) for addressing the long pending demands of Punjab. Akali Dal's Anandpur Sahib Resolution was passed in 1973, which demanded more autonomy to the state of Punjab. In 1978, Nirankari Kaand brought forth Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale on the political scene of Punjab. Bhindranwale was allegedly launched by the Indian National Congress to check on the growing influence of Shiromani Akali Dal with the inauguration of Punjabi Suba movement and Anandpur Sahib Resolution, as reported by Kuldip Nayar, "It was Sanjay Gandhi,… who suggested that some 'Sant' should be put up to challenge the Akali government" (India Today, 2012).

He had much influence on the youth and was a supporter of Khalistan. In June 1984, the Sikh shrine Golden Temple at Amritsar was attacked by the Indian army. Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the supporters of Khalistan had taken asylum in Golden Temple, who was dubbed as terrorists. "Bhindranwale was seen as a supporter of the creation of Khalistan. Operation Blue Star specifically was aimed to eliminate Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale from the Golden Temple complex and regain control over Harmandir Sahib" (India Today, 2018). Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered military action against him. In the wake of his killing, Indira Gandhi was shot by her two Sikh bodyguards. The Hindu mob started to indulge in violence to take revenge for her murder. This violent massacre had shaken the roots of Punjab. An emergency had been declared from Oct 1983 to September 1985 in Punjab. Thus, the political atmosphere of Punjab was not inducive to the elections as Punjab was going through a tough time of militancy (the operation Blue Star and the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had just happened).

5.1.1 Rajiv-Longowal Accord: A Move towards Normalcy in Punjab

The 1985 Assembly election was a litmus test of democracy under the dark clouds of violence and militancy because the situation of law and order was critical in the state. After the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, her son Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister. Rajiv took a moderate approach in order to normalize the turmoil in

Punjab. Alienating himself from her mother's legacy that to tackle the Punjabi movement in a dictatorial manner, he adopted conciliatory methods to solve the Punjab problem. In March 1985, Gandhi announced a substantive economic aid to the industrial sector in his visit to Punjab. In order to put forth a solution for the Punjab problem, an agreement was signed between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harcharan Singh Longowal in July 1985. (Harcharan Singh Longowal was the President of Shiromani Akali Dal at that time).

Rajiv-Longowal accord enlisted the demands for which the state of Punjab was burning with passion giving birth to riots and violence. It prepared the path for the Premiership of Rajiv Gandhi (Singh, 1991). In the Rajiv-Longowal accord, consent was given on the handover of Chandigarh to Punjab. Anandpur Sahib Resolution would be sent for consideration to Sarkaria Commission which was given the task of looking into the Centre-state relations. Rajiv Gandhi's government promised to set up a tribunal that would probe into sharing of river waters (Ravi & Beas). Prime Minister also announced compensation for those who lost their lives in violent movements, particularly after August 1982. The Central government set up an Enquiry Commission for the allegations of anti-Sikh riots in 1984. All India Sikh Students Federation was unbanned. The Sikhs and Akali leaders, arrested for political crimes, were released.

The Rajiv-Longowal pact was a political move for the installation of normalcy in Punjab. The Central government announced to conduct the election for Punjab assembly on 22 September 1985 to provide for the representative government after the violence was supposed to be under control in Punjab. Most of the political parties did not agree with the decision as they feared bursting of violence again in Punjab, as Gobind Thukral stated that Shiromani Akali Dal's Badal and Gurcharan Sigh Tohra considered "The heavens will not fall if we do not hold elections right now. The accord does not satisfy the Sikhs, and the so-called peace is momentary" (India Today, 2014).

Under the leadership of Baba Joginder Singh (father of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale), United Akali Dal boycotted the elections and denied the Rajiv-Longowal accord. Their perception was that the accord was not serving the Sikh interests. They directed the Sikh voters to refrain from the polls. When Longowal visited a Gurudwara at Sherpur, near Patiala, a young Sikh boy shot him dead. The political atmosphere of

Punjab was again disturbed with the murder of Longowal on 20th August 1985. All the political parties raised questions on the worthlessness of conducting elections in such a situation. The hard-earned peace was interrupted with the killing of Longowal.

Still, the government was determined on its decision and postponed the election by just three days. All the political parties issued election manifestos. Congress party assured to execute the accord. The Party pledged to ensure the security of the lives and civil rights of the people of Punjab, and there would be a productive and corruption-free administration for the betterment of the people. The Party also mentioned the enactment of the All India Gurdwara Act, which was also included as the primary demand of ASR. In its election campaign, Akali Dal sought voters' support in the name of Longowal, who was considered a martyr. "The Akali Dal built its campaign for the elections, called for 25 September, around Longowal the martyr. 'Vote' an advertisement implored, 'so that he may live forever in thought and deed ... A man of God... A man of peace... Sant Longowal died for the rebirth of Punjab. Vote for a government that would keep alive his ideals" (Jeffrey, 1994).

5.1.2 The Election Campaign: The Campaign to the Elections

Rajiv Gandhi indirectly assisted the Shiromani Akali Dal by making political statements: "I do not care which party wins the election. Let India win, and all will be gainers" (Wallace, 1986). It seemed that the Central government wanted the Akali Dal to form a government in Punjab. In most of the constituencies, Congress fielded weak candidates to ensure Akali Dal's victory. As reported in an article, to bring stability to the state, the central party leadership has accepted that the Akalis must be in the saddle. Explained a senior party leader, "This is a political necessity for two reasons. Firstly, the present political climate in the state demands it. Secondly, there is an urgent need to isolate terrorism, which has its links across the border, and this can be done better by bringing the Akalis back to power. The basic aim of the agitation was to capture the power, and if the Akalis fail this time, the accord will also fail" (India Today). These circumstances led to the victory of Shiromani Akali Dal without assistance from any alliance though the conduction of elections in itself was quite a task.

Despite the boycott call of elections by Sikh militants and United Akali Dal, the higher percentage of voter turnout in the particular election proved that the people of Punjab wanted the return of peace and democracy in this state. The participation of

voters was 67.58% in the 1985 assembly election, which was higher than the previous election of 1980 (64.3%) of the state. Shiromani Akali Dal succeeded in getting votes from the Sikh voters having the sympathy wave of the assassination of Sant Harcharan Singh Longowal on their side. "By voting for the Akali Dal, the Punjabis have paid their tribute to the late Sant Longowal," said Akali Dal's President, Surjit Singh Barnala (LA TIMES, 1985). Besides Sikh voters, Shiromani Akali Dal successfully won Hindu and Muslim candidature seats it fielded in the election. "Sikhs outnumber Hindus in Punjab, and normally account for 55% to 60% of the vote, but according to computer studies, many Hindus broke with precedent and voted for Akali Dal candidates" (LA TIMES, 1985).

Surjit Singh Barnala took the oath as the CM of Punjab on 29 September 1985. The electoral triumph of Shiromani Akali Dal in the 1985 Assembly elections was considered a significant step to curtail the terrorism in Punjab as reported by H.K. Dua, a New Delhi political columnist, "An Akali government is much better for Rajiv Gandhi than a Congress government because it will have the support of many more Sikhs. I do not think that Sikh terrorism can be stopped without the help of the Sikhs" (LA TIMES, 1985). On the other side, it was the victory of their purpose of returning the peace and democracy in the state for Congress. As Rajiv-Gandhi stated, "We did lose the election", Mr. Gandhi said this weekend, referring to his party's defeat by the Sikh party. "But the verdict was a victory for the issues and principles of democracy and non-violence for which we fought" (The New York Times, 1985).

5.1.3 Fall of Barnala Government

Barnala government failed to get the demands fulfilled promised in the Rajiv-Longowal pact by Congress, though the party itself had promised in its party manifesto to get the accord implemented line by line. The extension of violent activities in the state by militants hollows out the state administration. On the other side, the part played by the Central government in making excuses for Rajiv-Longowal Accord crumpled the Barnala government. Delay in the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab on the prescribed date (January 26, 1986), and the delay and cancellation of the demand further added to the rage of militants. Additionally, Congress-I appointed S.S Ray as the governor of Punjab, famous for his anti-Naxalites plan in West Bengal in the 1970s. DIG Julio Rebeiro was deputed to assist him in anti-terrorist actions.

United Akali Dal and militant groups took control over Golden Temple at Amritsar on 29 April 1986 and declared the formation of Khalistan in the assembly of Sikhs (Sarbat Khalsa) marked by the use of para-military action in the direction of Rebeiro. Consequently, the Barnala government was crumbled after its 27 MLAs changed loyalties and entered United Akali Dal, registering their disapproval against the military action in Golden Temple. The Centre government's policy of repression and fake promises was sufficient to give presume about the willingness and intention of the Gandhi government to stabilize the law and order situation in Punjab.

"Although terrorism had persisted during Barnala's administration, one other reason, among others, for imposing President's Rule was Governor Ray's allegation that some of Barnala's ministers were 'deeply involved' with the extremists. Before President's Rule, Rebeiro had publicly criticized Akali Dal's intervention in the enforcement of anti-terrorism measures" (Singh, 1991). These reasons were more than sufficient for the central government to destabilize the state administration by imposing the president's rule in Punjab.

The state government faced intense criticism in the face of the failure of the 1985 accord by the people of Punjab. Opposition from the United Akal Dal and Badal & Tohra led factions, along with the acts of violation of human rights, further deteriorated Barnala led government's position to stand still and ultimately fell on 11May, 1987 a state of emergency was imposed for the next five years till 1992.

Table No. 5.1: Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections 1985

Party	Seat Contested	Seats Won	Vote Share
SAD	100	73	38.01%
CONG	117	32	37.90%
BJP	26	6	5.0%
CPI	38	1	4.44%
CPI(M)	28	0	1.92%
Janta Party	5	1	1.1%
Independent	542	4	11.69%

Source: Election Commission of India.

The above table presents that in 1985, Shiromani Akali Dal polled more votes than other parties participating in the elections. SAD won 73 seats out of 100 seats it

contested, with 38.0 per cent of votes. Congress succeeded in winning 32 seats with a nominal decrease of 1 percent in vote share (37.90%) compared to the winner party SAD (38%). Obtaining 5 per cent votes, BJP remained successful in getting 6 seats. Communist Party of India contested 37 seats but got 1 seat with 4.3 per cent of the vote share. On the other side, CPI (M) could not open its account and the party polled only 1.9 per cent votes. Janta Party emerged as a party which opposed the emergency imposed from 1975 to 1977 by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in India, won a single seat only with a 1.1 per cent vote share in the 1985 state elections. Thus Akali Dal won the clear majority and formed the government, and the Congress became the opposition party in the assembly.

In these elections, there was a change in the support base of both Akali Dal and Congress. Elections were conducted under the dark shadow of these episodes like Operation Blue Star, the killing of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and anti-Sikh violence in Delhi. These circumstances united the Sikhs and ultimately benefited the Akali Dal. The voters, who were the support base of Congress before 1984, preferred Akali Dal in the elections. In the case of Hindu voters, the assassination of Indira Gandhi by her two Sikh bodyguards made the Hindus closer to the Congress party, which, they thought, was a better option in serving their interests.

5.2 The 1992 Assembly Election

5.2.1 June 1991: The Proposed Assembly Elections

The state of Punjab remained under the grip of president rule since the dissolution of the Barnala government on May 11, 1987. The main focus of the Central government now was to eliminate terrorism from the state. Rebeiro justified his policy by calling 'bullets for bullets'. Anti-terrorist laws like TADA (1985) and NSA (1984) were passed. In November 1989, there was a change in the national leadership with the formation of the National Front Government led by V.P Singh. Eight Sikh radical candidates were elected from Punjab to Lok Sabha in National Front Ministry, but V.P Singh was reluctant to offer any political assistance to siphon out the problem of militancy in Punjab. Unlocking the conversation with militants, Chandra Shekhar, the successor of VP Singh, announced the election to Punjab Vidhan Sabha in June 1991. The Congress party was in the mood of boycotting the elections.

The whole situation reversed with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi on 21 May 1991 and the installation of P.V. Narasimha Rao's Congress rule at the Centre in June 1991. Many of the candidates were murdered by the Sikh militants. Extremism was at its peak, and in such a situation, the program of holding the election on 22 June was postponed till September 1991.

Finally, in February 1992, elections were scheduled for the Punjab Vidhan Sabha and the Parliament in the same year. The time for election propaganda was shrunk to 14 days from 21 to avoid violence and killings by militants (fearing the repetition of the incidents in the June poll). The Congress Party, which condemned Chandra Shekhar's initial holding elections and gave the boycott call for June poll 1991, changed its stance and opined that democracy and peace could be restored only through the electoral process alone. Although terrorism was at its peak in February 1992, the government was bent upon testing the power of the ballot. "People here had become cynical especially after the last-minute cancellation of the last elections in June- that there may never be elections in Punjab", explained Tejendra Khanna, the state's chief secretary and top bureaucrat who has functioned as Punjab's ruler for several years. "So, first the poll is a reassurance to the people in general" (LA TIMES, 1992).

The political atmosphere of Punjab was full of fear and insecurity during the election. More than 2.5 lac personnel of the Indian army and para-military forces were deployed in Punjab to countermand the terrorists. Candidates were provided more than 25 guards in their respective election campaigns.

In the 1992 assembly elections, major Akali Dal factions boycotted the elections. There were many factions under the name of Akali Dal struggling for political power in post-1984 Punjab, such as Akali Dal (Mann), Akali Dal (Kabul), Akali Dal (Talwandi), Akali Dal (Babbar), Akali Dal (Panthik) and Akali Dal (Manjit). Akali Dal (Badal) and other factions of Akali Dal denied participating in the elections. Parkash Singh Badal, the president of Akali Dal, stated, "We are for total boycott and exposure of the Centre's in mechanization against Punjab" (Punia, 2009). Rajiv-Longowal pact was not implemented which remained the primary cause of boycott call by the Shiromani Akali Dal. Another reason was the question of the credibility of election results. As Gurharpal Singh wrote in his research paper, "Sikh leaders from all spectrums made common cause against the government's decision. At a meeting in

Anandpur in early September, they decided to boycott any future poll on the grounds that the central government could not guarantee that it would be "free and fair" (Singh, 1992). Akali Dal was aware that they had nothing to serve Sikh interests as they had to look towards the centre to fulfill the Sikh demands. This is what Paroha concluded, "The Akalis boycotted the elections not due to fear of terrorists, but because of the fear of losing these elections" (Paroha, 1993). Seeking the Sikh support for boycotting the elections, Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhik Committee's chairman Gurcharan Singh Tohra called the meeting of its executive to pass the resolution for Sikh Sangat not to participate in polling.

Having high hopes for achieving a political solution to the Punjab problem after the declaration of a package deal by the Central Congress, Akali Dal (Kabul), a faction of Akali Dal, whose President was Captain Amarinder Singh, sent out his candidates for the elections. The militants also denied taking part in the elections and threatened to use force against the voters who would take part in the polls. The federal government banned such advertisements and rallies, which were appealing for boycotting the elections. Boycott call by Akali Dal and other Sikh militants destroyed the courage of the people of Punjab that was raised previously withholding the elections as Khanna, the famous bureaucrat, conceded that "the boycott by the Sikh's Akali Dal party hurt the poll's credibility" (LA TIMES, 1992).

The main agenda of Congress in conducting the election was to restore peace and democracy in the state. Congress managed to win the largest share of seats, i.e. 87 out of 117 total seats. Despite the lowest voter turnout in the elections (21.91%), INC gained its double 43.83 per cent in this assembly election. Although INC was the major single dominant party after the boycott call of its rival- SAD, the role of the Bahujan Samaj Party remained important. The party represented the Schedule caste which had the more significant share in the state population could shake the support base of congress. It performed well in the Doaba region. BSP won 9 seats with 15.49 per cent of the vote share and became the main opposition party in the assembly. BJP was the next to BSP by winning 6 seats. The CPI (M) and CPI could attain one and four seats, respectively. The Akali Dal faction (Kabul) contested 74 seats but could seize three seats only. Janta Party could succeed in capturing one single seat only. Two candidates, one from Akali Dal (Kabul) and the other from Congress, were elected unopposedely.

The contesting parties focused on urban constituencies rather than rural Sikh areas. In hundreds of villages where the militants were the strongest, not a single voter entered the booths during the nine hours they were open (LA TIMES, 1992). In 70 rural constituencies (which were highly Sikh-dominated) out of 117, the number of polled votes was less than ten percent, whereas, in urban areas that were Hindu-dominated, voting remained high compared to rural constituencies. Even there were some constituencies where voter turnout was less than one per cent, and candidates captured their seat with a minor margin of only a hundred votes. Low voter turnout proved that the people of Punjab had snubbed the 1992 elections as Professor Yogendra Yadav, a psephologist, said that "The legitimacy of the government is questionable because the turnout was not only low but also unevenly distributed in terms of regional and social contexts" (India Today, 2013).

Table No. 5.2: Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections 1992

Party	Contested Seats	Won Seats	Vote Share
SAD*	58	3	5.20%
CONG	116	87	43.83%
BSP	105	9	16.32%
BJP	66	6	16.48%
CPI	20	4	3.64%
CPI(M)	17	1	2.40%
Independent/Others	151	4	9.24%

Source: Election Commission of India.

 (* SAD (B) boycotted the Elections)

The above table shows that the Indian National Congress won an absolute majority with 87 seats. The party's vote share exceeded by more than 5 percent compared to the previous elections. Bahujan Samaj Party stood second by winning 9 seats. The vote share of the party was 16.2 per cent. BJP contested the 67 seats and attained 6 seats with 16.6 per cent votes. Akali Dal (K) could not take advantage of major Akali factions boycott and gain three seats.

After winning the majority in the assembly, Beant Singh took an oath for the Chief Ministership of Punjab. Beant Singh took hard steps to weed out the militants and

extremists from Punjab. His primary focus was to pacify the flames of violence in the state. On August 31, 1995, he was assassinated by a human bomb. Harcharan Singh Brar became the next Chief Minister of Punjab. Rajinder Kaur Bhattal replaced Harcharan Singh Brar after he was alleged to lack leadership qualities.

5.3 The Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections 1997

The politics of Punjab has gone through a dramatic change in a unique pattern in the last decade. The post-militancy period (after 1995) is distinguished as the era of revival of democracy in the state of Punjab. Normalcy was restored after the black period of fear and violence. The eleventh Punjab legislative assembly elections were held on 7 February 1997. The people of Punjab were full of enthusiasm to cast their vote in the elections.

All the political parties took part in this election. Akali Dal, which had boycotted the previous election, fought full force in the particular assembly election. The electoral politics of Punjab turned to a new phase with the coalition of the SAD-BJP alliance, the two separate ideological polars. Congress allied with CPI and BSP stitched a partnership with the Akali faction, i.e. Akali Dal (Mann) and CPI (M) emerged as the third front in this election.

Akali Dal made a clean sweep with its ally BJP attaining 93 seats in the elections. It was the best mandate Akali Dal ever got since the reorganization of Punjab. The party fielded its candidates on 92 seats and won 73 seats. Above 68 per cent voter turnout symbolized the eagerness of the people to participate in the democratic process. It was the victory of peace and democracy over the violence and repression and the triumph of moderate Akali Dal over radical militant groups.

This partnership was a political strategy that was favourable to Akali Dal and beneficial for BJP. It made way for BJP to concretize their position at the Centre. On the other side, it emboldened the Akali Dal by aligning with a national political party. To counter the hegemony of Congress, Akali Dal moved to alliance politics as Singh stated that "The Akali-BJP alliance of the 1990s appears to pose a serious challenge to this hegemony. In conditions where Congress (I) dominance has collapsed, the Akalis are seeking to establish themselves as a pre-eminent regional political party, andthe BJP views this arrangement as a precursor of regional pacts that would lead it to

national power" (Singh, 1997).

It was strange that a Sikh political party made friends with a Hindu ideological party. Failure to get the support of Sikhs, even after the reorganization of Punjab, Akali Dal had to look forward to broadening its support base to another community. Although Sikhs constitute a majority in Punjab, Akali Dal could not favour all Sikhs because of their internal division. This realized the Akali Dal to Stretch out with BJP. After winning the political power, Akali Dal would work for the peace and development of the state; on the other hand, survive the alliance with working on CMP. Despite two separate axes, this vote bank politics gave rise to this partnership.

The splendid victory of the Akali-BJP alliance was expected to strengthen the Hindu-Sikh unity and purify the corrupt administration of Congress rule. People had more expectations from this alliance to maintain the peace in the state. As stated by P. S. Verma, "All this was taken as a confirmation of the impression of the ruling combine that whereas Akali Dal represented the Sikhs, the BJP represented the Hindu and that this together would ensure peace, unity and prosperity in Punjab, thwarting all making all efforts of the Congress to return to power" (Verma, 2002). Both the parties set a common minimum program.

'Freedom from corruption' became the resounding slogan of the alliance based on which it sought to mobilize the Punjabi public. SAD-BJP promised to "set up a Lokpal, which would bring the chief minister under its purview, and which would deliver the state from corruption" (Chandhoke & Priyadarshi, 2006). Corruption-free rule, maintenance of law and order, peace, brotherhood, and state prosperity remained the main agenda of this political partnership. "It is evident in the form of the manifestos of Akali Dal and its ally BJP to maintain peace, brotherhood, communal harmony, socio-economic welfare, all-round development and sustainable and profitable agriculture through diversification" (Kumar, 2004). P. S. Badal has repeatedly stated that the two main goals of his government are promoting economic development and the maintenance of Sikh-Hindu communal harmony in the state and that no issues potentially jeopardizing these two intertwined goals would be entertained (Cheema, 2015).

SAD emerged as a powerful force after the end of militancy in the state. When Congress ruled in 1992, major Akali factions united under the United Akali Dal

(Amritsar) on 1 May 1994, but Akali Dal Badal alienated itself from this merger. Both factions were struggling to hold political power in Punjab. Akali Dal shifted its ideology at the Moga declaration in which party President Parkash Singh Badal presented itself as the Prophet of Hindu-Sikh unity. As mentioned by India today, Akali Dal sought to spread its roots to non-Sikh voters, "In a bid to broaden its support base among the non-Sikhs, the party is vigorously projecting itself as the representative of all the people of Punjab" (India Today, 1996).

Aloofing itself from Akali Dal (A) (a merger of six major Akali factions), Akali Dal (B) declared at the Moga conference in 1996 (24-25 February) its faith in constitutional methods and democracy. The party would effort for ensuring communal peace harmony as Singh stated, "The change was visible, as, under the impact of coalitional politics as reflected from the common minimum programmes of Akali Dal-BJP alliance, the shift was from politics of confrontation to the cooperative federalism" (Singh, 2006).

In the manifesto, Akali Dal enlisted only those issues under India's federal structure and was far away to be labelled as secessionist. Promises like free electricity to tube-wells, free canal water, and the price hike of crops were to lure the peasantry. Other measures were also included in the manifesto to attract industry and encourage the overall development of Punjab by maintaining peace at any cost.

On the other hand, Congress set aside the ASR as a secessionist framework of the demands but promised to resolve the water disputes, issue of Chandigarh and Punjabi speaking areas on the lines of Rajiv-Longowal accord. It also mentioned working for the betterment of the under privileged and the reservation for women in jobs.

For the first time in the political history of Punjab, BJP won 18 seats out of 22 seats it contested. The party got a 35 per cent Hindu urban vote which remained the traditional support base of Congress. BJP also succeeded in holding the Sikh votes being an alliance partner of the Akali Dal. Three Hindu candidates who contested the election on Akali ticket in rural Sikh-dominated areas also won. The magnificent victory of the party helped in demolishing its anti-minority image. BJP also captured four Dalit reserved constituencies, two seats each from the Majha and Doaba region of Punjab, respectively. In the region of Doaba, BJP contested eight seats and was able to win five seats in the district of Jalandhar, Kapurthala and Hoshiarpur, where

Congress managed to win Hindu votes previously but this time, BJP got the mandate in its favour. In the Malwa region of Punjab, BJP won all the six seats it fought.

Table No. 5.3: Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections 1997

Party	Contested Seats	Won Seats	Vote Share
SAD	92	75	37.64%
CONG	105	14	26.59%
BSP	67	1	7.50%
BJP	22	18	8.33%
CPI	15	2	2.98%
CPI(M)	25	0	1.79%
Akali Dal (Mann)	30	1	3.10%
Independent/Others	244	6	10.87%

Source: Election Commission of India.

The Bahujan Samaj Party of Kanshi Ram, which became the main opposition party in the previous election, swept aside in the 1997 assembly elections. Even the party could not survive in the Doaba region, a highly Dalit-dominated area. The performance of its ally Akali Dal (Mann) remained dismal, which could win only a single seat.

After winning the election, Akali Dal tried their best to maintain the alliance. It had drawn back from its words said in the election campaign, "In the 1997 state assembly elections campaign, the Akali Dal (Badal) made the prosecution of security officers guilty of human rights violations and the release of Sikh detainees a part of its election manifesto. Nevertheless, the party ignored these issues after handily winning these elections in alliance with the BJP and establishing its supremacy over more radical Akali factions" (Chima, 2015). Akali leadership did not want to take any risk against their partnership.

5.4 The Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections 2002

The election to the 2002 assembly was crucial for Congress to register its presence in Punjab again after the return of democracy in 1997. The successful completion of a five-year term of the Akali-BJP government was a welcome sign for the electoral

politics of Punjab, and Parkash Singh Badal could back himself to be the first-ever Akali CM to achieve the feat, but the voters, in general, were the losers as their aspirations were hurt badly by the Akali government.

5.4.1 A Start to the Election Campaign

The election to the 2002 assembly was also significant because the rivalry between Captain Amarinder Singh and Parkash Singh Badal began from this very election and the game of revengeful politics emerged in the elections to come. Both the stalwarts indulged in a game of defaming each other with the help of ill-will speeches at election rallies and propaganda in newspaper advertisements. Filing fake cases and charges against each other was derogatory, and it polluted the very spirit of the election, and debates were far from any involvement of fruitful electoral issues. Even the election commission had to warn both the parties to maintain the decorum of healthy democracy while campaigning for the elections. If the Congress accused Badal of misusing the funds of Punjab, Badal accused Congress of looting the people of India for the past many years, and he even made references to the Operation Blue Star to aware the Sikhs of Congress' ill will towards Punjab. All his speeches condemned Congress because the party is anti-Punjab, and obviously, his words were not respectful while slamming his opponents.

The severe economic crisis in Punjab, the issues related to agriculture, the overall issue of development of Punjab, and the promise of clean administration were the main areas based on which the election was fought among different political parties. Known by the name of 'Sangat Darshan' in the regional language, it was a term popularized by Parkash Singh Badal in which he would sit among the commoners and listen to their problems while distributing crores of rupees in the name of development from the Rural Development Fund. It was a method to connect to the voters, but to his opponents, this was sheer politics in which he (Badal) used people's money to earn votes. The Akali-BJP was already criticized on the issue of corruption and mismanagement of public funds, and the announcement of populist freebies (free electricity to farmers and abolition of octroi tax) further deteriorated the government's image. Congress and Panthic Akalis also alleged the ruling government is selling jobs and favouritism while allotting tenders and lands that rang the bell while connecting with the voters. "The other charges included non-performance; financial crisis

resulting in disastrous debt trap; apathy towards scheduled castes and poor, spiralling unemployment, declining agricultural and industrial sector and worsening law and order situation" (Verma, 2002). Captain Amarinder Singh was mainly banking upon the economic reforms while promising to make Punjab free from corruption, fiscal indiscipline and state of bankruptcy. Manifestos of both the parties were highly populist, promising wonders with no clear-cut strategy. The Akali Dal, with its elaborated manifesto, claimed to carry forward their freebies spree while benefiting all and sundry; farmers, service class, business people, senior citizens, unemployed youth and backward classes, whereas Congress did the same in theirs adding extras like announcing Rs 30 per quintal bonus to paddy growers. All these promises were made despite the fact that the exchequer of Punjab was going through a terrible phase.

5.4.2 Performance of the Political Parties

Congress contested 2002 assembly elections in alliance with CPI, winning 62 (36.51% vote) on its own to overcome a simple majority by a margin of only three seats. In contrast, Akali Dal won 41 seats with 30.97% votes. BJP got 5.72% votes, winning three seats. The independent candidates could get nine seats while BSP and Panthic Morcha drew blank on their balance sheet. The Congress fared well in both rural and urban constituencies fetching 39 out of 86 rural-dominated constituencies. While urban Hindu voters also voted for Congress, this time shifting loyalties and ignoring BJP. Congress improved its position in all the three regions of Punjab, fetching seats from rural dominated belts of Malwa and Majha regions while SAD's performance in rural and urban areas declined, resulting in their apparent defeat. Working upon the aspirations and issues popular among the voters of Punjab Congress lured them on the lines of caste and religion factor. "Since caste loyalties matter in rural Punjab, the Congress (I) nominated 44 Jat-Sikh candidates to counter the Akali propaganda that Congress was the anti-Punjab and anti-Sikh peasantry. Out of these 44 nominees, 21 won their seats mostly against the Akali Jat-Sikh counterparts. Similarly, in terms of religion, it nominated 68 Sikhs, 36 Hindus and one candidate each representing the Muslims and Christians" (Verma, 2002).

The loyal vote bank of rural constituencies preferred SAD, proving that the rural voters remained untouched by the anti-incumbency much hyped by electronic and print media. Surprisingly enough, SAD's alliance BJP won its three seats from

Garhshankar, Ferozepur and Hoshiarpur respectively because these three constituencies consisted of many villages. No doubt, the urban voters voted against the SAD-BJP alliance, but the Panthic Morcha led by Tohra was nowhere near to damage the Akali bastion (before the elections, it was firmly believed that the Akali voters were torn between Parkash Singh Badal and Gurcharan Singh Tohra).

SAD has been labelled a party that intermingles religion with politics to gain a political edge over opponents. As pointed out, "The problem with Akali politics is that it starts with Aurangzeb and ends a few years later. Today, no one in the villages is worried about what someone did or did not do 300 years ago. The issues are unemployment, corruption, and the state of the economy. People want action to combat inflation; they want drinking water, electricity, schools and decent roads" (Jaffrey, 1994).

In this election, too, SAD relied upon the support of religious institutions like SGPC and Akal Takht when "on November 27, the Chief Minister ensured that his Officer on Special Duty and trusted aid Kirpal Singh Badungar was elected as the new president of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. Badal acted soon after seeing signs that the former president, Jagdev Singh Talwandi, was flirting with the Tohra faction" (Swami, 2002). SGPC's announcement to build a memorial to Operation Blue Star is yet another instance of SGPC's playing into the hands of SAD influencing the Sikh voters.

What worked for Congress was their stress on the promise of giving the people of Punjab a 'clean' administration. It was perhaps the sole reason that Congress was able to turn the political outcome in their favour. Captain Amarinder Singh opined that "All sections of society, including the Sikh peasantry, have voted for the Congress in the state. Because of this, the Congress was able to win a substantial number of seats in the Malwa belt known as a stronghold of the Congress, he added. The presence of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) did not affect the Congress candidates. In the Doaba region, where the BSP had a strong presence, the Congress had performed impressively" (The Tribune, 2002).

Commenting on the party's loss in 2002 assembly elections SAD president did not single out any single reason as pointed out "He did not specify in real terms the factors that led to the ouster of his government at the end of five years though he had

used performance as the main poll plank, he did not mince words to say that the real crucification was done by the media towards the fag end of the campaign by coming up with an unrealistic, exaggerated opinion and survey poll reports that tilted the balance" (The Tribune, 2002). Urban Hindus were dissatisfied with BJP as the party was playing a secondary role in the government. SAD's alleged inability to address the problems of the urban population, internal conflicts with local BJP leadership and lack of coordination resulted in BJP's poor performance.

Panthic Morcha, led by veteran leader Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President of Sarb Hind Akali Dal, drew blank in the 2002 assembly elections. Commenting on his defeat, "Manjit Singh Calcutta, a former SGPC secretary and a senior leader of the Panthic Morcha who failed to save his security deposit, admitted that the voters had rejected his party during the elections. He said going by the history of the poll in the state, and the voters had consistently voted for the mainstream Akali Dal" (The Tribune, 2002).

Table No. 5.4: Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections 2002

Party	Contested Seats	Won Seats	Vote Share
SAD	90	41	31.08%
CONG	105	62	35.81%
BSP	100	0	5.69%
BJP	23	3	5.67%
CPI	11	2	2.15%
CPI (M)	13	0	0.36
Akali Dal (Mann)	84	0	4.65%
Independent/Others	274	9	11.27%

Source: Election Commission of India.

5.5 The 2007 Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections

The thirteenth assembly election to Punjab was conducted on 13 February 2007. There was a neck-to-neck fight between the two hegemonic rivals- Congress and Akali-BJP alliance. Parkash Singh Badal emerged as the four-time Chief Minister of Punjab. Nevertheless, it was for the first time that Akali Dal had to seek BJP's help for retaining the power. The Akali Dal was in no mood of losing power again in 2007, and on the other side, the ruling Congress desired to recreate its victory for the second

time. The political power has ever been shifted between the Akali-BJP alliance and Congress after five years. This time, the victory of the alliance was expected.

The coalition got 68 seats to the 117 seats of Punjab Vidhan Sabha. Out of 94 contested seats, Akali Dal won 49 in the 2007 elections, achieving eight more seats than 2002. Its ally BJP performed very well by getting 19 seats of the total 23 seats it had competed. This was a significant increase in the seat share of BJP as compared to the last elections, where the party acquired three seats only. Akali Dal could conquest this election with the support of the BJP. Nineteen seats were the highest score of the party since the formation of an alliance. BJP took the lead in urban areas, which quaked the urban vote share of Congress. In order to attack the traditional Congress support base, SAD encouraged Hindu leadership within the SAD by giving tickets to seven Hindu candidates (Singh, 2007).

Congress played decently and got a respective share of 44 seats. Despite this vote share, Congress remained high among all (40.90%). Congress fought this election on its own. BSP, CPI, CPI (M), and SAD (M) remained at the margin and could not open their accounts. There was a difference of only four seats between Akali Dal and Congress, and it was the alliance with the BJP that beseated Parkash Singh Badal on the throne of Punjab.

"The issues were virtually relegated to the background as the election was termed as the battle of two political giants, Captain Amarinder Singh vs. Parkash Singh Badal" (Punia, 2009). Congress rule from 2002-2007 was begrimed with corruption allegations. Instead of propagating the policy programs in the election campaign, both parties indulged in the blame game.

5.5.1 Region Wise Performance

The electoral outcomes of the 2007 assembly elections were totally in contrast to the previous election results of the three regions of Punjab. The region, which remained the stronghold of respective parties, gave their mandate to the opposite parties. In this election, Akali-BJP alliance did very well in the region of Doaba, the fort of Congress, winning 20 seats out of 25 seats. In the previous elections, the performance of the Akali-BJP alliance was poor. The alliance got nine seats only from Doaba, whereas Congress captured 16 seats. However, this time, Congress lost its traditional

vote bank, seat share shrank to 4 seats, resulting in a decline of 12 seats compared to the 2002 assembly elections. The Congress was not able to bag Dalit votes from Dalit dominated Jalandhar district of the Doaba region, and it went well with the Akali-BJP alliance, which got 9 out of 10 seats.

In Malwa, the highest geographical region that holds 65 seats, Akalis remained dominant since the reorganization of Punjab. However, in the current election, Akali Dal gained a low vote share which dwarfed the high gains of the Doaba and Majha region. In the wake of losing Malwa, Akali Dal's condition was that of paralysis. Congress stood first for two consecutive times in Malwa by attaining 37 seats against 24 seats of the Akali-BJP alliance in 2007. In 2002 the Congress party also took the lead by getting 30 seats against the 28 of both parties (Akali Dal & BJP).

The remarkable victory of Congress was due to its smooth supply chain of food grains and the successful growth of BT cotton. The effect of Dera Sacha Sauda could also be seen in this lead. Dera Sacha Sauda supported openly the party which had its influence over 22 segments of Malwa region as outlook India stated, "In February 2007, Punjab assembly election the Dera supported the Congress which led to the stunning defeat of SAD in its traditional stronghold of Malwa in Punjab, losing 2/3rd of the seats" (Outlook India, 2009).

The electoral show of the Akali-BJP alliance in the Majha region went well by winning a larger share of seats, i.e. 24 of the total 27 seats in the thirteenth assembly elections, whereas the party could win only seven seats in the last assembly. The Congress party, which got 17 seats in 2002, had to remain patient with three seats in 2007. Thus the changing support base of both rival parties provided electoral defeat and victory to the respective parties.

The victory of the SAD-BJP alliance was not credited to people's faith in the alliance, but the poor dealing on the part of the Congress government to resolve crisis-ridden economy, governance, agriculture and industry,was the main reason for this triumph. Among the factors responsible for the decline of Congress in the region of Majha were: failure of the government in providing the developmental facilities in the border areas of Punjab, non-performance of the government to free the youth from the clutches of drugs in this region, inability to ensure employment and curtailing the hike in prices. The SAD-BJP alliance gained the support of farmers from this region. SAD-

BJP combine vowed to give financial aid to the angry farmers and promised to provide the custody of the government land that they were tilling provisionally at a fixed cost.

Table No. 5.5: Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections 2007

Party	Contested Seats	Won Seats	Vote Share
SAD	93	48	37.09%
CONG	116	44	40.90%
BSP	115	0	4.13%
CPI (M)	14	0	0.28%
BJP	23	19	8.28%
CPI	25	0	0.76%
SAD (M)	37	0	0.52%
Independent/Others	431	5	6.82%

Source: Election Commission of India.*

5.5.2 Electoral Agenda

The electoral politics of Punjab was characterized by a shift in the electoral agenda of political parties. In the 2007 assembly elections, there was no mention of religion in the election manifestos of any party. Unemployment, hike in price, corruption-free administration, farmer suicides, infrastructural development, supply of water and power, development in education and health facilities in the state were significant electoral issues. Socio-economic developmental issues replaced ethno religious concerns.

Both contestants engaged in making populist schemes to lure the people in favour of their party. Not lagging, Congress also announced the same. Akali Dal boasted of making Punjab a power surplus region in the next five years if they rule over the state.

In its election manifesto, the Congress had promised to provide free electricity to the agriculture sector, tube well connections for the farmers with a small part of the land within one year, prolongation of Minimum Support Price, deduction in the interest rate at five per cent on farm loan, execution the report of Fifth Pay Commission, increase in the power production to make Punjab a power surplus province, relaxation

in stamp and electricity duty for the manufacturing sector.

Focusing on populist politics, Akali Dal gave space to all the sections of the society while making promises in its election manifesto. Seeking the support of farmers, Akali Dal reassured free electricity for irrigation to the farmers. Akali Dal announced the Atta-Dal scheme (Wheat flour and pulses) in which low-income families would be rewarded the same at low prices, i.e. Rs 4 and 20 per kg, respectively. Farmers and landless labourers were entitled to the health insurance scheme up to 2 lac. To revive the green revolution in Punjab, Akali Dal promised to issue a package.

The party would fill all the government vacancies within the short period of six months of holding power. Dalits getting free power upto 200 units would benefit from its double, i.e. 400 units. Akali Dal announced the Shagan scheme for girls from low-income families to receive 15000 Rs at their marriage, irrespective of the community. Widows, disabled, aged persons and dependent children were provided with pensions ranging from 250-400.

The party reserved 5 Crore Rs for the 100 block-level Adarsh schools. The party promised to establish such institutions which would impart training for self-employment. Girls would have the right to get free education up to university extent. Ten medical colleges and hospitals with the capacity of 500 beds would be established within 36 months of their rule.

To serve the interests of youth, employment and development generation boards would be set up. An international airport in Ludhiana and an airport in Jalandhar would be established. For the development in urban areas, the party would formulate such policies and norms that would control unplanned growth.

Good governance with a client-oriented attitude has become the necessity of people. Election manifestos focused on farmers, youth, traders, Dalits, women, widows, and every class of society. Irrespective of any religion, there was a talk for the people of Punjab in the election campaign of political parties.

5.6 The Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections 2012

Punjab moved forward to the fourteenth assembly election in 2012, where the bi-party system and multi-party existence dominated, welcomed the arrival of new parties in

the political arena. In this election, the electoral politics revolved around the ruling alliance of SAD-BJP and Congress. The 14th assembly election of Punjab was held in January 2012. The emergence of the Punjab People Party led by ex SAD leader Manpreet Singh Badal was one of the prominent features of this election. The electoral verdict was unprecedented in the voting history of Punjab, where the ruling party regained the voter's faith and was able to form the government for the consecutive term since the reorganization of Punjab in 1966. The president of Shiromani Akali Dal, Sukhbir Singh Badal, became his party's torch bearer and tasted the tremendous victory. The survey conducted after the poll depicted that the Akali Dal party worked hard on the ground basis. Although quite near to get a majority of the seats, winning 56 on its own, Akali Dal had to depend on their allied party (BJP) to form the government. It is significant to note that since the very formation of the alliance, the SAD has remained unable to win single-handedly. The alliance's tally touched 68 in the assembly.

On the other hand, the lack of a proper and influential leader in the Congress party sank their hope to retrieve political power. The score of Congress was confined to 46 seats. Even though congress lost the election, its vote share was higher than SAD, which showed the excellent performance of some of its contestants in specific regions.

Many factors played an essential role in the victory of the SAD-BJP alliance. Free electricity and water, pension schemes, subsidies, to name a few, were the central part of their election manifesto. The party promised to ensure 10 lakh jobs along with 2 lakh in the government sector. Atta Dal scheme, free cycles for class IX and X girls, facility of domestic power consumption upto 250 units to backward class and Dalits, free gas connections to the families who are below the poverty linegot an immediate impact on lower caste people to curb votes Atta-Dal scheme, freecycle to girl child got an immediate impact on lower caste people to curb votes in their favour. Apart from that, the party also tried to influence the voters in the urban area by nominating 11 candidates from the Hindu community. It was the first time when SAD nominated such a high number of Hindu contestants in assembly elections. Sukhbir Singh Badal, president of Akali Dal, took the election campaign in his own hands, showed his organisational and management skills, and emphasized social issues that led to Akali Dal's success.

The electoral mandate was under the sway of religious sects. In Malwa, Dera Sacha Sauda played an essential role in elections. During the 2007 assembly elections, it had given full support to the Congress party, but the party failed to get political power despite getting the most of seats in the Malwa region and lost the 13th assembly elections. This time BSP took shelter of Dera Sachkhand Ballan to claim the power as stated in The Hindu, "Dera Sachkhand Ballan, with a huge following among the Ravidassia community, supported the Bahujan Samaj Party in the 2012 Assembly election, which benefited the Shiromani Akali Dal-Bharatiya Janata Party combine by cutting into the traditional Congress vote" (The Hindu, 2017). Moreover, the leaders of political parties have their family relations with the chief or other heads, which determine the party's political fortune. "Radha Soami Satsang, popularly known as Dera Beas, has its followers spread all over the Doaba and Majha regions. Like other deras, it has never openly supported any particular party though it did show a tilt towards Congress. In the 2012 election, however, the dera shifted its allegiance to the SAD. This was largely attributed to the marriage of Bikram Singh Majithia, a Cabinet Minister and brother-in-law of Deputy Chief Minister Sukhbir Singh Badal, to the daughter of the former chief of the dera" (The Hindu, 2017).

Table No. 5.6: Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections 2012

Party Name	Contested Seats	Won	Change from 2007	Percentage of Vote
SAD	94	56	+7	34.73%
Congress	117	46	+2	40.09%
BJP	23	12	-7	7.18%
BSP	117	0	0	4.29%
CPI	14	0	0	0.82%
CPI (M)	9	0	0	0.16%
SAD (M)	57	0	0	0.28%
PPP	87	0	0	5.04%
Independent	418	3	0	6.75%

Source: Election Commission of India.

The table depicts that Shiromani Akali Dal and BJP combined got a majority of the seats in the elections. Moreover, it improved its performance by the margin of 7 seats compared to the 2007 assembly elections in Punjab. On the other side, its ally won 12 seats out of 23 constituencies and showed negative performance as it lost seven more seats compared to the previous elections. The Congress party performed almost the same as it only got two more seats (i.e. 46 in 2012), but the striking feature was their total vote share (40.09%) which was more than the SAD-BJP alliance (34.73%). The other parties which contested in the 14th elections did not open their accounts. The newly formed PPP and Leftist parties under the name of the Sanjha Morcha alliance also performed very poorly.

As we look into the table, it shows how the two major parties performed in different regions of Punjab during assembly elections in 2012. Majha and Doaba was the region where the BJP-SAD alliance held its dominance over the Congress party. In Majha, it won 16 seats out of 25 seats, and the exact figure (16 seats) went in favour of the SAD-BJP alliance in Doaba. Malwa, which is the most extensive belt of Punjab, was also dominated by the incumbent party where it held 36 seats. The primary reason behind this verdict lies that the people of Punjab never gave a chance to the ruling party to form a government for two successive terms.

Table No. 5.7 Performance of two Main Parties in Different Regions of Punjab 2012

Total		Congress		SAD- BJP	
Region	Seats	Won	Votes (%)	Won	Votes(%)
Majha	25	9	41.2	16	47.2
Doaba	23	6	37.1	16	41.3
Malwa	69	31	40.6	36	40.3
Total	117	46	40.1	68	41.9

Source: Election Commission of India.

Furthermore, the position of the Congress party at the Centre level also got hit due to big scams during Manmohan Singh's government. In this assembly election, Punjab created history and broke all sets of rules in concern with elections. SAD-BJP alliance was able to win the belief of people for the second successive term.

In 2012, Punjab observed unmatched electoral participation of 78.6 percentage. While considering the data about gender norms, female voter turnout was 79.1 percentage and male vote share was 78.1. Overall, 78.6% of voters turned out for assembly elections in 2012, which was higher than before. The number of contestants was also very high. There were 1078 candidates in the field to gain political power. Out of the total candidates, 418 were independent. These were some of the extraordinary figures in the 14th assembly elections.

5.7 The 2017 Assembly Election

The 2017 assembly election pushed the electoral politics of Punjab in a new direction. It became more historical compared to the black era of 'militancy' where the prominent political parties of Punjab got scared of a four-year-old party: Aam Adami Party (AAP). Since India got freedom, political power rested either in the hands of Shiromani Akali Dal or the Indian National Congress in Punjab. If Akalis ruled, Congress played the role of an opposition party in the assembly, but it was for the first time in the political history of Punjab that a third party with non-Punjabi origin pushed back SAD on the third place. As The Indian Express stated, "While Punjab has mostly seen bipolar fights with SAD and Congress being traditional rivals, (the AAP) or Aam Aadmi Party, buoyed by its performance in the Lok Sabha elections, is the new entrant in state politics" (The Indian Express, 2017).

5.7.1 Landslide Victory of Congress

After losing the 2012 assembly elections in Punjab and the 2014 General elections in most of the states in India, it seemed that Congress could not save its honor, but in a dramatic turn of the events, the party won 77 seats with 38.9 percentage of vote share in 2017 assembly election. Indian National Congress floated high by capturing the two-third majority in the House. Though Congress got 36 seats more than the previous assembly election, their vote share decreased by 1.5%. In contrast, the 2017 assembly election highlighted one of the poorest performance of SAD by underlining the glorious victory for Congress after the revival of democracy in Punjab after the 1992 election. The credit for Congress' victory does not owe to its adoption of the developmental agenda of party or good administration only. Instead, the people of Punjab were in a mood to teach the incumbent Shiromani Akali Dal for its mal-administration by supporting its rival in the elections. Due to the poor administration of the Akali government, drugs issue, desecration of Guru Granth Sahib, corruption,

and farmer's suicide. Akali Dal failed to keep the voters of Punjab in its favor. Anti-incumbency dominated the electoral field, and desperation among the people of Punjab led to an aspiration for the third alternative that could re-establish Punjab's political foundation. Hence, Congress' victory was the result of the poor performance of the Akali government. Congress also succeeded in achieving the support of Sikhs from the Malwa belt of Punjab. Malwa, which is the most significant geographical and political region of Punjab, holds 69 assembly seats. Moreover, it has remained the fort of Akali strength, for its leadership hails from this region (the highest Sikh population). SAD is considered the representative political party of Sikhs, and it has been successful in getting the support of rural Sikh voters by exploiting the panthic label in elections. Analyzed in an article, it has been found that 40 out of 77 constituencies the party occupied were rural and dominated by the Sikh population. In the Majha region, too, the party succeeded in winning the support of Sikhs. Taran Taran district, which has the highest Sikh population percentage in the state- 96.1% in rural areas and 73.9% in urban areas, according to the 2011 census, has given all four seats to Congress- Khadoor Sahib, Patti, Taran Taran, and Khemkaran. In Amritsar, where Sikhs constitute 91.2% of its population, the party won 5 out of 6 rural seats. In Gurdaspur, where four constituencies are rural with Sikh dominated population, fell in the lap of Congress. In the Malwa region, Congress bagged all the three seats of Fatehgarh Sahib, where 63% are Sikhs in rural and urban areas. In Moga district, where Sikhs are 90.8% in rural areas and 53.2% in urban areas, the party was awarded three seats (Times of India, 2017). As stated in an article, "Congress has managed to gain even the support of the traditional rural Sikh vote which since the days of Punjabi-Suba movement always voted for so many Akali Dal and never fall Congress particularly after operation Blue Star and anti-Sikh riots in Delhi" (Indian Express, 2017). CM face of Captain Amrinder Singh also remained a successful political card in this election. He was the man who opposed the Congress party during Operation Blue Star (an army intervention in Golden temple) in 1984. As Manjit Singh Calcutta, former SGPC Secretary-General, said to the Times of India that Captain Amrinder Singh has his credentials among Sikh voters. Besides having the support of rural Sikh voters, the party also bagged 29 such seats with Hindu support. As stated, "Of the 77 seats in its kitty, at least 29 segments are those which are either urban or have Hindu business community as majority voters" (Hindustan Times, 2017).

5.7.2 Arrival of AAP in Punjab

Aam Adami Party (AAP) entered the electoral politics of Punjab by winning four Parliamentary seats in the 2014 General Elections. All the four seats it gained were solely from the Malwa region of Punjab, which arose the party's hope to contest the election in the Punjab 2017 assembly elections. After achieving the landslide victory in Delhi 2015 assembly elections, AAP, working on its eradication of corruption, implemented the same Delhi model in Punjab. The party issued its election manifesto for the people of every section of Punjab. For government employees, the party assured to implement the recommendation of the Sixth Pay Commission. Focusing on their agenda of medical facilities titled 'Free Health for All' AAP enlisted three new medical colleges and inauguration of 'Pendu Sehat Clinics' where medical tests and medicines will be available free of cost. Besides, the party promised to provide health insurance upto 5 lac for the people of Punjab, a significant hike in the old-age pension, widow, and handicapped pension from Rs 500 to Rs 2500. Aam Aadmi Party fell short of the expectations by winning just 20 seats out of its contested quota of 117 seats; 18 seats from Malwa and two from the Doaba region of Punjab. It could draw a blank in the third region- Majha.

What happened with AAP that it turned out to be an opposition party instead of holding power in the Punjab assembly? Many reasons were spelling the sign of the defeat of the state party. It was just the beginning of AAP's political career in assembly elections of Punjab. The organizational structure of the party was not as strong compared to the veteran political parties like SAD and Congress. As Kumar stated that "Party needs strong organizational leadership, an ideology and definitive positioning on social and economic issues…AAP lacks all these" (Kumar, 2017). Party had no Punjabi stalwart who could reign or lead the party in Punjab. Despite the support of Diaspora, a party could not prove its credibility because of its non-Punjabi origin. Punjab is a Sikh-dominated state. That is why the people of Punjab hesitate to vote for the non-Sikh leadership of AAP. As stated in Times of India, "In India's only Sikh state, Sikh sentiment runs high in Punjab and Amrinder Singh standing forth as a proud 'Punjab da puttar' had the advantage over the outsider" (Times of India, 2017). Even the field research conducted by the researcher solidified the fact that Punjabis preferred Amrinder Singh over any other outsider, and they are willing to go for a Punjabi face in the upcoming elections against any other non-Punjabi.

On the one side, the people of Punjab wanted to root out SAD for its corruption-led rule, but on the other hand, they were also fearful of giving political power to a non-Sikh leader (Arvind Kejriwal). Another reason for the party's poor performance was the over weightage given to the Malwa region of Punjab. It did not focus on the other two regions, i.e., Majha and Doaba. As stated, "The main reason for the AAP's relatively poor performance was that its vote share was concentrated in the central Malwa region" (Scroll in, 2017). AAP's Kejriwal card could not be beneficial as the party failed to project a vital figure for the Chief Ministerial candidate. The dictatorial attitude of Kejriwal and limited authority to local leadership also weakened the party. The party did not show faith in the local leadership and relied upon the central leadership of Kejriwal, which earned a bad reputation for the party. Undoubtedly, AAP as a new entrant made the 2017 election a tri-party contest, but it helped Congress against the incumbent Akalis.

5.7.3 Fall of the Iconic SAD

The party won only thirteen percent of seats with 23 percent of vote share. The party secured eight seats from Malwa, 2 and 5 seats from Majha and Doaba respectively. It was the worst show of Shiromani Akali Dal in any election it ever contested. The party, which is well known under the name of the 'Panthic party' could not succeed in gaining the support of Sikhs. In a survey conducted in some of the districts of the three regions of Punjab, namely Majha, Malwa, and Doaba, the highest number of respondents believes that desecration of Guru Granth Sahib remained one of the primary reasons for the downfall of Akali performance in 2017 assembly election. The incident of desecration of Guru Granth Sahib in 2015 and the inability on the part of the government to handle the people sitting peacefully on dharna in Behbal Kalan drove the Akali government into troubled waters. The desecration of the Guru Granth Sahib, the living guru of the Sikhs, allegedly by *premis* enflamed Sikh sentiments in all of Punjab. Sikh anger was directed not only at the *premis*, but also against the governing Akali Dal (Badal), which claimed to be the main leadership of the Sikhs. The Akali Dal (Badal) had failed in its self-proclaimed role as the defender of the Sikh community, and its government had also failed in its administrative duties (Chima, 2015).

The failure of the government to punish the culprits resulted in bitterness among its traditional support base, i.e., rural Jat Sikhs, a peasantry class that accounts for 25%

of the state's population. As reported in a national newspaper, "The Akalis have lost their traditional voters due to the party being held responsible for taking away the autonomy of the sacred Akal Takht and politicizing/manipulating the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhik Committee to further its political ends. Another reason is the party's failure to punish the culprits who desecrated the holy Guru Granth Sahib. This was compounded by the party openly hobnobbing with the various Deras, including the controversial Dera Sacha Sauda, seeking their support in search of the sizeable Dalit vote, a segment the party failed to accommodate in its power structure" (The Hindu, 2017).

Akali Dal's stance of pardoning the Dera chief enflamed the Sikh sentiments as Gill stated, "Later on Akali Dal used the institution of Akal Takht to pardon Gurmeet Ram Rahim Singh (head of Dera Sacha Sauda at Sirsa) who had earlier been involved in a conflict with the Sikh community in the state. This further reduced the credibility of SAD (Badal) in the eyes of a section of Sikhs in general and the Sikh peasantry in particular. A large part of these annoyed Sikhs in the state moved in favor of the AAP" (Gill, 2018). In 2007 Akali Dal tasted the defeat as Dera Sacha Sauda gave open support to Congress, "…according to political observers, the Dera Sacha Sauda had over 10,000 followers in each of the 62 state assembly constituencies in the Malwa region and were thus an important vote bank for the upcoming state assembly elections, which were expected to be very close" (The Tribune, 28 September 2015). These 10,000 votes per constituency could swing the results, given the usually close margins of victory (or defeat) in state assembly constituencies" (Chima, 2015).

Corruption had expanded in every field of administration. The Akali government had entirely failed in controlling or breaking the supply chain of drugs in Punjab. Even the Akali government was blamed for its alleged involvement in the drug racket. One of the prominent faces of Akali Dal Bikram Singh Majithia, the Revenue Minister of the erstwhile Akali government, was allegedly named as an associate of an international drug racket by Jagdish Bhola (a former police officer and a well-known drug lord). There was chaos all around, and crime was prevailing high in the state. Corruption and drug abuse had become part and parcel of the people of Punjab. Crop failure resulted in the rise of suicide cases in Punjab. The poor leadership of Sukhbir Badal added fuel to the opposite tendencies emerging in the state.

5.7.4 Role of BJP

SAD's ally BJP's performance also remained dismal, securing three seats with a 5.6% vote share. BJP fielded 23 candidates in urban areas. Despite widening the support base in Punjab, BJP lost severely in urban areas and semi-urban areas. The traditional vote bank of urban Hindu voters shifted towards Congress. In this election, the party succeeded in opening its account in the three regions, namely Majha, Malwa, and Doaba by gaining one seat each from the three regions. Even there is a continuous downfall in the vote share and seat share of the party compared to the last three assembly elections. The party won 19 segments in 2007, 12 seats in 2012, with shrinkage of its vote share from 8.21% in 2007 to 7.13% in 2012.

The much-debated and often criticized issue of demonetization remained the reason for its failure in 2017. Being the partner in an alliance, BJP could not aloof itself entirely from the desecration of Guru Granth Sahib in 2015 that dismantled the political chances of the party's victory in Punjab. On a close examination of the SAD-BJP alliance, it seems that it has always remained an opportunistic alliance for getting votes from Hindus and Sikhs.

5.7.5 Role of BSP

Despite a considerable number of (31.9 per cent) Dalit population in Punjab, the highest among other states of India, the Bahujan Samaj Party remained at the margin in the 2017 assembly elections. The party drew blank with decreasing vote share of 1.59%. Before the beginning of BSP's political career in Punjab in 1992, Dalits belonging to Sikhs and Hindus remained the Congress's traditional support base. Chandigarh-based Institute of Development and Communication's Chairman Pramod Kumar said, "BSP's ideology does not find space in Punjab due to the dominance of Sikhism and the Arya Samaj" (News India, 2019). The other reason for the failure of BSP in Punjab is that SCs are divided into two other sub-castes- Valmikis/Mazhabi and Ravidassia/Adi-dharmi. As stated in Times of India, "Though Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has a strong Dalit political identity, in Punjab its support base has largely remained confined to one caste- Adi-dharmi/Ravidassia". Before the arrival of the Aam Adami Party, BSP was seen as the third alternative to the electoral politics of Punjab, but the party could not succeed in attaining the support of Dalits. Even the vote share of the party was also decreasing day by day. Even in contemporary times in 1992, the party got 26 per cent of the vote share that has been decreased to 1.5 per

cent in 2017. After the death of Kanshi Ram, its party founder, BSP, is facing with leadership catastrophe in Punjab. BSP has no such face that can strengthen the roots of the party in Punjab.

Table No 5.8: Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections 2017

Party	Seat Contested	Seats Won	Vote Share
SAD	94	15	25.24%
CONG	117	77	38.5%
BJP	23	3	5.4%
BSP	111	0	1.52%
AAP	112	20	23.72%
LIP	6	2	1.23%
CPI	23	0	0.22%
CPIM	12	0	0.07%
Independent	303	0	2.09%

Source: Election Commission of India.

The above table depicts the electoral outcomes of the assembly elections 2017. Congress won 77 seats with a 38.5 % vote share. Aam Adami Party got the second position by securing 20 seats and 23.7 % vote share. Shiromani Akali Dal slipped to third place by getting 15 seats with a 25.2% vote share which is 9.5% less than the 2012 assembly election. The performance of BJP has also shrunk to only three seats, one seat from each region. Lok Insaaf party fought the election in alliance with AAP and gained 2 out of 5 seats it contested.

Table No. 5.9: Region Wise Performance of Political Parties In 2017 Assembly Elections

Region	SAD		Congress		BJP		BSP		AAP		LIP	
	Fight for	Won	Fight for	Won	Fight for	Won	Fight for	Won	Fight for	Won	Fight for	Won
Majha	17	2	25	22	8	1	24	0	0	0	0	0
Malwa	61	8	69	40	7	1	65	0	64	18	5	2
Doaba	16	5	23	15	8	1	22	0	23	2	0	0

5.7.6 Electoral Issues and Election Manifestos

Drugs, desecration of Guru Granth Sahib, corruption, unemployment, farmer suicides and indebtedness, and the Sutlej-Yamuna link canal were the major electoral issues to the 2017 assembly election in Punjab. The youth of Punjab is in a firm grip of drug abuse. Data provided in a study conducted by the National Drug Dependence Treatment Centre at AIIMS pointed out that about 76 per cent of drug consumers belong to 18-35 years (The Indian Express, 2017). Jagdish Bhola, a drug smuggler, confessed revenue minister Bikramjit Singh Majithia in the drug abuse issue. Nevertheless, the ruling party Akali-BJP denied this fact proclaiming that this was done deliberately to defame the honor of Punjab and its people. Blaming the SAD for the drug problem, Congress and AAP promised to make Punjab a drug-free state within one month of holding power. The main focus of AAP was to weed out the drug menace within one month of the installation of its government in Punjab. The party promised to provide government jobs to the recovered drug addicts. Stiffer punishments will be given to those who are involved in the drug racket. There was also a provision of blood and urine tests randomly for the government employees working in the public departments.

Corruption has been one of the major electoral issues in the 2017 assembly elections. It is widely spread in all spheres of life. Land mafia, sand mafia, cable scam, and unauthorized colonies are prevalent in Punjab as complex forms of corruption. AAP projected itself as a political party committed to eradicating these prevailing issues from Punjab by setting up Jan Lokpal to check the issue of corruption.

Unemployment

Punjab is facing the problem of brain drain because of the lack of job opportunities. Despite having high qualifications, the youth of this region was forced to do labour in shopping mallsand shops. As stated in an article "…numbers of young men have gone abroad for the sake of employment even by selling their land and property…. That is why Punjab is the second state after Kerala, whose most people work abroad" (Outlook India). Keeping in view, the time Congress party in its election manifestos promised to ensure 2.5 million jobs within the next five years. Shiromani Akali Dal and Aam Adami party also promised to create 20 and 25 lakh jobs, respectively.

Desecration of Guru Granth Sahib

The desecration of Guru Granth Sahib at Faridkot in 2015 on the eve of the assembly election proved disastrous for the Akalis and worked as a master stroke for their rival parties. To punish the culprits of desecration endured the main agenda for AAP and Congress in their respective election campaigns. AAP promised to give exemplary punishment to the culprits of desecration.

Farmer Suicides and Debts

It is a well-known fact that indebtedness is the primary cause of farmer suicides in Punjab and all over India. Over 3500 suicide cases have been reported since 2000 due to the burden of indebtedness, 97% solely from the Malwa region of Punjab, which shows the poor performance of agriculture in this particular region. No doubt, the government has failed to work for the cause of farmers and has turned a deaf ear to the problems encountered by the agriculture sector. Congress and Aam Aadmi Party put forth a debt waiver scheme in a series of farmer-oriented provisions in their respective election manifestos.

Table No.5. 10: Shiromani Akali Dal's Position in Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections since 1985

Year	Seat Contested	Seats Won	Vote Share
1985	100	73	38.0%
1992*	*	*	*
1997	92	75	37.64%
2002	90	41	31.08%
2007	93	49	37.09%
2012	94	56	34.73%
2017	94	15	25.2%

Source: Election Commission of India.

Table No. 5.11: Congress's Position in Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections since 1985

Year	Seat Contested	Seats Won	Vote Share
1985	117	32	37.90%
1992*	115	87	43.52%
1997	105	14	26.42%
2002	106	62	35.81%
2007	116	44	40.90%
2012	117	46	40.09%
2017	117	77	38.5%

Source: Election Commission of India.

Table No. 5.12: BJP's Position in Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections since 1985

Year	Seat Contested	Seats Won	Vote Share
1985	36	6	5.0%
1992*	67	6	15.94%
1997	22	18	8.33%
2002	24	03	5.67%
2007	23	19	8.28%
2012	23	12	7.18%
2017	23	7	5.4%

Source: Election Commission of India.

Table No. 5.13: SAD-BJP Alliance's Position in Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections since 1985

Year	Seat contested	Won
1997	114	93
2002	114	44
2012	117	68
2012	117	68
2017	117	22

Source: Election Commission of India.

The electoral politics of Punjab is centered around two political parties- SAD and Congress. Congress single-handedly dominated the electoral phase before 1966, and after that, SAD emerged as a force to be dealt with sincerely. The other political parties include BJP, CPI and CPI (M), BSP, and Shiromani Akali Dal (A). Though Congress has made government in Punjab, it sometimes preferred to contest elections seeking help from minor parties only to counter the Akali alliances. On the other hand, SAD has strongly relied upon the alliances (mainly with BJP) to form government in Punjab since it made a pact with BJP in 1997. SAD has never formed a government on its own so far, with the exception of the 1997 assembly elections. SAD's alliance with BJP broadened its support base from Sikhs to include Hindus and other weaker sections irrespective of caste and religion. Congress was also successful in winning back the support of Punjabis after it asserted its image as a regional party focusing and working over the issues of Punjab. Captain Amarinder Singh's leadership has remained instrumental in bringing back Congress on the right track in Punjab.

Panthic and identity issues in the garb of Gurudwara politics dominated the elections up to the phase from 1984-1997. The Punjab problem was still in the air, which made it difficult for the contestants to focus on other issues though the people of Punjab, in general, were always in favor of peace and development. The period after 1997 was marked by the slowdown of the intermingling of Panthic issues and politics. After the dark phase of terrorism, politicians tried to shift the electoral issues towards development and welfare government. A paradigm shift was noticed after the late 90s in Punjab when the politics shifted towards politico-economic issues as the voters were only interested in good governance and the overall development of the state. The politics of Punjab was now drawing upon the issues of education, unemployment, development of weaker sections moving away from the emotional and identity politics. Also, there were some negative factors, including the game of rivalry between the two parties indulging in defaming each other on the grounds of corruption and favoritism. The election manifestos were so rhetoric in nature, having nothing to do with reality. This was the phase of politics of populism that engulfed Punjab during the last two decades and is still popular among the leadership of all the political parties to date.

Rural vote bank, which comprises 66.05% voters according to the 2011 census, is the

largest in the state, which cannot be ignored at any cost. SAD largely depends on rural Jat-Sikh peasantry, which holds the key to their vote bank in the Malwa region. Nevertheless, it is significant to note that the support base of both SAD and Congress is dynamic. Though Malwa is considered the SAD-dominated region, Congress bagged a significant number of seats in the 2002 and 2007 assembly elections to shake the roots of SAD in this region. On the contrary, Akali Dal was able to lure the urban Hindu vote bank in Doaba (considered the Congress bastion) with the help of the BJP.

Malwa being the largest region in Punjab, holds the key to the victory in elections. If the rural population is divided between the Akalis and Congress in a balanced manner,the ever-shifting urban Hindu vote decides who sits in the government.

The 2017 election was unique because a new party, AAP, emerged on the political scene, which challenges the bi-party structure of politics in Punjab. Interestingly, a party of non-Punjabi origin was able to gain ground in Punjab and fought well in the assembly election to defeat Akali Dal in bagging the opposition party's position in the Punjab assembly. Though it also highlighted the fact that a non-Sikh face of CM in Punjab would not be able to win the trust of the Sikh voters. Perhaps this benefited the Congress, which won the election in the background of the non-performance of Akalis though they did not do something extraordinary on their own. Religious issue of the desecration of Guru Granth Sahib also sank the Akali Dal's boat marking the affiliation of voters with religion while voting.

CHAPTER 6
FINDINGS AND RESULTS

This chapter is focused on the findings and results of the data collected through field research. The findings and results are shown with the help of column charts and tables where applicable. The fundamental data analysis is done based on three regions of Punjab- Majha, Malwa, Doaba and the results are mentioned collectively through bar charts/column charts to present the complete picture of the electoral politics of Punjab. The questions in the questionnaire method are labeled accordingly and categorized under different subtitles to fulfill the research objectives.

6.1 Religion

There is no doubt that the influence of religion shadows the electoral politics of Punjab. It can be seen in the light of SAD, one of the two main political parties based in Punjab. SAD has religious affiliations right from its birth since the 1920s, and the party leadership proclaims that the party is the defender of the Sikh faith and Sikh interests.

In one of its resolutions passed on September 30, 1956, SAD showed great concern for protecting Sikh interests. The resolution reads, "SAD will protect religious, academic, cultural, social and economic concerns of the panth ... it will not have any separate political agenda". Though the party tried to do away with the label of Panthic party and projected itself as a secular party committed to the cause of Punjab, Punjabi, and Punjabiat, the Sikh issues and the political ideology of SAD can never be seen as separated.

6.1.1 SAD and Sikh Religious Institutions (Akal Takht and SGPC)

Religion dominates Punjab's electoral politics, and the Sikh religious institutions like Akal Takht and SGPC play a significant role in mediating with the voters and the political parties. SAD is the most prominent political party which tries to influence the voters by inciting the religious emotions of the Sikh people with the backing of these religious institutions. That is why the Akali leadership tries to clarify their stand on the issue of intermingling of religion and politics.

The party President Sukhbir Singh Badal tried his best to ensure that "The SGPC is not an organization of the Akali Dal. It is an organization of Sikh 'panth' (community), and it is a democratically elected body" (The Hindu, 2019). This statement by Sukhbir Singh Badal came as a lame defence after the party leadership was criticized for using the apex Gurudwara body (SGPC) as merely a tool by the

SAD.

Over the years and election after election, fundamental issues have been ignored by the political parties, and religious propaganda has shaped the voter turnout in Punjab. SAD-BJP alliance has always exploited the anti-Sikh stance of Congress by reminding, again and again, the riots of 1984 and Operation Blue Star. On the other hand, Congress tries to aware the Sikh people of the interference of SAD in the working of SGPC and Akal Takht and alleged mismanagement of funds in the Gurudwaras. On the other hand, Congress, to counter SAD's religious stance, has also indulged in religious issues. In the 2017 assembly election, Congress attacked SAD on the religious issue of Bargari sacrilege in 2015 to influence the voters. Of late, AAP's former President H.S. Phoolka opined, "The Badal family is controlling the SGPC. No reform in Punjab is possible until the SGPC is freed from the clutches of the Badal family..."

Religion remained one of the determining factors of the electoral politics of any state.

In Punjab, the distinguishing feature of religion is that there are religious institutions that affect the elections. Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhik Committee (SGPC), the mini-parliament of Sikhs, which has the authority to manage all the Gurudwaras in Punjab, has been involved in the political affairs. SAD, which is considered the political arm of Sikhs, has been impacting the directives of SGPC according to their interest. Akal Takht, the supreme authority of Sikhs, has also remained under the political control of the Badals.

6.1.2 Electoral Politics and Sikh Religious Institutions
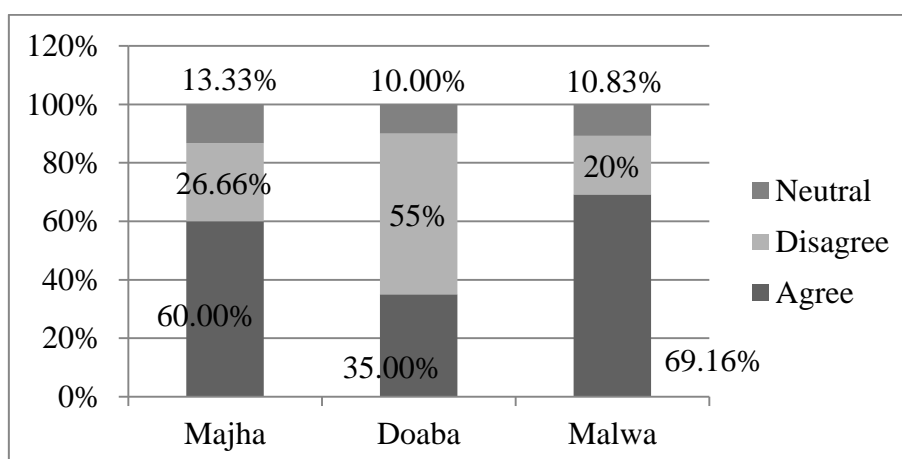
Figure No. 6.1.1 Intermingling of Religion and Politics

Source: Primary Data

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The above column chart represents that in Majha, 60 percent of the respondents believe there is an intermingling of religion and electoral politics, while 26.66 percent disagree and 13.33 percent are neutral about this opinion. In Malwa, 69.16 percent of participants agree with this opinion, 20 percent disagree, and 10.83 percent are neutral. Thirty-five percent of the surveyors from Doaba feel that there is an intermingling of religion and politics, 55 percent disagree, and 10 percent are silent about this opinion.

Table No. 6.1 Intermingling of Religion and Politics

	Malwa		Majha		Doaba	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Hindu	18.33%	3.33%	12%	3.33%	10%	20%
Sikh	45%	15%	48%	23.33%	25%	35%
Muslim	5.83%	1.66%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Christian	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	69.16%	19.99 (20)%	60%	26.66%	35%	55%

Source: Primary Data

The table shows that out of the 69.16 percent respondents from Malwa who agree that there is an intermingling of religion and politics in Punjab, 18.33 percent are Hindus, 45 percent Sikhs, and 5.83 percent Muslims, while 3.33 percent Hindus, 15 percent Sikhs, and 1.66 percent Muslims are those who disagree with the opinion out of the total 20 percent surveyors. In Majha, 60 percent of the answerers agree with the same opinion, and out of these, 12 percent are Hindus, and 48 percent are Sikhs, while 3 percent Hindus and 23 percent Sikhs disagree the total 26 percent. From Doaba, 10 percent Hindus agree, 20 percent disagree, 25 percent Sikhs agree, and 35 percent disagree out of the total 35 percent and 55 percent who agree and disagree with the opinion.
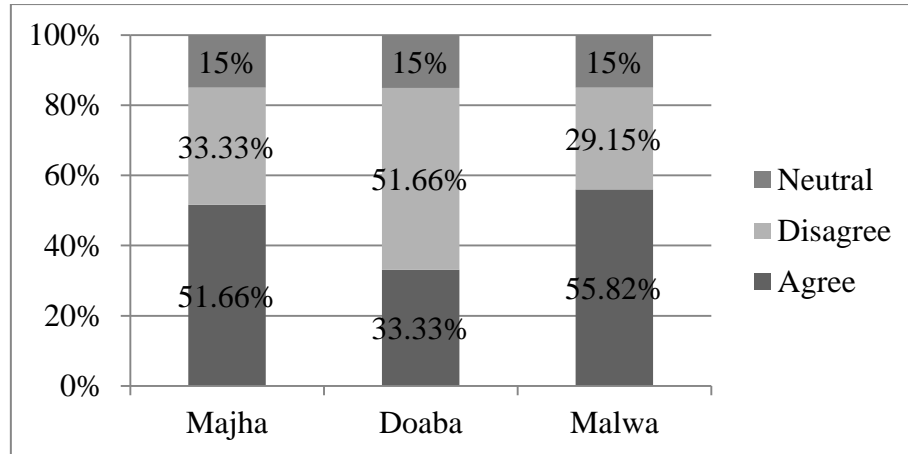
Figure No. 6.1.2 Representation of SAD as a Sikh Dominated Political Party

Source: Primary Data

According to the data collected through the questionnaire during field research, it has been found that 51.66 of the participants from Majha feel that SAD is a representative party of Sikhs, while 33.33 percent disagree and 15 percent are neutral about this statement. In Malwa, 55.82 percent of the participants agree, 29.15 percent disagree, and 15 percent are neutral about this opinion. While in Doaba, 33 percent believe that SAD is a Sikh-dominated political party and 51.70 disagree with this view, and 15.29 percent are neutral in this concern.

Table No. 6. 2 Representation of SAD as a Sikh Dominated Political Party

	Malwa		Majha		Doaba	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Hindu	15%	3.33%	6.66%	3.33%	8.33%	21.66%
Sikh	34.16%	24.16%	45%	30%	25%	30%
Muslim	6.66%	1.66%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Christian	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	55.82%	29.15%	51.66%	33.33%	33.33%	51.66%

Source: Primary Data

The data in the table shows that out of the total 55.82 percent informants from Malwa

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who agree that SAD is a Sikh-dominated party, 15 percent are Hindus, 34.16 percent are Sikhs, and 7 percent are Muslims. Those who disagree account for 3.33 percent, 24.16 percent, and 1.66 percent from Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim communities. The data collected from Majha represents that out of the total 51.66 percent of answerers who agree with the statement, 6.66 percent are Hindus, and 45 percent belong to Sikhism.

While those who disagree comprise 3.33 percent and 30 percent belong to Hinduism and Sikhism, respectively out of the total 33.33 percent falling in this category. 33.3 percent repliers from Doaba agree with the statement and out of these, 8.33 percent are Hindus, and 25 percent are Sikhs, while those who do not subscribe to the statement comprise 21.66 and 30 percent from Hindu and Sikh communities respectively out of the total 51.66 percent.
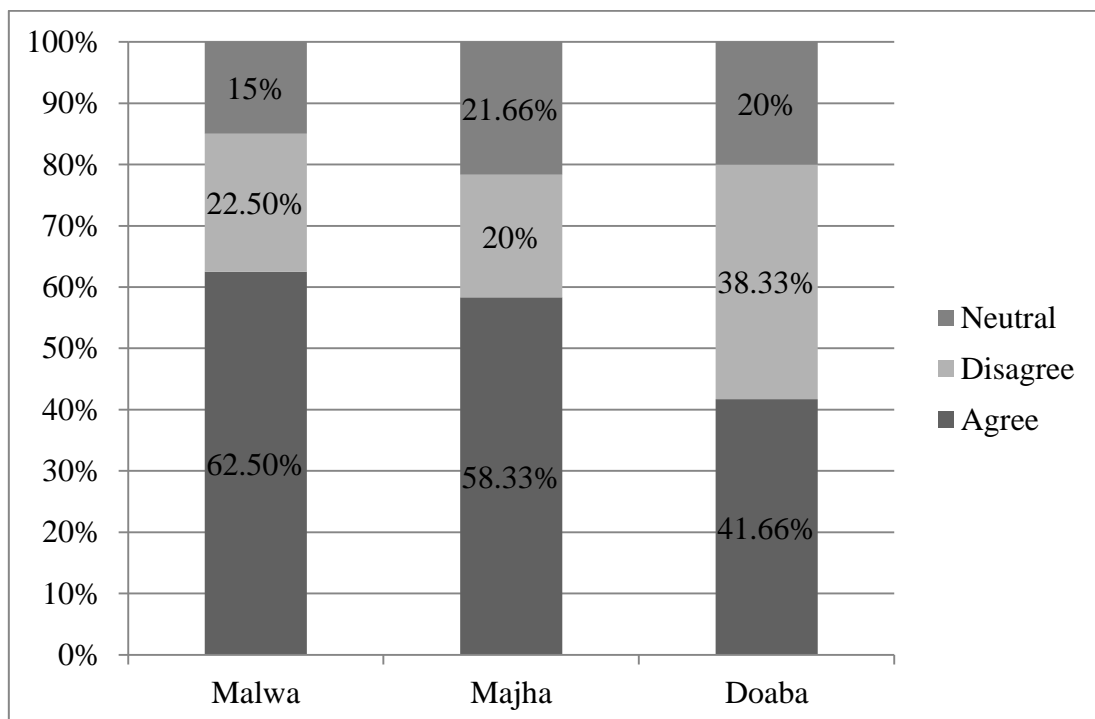
Figure No. 6.1.3 Influence of SGPC & Akal Takht on the Electoral Performance of SAD

Source: Primary Data

The column chart shows that in Malwa, 62.50 percent of the surveyors opine that SGPC and Akal Takht affect the electoral performance of SAD, 22.50 percent deny this fact, and 15 percent have not sided with either of the options. In Majha, 58.33 percent of the respondents agree to this statement, 20 percent disagree, and 21.56

percent are neutral about this view. In Doaba, 41.66 percent of the participants agree, 38.33 percent disagree, and 20 percent have remained aloof to accept either of the options.

Table No. 6.3 Influence of SGPC and Akal Takht on the Electoral Performance of SAD

	Malwa		Majha		Doaba	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Hindu	15%	4.16%	13.33%	0%	20%	11.66%
Sikh	41.66%	16.66%	45%	20%	21.66%	26.66%
Muslim	5.83%	1.66%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Christian	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	62.50%	22.50%	58.33%	20%	41.66%	38.33%

Source: Primary Data

The above table signifies that 15, 41.66 and 5.83 percent respondents from Hindu, Sikh and Muslim community out of the total 62.50 percent replies from Malwa believe that there is influence of SGPC and Akal Takht on the electoral performance of SAD and 4.16 percent, 16.66 and 1.66 percent respondents from Hindu, Sikh and Muslim community respectively disagree with the above fact out of the total 22.50 percent.

In Majha, 13.33 percent of Hindus agree and none disagree, while 45 percent of Sikhs agree and 20 percent disagree out of the total 58.33 and 20 percent of respondents who agree and disagree respectively. The data from Doaba clarifies that 41.66 percent of respondents agree on the same opinion and out of these 20 and 21.66 percent answerers are from Hindu and Sikh communities while those who disagree comprise 11.66 and 26.66 percent out of the total 38.33 percent.

During the field research, it has been found that in Malwa, only 19.16 percent of the participants believe that SGPC and Akal Takht are free from any political interference, on the contrary, 63.33 percent of the participants disagree with this statement and 17.50 percent remained neutral. The data from Majha shows that 30 percent of the participants accept the same statement and 55 percent reject this

viewpoint and 15 percent have not picked up either of the options. In Doaba, 18.33 percent of the respondents agree that SAD and Akal Takht are free from political control swhile 70 percent disagree with this opinion and 11.66 percent have remained neutral about this statement.
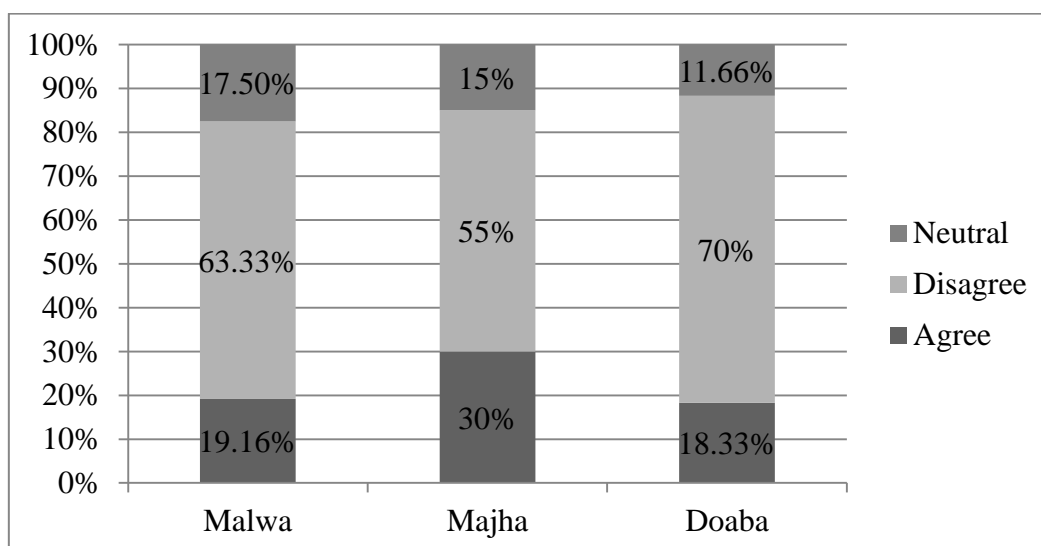
Figure No. 6.1.4 Political Interference in the Working of SGPC and Akal Takht
Source: Primary Data

Table No. 6.4 Political Interference in the Working of SGPC and Akal Takht

Variable of Religion

	Malwa		Majha		Doaba	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Hindu	7.50%	11.66%	5%	8.33%	10%	23.33%
Sikh	8.33%	47.50%	25%	46.66%	8.33%	46.66%
Muslim	3.33%	4.16%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Christian	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	19.16%	63.33%	30%	55%	18.33%	70%

Source: Primary Data

The table represents the data after applying the variable of age upon the same opinion.

It suggests that only 7.50 percent of Hindus in Malwa agree that SGPC and Akal Takht are free from political interference and 11.66 percent of Hindus disagree with the opinion. In Majha, the same data is in the ratio of 5 and 8.33 percent, while in Doaba, this ratio is 10 percent and 23.33 percent. As far as Sikhs are concerned, 8.33 percent of Sikhs agree, and 47.50 percent disagree with the same opinion in Malwa. In Majha, this percentage is in the ratio of 25 percent and 46.66 percent. In Doaba, this ratio is 8.33 and 46.66 percent. At the same time, 3.33 and 4.16 percent of Muslim participants agree and disagree respectively with the same opinion.
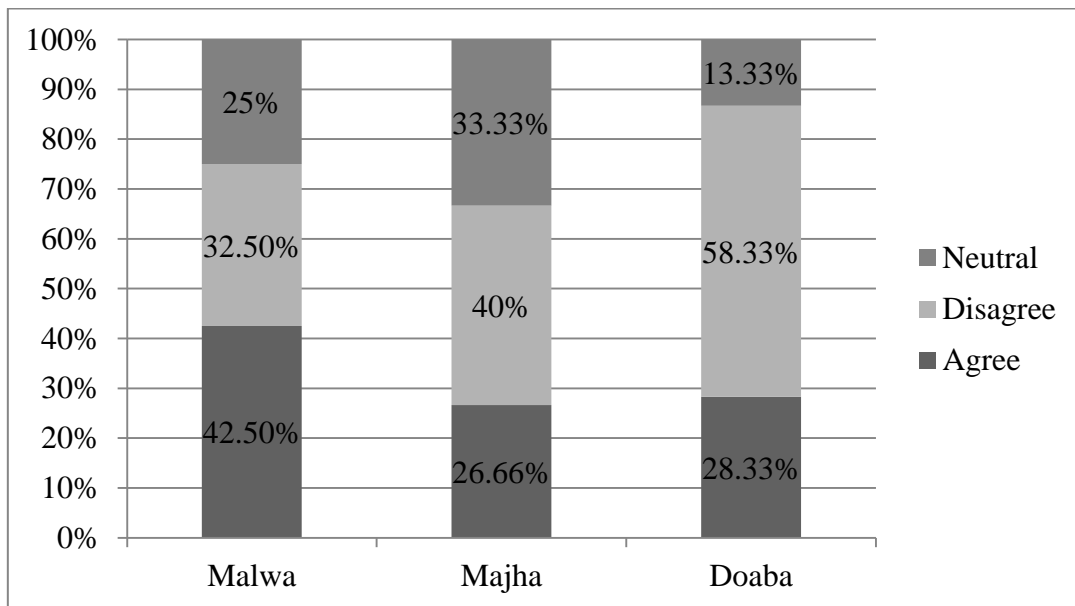
Figure No. 6.1.5 Gurudwaras and the Mobilization of Sikh Politics

Source: Primary Data

The above data in the column chart represents that 42.50 percent of Malwa participants opine that Gurudwaras are space for mobilization of Sikh politics, while 32.50 percent disagree with this statement and 25 percent of the respondents have not voted to either of the options. In Majha, 26.66 percent of the participants agree with the same opinion while 40 percent disagree and 33.33 percent of the surveyors have remained neutral about the statement. The data from Doaba shows that 28.33 percent agree with the statement, 58.33 percent disagree and 13.33 are neutral about this viewpoint.

Table No. 6.5 Gurudwaras and the Mobilization of Sikh Politics

	Malwa		Majha		Doaba	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Hindu	6.66%	10%	10%	3.33%	8.33%	23.33%
Sikh	30.83%	20.83%	16.66%	36.66%	20%	35%
Muslim	5%	1.66%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Christian	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	42.50%	33%	26.66%	40%	28.33%	58.33%

Source: Primary Data

The above data collected from Malwa shows that 6.66, 30.83 and 5 percent repliers from Hindu, Sikh and Muslim communities respectively, out of the 42.50 percent, agree that Gurudwaras are the space for mobilization of Sikh politics. In contrast, 10, 20.83 and 1.66 percent respectively from the same communities disagree with the statement out of the total 33 percent. In Majha, 10 percent of Hindus and 16.66 percent Sikhs agree with the statement and 3.33 and 36.66 percent of the same communities disagree with the opinion. In Doaba, out of the total 28.33 percent who agree with the fact, 8.33 percent are Hindus and 20 percent are Sikhs, while those who disagree comprise 23.33 and 35 percent from Hinduism and Sikhism out of the total 58.33 percent.
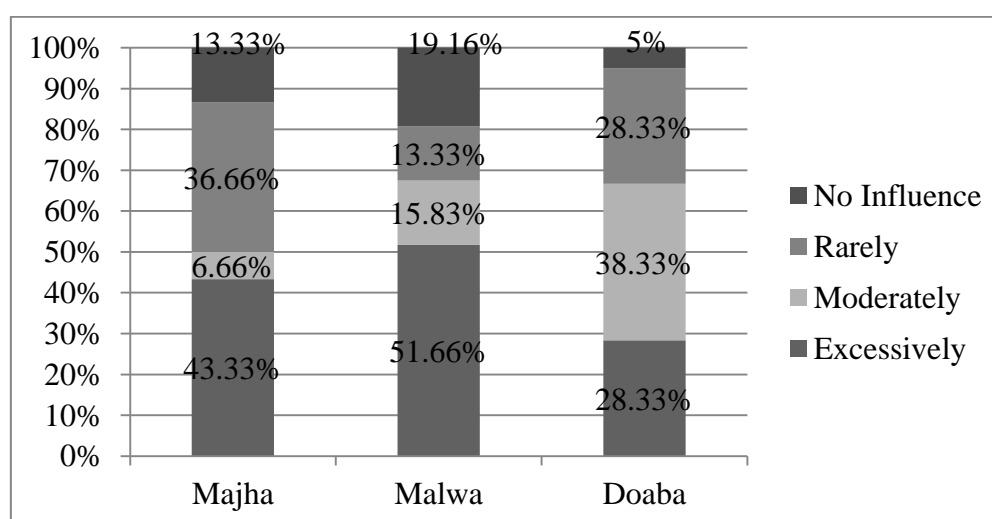
Figure No. 6.1.6 Influence of Religious Issues on the Electoral Outcomes

Source: Primary Data

The data mentioned above in the column chart shows that 43.33 percent of the respondents from Majha think that religious issues influence the electoral outcome excessively. At the same time, 6.66 per cent opines that it has a moderate influence, 36.66 percent believe that religious issues rarely influence the electoral outcome and 13.33 percent feel that religious issues do not influence the electoral outcomes.

In Malwa, 51.66 percent, 15.83 percent, 13.33 and 19.16 percent of the respondents believe that religious issues influence the electoral outcomes excessively, moderately, rarely and have no influence, respectively. From Doaba, 28.33 percent of the participants opined that religious issues excessively influence electoral outcome and the same percentage of the respondents think it has a rare influence. In comparison, 38.33 percent believe that it has a moderate influence and 5 percent opine that it does not influence the electoral outcome.
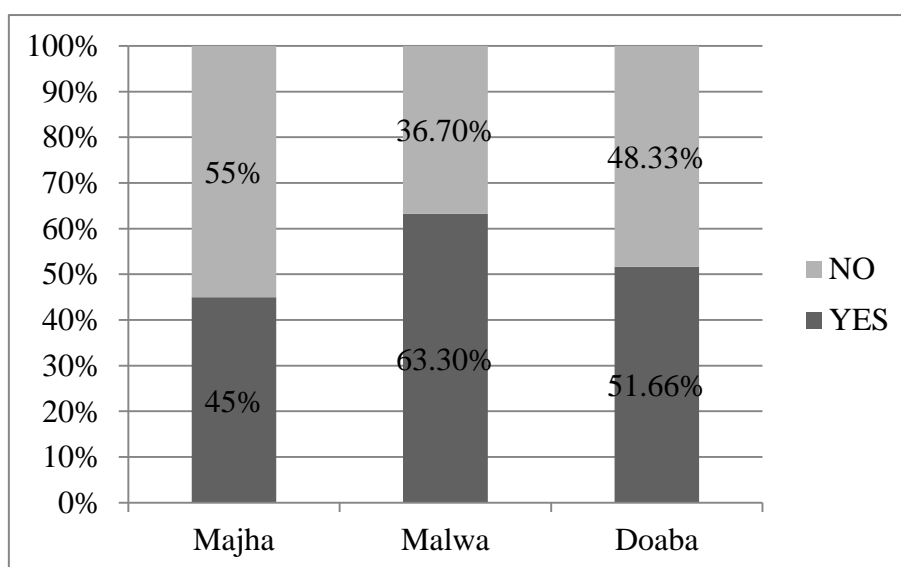
Figure No. 6.1.7 Religion and the Framing of Election Manifestos by Different Political Parties

Source: Primary Data

While probing the religious influence during the framing of election manifestos by different political parties, it has been found that 45 percent of the respondents from Majha agree that different political parties frame their election manifestos based on religion while 55 percent voted in negative. In Malwa, 63.30 percent have sided with this statement, and 36.70 per cent disagree. From the Doaba region, the data shows that 51.66 per cent of the participants agree and 48.33 per cent disagree with the same statement.

6.2 Caste, Deras and Electoral Politics
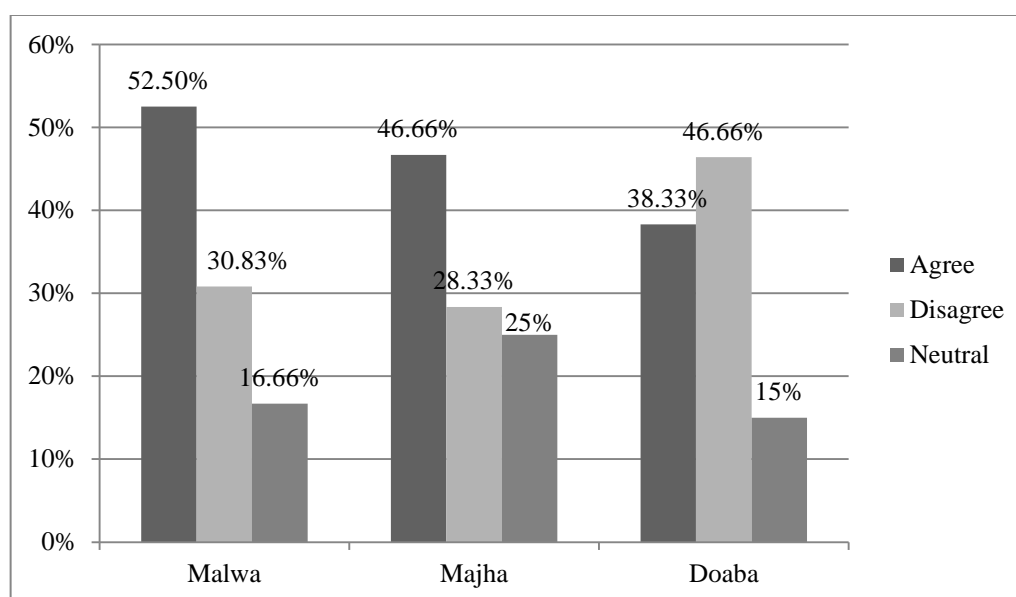
Figure No. 6.2.1 Interconnection of Caste and Deras

Source: Primary Data

The data taken during the field research shows that 52.50 percent of the surveyors from Malwa agree that there is interconnection between Caste and Deras, while 30.83 percent disagree with this and 16.66 percent have remained neutral.

In the Majha region of Punjab, 46.66 percent agree to the same opinion, 28.33 percent disagree and 25 percent are neutral. In Doaba, 46.66 percent of the surveyors disagree, 38.33 agree and 15 percent have not chosen either of the options.

Table No. 6.2.1 Interconnection of Caste and Deras

	Majha		Malwa		Doaba	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Gen	18.33%	10%	20%	4.16%	18.33%	26.66%
SC	10%	8.33%	19.16%	11.66%	16.66%	11.66%
BC	18.33%	10%	13.33%	15%	3.33%	8.33%
Total	46.66%	28.33%	52.50%	30.83%	38.33%	46.66%

Source: Primary Data

After applying the variable of caste, those agreeing to the statement showing the

interconnection of caste and dera followers in Majha account for 18.33 percent each from General and BC category and 10 percent from SC category out of the total 46.66 percent. Those disagreeing with the opinion comprise 10 percent, 8.33 percent and 10 percent respectively from the General, SC and BC category out of 28.33 percent. The same data from Malwa shows that those agreeing to the same statement are 20 percent from General, 19.16 and 13.33 respectively from SC and BC category and who have disapproved the statement are in the ratio of 4.16, 11.66 and 15 percent from the categories mentioned above out of the total 30.80 percent. In Doaba, 18.33, 16.66 and 3.33 percent respondents from General, SC and BC category out of the total 38.33 percent approve the fact and those disagreeing accounts for 46.66 percent belonging to General, SC and BC category in the ratio of 26.66, 11.66 and 8.33 percent.
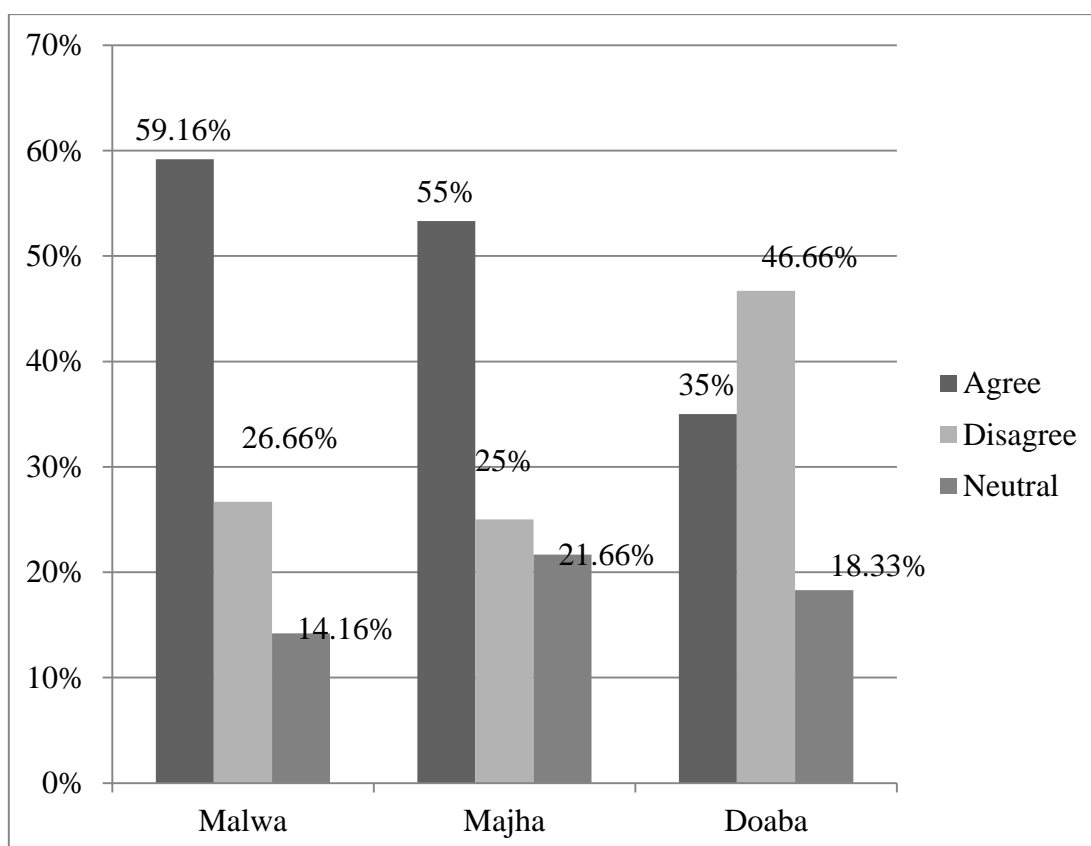
Figure No. 6.2.2 Electoral Outcome and Mobilization of Dera Followers towards the Specific Political Party

Source: Primary Data

According to the data shown in the column chart, 59.16 percent of Malwa respondents agree that the mobilisation of dera followers is towards a specific political party that affects the electoral results of that particular party, 26.66 percent of participants

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disagree with this statement and 14.16 have remained neutral about this opinion. Compared to Majha, 55 percent of participants agree with the same statement, 25 percent disagree and 21.66 percent are neutral. In Doaba, the data is quite close to the other two regions showing that 46.66 percent of the surveyors disagree with the opinion, 35 percent agree and 18.33 percent have remained neutral.

Table No. 6.2.2 Electoral Outcome and Mobilization of Dera Followers towards the Specific Political Party

	Majha		Malwa		Doaba	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Gen	23.33%	8.33%	20.83%	5%	15%	28.33%
SC	6.66%	11.66%	21.66%	11.66%	11.66%	15%
BC	25%	6.66%	16.66%	10%	8.33%	3.33%
Total	55%	26.66%	59.16%	26.66%	35%	46.66%

Source: Primary Data

The above data in the table shows that 15, 11.66 and 8.33 percent of respondents belonging to General, SC and BC category respectively from Doaba out of the total 35 percent believe that there is a connection between the mobilization of Dera followers and the electoral outcome of a specific political party. In contrast, 28.33, 15 and 3.33 percent of participants from the same categories disagree with the statement.

From Malwa, respondents belonging to General, SC and BC categories fall in the ratio of 20.83 percent, 21.66 percent and 16.66 percent out of the total 59.20 percent while those disagreeing with the statement account for 5, 11.66 and 10 percent out of the total 26.66 percent. The data from Majha suggests that out of the total surveyors agreeing to the same opinion comprise 55 percent, out of which 23.33 percent ascribes to General caste and 6.66 and 25 percent belongs to SC and BC category while those who disagree are in the ratio of 8.33, 11.66 and 6.66 percent respectively from General, SC and BC caste.
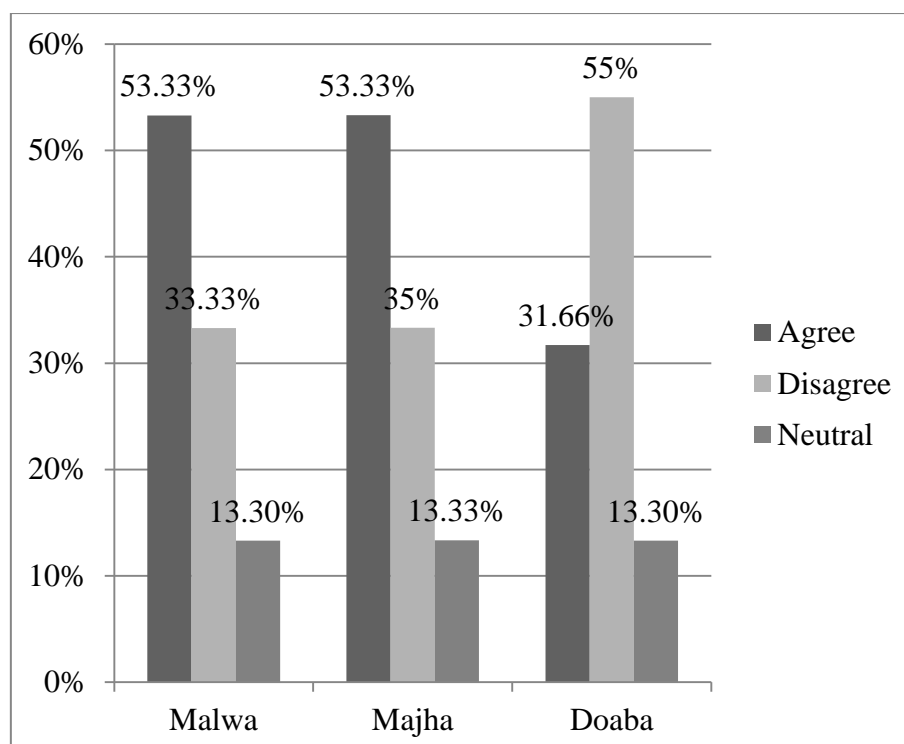
Figure No. 6.2.3 Dominance of Jat Class in the Electoral Politics of Punjab

The above column chart shows that in Malwa, 53.33 percent of participants opine that the Jat class is dominant in the electoral politics of Punjab, 33.33 percent of participants disagree with this statement and 13.30 percent of respondents are neutral about this fact. In Majha, 53.33 percentage with the same opinion, 35 percent disagree and 13.33 percent have remained neutral. Compared to Malwa and Majha in Doaba, the data shows that 55 percent of respondents have not voted in favour of the statement, 31.66 are in favour and 13.30 percent of participants have not picked either of the options.

Table No. 6.2.3 Dominance of Jat class in the Electoral Politics of Punjab

	Majha		Malwa		Doaba	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Gen	18.33%	18.33%	15.83%	11.66%	15%	31.66%
SC	13.33%	5%	19.16%	10%	11.66%	16.66%
BC	21.66%	11.66%	18.33%	11.66%	5%	6.66%
Total	53.33%	35%	53.33%	33.33%	31.66%	55%

Source: Primary Data

Out of the total 53.33 percent respondents from Majha who approve the statement that Jat class is dominant in the electoral politics of Punjab. 18.33, 13.33 and 21.66 percent belong to General, SC and BC caste respectively. In comparison, 35 percent of respondents think the exact opposite about this opinion. They comprise 18.33, 5 and 11.66 percent from the same castes respectively.

Respondents from the Malwa region who agree with the same opinion are in the ratio of 15.83, 19.16 and 18.33 percent belonging to the same castes and those who disagree accounts for 11.66 percent each from General and BC category while SCs accounts for 10 percent out of the total 33.33 percent. In Doaba, 15 percent of participants agree and 31.66 percent participants from General caste disagree with the same opinion, while from SC and BC caste,the figures are in the ratio of 11.66 and 16.66 percent, 5 and 6.66 percent.
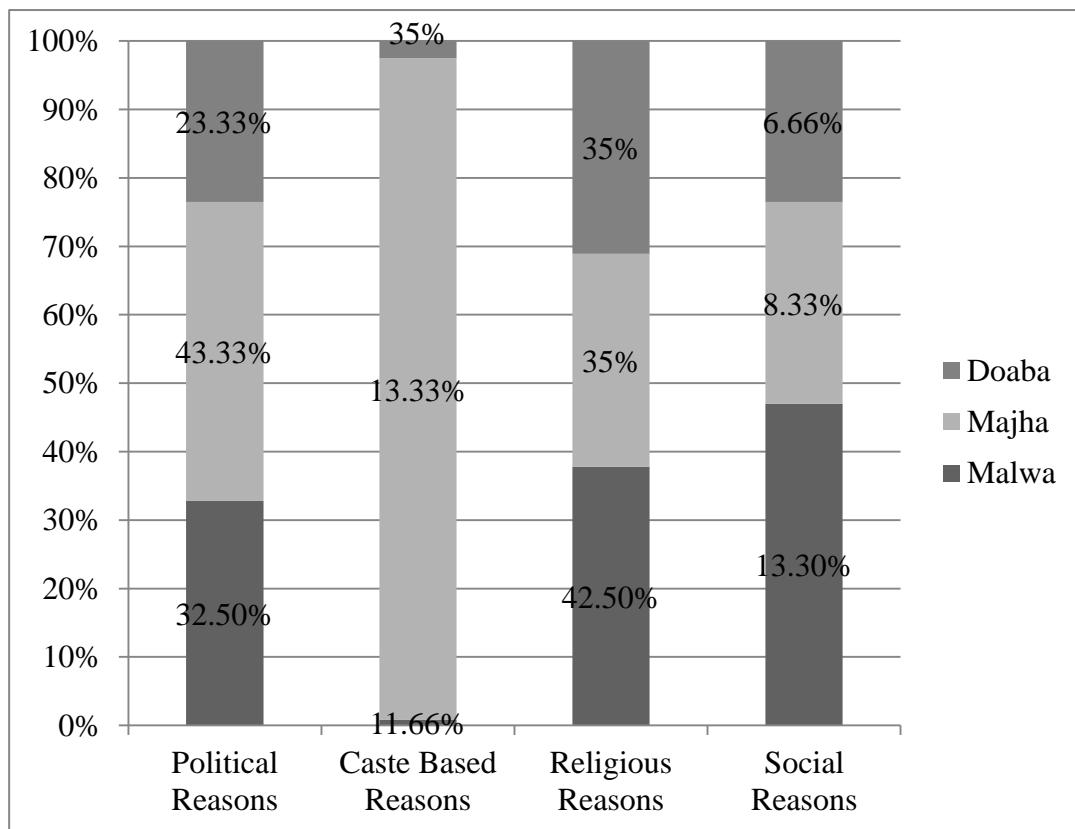
Figure No. 6.2.4 Reasons Pertaining to the Tension between the Sikhs and Dera Supporters

Source: Primary Data

The data in the column chart shows that 32.50 percent of Malwa respondents believe that the political reason works behind the tension between the Sikhs and dera

supporters, whereas, from Majha, this figure tolls up to 43.33 percent and in Doaba, the figure slides down to 23.33 percent. Caste-based issues as the reason behind the tension between Sikhs and Dera supporters comprise 11.66 percent from Malwa, 13.33 percent from Majha and 35 percent from Doaba. Religious issues amount to 42.50 percent from Malwa, 35 each from Majha and Doaba. Social reasons share 13.30 percent from Malwa, 8.33 percent from Majha and 6.66 percent from Doaba.
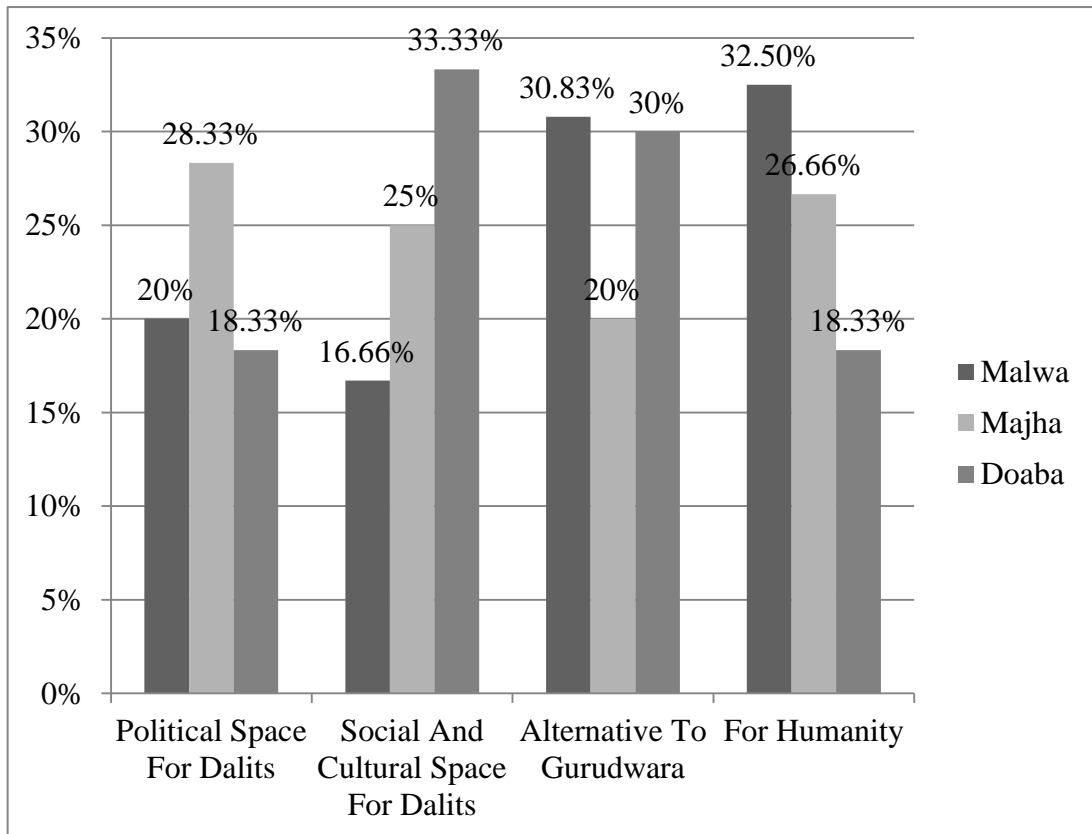
Figure No. 6.2.5 Importance and Objectives of Deras

Source: Primary Data

The column chart signifies that 20 percent of Malwa respondents feel that deras are political space for Dalits, 28.33 percent from Majha and 18.33 percent from Doaba feel the same. 16.66 percent of respondents from Malwa, 25 percent from Majha and 33.33 percent from Doaba feel that deras are social and cultural space for Dalits. 30.83 percent from Malwa, 20 percent from Majha and 30 percent from Doaba feel that deras are alternative to Gurudwara and 32.50 percent from Malwa, 26.66 percent from Majha and 18.33 percent from Doaba opine that deras are for the whole of humanity.
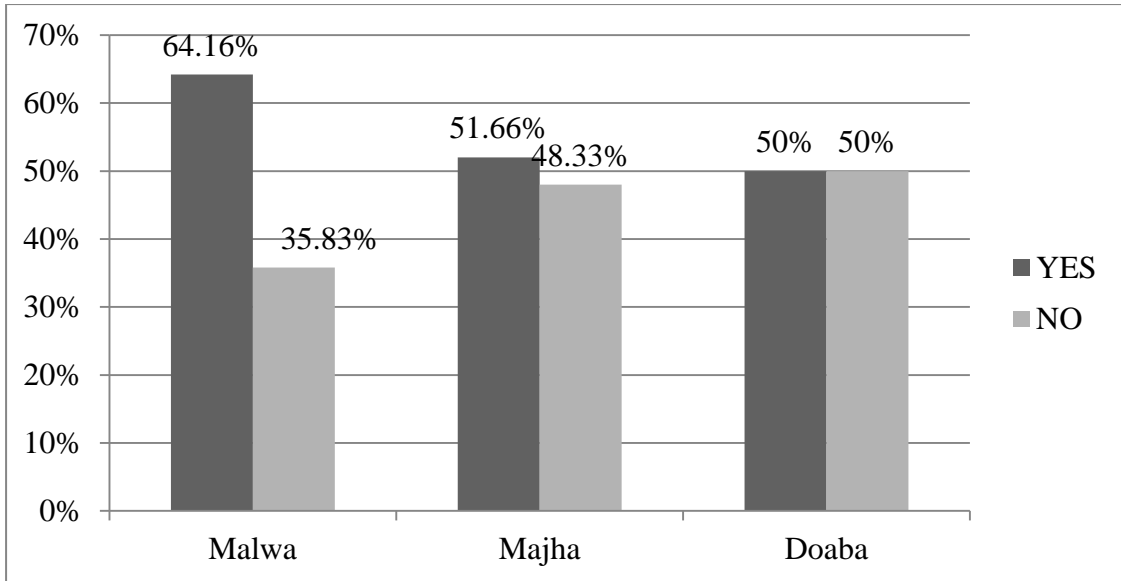
Figure No. 6.2.6 Dera Heads and their Role in Controlling their Followers Politically

Source: Primary Data

According to the field research findings, 64.16 percent of respondents from Malwa opine that dera heads control their followers politically, whereas 35.83 percent negate this opinion. 51.66 and 48.33 percent of participants from Majha agree and disagree respectively. In Doaba, 50 percent of the respondents agree and the same number of respondents disagree with the opinion.
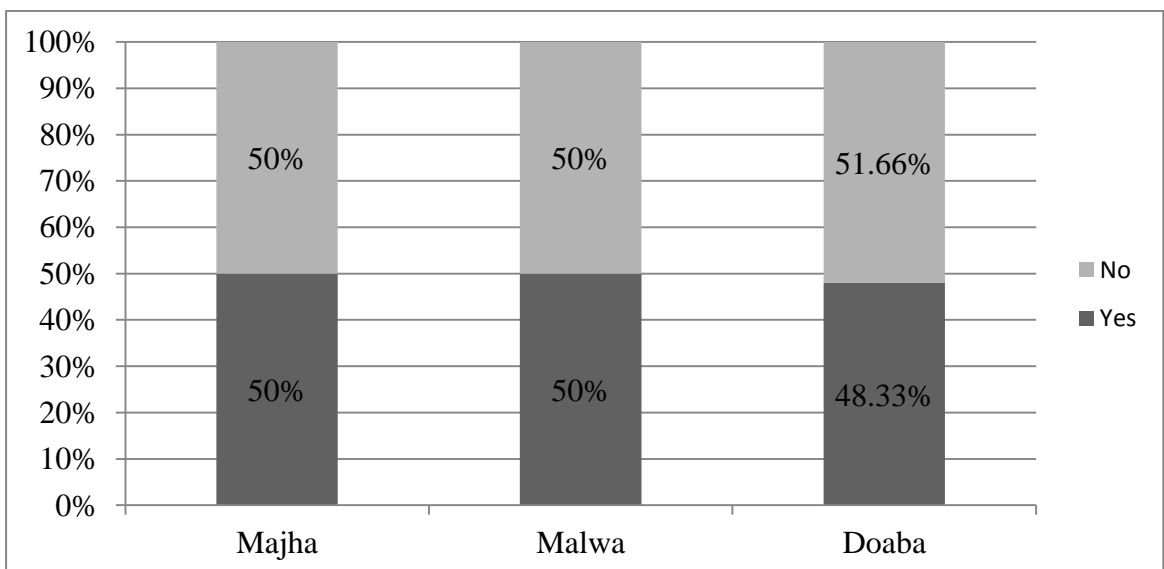
Figure No. 6.2.7 Deras as Representative of Dalits

Source: Primary Data

The column chart shows that 50 percent of respondents from Majha agree that deras are representatives of Dalits and the same number of participants deny this statement. From Doaba, 51.66 percent of the surveyors disagree and 48.33 percent agree with the same opinion and the data from Majha replicates itself in Malwa.

Table No. 6.2.4 Deras as Representative of Dalits

	Majha		Malwa		Doaba	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Gen	20%	26.66%	18.33%	10.83%	30%	25%
SC	6.66%	11.66%	14.16%	25%	13.33%	20%
BC	23.33%	11.66%	17.5%	14.16%	5%	6.66%
Total	50	50	50%	50%	48.33%	51.66%

Source: Primary Data

The data in the table take on the opinion whether deras are representative of Dalits or not, represents that 20, 6.66 and 23.33 percent respondents respectively from General, SC and BC caste out of the total 50 percent have picked the 'Yes' option and 26.66, 11.66 percent each respectively from the same categories have chosen the 'No' option. In Malwa, 18.33, 14.16 and 17.5 percent of surveyors from the same categories have agreed to the opinion and 10.83, 25 and 14.16 percent of the participants have disapproved of the statement. In Doaba, 30, 13.33 and 5 percent of respondents from the General, SC and BC category agree with the statement and 25, 20 and 6.66 percent respondents out of the total 51.66 percent from the same categories have disapproved the same opinion.

6.3 Electoral Issues and Political Parties
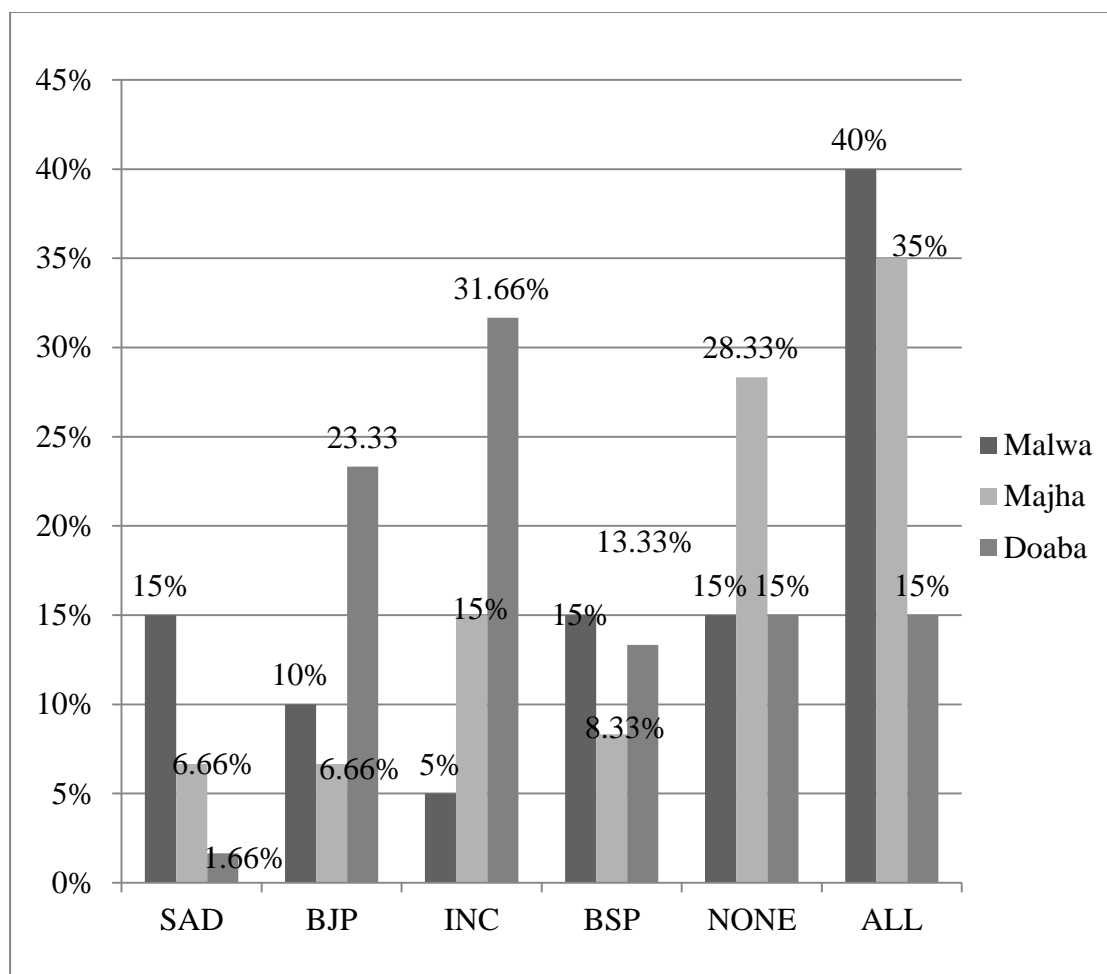
Figure No. 6.3.1 Relation between Caste Based Issues and Electoral Outcomes

Source: Primary Data

The findings in the column chart shows that 15 percent of participants from Malwa, 6.66 percent from Majha and 1.66 percent from Doaba opine that there is a strong relationship between the caste-based issues and the electoral outcome SAD is concerned. As far as BJP is concerned in the same matter, the data equals 10 percent from Malwa, 6.66 percent from Majha and 23.33 percent from Doaba. Five percent from Malwa, 15 percent from Majha and 31.66 percent from Doaba opine that caste-based issues affect the electoral outcome of INC.

As far as BSP is concerned in the same matter, the percentage amounts to 15 percent from Malwa, 8.33 percent from Majha and 13.33 percent from Doaba. While 15 percent each respondent from Malwa and Doaba believe that none of the political parties have any effect of caste-based issues on their political outcome and 40 percent

respondents from Malwa, 35 percent from Majha and 15 percent from Doaba opine that caste-based issues affect the electoral outcome of all the political parties.
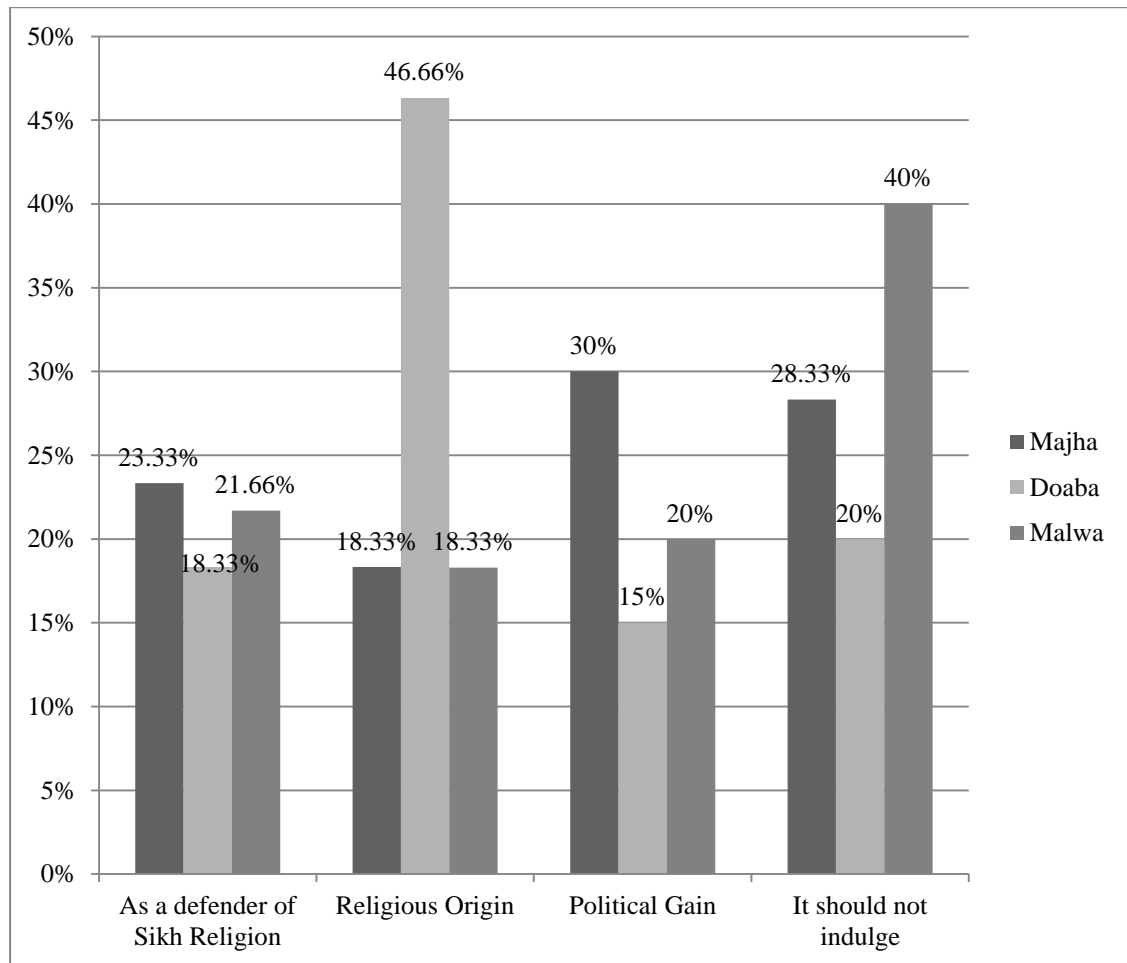
Figure No. 6.3.2 SAD and its Indulgence in Religious Affairs

Source: Primary Data

According to the data collected through the questionnaire during field research, it has been found that 23.33 percent of respondents from Majha, 18.33 from Doaba and 21.66 from Malwa believe that SAD should indulge in religious affairs as a defender of the Sikh religion. Further, the chart shows that 18.33 percent of respondents from Majha, 46.66 percent from Doaba and 18.33 percent from Malwa opine that SAD should indulge in religious affairs because it has a religious origin.

Thirty percent of respondents from Majha, 15 and 20 percent respectively from Doaba and Malwa believe that SAD should indulge in religious affairs to gain politically. The respondents equal to 28.33 percent from Majha, 20 percent from Doaba and 40 percent from Malwa share that SAD should not indulge in religious affairs.

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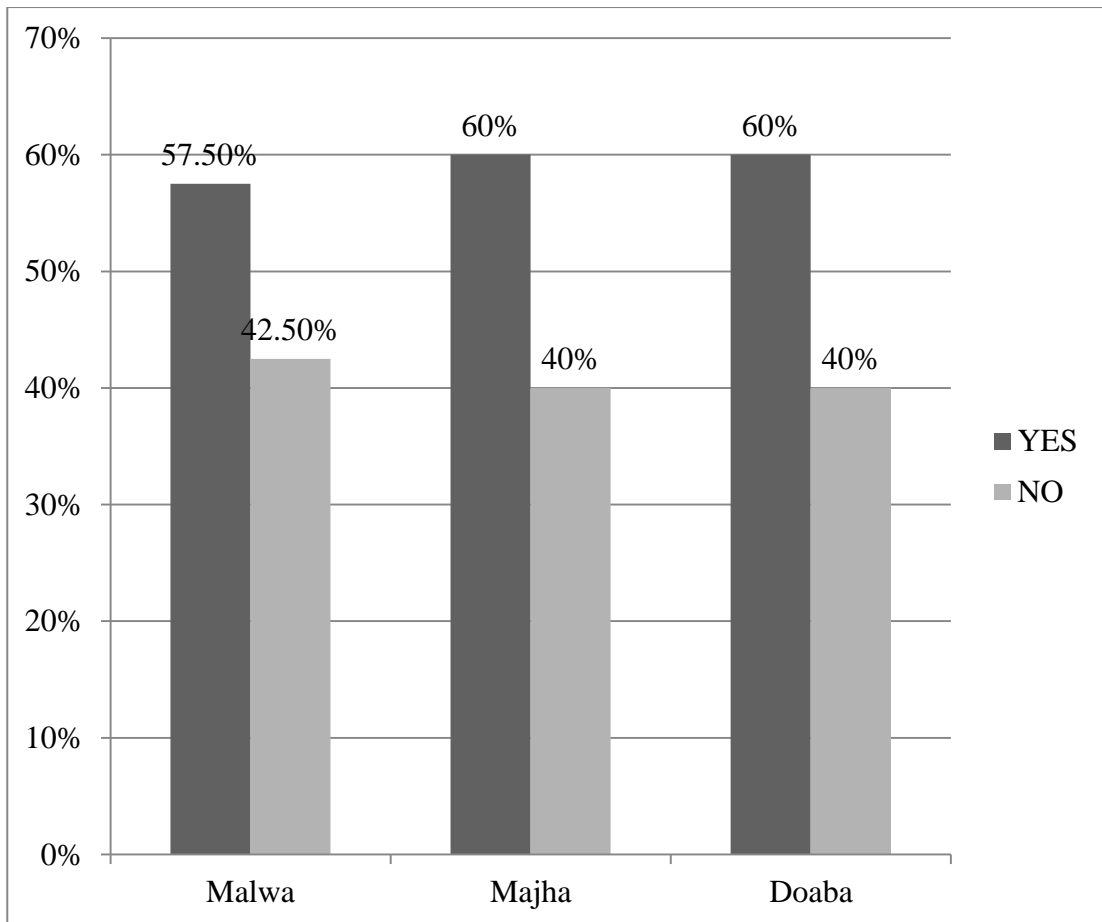
Figure No. 6.3.3 Dominance of Agriculture Jat Class in SAD

Source: Primary Data

The column chart signifies that 57.50 percent of Malwa respondents agree that the agricultural Jat class dominates SAD and 42.50 percent of surveyors negate this statement. The findings from Majha and Doaba are similar, 60 percent of respondents agree and 40 percent disagree with the statement that the agricultural Jat class is dominant in SAD.

The column chart signifies that 38.33 percent of the respondents from Malwa believe that SAD represents Sikh interests and the remaining 61.70 respondents disagree with the statement. In Majha, 36.66 percent of the respondents favour the same statement and 63.33 percent of respondents have negated it. Compared to Malwa and Majha 55 percent surveyors have given their consent in favour of the statement, and 45 percent have voted against it.
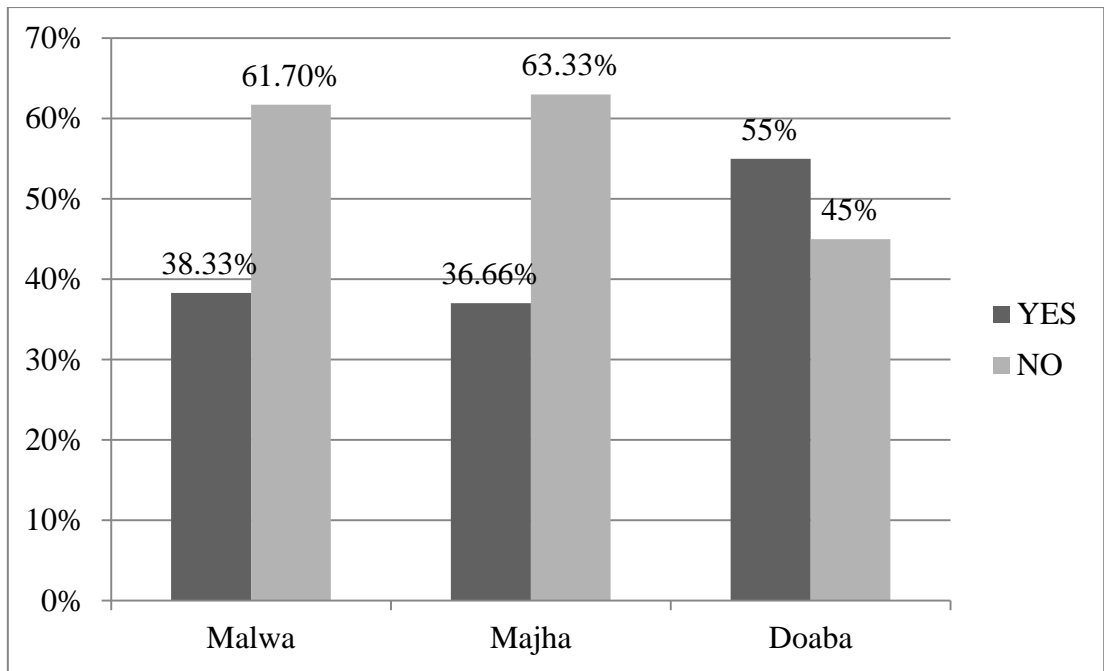
Figure No. 6.3.4 SAD as the Representative of Sikh Interests

Source: Primary Data
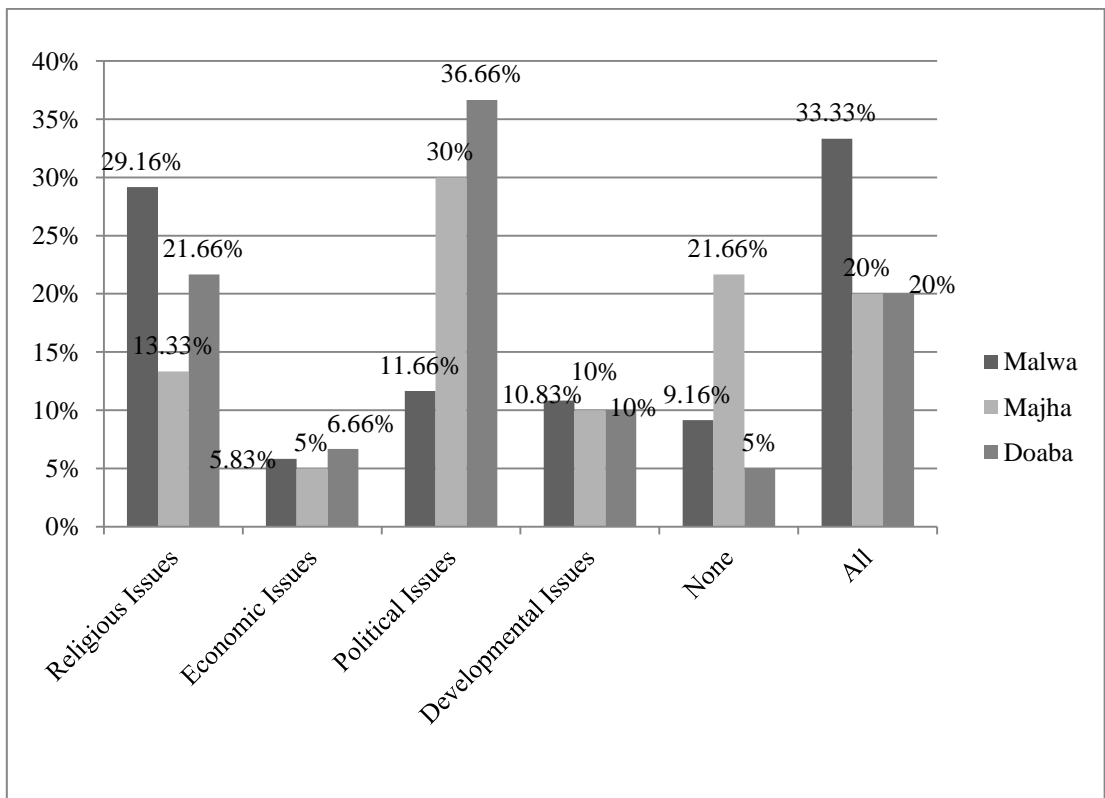
Figure No. 6.3.5 Dominant Electoral Issues in the Electoral Politics of Punjab since 1984

Source: Primary Data

The above column chart shows that 29.16 percent of participants from Malwa, 13.33 percent from Majha and 21.66 percent respondents from Doaba opine that religious issues have remained dominant in Punjab's electoral politics since 1984. 5.83 percent of participants from Malwa, 5 percent from Majha and 6.66 percent from Doaba have chosen economic issues for the same opinion. The participants who have voted for political issues account for 11.66 percent from Malwa, 30 percent from Majha and 36.66 percent from Doaba. 10.83 percent of respondents have preferred developmental issues from Malwa, 10 percent each from Majha and Doaba region. 9.16 percent of the respondents from Malwa, 21.66 percent from Majha and 5 percent from Doaba opine that none of these issues have dominated the electoral politics of Punjab since 1984. Those participants who opine that all of the above issues have dominated the electoral politics of Punjab since 1984 accounts for 33.33 percent from Malwa, 20 percent each from Majha and Doaba.
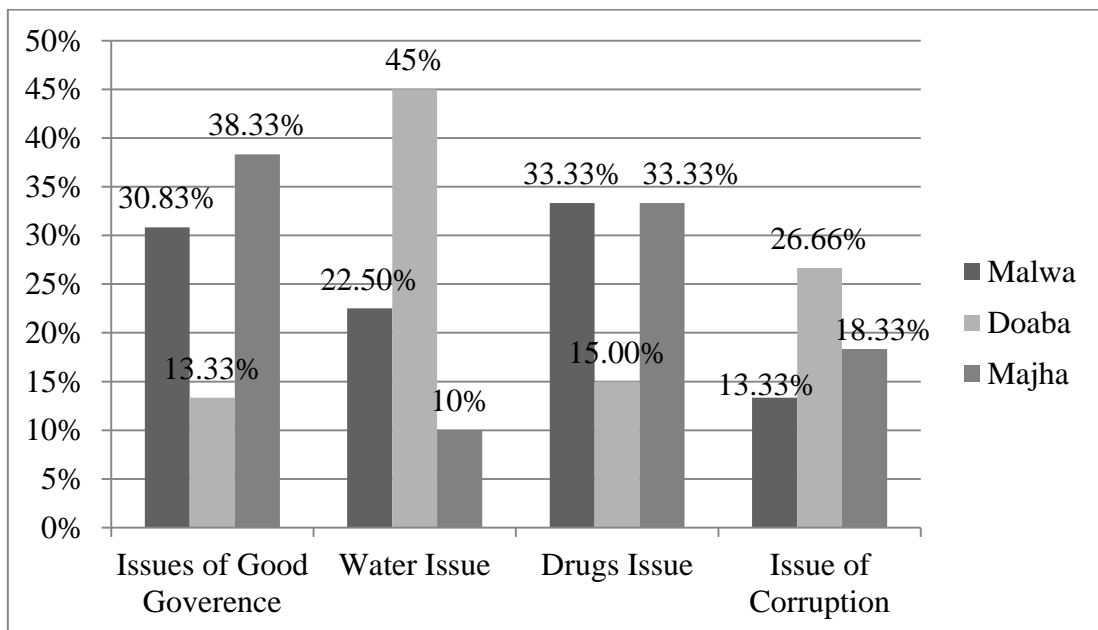
Figure No. 6.3.6 Repetition of Electoral Issues by Different Political Parties

Source: Primary Data

According to the column chart, 30.83 percent of respondents from Malwa, 13.33 percent from Doaba and 38.33 percent respondents from Majha think that the issue of good governance has been repeated again and again by different political parties in Punjab in assembly elections. 22.50 percent of the respondents from Malwa, 45 percent from Doaba and 10 percent respondents from Majha opine that the water issue

is more significant. 33.33 percent of respondents from Malwa and Majha feel that the drug issue has been repeated repeatedly while 15 percent of the respondents from Doaba gave their consent on the same issue. As far as the issue of corruption is concerned, 13.33 percent of the participants from Malwa, 26.66 percent from Doaba and 18.33 percent from Majha have voted for this issue.
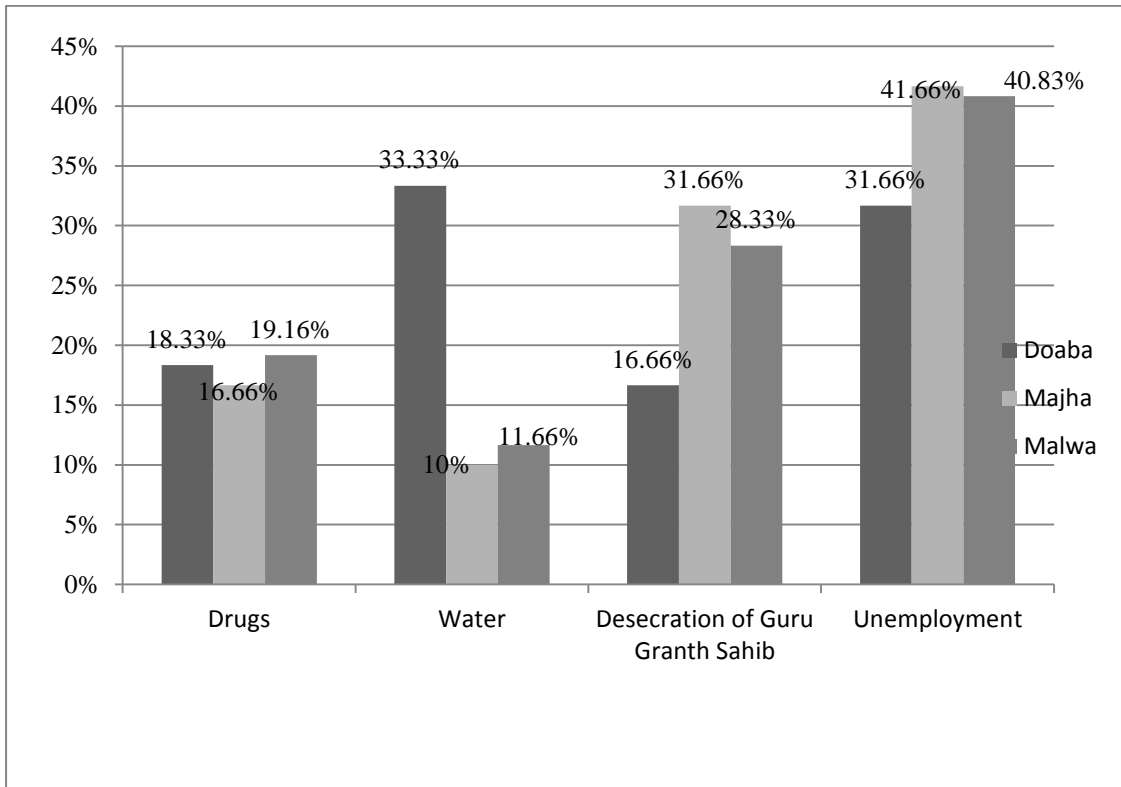
Figure No. 6.3.7 Priority Based Electoral Issues and their Resolution

The column chart signifies that 19.16 percent, 16.66 percent and 18.33 percent respondents respectively from Malwa, Majha and Doaba have chosen the drug issue to be resolved on a priority basis. The 'issue of water to be resolved on the priority basis' has got votes in the wake of 11.66 percent respondents from Malwa, 10 percent, and 33.33 percent from Majha and Doaba.

The 'issue of desecration of Guru Granth Sahib' has been selected by 28.33 percent of Malwa, 31.66 percent and 16.66 percent respectively from Majha and Doaba. 40.83 percent of respondents from Malwa, 41.66 percent from Majha and 31.66 percent respondents from Doaba have voted for the issue of unemployment to be resolved on a priority basis.

6.4 Emerging Trends in Electoral Politics of Punjab
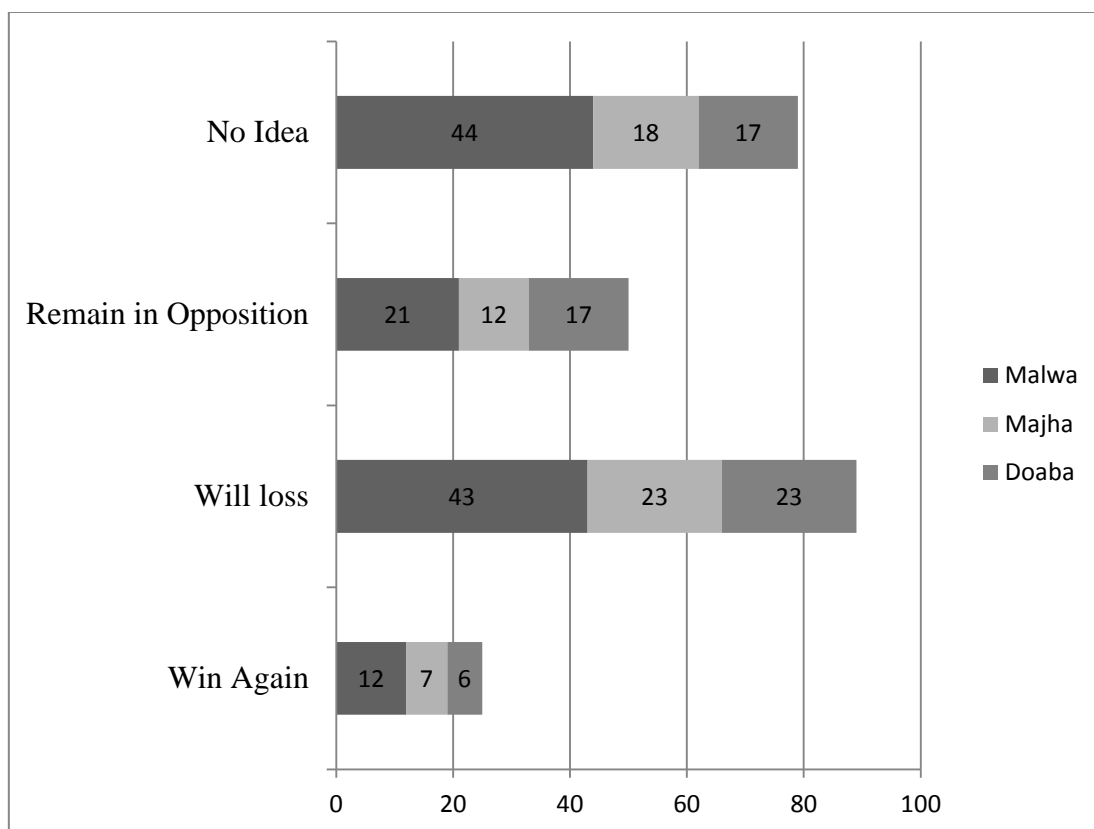
Figure No. 6.4.1 Political Future of Congress in Punjab

Source: Primary Data

The above data collected to assume the political future of Congress in Punjab shows that 44 respondents from Malwa, 18 and 17 respectively from Majha and Doaba have no idea about the political future of Congress in Punjab. Twenty-one respondents from Malwa, 12 from Majha and 17 from Doaba think Congress would be in opposition in the future assembly elections. Those who feel that Congress would lose the next assembly elections are in the ratio of 43 and 23 each from Malwa, Majha and Doaba. Twelve respondents from the Malwa region, seven from Majha and six from Doaba think Congress would win again in the next assembly elections.

The above data represents that 19 participants from Malwa, 7 and 6 respectively from Doaba and Majha think that BJP would be victorious in the 2022 state assembly elections. SAD has been preferred by 10, 11 and 6 respondents from Malwa, Doaba and Majha respectively.

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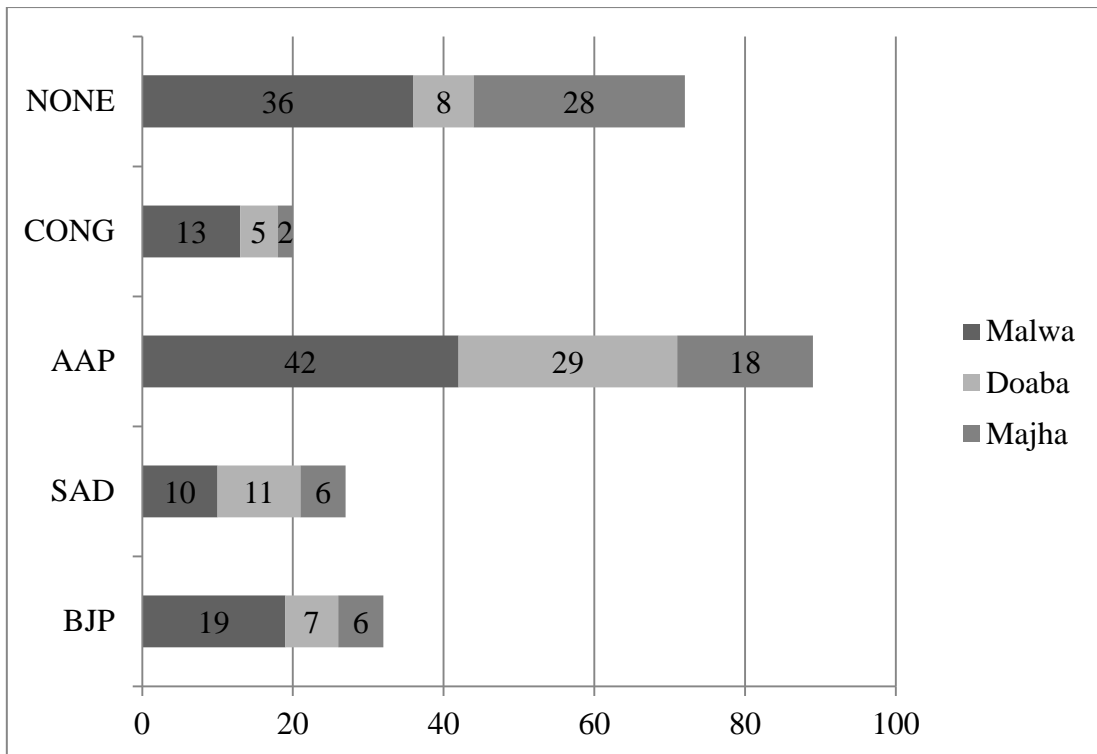
Figure No. 6.4.2 Electoral Prediction of Different Political Parties in the Upcoming 2022 State Assembly Elections

Source: Primary Data

While AAP has got 42 respondents from Malwa, 29 and 18 respectively from Doaba and Majha. 13 respondents have selected Congress from Malwa, five from Doaba and two from Majha. In comparison, those who have not voted for any political party account for 36, 8 and 28 participants from Malwa, Doaba and Majha respectively.
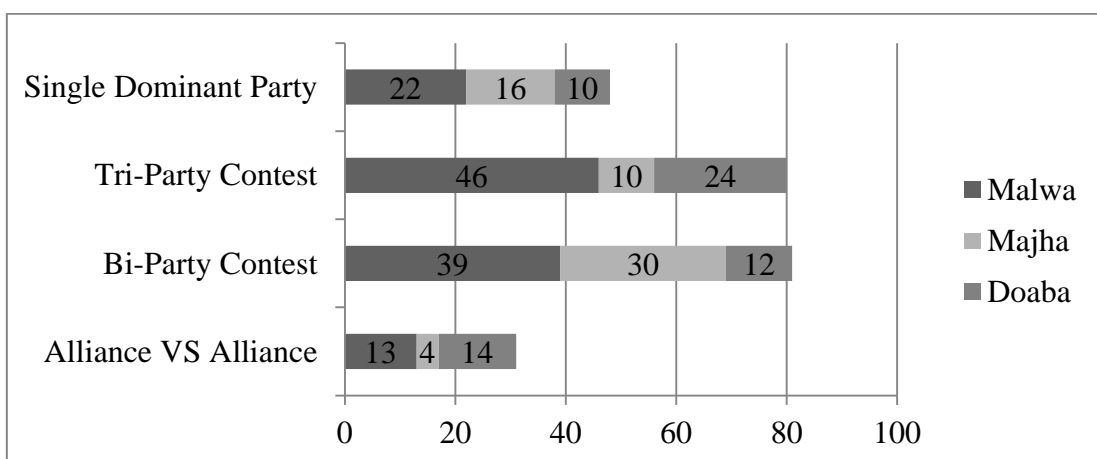
Figure No 6.4.3 Nature of Electoral Competition in 2022 Assembly Elections

Source: Primary Data

According to the data shown in the chart to know about the nature of electoral competition in 2022 assembly elections, it has been found that 22 respondents from Malwa, 16 and 10 from Majha and Doaba respectively feel that single party would dominate in the 2022 assembly elections. 46 respondents from Malwa, 10 and 24 respondents respectively from Majha and Doaba think that the 2022 assembly elections would be a tri-party contest.

Those who opine that 2022 assembly elections would be a bi-party contest are in the ratio of 39, 30 and 12 respondents from Malwa, Majha and Doaba respectively. 13, 4, and 14 respondents from Malwa, Majha and Doaba feel that 2022 assembly elections would be alliance vs. alliance.
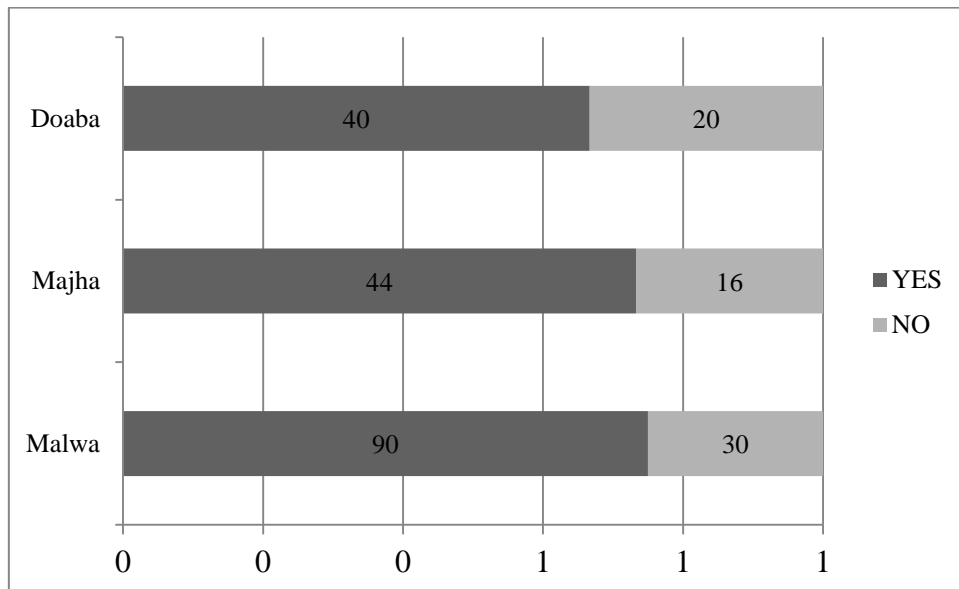
Figure No. 6.4.4 Evaluation of Akali-BJP Alliance as an Opportunistic Alliance
Source: Primary Data

The above bar chart shows that 40 respondents from Doaba agree that the SAD-BJP alliance is only an opportunistic alliance to earn political gain and 20 respondents have negated this viewpoint. From Majha, 44 respondents are in favour and 16 are against the same opinion. In Malwa, 90 respondents have voted in favour of the statement and 30 are against this opinion.

Table No. 6.4.1 Evaluation of Akali-BJP Alliance as an Opportunistic Alliance

	Malwa			Doaba			Majha		
	YES	NO	Total	YES	NO	Total	YES	NO	Total
Rural	17.50%	31.66%	49.16	18.33%	16.66%	35%	15%	40%	55%
Urban	25%	25.83%	50.83%	36.66%	28.33%	65%	8.33%	36.66%	45%
Total	42.50%	57.49%	100%	55%	45%	100%	23.33	76.66%	100%

Source: Primary Data

The table suggests that 17.50 and 25 per cent respondents respectively from the rural and urban community out of the total 42.50 per cent respondents agree that the Akali-BJP alliance is opportunistic and those who disagree comprise 31.66 and 25.83%, respectively, from the same localities out of the total 57.49% who falls in the category of those disagreeing.

In Doaba, 18.33 and 36.66 percent, respondents from rural and urban localities approve the same opinion and those disagreeing accounts for 16.66 per cent and 28.33 per cent respondents respectively from the rural and urban background. In Majha, 15% and 8.33 percent of rural and urban communities approve of the opinion, and 40% and 36.66% of the respondents from the same localities deny that the Akali-BJP alliance is opportunistic.
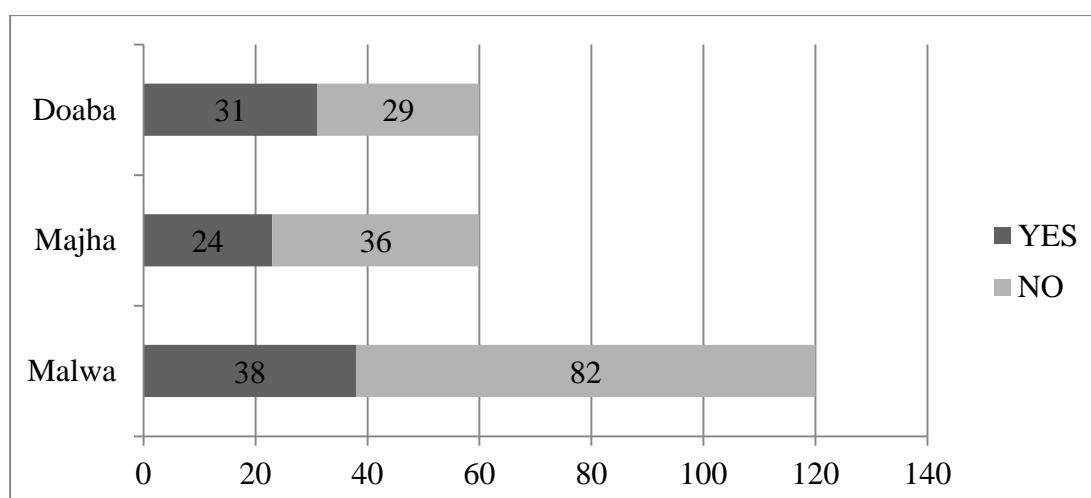
Figure No. 6.4.5 Non-Sikh Face as the CM of Punjab

Source: Primary Data

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The data collected on the opinion of non-Sikh face as the CM of Punjab shows that 31 respondents from Doaba region agree that there is a chance of non-Sikh face becoming the next CM of Punjab and 29 have negated this assumption. Twenty-four respondents from Majha agree on the same opinion and 36 have voted against the same opinion. In Malwa, those who think that a non-Sikh face can become a CM of Punjab account for 38 responses and on the contrary, 82 respondents have negated this opinion.

Table No. 6.4.2 Non-Sikh Face as the CM of Punjab

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Yes	21.66%	18.33%	40%	19.16%	12.50%	31.66%	13.33%	35%	48.33%
No	35%	25%	60%	29.16%	39.16%	69.33%	21.66%	30%	51.66%
Total	56.66%	43.33%	100%	48.33%	51.66%	100%	35%	65%	100%

Source: Primary Data

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Above 50	Below 50	Total	Above 50	Below 50	Total	Above 50	Below 50	Total
Yes	18.33%	21.66%	40%	25%	6.66%	31.66%	11.66%	36.66%	48.33%
No	26.66%	33.33%	60%	3.33%	65%	69.33%	6.66%	45%	51.66%
Total	45%	55%	100%	28.33%	71.66%	100%	18.33%	81.66%	100%

Source: Primary Data

The above table represents the responses from three regions- Majha Malwa and Doaba after applying the variable of locality in order to probe whether a non-Sikh face can become the CM of Punjab. The data from Majha shows that 40% (21.66% rural and 18.33%) of the respondents agree with the opinion and 60% (35% and 25% rural and urban respectively) participants believe the exact opposite.

In Malwa, 31.66 percent (19.16 rural and 12.50 urban) agree and 69.33 (29.16 rural and 39.16 urban) percent surveyors disagree with the statement while in Doaba, those

agreeing to the fact accounts for 48.33 (13.33 rural and 35) percent and those who disagree comprise 51.66 (21.66 and 30 from rural and urban locality) percent. The total respondents belonging to the rural and urban locality from Majha, Malwa and Doaba are 56.66 and 43.33 percent from rural and urban locality respectively, 48.33 and 51.66 in Malwa and 35 and 65 percent respectively from the same regions in Doaba.

The same opinion has been tested after applying the variable of age and it has been found that those agreeing to the opinion accounts for 40 percent (18.33 are above 50 and 21.66 are below 50) while those disagreeing accounts for 60 percent (26.66 and 33.33 percent from above 50 and below 50 age group respectively). Above 50 participants accounts for 45 and below 50 surveyors comprise 55 percent of the total respondents in the Majha region.

In Malwa, 31.66 percent repliers (25 belong to above 50 and 6.66 percent belong to below 50 age group) agree with the same opinion and 69.33 disagreeing belong to the age group above and below 50 in the ratio of 3.33 and 65 percent respectively. The total respondents of above 50 ages are 28.33 percent and below 50 accounts for 71.66 percent. In Doaba, 48.33 percent (11.66 and 36.66 percent from above and below 50 age group respectively) agree with the fact and 51.66 percent (6.66 percent from above 50 and 45 from below 50 age group) participants disagree with the opinion.
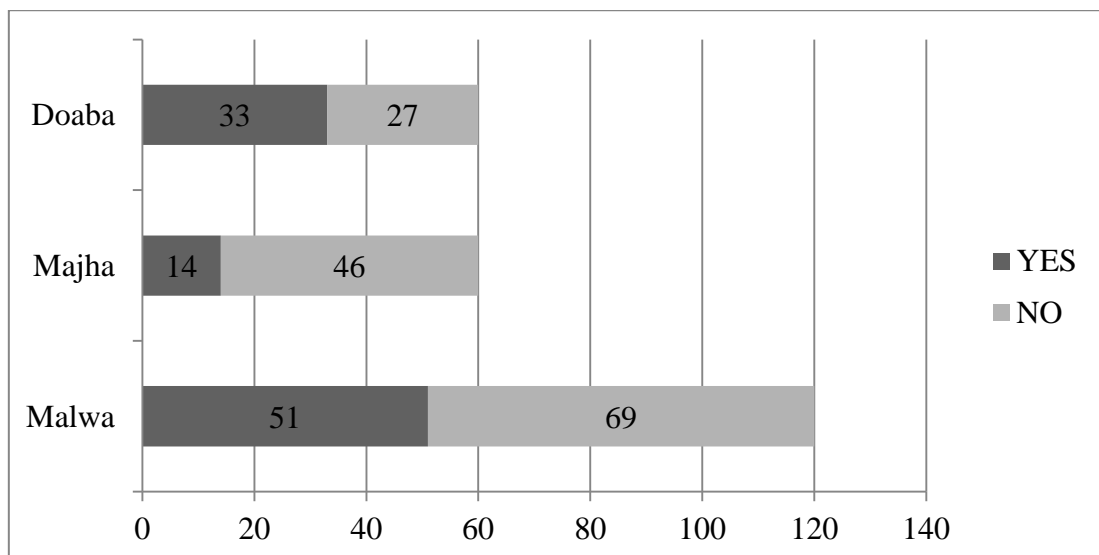
Figure No. 6.4.6 Akali-BJP Alliance and its Future in 2022 Assembly Elections

Source: Primary Data

The above chart shows that 33 participants from Doaba feel that SAD and BJP would contest the 2022 assembly elections collectively and 27 participants have negated this opinion. In Majha, only 14 respondents have agreed to this opinion and 46 have disagreed. In Malwa, 51 respondents are in favour of this statement and 69 opine the exact opposite.

Table No. 6.4.3 Akali-BJP Alliance and its Future in 2022 Assembly Elections

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Yes	16.66%	8.33%	25%	18.33%	25%	43.33%	20%	35%	55%
No	40%	35%	75%	30%	26.66%	56.66%	15%	30%	45%
Total	56.66%	43.33%	100%	48.33%	51.66%	100%	35%	65%	100%

Source: Primary Data

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Above 50	Below 50	Total	Above 50	Below 50	Total	Above 50	Below 50	Total
Yes	16.66%	8.33%	25%	10.83%	32.5%	43.33%	11.66%	43.33%	55%
No	28.33%	46.66%	75%	17.50%	39.16%	56.66%	6.66%	38.33%	45%
Total	45%	55%	100%	28.33%	71.66%	100%	18.33%	81.66	100%

Source: Primary Data

In the above table, after applying the variant of locality, it has been found that 25 percent (16.66 percent rural and 8.33 percent urban) respondents from Majha think that the Akali-BJP alliance will contest the 2022 assembly elections together, 43.33 percent (18.33 rural and 25 percent urban) participants of Malwa feel the same while in Doaba 55 percent (20 percent rural and 35 percent urban) share the same opinion. While those who negated this opinion account for 75 percent (40 percent rural and 35 percent urban) surveyors from Majha, 56.66 percent (30 percent rural and 26.66 urban) repliers from Malwa and 45 percent (15 percent rural and 30 percent urban)

participants from Doaba.

After applying the variant of age on the same question, it has been found that 25 percent (16.66 percent above 50 and 8.33 percent below 50 age group) repliers from Majha believe that the Akali-BJP alliance will contest the 2022 assembly elections together, 43.33 percent (10.83 percent above and 32.5 below 50) answerers from Malwa feel the same while in Doaba 55 percent (11.66 percent above and 43.33 below 50) repliers think alike about the alliance. While those who have against the opinion accounts for 75 percent (28.33 percent above 50 and 46.66 percent in below 50 age group) in Majha, 56.66 (17.50 of above 50 and 39.16 of below 50 age) in Malwa and 45 percent (6.66 percent of above 50 and 38.33 percent of below 50 age group) in Doaba.

6.5 Electoral Performance of Different Political Parties
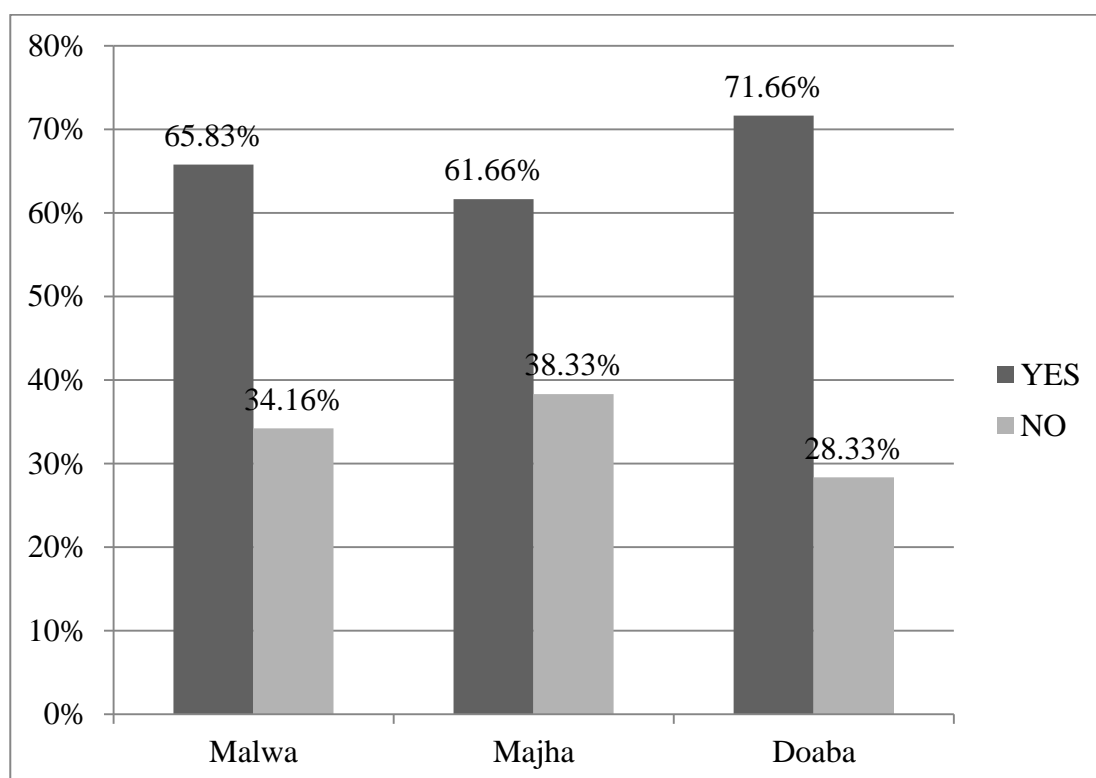
Figure No. 6.5.1 Religious Influence on the Electoral Performance of Congress in Punjab since 1984

Source: Primary Data

According to the data shown in the chart, 65.83 percent of participants think religion has had a significant impact on the electoral performance of Congress in Punjab since

1984 and 34.16 percent of participants do not think so. From Majha, 61.66 percent of surveyors favour the above opinion and 38.33 percent have voted against this statement. As compared to Malwa and Majha 71.66 percent of participants of Doaba agreed to the above opinion, and 28.33 percent disapproved that Congress' electoral performance has been impacted by religious influence.

The table signifies that 63.33 percent (36.66 rural and 26.66 urban) of Majha agree that religious issues have impacted the electoral performance of Congress in Punjab since 1984, while 36.66 percent of participants (20 percent rural and 16.66 urban) have negated the same opinion. In Malwa, 55.83 percent (27.5 percent rural and 38.33 urban) repliers agree with the above fact and 34.16 percent (20.83 rural and 13.33 percent urban) answerers do not agree with the statement. In Doaba, those who agree to the statement account for 71.66 percent (30 percent rural and 41.66 uban), those who disagree comprise 28.33 percent (5 percent rural and 23.33 urban).

Table No. 6.5.1 Religious Influence on the Electoral Performance of Congress in Punjab since 1984

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Yes	36.66%	26.66%	63.33%	27.5%	38.33%	55.83%	30%	41.66%	71.66%
No	20%	16.66%	36.66%	20.83%	13.33%	34.16%	5%	23.33%	28.33%
Total	56.66%	43.33%	100%	48.33%	51.66%	100%	35%	65%	100%

Source: Primary Data

The above table shows the different reasons behind the defeat of SAD in the 2017 assembly elections and how the respondents from three regions picked among the four available options. The data from Majha, Malwa and Doaba respectively are in the ratio of 56.66 percent repliers (41.66 rural and 15 percent urban) think that desecration of Guru Granth Sahib was the prime reason behind the loss of SAD, 10 percent (5 percent rural and 5 percent urban) in Majha, 51.66 percent (24.16 rural and 27.5 urban) in Malwa, and 25 percent (10 percent rural and 15 percent urban) in Doaba.

Table No. 6.5.2 Causes of SAD's Loss in 2017 Assembly Elections

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Desecration of Guru Granth Sahib	41.66%	15%	56.66%	24.16%	27.5%	51.66%	10%	15%	25%
Poor leadership of Sukhbir Singh Badal	5%	5%	10%	5%	6.66%	11.66%	15%	21.66%	36.66%
Lack of democratic structure	5%	6.66%	11.66%	10.83%	6.66%	17.50%	6.66%	15%	21.66%
Poor Governance	5%	16.66%	21.66%	8.33%	10.83%	19.16%	3.33%	13.33%	16.66%
Total	56.66%	43.33%	100%	48.33%	51.66%	100%	35%	65%	100%

Source: Primary Data

Five percent participants each from the rural and urban locality in Majha feel that poor leadership of Sukhbir Singh Badal was the cause of the defeat of SAD, the same percentage in Malwa accounts for 5 percent rural and 6.66 urban, and in Doaba, the same data flows in the ratio of 15 and 21.66 percent respectively from rural and urban area. The lack of democratic structure accounts for 11.66 percent (5 percent rural and 6.66 urban) in Majha.

17.50 percent (10.83 percent rural and 6.66 urban) in Malwa, 6.66 and 15 percent from rural and urban locality respectively in Doaba. 21.66 percent repliers from Majha (5 percent rural and 16 percent urban) think that SAD was defeated due to poor governance in their political regime. In Malwa, 19.16 percent (8.33 percent rural and 10.83 urban) picked the same option and in Doaba, 16.66 percent (3.33 percent rural and 13.33 percent urban) opted for the same option.
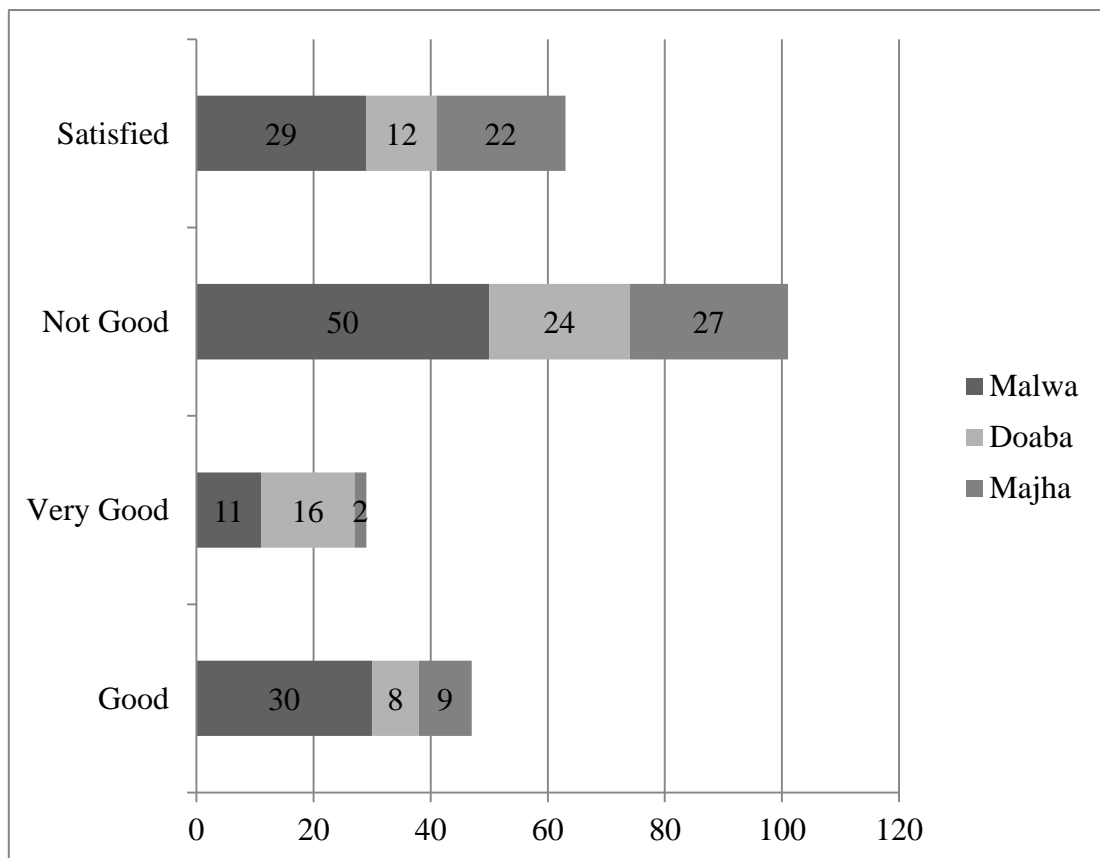
Figure No. 6.5.2 Performance of Akali-BJP alliance

Source: Primary Data

While enquiring about the performance of the Akali-BJP alliance from the respondents of three regions of Punjab, it has been found that 30 respondents from

Malwa, 8 and 9 respondents from Doaba and Majha respectively think that the performance of the alliance is good. While 11, 16 and 2 respondents from Malwa, Doaba and Majha have picked the 'Very Good' option. The option showing 'Not Good' has been picked by 50 respondents from Malwa, 24 from Doaba and 27 from Majha. 29 respondents from Malwa, 12 from Doaba and 22 from Majha claim that the alliance's performance has remained satisfactory.

Table No. 6.5.3 Performance of Akali-BJP Alliance

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Satisfied	21.66%	13.33%	35%	11.66%	12.50%	24.16%	5%	15%	20%
Good	3.33%	10%	13.33%	11.66%	13.33%	25%	5%	8.33%	13.33%
Not Good	26.66%	20%	46.66%	20%	21.66%	41.66%	21.66%	18.33%	40%
Very Good	5%	0%	5%	5%	4.16%	9.16%	3.33%	23.33%	26.66%
Total	56.66%	43.33%	100%	48.33%	51.66%	100%	35%	65%	100%

Source: Primary Data

The table represents that 35 percent (21.66 rural and 13.33 urban) respondents from Majha are satisfied with the performance of the Akali-BJP alliance, the same percentage in Malwa accounts for 24.16 (11.66 rural and 12.50 urban) and 20 percent (5 percent rural and 15 percent urban) in Doaba. 13.33 percent (3.33 rural and 10 percent urban) repliers adjudged the performance of SAD as 'good' in Majha while in Malwa and Doaba respectively this percentage accounts for 25 percent (11.66 rural and 13.33 percent urban), 13.33 percent (5 percent rural and 8.33 percent urban).

The option of 'not good in the context of SAD-BJP alliance's performance has been chosen by 46.66 percent (26.66 percent rural and 20 percent urban) respondents from Majha, 41.66 (20 percent rural and 21.66 urban) repliers from Malwa, 40 percent (21.66 rural and 18.33 urban) respondents from Doaba. While 5 percent of rural participants from Majha believe that the alliance's performance is very good, 9.16 percent (5 percent rural and 4.16 urban) participants feel the same from Malwa and 26.66 percent participants (3.33 percent rural and rural) 23.33 percent urban) from Doaba think the same.

The data represents that eight respondents from Malwa, 3 and 18 from Majha and Doaba respectively, are fully satisfied with Congress' governance in the current term from 2017 onwards whereas 9, 6 and 10 respondents from Malwa, Majha and Doaba are satisfied. Those who have remained neutral about the statement account for 57 respondents, out of which 29 are from Malwa, 13 and 15 from Majha and Doaba respectively.
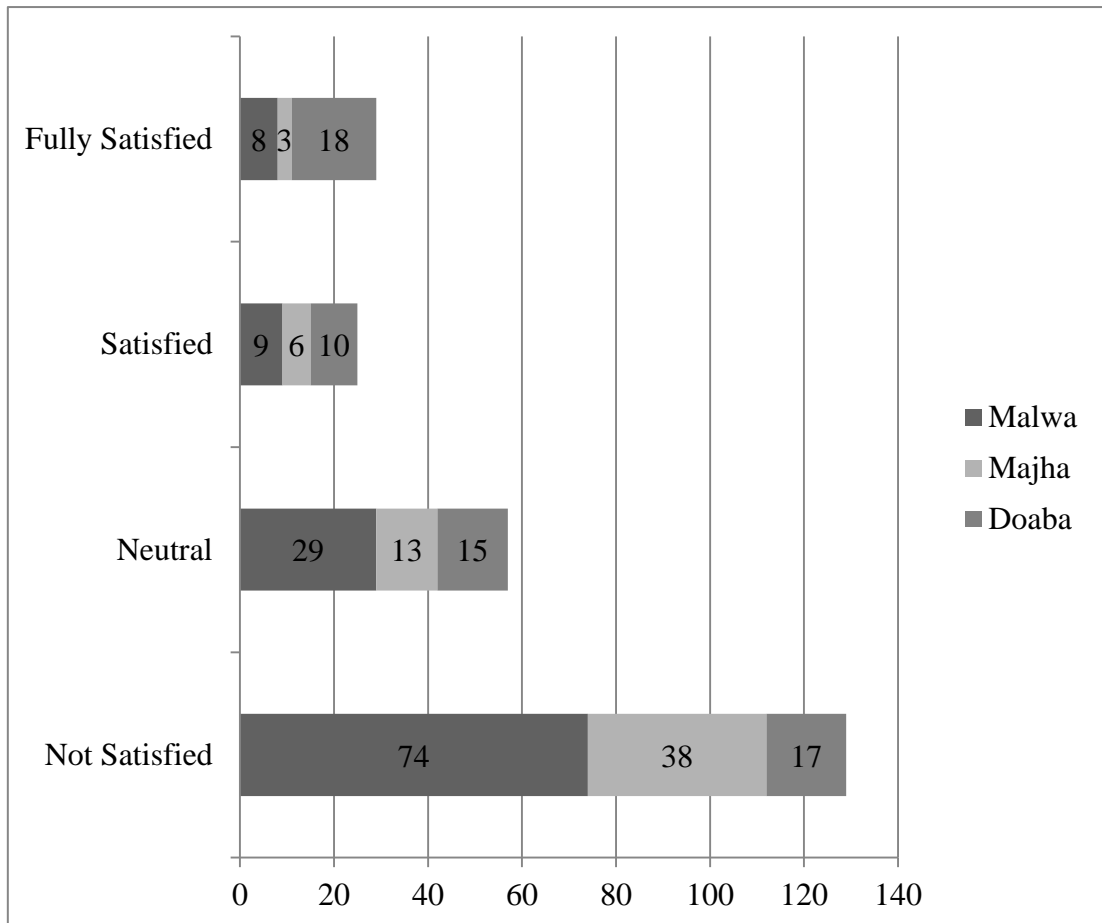
Figure No. 6.5.3 Evaluation of Congress' Governance in the Current Term

Source: Primary Data

However, those who are not satisfied with the governance of the current government comprise 74 respondents from Malwa, 38 and 17 respectively from Majha and Doaba out of the total 129 responses which fall in this category.

6.6 Emerging Political Parties in Punjab and Electoral Politics

To assess the electoral future of AAP in Punjab, it has been found that 48, 18 and 13 respondents from Malwa, Majha and Doaba respectively have no idea about this

opinion. As compared to the current status of an opposition party, 17 respondents from Malwa, 11 and 23 respectively from Majha and Doaba think that it would slip down to third place in the next assembly elections while 20, 19 and 13 respondents from Malwa, Majha and Doaba respectively think that it would hold on to its current status of opposition in the assembly. In contrast, those who think that AAP would form a government are in the ratio of 35, 12 and 11 from Malwa, Majha and Doaba respectively.
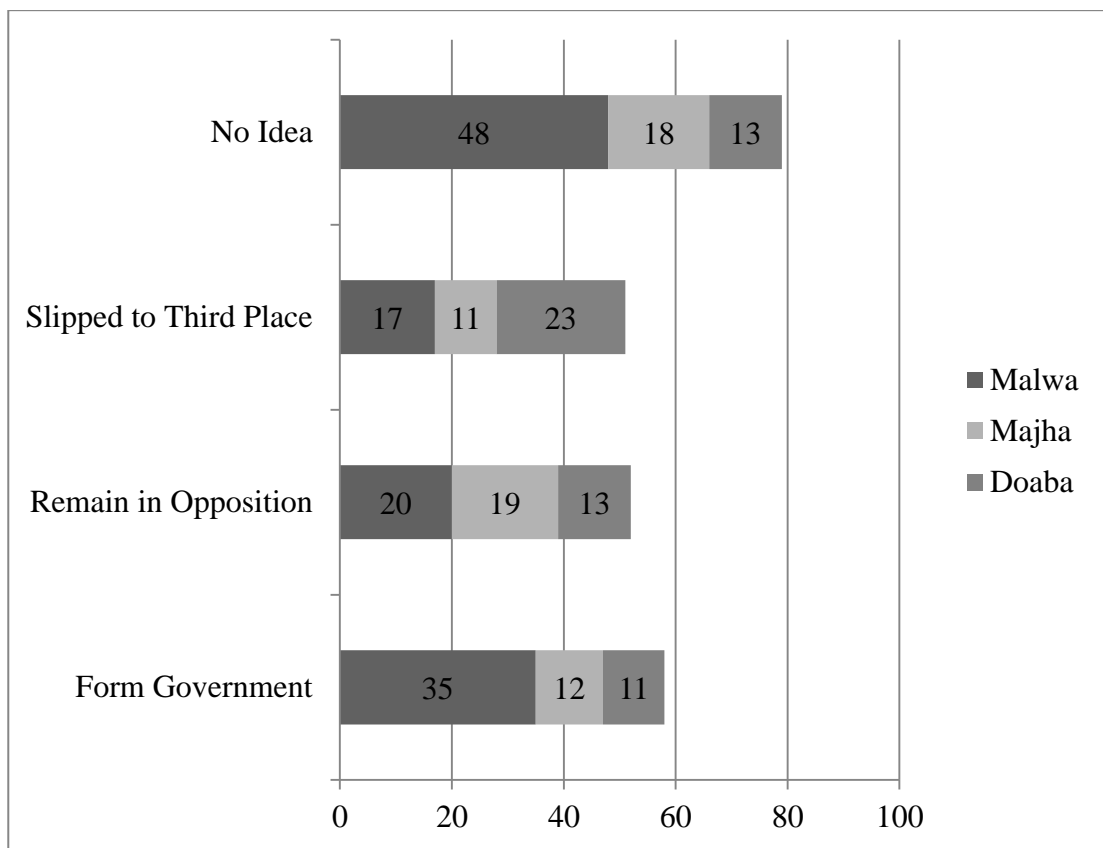
Figure No. 6.6.1 Electoral Future of AAP in Punjab

Source: Primary Data

Table No. 6.6.1 Electoral Future of AAP in Punjab

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
No idea	15%	11.66%	26.66%	20%	20%	40%	6.66%	15%	21.66%
Form government	15%	6.66%	21.66%	13.33%	15.83%	29.16%	6.66%	11.66%	18.33%
Slip to third place	13.33%	6.66%	20%	4.16%	10%	14.16%	20%	18.33%	38.33%
Remain in opposition	13.33%	18.33%	31.66%	10.83%	5.83%	16.66%	1.66%	20%	21.66%
Total	56.66%	43.33%	100%	48.33%	51.66%	100%	35%	65%	100%

Source: Primary Data

21.66 percent (15 percent rural and 6.66 percent urban) answerers from Majha feel that AAP will form the government, 29.16 percent (13.33 rural and 15.83 urban) repliers from Malwa feel the same while those who feel the same about AAP in Doaba accounts for 18.33 percent (6.66 rural and 11.66 urban). Those who think that AAP will slip to the third place in 2022 assembly elections are in the ratio of 20 percent (13.33 rural and 6.66 urban) in Majha, 14.16 percent (4.16 rural and 10 percent urban) participants in Malwa, 38.33 percent (20 percent rural and 18.33 urban) in Doaba. Some of them who believe that AAP will remain in opposition accounts for 31.66 percent (13.33 percent rural and 18.33 urban) in Majha, 16.66 percent (10.83 percent rural and 5.83 percent urban), 21.66 percent (1.66 rural and 20 percent urban) respondents in Doaba.

While predicting the future of AAP in Punjab, 26.66 percent (15 percent rural and 11.66 percent urban) repliers from Majha have no idea about the future of AAP in 2022 assembly elections, the same response is repeated by 40 percent (20 percent each from rural and urban locality respectively) respondents in Malwa and 21.66 percent (6.66 rural and 15 percent urban) surveyors from Doaba have also responded in the same tone.
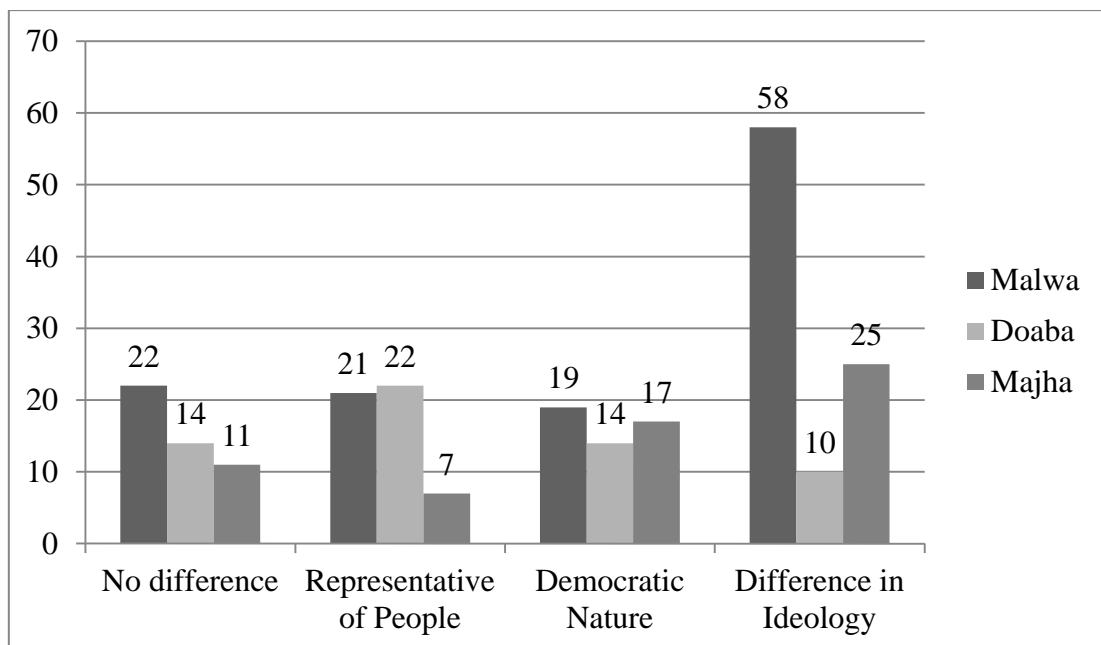
Figure No. 6.6.2 Difference between AAP and other Political Parties

Source: Primary Data

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While assessing the difference between AAP and other political parties of Punjab, it has been found that 22, 14 and 11 respondents from Malwa, Doaba and Majha respectively think that AAP is not different from other political parties of Punjab. In contrast, 21, 22 and 7 respondents from the same three regions respectively claim that AAP represents common people, the feature that is missing in other political parties. Nineteen participants from Malwa, 14 and 17 respectively from Doaba and Majha feel that AAP is more democratic than other political parties. Those who feel that AAP is different in its ideology as a political party comprised 58 respondents from Malwa, 10 and 25 respectively from Doaba and Majha.

Table No. 6.6.2 Difference between AAP and Other Political Parties

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
No Difference	13.33%	8.33%	21.66%	9.16%	9.16%	18.32%	6.66%	16.66%	23.33%
Democratic Nature	16.66%	11.66%	28.33%	7.50%	8.33%	15.83%	10%	13.33%	23.33%
Representative of People	5%	5%	10%	9.16%	8.33%	17.50%	11.66%	25%	36.66%
Difference in Ideology	21.66%	18.33%	40%	22.50%	25.83%	48.33%	6.66%	10%	16.66%
Total	56.66%	43.33%	100%	48.33%	51.66%	100%	35%	65%	100%

Source: Primary Data

After applying the variable of locality on the same opinion, it has been found that 21.66 percent (13.33 rural and 8.33 urban) participants believe that AAP is not different from other political parties. In comparison, 18.32 percent (9.16 percent each from rural and urban locality) of Malwa feel the same. In the case of Doaba, 23.33 percent (6.66 rural and 16.66 urban) respondents opted for the same option. 28.33 (16.66 percent rural and 11.66 urban) repliers from Majha opine that AAP is democratic, 15.83 (7.50 percent rural and 8.33 urban) feel the same from Malwa region, while in Doaba, 23.33 percent (10 percent rural and 13.33 percent urban) answerers picked out this answer.

Variable of Age

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Above 50	Below 50	Total	Above 50	Below 50	Total	Above 50	Below 50	Total
No Difference	10%	11.66%	21.66%	10%	8.33%	18.33%	0%	23.33%	23.33%
Democratic Nature	11.66%	16.66%	28.33%	3.33%	12.50%	15.83%	10%	13.33%	23.33%
Representative of People	6.66%	3.33%	10%	4.16%	13.33%	17.50%	6.66%	30%	36.66%
Difference in Ideology	16.66%	23.33%	40%	10.83%	37.50%	48.33%	1.66%	15%	16.66%
Total	45%	55%	100%	28.33%	71.66%	100%	18.33%	81.66%	100%

Source: Primary Data

Variable of Gender

The same question has been tested in light of the variable of age. It has been found that 21.66 percent (10 percent of above 50 and 11.66 percent of below 50 age group) respondents from Majha have opted for the option that AAP is not different from other political parties, 28.33 percent (11.66 of above 50 and 16.66 of below 50 age) participants have said that AAP is democratic, 10 percent (6.66 and 3.33 percent of above 50 and below 50 age group) think that AAP is representative of people and 40 percent (16.66 percent of above 50 and 23.33 percent of below 50) opine that AAP has a different ideology as compared to other political parties.

In Malwa, 18.33 percent (10 percent of above 50 and 8.33 percent of below 50) opted for the first option, 15.83 (3.33 percent of above 50 and 12.50 of below 50 age group) opined in favor of the second opinion, while 17.50 percent (4.16 percent of above 50 and 13.33 percent of below 50 age) picked the third option and 48.33 percent (10.83 percent of above 50 and 37.50 of below 50 age) participants picked the fourth option.

In Doaba, 23.33 percent of the respondents belonging to the age group below 50 have opted for the first option, 23.33 percent (10 percent of above 50 and 13.33 percent of below 50 age group) have chosen the second option, 36.66 percent (6.66 percent of above 50 and 30 percent of below 50 age group) have selected the third option and 16.66 percent (1.66 percent of above 50 and 15 percent of below 50 age group) have voted for the fourth option.

The same opinion has also been tested in the light of gender variant to see whether there are some differences when it comes to gender while asking for the nature of the AAP. The respondents from three regions who have opted for the option of 'no difference' fall in the ratio of 21.66 (13.33 percent male and 8.33 percent female) in Majha, 18.33 percent (14.16 male and 4.16 female) participants in Malwa, 23.33 percent (6.66 male and 16.66 female) in Doaba. 28.33 percent (18.33 percent male and 10 percent female) respondents from Majha, 15.83 (10 percent male and 5.83 female) repliers from Malwa and 23.33 percent (13.33 percent male and 10 percent female) answerers from Doaba opine that AAP is democratic.

Ten percent (5 percent rural and 5 percent urban) of the respondents think that AAP is representative of people, 17.50 percent (9.16 percent rural and 8.33 urban) repliers from Malwa also agree with this statement while 36.66 (11.66 percent rural and 25 percent urban) are on the same ground in the context of this opinion. Forty percent (21.66 rural and 18.33 urban) respondents from Majha admit that AAP has a different ideology than other political parties, the respondents from Malwa are in the ratio of 48.33 percent (22.50 percent rural and 25.83 percent urban) who agree with the same statement. At the same time, in Doaba, the data in this opinion follows- 16.66 percent (6.66 percent rural and 10 percent urban).

Those who opted for the option that AAP is representative of people are in the ratio of 10 percent (3.33 percent male and 6.66 percent female) in Majha, 17.50 percent (7.50 percent male and 10 percent female) surveyors in Malwa, 36.66 percent (11.66 percent male and 25 percent female) repliers in Doaba. While those who opine that AAP has a different political ideology as compared to other political parties fall in the percentage of 40 (16.66 percent male and 23.33 female) in Majha, 48.33 percent (22.50 percent male and 25.83 percent female) in Malwa, 16.66 percent (6.66 percent male and 10 percent female) in Doaba.
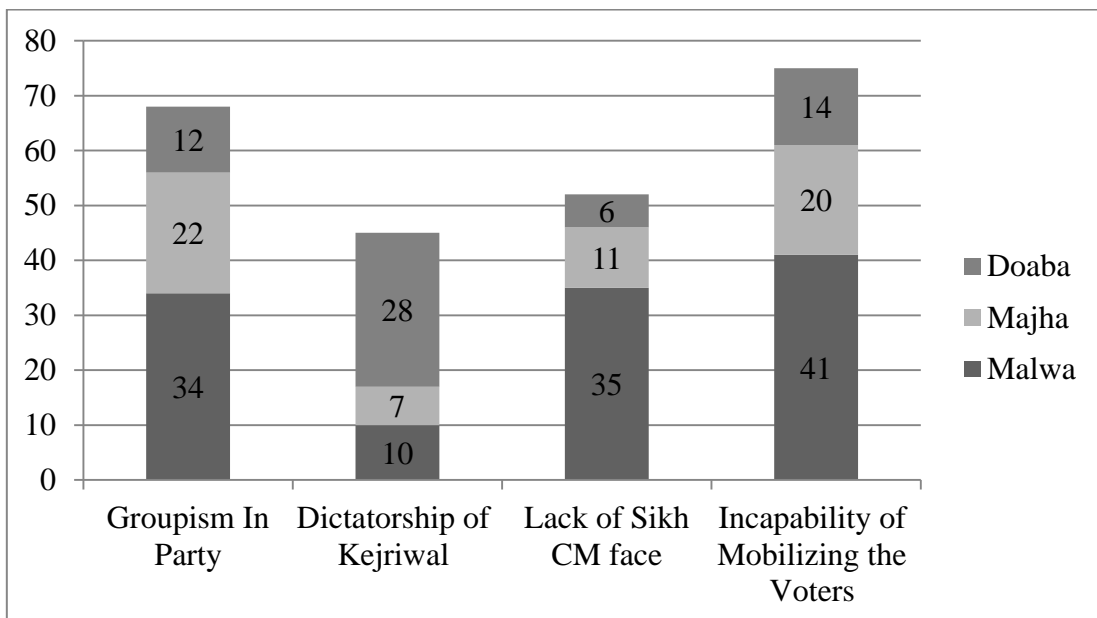
Figure No. 6.6.3 Causes of Failure of AAP in Punjab

The column chart provides the information that in Malwa, 34 participants considered groups in AAP remained the cause of its failure, 22 from Majha and 12 in Doaba think alike. 10, 7 and 28 from Malwa, Majha and Doaba respectively opined that the dictatorship of party President Arvind Kejriwal was the cause of the defeat of the party. 35 from Malwa, 11 from Majha and 16 from Doaba said that AAP could not win due to the lack of Chief ministerial face. 41 from the Malwa region, 20 from Majha and 14 from Doaba have chosen the inability of the party to mobilize the voters of Punjab.
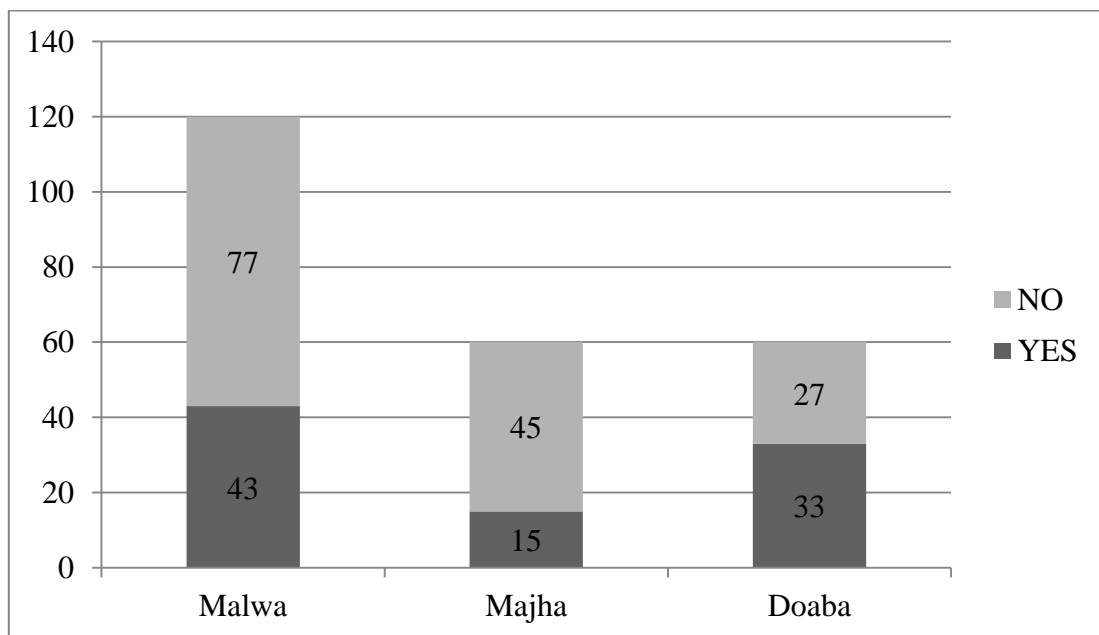
Figure No. 6.6.4 BJP's Future in Upcoming Assembly Elections

Source: Primary Data

The data in the column chart signifies that 43 respondents from Malwa think that BJP can win in the upcoming assembly elections in 2022 on its own and 77 responses are against this statement. From the Majha region, only 15 participants have voted in affirmative for the same statement and 45 have negated it. Thirty-three respondents from Doaba opine in favor of the above opinion and 27 respondents have voted against it.

Table No. 6.6.3 BJP's Future in Upcoming Assembly Elections

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Yes	15%	11.66%	26.66%	15%	20.83%	35.83%	20%	35%	55%
No	41.66%	31.66%	73.33%	33.33%	30.83%	64.16%	15%	30%	45%
Total	56.66%	43.33%	100%	48.33%	51.66%	100%	35%	65%	100%

Source: Primary Data

The above data in the table points out that 26.66 percent (15 percent rural and 11.66 urban) participants from Majha think that BJP can win elections on its own in 2022, those responding the same account for 35.83 percent (15 percent rural and 20.83 percent urban) in Malwa and in Doaba the data is in the ratio of 20 percent rural and 35 percent urban respondents out of the total 55 percent approving the statement. Those who disagree with the statement comprise 73.33 percent (41.66 percent rural and 31.66 percent urban) from Majha, 64.16 percent (33.33 percent rural and 30.83 urban) from Malwa, 45 percent (15 percent rural and 30 percent urban) from Doaba.
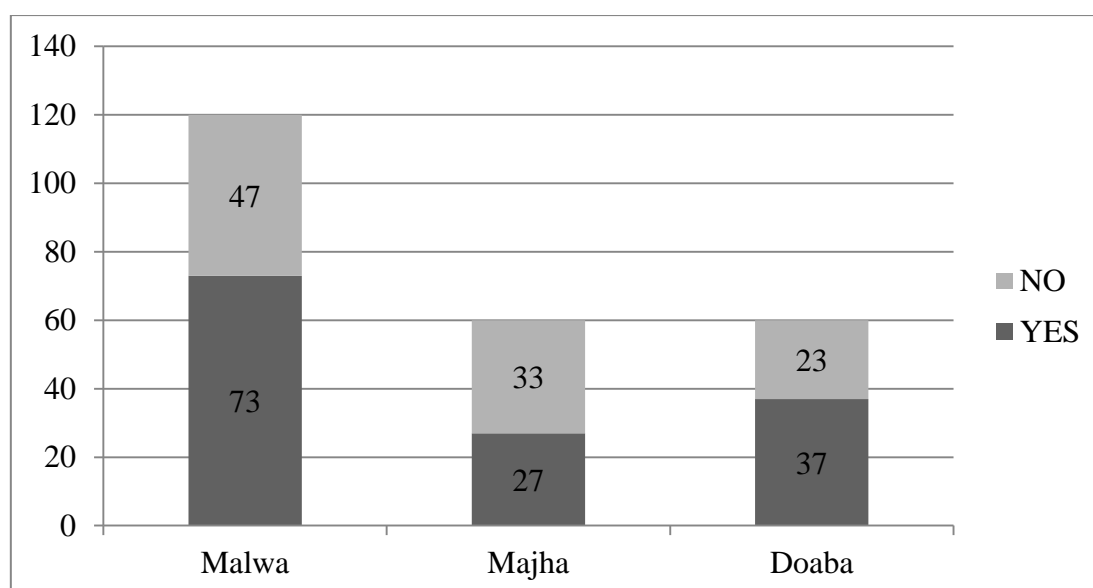
Figure No. 6.6.5 Failure of AAP in 2017 and Non-Declaration of CM Face

Source: Primary Data

In the 2017 assembly elections, AAP was assumed to be defeated because it did not declare its CM face like other political parties. The same opinion was tested during the field research through a questionnaire and it has been found that 73 participants have voted in favor of the opinion and 47 have rejected it. In Majha, 27 surveyors have voted in favor of the opinion and 33 respondents have felt the exact opposite. In Doaba, 37 respondents are in favor of the same opinion and 23 are against it.
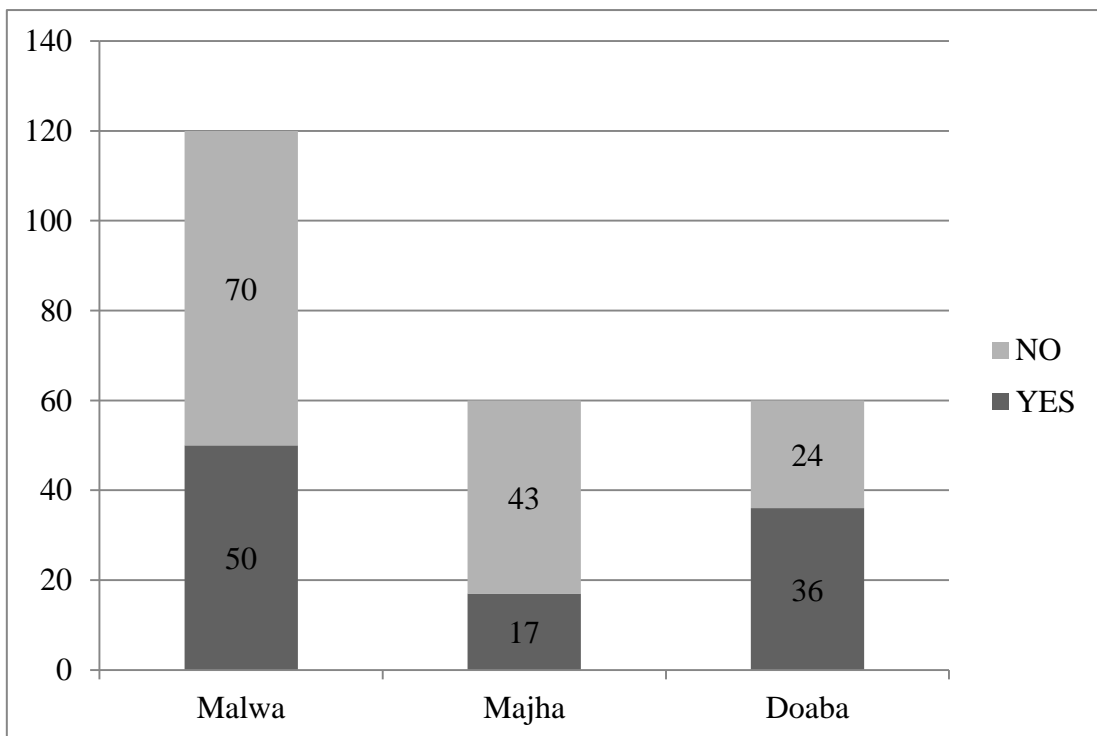
Figure No. 6.6.6 BSP's Success as a Representative Party of the Dalits

Source: Primary Data

To assess the performance of BSP as a representative party of Dalits, it has been probed that 50 respondents feel that BSP has been successful in representing Dalits of Punjab in assembly elections and 70 respondents do not think so, whereas in Majha, the same responses are in the radio of 17 and 43. The data from Doaba shows that 36 participants feel that BSP is a representative party of Dalits and 24 feel the exact opposite.

Table No. 6.6.4 BSP's Success as a Representative Party of the Dalits

	Majha			Malwa			Doaba		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Yes	20%	11.66%	31.66%	15%	26.66%	41.66%	15%	25%	40%
No	36.66%	31.66%	69.33%	33.33%	25%	58.33%	20%	40%	60%
Total	56.66%	43.33%	100%	48.33%	51.66%	100%	35%	65%	100%

Source: Primary Data

The above table suggests that 31.66 percent (20 percent rural and 11.66 urban) surveyors from Majha think that BSP has been successful in representing Dalits in Punjab, from Malwa 41.66 percent (15 percent rural and 26.66 urban) feel the same and from Doaba, 40 percent (15 percent rural and 25 percent urban) respondents too agree with the same statement. While those who think the exact opposite account for 69.33 percent (36.66 percent rural and 31.66 urban) respondents from Majha, 58.33 percent (33.33 percent rural and 25 percent urban) respondents from Malwa and 60 percent (20 percent rural and 40 percent urban) participants from Doaba.
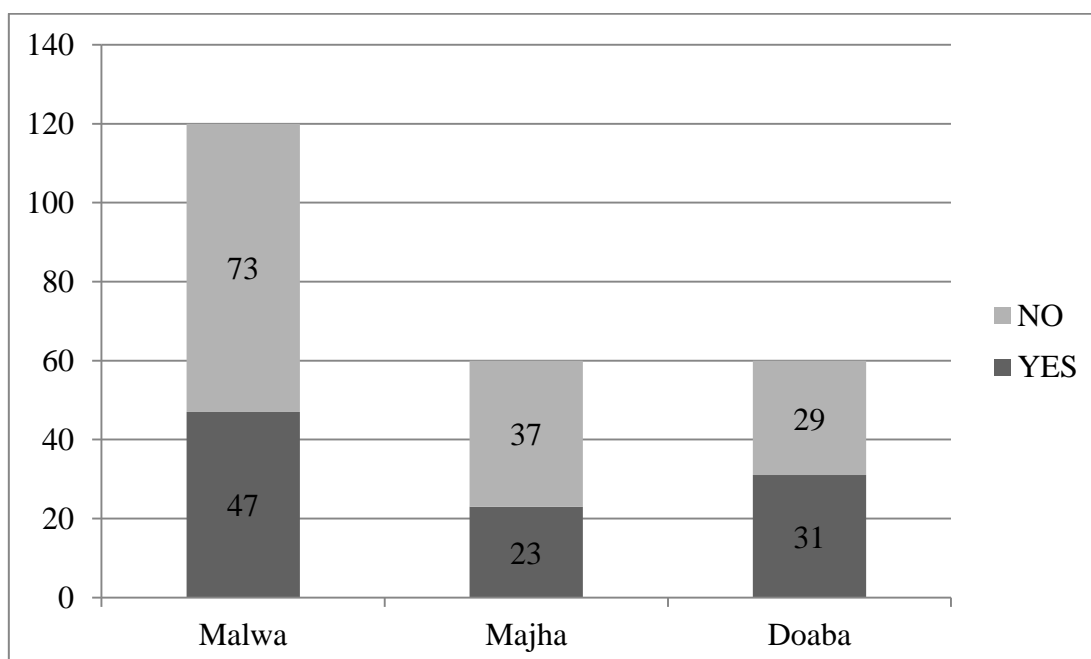
Figure No. 6.6.7 Estimate of Lok Insaaf Party in 2022

Source: Primary Data

The data according to the questionnaire represents that 47 participants from Malwa think that LIP would emerge as a significant political party in the 2022 assembly elections whereas 73 participants have negated this opinion. From Majha, 23 respondents feel that LIP will significantly impact a bigger party and 37 participants have no high hopes for LIP. In Doaba, 31 respondents opine that LIP will significantly impact the 2022 assembly elections and 29 respondents do not feel the same for LIP.

6.7 Emerging Trends and Latest Advancements in the Electoral Politics of Punjab

Talking of the SGPC in the 1960s it was in a strong position to dominate the political agenda of SAD, but after Badal took charge of the SAD, the hold of SGPC over SAD came to be loosened. This was the time when SGPC President commenced to play as a puppet in the hands of SAD leadership, the same was the case with Akal Takht Jathedar. SGPC lost its image of a democratically elected body and there were no elections to be held ensuring proper representation in the institution. SAD leadership (more precisely, Parkash Singh Badal) continued to be accused of its interference in appointing Akal Takht Jathedar and the president of mini-religious parliament. Till date these religious institutions have been used by SAD in order to gain political edge in elections. To epitome, the pardon to spiritual dera Guru Ram Rahim Singh in 2015 was only one among many other politically motivated decisions that the Jathedar had to take after being asked by SAD to do so.

Consequently, the Sikh Sangat back lashed and the party reacted immediately to pacify Sikhs. This particular event awakened the Sikhs from their slumber and SAD lost the backing of their loyal supporters. Now, it is not seen as a Panthic party anymore since the Sikh voters are also concentrating on other electoral issues while voting and this can be seen as a positive sign in creating a cleavage between the religious agenda of a political party and voters. No doubt, the desecration case of Guru Granth Sahib is still a dominant religious issue which would be crucial for SAD leadership, as the Sikh sentiment is running against them due to their incapacity in putting the culprits behind bars. Even the Jathedar had to articulate his fears about the SAD's deteriorating role in securing Sikh interests by appealing to SAD to "start journey from Punjab to Panth" (Brar, 2020).

The hike in the role of deras in Punjab highlights the influence of the caste factor in the electoral politics of Punjab. An ample number of SC communities residing in Punjab could not correctly represent the class, which can be noticed in the low number of MLAs getting entry into the state assembly. No CM face except Giani Zail Singh has ever been to the position of CM of Punjab. Even BSP which was founded on the basis of providing political rights to Dalits could not do much in this context. In the political arena and social context, Dalits have been deprived of their right to lead a respectable life. They have been bared to enter Sikh shrines and other religious institutions. The dominance of the Jat class in SGPC and Akal Takht has forced the Dalits to look for more options in the name of deras to appease their sense of belongingness. The researcher has found substantial proofs to support this viewpoint.

The deras and caste affiliations in one way or other influence the electoral outcome of political parties and the electoral issues bearing the pressure of class conflict hit the headlines during the elections. Leaders from all the political parties rush to dera heads seeking their political blessings. While pointing out the significance of one such Guru India Today reported, "While the political battle in Punjab has been on in full swing, one person has managed to bring all parties to his feet -- Dera Sacha Sauda chief Guru Gurmit Ram Rahim Singh" (Chinna & Sandhu, 2012). Some of them share family ties with dera heads while others make a pact with them in the hope of getting political assistance of the Dera followers and deras in return announce open political support to the parties which suit their interests. One such instance is that of the 2017 assembly election in which "Sadh Sangat has decided to support the SAD-BJP alliance in Punjab" (Sharma, 2017).

Populist politics is yet another element of caste based electoral issues. Election manifestos are framed under the shadow of religious affiliations and caste preferences in order to seem more presentable to the particular class of voters. Declaration of free electricity and subsidies to farmers and policies like the Aata-Dal scheme, Shagun Scheme and scholarship to SC students is undoubtedly an attempt at winning the hearts of both the Jat class and SC community by SAD and Congress. Taking a cue from the recent instance of SAD's alliance with BSP to fill the political vacuum formed after breaking up with BJP can be seen in the light of the party's strategy of focusing on the Jat and SC community. Stepping down of Captain Amarinder Singh from the position of Punjab CM, Sidhu's coronation as chief of Punjab Congress and

Channi's appointment as a new CM is yet another trend in a poll-bound Punjab. In the first instance, Congress is paying farewell to its veteran leader and assigning Sidhu a high status is Congress's second master card to lure the Jat Sikh voters. Thirdly, naming Channi as a new CM will bring in the Dalit voters. As pointed out, "Punjab has a 32 percent Dalit population in the country, the highest in any state. Thus, with a Dalit chief minister, and a Jat Sikh, Navjot Singh Sidhu, as the state unit's chief, the Congress has tried to balance the caste equation in the state." (Jeelani, 2021). It would be interesting to find how these caste equations make fortunes for their respective parties.

The breakup of SAD and BJP can also be seen as a paradigm shift in the electoral politics of Punjab. Both parties have shared loyalties for the past 25 years. During the late 90s, SAD was in dire need of the vote share of Hindus and having the backing of Sikhs it ruled over Punjab till 2002. SAD had to leave its 'Panthic agenda' and focus on the issues of Punjab. That is when identity and ethnic issues were shown the back door and providing space for the socio-economic themes. While these happenings benefited SAD to be more receiving towards all the communities, it certainly impacted the trust of Sikhs towards SAD. The recent instance of SAD's silence on the issue of the legislation of anti-farmer laws in the Lok Sabha deteriorated its pro-farmer figurine.

The shift in SAD's ideology from a 'Panthic party' to a more secular party continued to make imprints in the other direction, which led the party to a dead end where it feels detached from both extremes. Surprisingly enough, in a state which can boast of a majority of the Sikh population, it has never been able to form a government on its own despite being called by the name of 'Panthic party'. It has to seek shelter from other political parties in order to compete with more confidence. To seek reasons for this condition, failure in safeguarding Sikh interests, poor leadership of Sukhbir Singh Badal, and lack of loyalty among Sikh Sangat can be named, among others.

Congress re-emerged strongly in 2002 owing to the anti-incumbency and poor handling of the issues of Punjab by SAD. It was a welcome victory for Congress after it was labelled as an anti-Sikh party after the riots of 1984. People of Punjab showed their trust in Captain Amarinder Singh and voted in the name of a Punjabi face. It proved that voters vote for regional specificities rather than those running parties at

the centre level. Amarinder Singh repeated the same feat of 2002 in 2017 after the people of Punjab found SAD incapable of feeling the nerve of real issues. The thumping victory of Congress in 2017 was remarkable in its sense where it bagged the support of both rural and urban SC and Jat Sikh voters. The Congress' successful run in Punjab is only because of the role played by Captain Amarinder Singh in portraying Congress as a party that is open to all and sundry. The recent resignation of Amarinder Singh from the post of Punjab CM can be seen in the light of his failure to fulfill the people's aspirations. The downfall of Amarinder Singh and the rise of Navjot Singh Sidhu in the ranks of state Congress has left everyone in a fix.

CONCLUSION

The previous chapter discussed the findings and results after the data analysis of the collected data and hinted at different findings without mentioning any further details. The present chapter is focused on the conclusions of the whole study. This chapter mentions the conclusions according to the objectives of the study. It discusses the findings and results in a detailed manner and makes some future recommendations.

According to the data findings, the electorate strongly feels a relationship between electoral politics and religion. One of the senior reporters reported, "Religious issues have always dominated the electoral politics of Punjab right from the issue of the Punjabi Suba, the pogrom of 1984, involvement of Dera Sacha Sauda head Ram Rahim Singh in a blasphemy in 2007 and the recent case of desecration of Guru Granth Sahib having a religious impact on the elections".

The voters are fully aware of the situations where political parties, leaders, and ordinary political workers exploit the opportunities to connect religious issues to gain success. One of the state committee members of SFI (Student Federation of India) also concluded, "Parties like SAD (B) and SAD (A) try to contest elections solely on the religious issues. The sacrilege of Guru Granth Sahib was the prime issue in the 2017 assembly elections which benefited Congress and went against SAD. Also, delaying the legal action in Behbal Kalan's shoot-out will be the main issue in the upcoming 2022 elections. SAD always frames its electoral strategy keeping in mind the massacre of 1984".

The representative respondents from all the three regions of Punjab except Doaba feel the connection between religion and politics. In Doaba, the data is slightly different, and the participants have disapproved of the fact. Repliers from Malwa and Majha, mainly Sikhs, have felt the impact of religion on politics. One of the ex-contestants of the district council opined, "All political parties try to derail the voters from real electoral issues like employment, abolition of poverty, higher education, health amenities, the GDP of Punjab and indulge in religious issues to hide their incapacity to work for the betterment of the state. The issue of Punjabi mother tongue and granting Bhagat Singh the status of a martyr is also significant".

SAD has been considered a Sikh party and it influences the performance of SAD. The

findings of the study claim that respondents from all three regions except Doaba, where both Hindus and Sikhs deny the fact. The surveyors are also aware that there is an interference of political parties in the working of SGPC and Akal Takht. These religious institutions work under the parties like SAD, whose electoral performance is affected by the reputation of these institutions. The repliers from Malwa feel that Gurudwaras are the space of mobilization, though those belonging to Majha and Doaba feel the exact opposite. Sikhs and Muslims of Malwa both see Gurudwaras as the shrines to mobilize Sikh politics.

The respondents from all the two regions of Punjab opine that religious issues have a disproportionate effect on the elections. The religion also has its say in framing election manifestos to cash in the religious sentiments just before elections. Respondents from the three regions of Punjab are unanimous that not only SAD, but Congress's electoral performance too has been influenced by religion since 1984, both rural and urban voters. A retired team member and a social activist claimed, "all political parties like SAD, Congress, BJP, CPI, CPI (M) and others use religious issues for election campaigning and issues like the construction of Ram Mandir and opening of Kartarpur corridor has impacted the politics of Punjab. Dera Sirsa, Radha Swami, SGPC and other religious institutions work under the shadow of political influence to impact voter turnout for a specific political party".

When it comes to caste, it is a dominant factor in the electoral politics of Punjab. It merges with other factors in order to bring a mammoth change in the poll results. However, one of the interviewees from Malwa denied the fact that Deras and other religious institutions directly impacted the electoral results and concluded that people vote wisely and logically these days.

Caste works through religious shrines and prominent deras and there is a connection between caste and deras. Even the SC population thinks that deras have a soft corner for them or vice versa. The recent alliance of BSP and SAD is solely based on the caste, BSP will try to lure the Dalits and SAD will focus on its traditional vote bank of rural Jat class Dera community influences the electoral results of a particular party in a great deal though SC respondents from Majha and Doaba have different views. An SFI member opined, "SGPC and deras are directly involved in influencing the electoral outcome of different political parties... Dera Radha Swami has its hold on

Majha, Doaba and half of the Malwa region of Punjab. The Dera chief supports the party of his liking". He also added, "As such, there is no sentiment running wild in the minds of the people to vote for a particular party in every election, but yes, people do vote in the name of the caste of the candidate". One interviewee working as a press reporter also coincided with the SFI (Student Federation of India) member, further expressing his insights that some political parties are formed solely on the basis of caste.

Surveyors from different communities in Malwa and Majha believe that the Jat class is dominant in the electoral politics of Punjab, though repliers from Doaba do not feel so. The recent rift between Sikhs and Dera supporters has its roots developed in the light of political implications, though religious and caste-based issues have also created a cleavage between both the communities. When the respondents were asked about the objectives of deras in order to know about the political connection, if any, hidden in their work, the answers were different from all the three regions. Surveyors from Malwa opine that deras are for humanity while answerers from Majha feel that deras provide political space for Dalits, and the repliers from Doaba think deras offer social and cultural space for Dalits. Deras are representatives of Dalits. It is clear that dera heads control their Dalit followers in their political decisions and make bargains with particular political parties according to their needs.

It is an art to exploit the best possible electoral issues to get an edge over one's opponent when competing in elections. Electoral politics is replete with electoral issues that are more or less related to religious and caste-based undertones. It has been found that surveyors from all three regions admit that all political parties use caste-based issues to gain political advantage, INC and BJP being voted in maximum numbers and surprisingly enough BSP got unsubstantial votes and SAD also got nominal quota in this context.

The respondents from the three regions know about SAD's connection with Sikhism, and the repliers from Doaba think that SAD should indulge in religious affairs as it has a religious origin. On the contrary, the answerers from Malwa suggest that it should not indulge in religious affairs and play at par with other political parties without taking into picture the religious sentiments of Sikhs. However, those from Majha voted that in order to gain political support, SAD should continue to bring

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religious sentiments into the politics.

When enquired about the role of agricultural Jat class in SAD, all the regions are unanimous on the opinion that SAD endorses agricultural issues as its first preference and as a result, Jat class participate vigorously in party activities and has become a strong vote bank for SAD. A well-known fact that SAD is representative of Sikh interests and is the defender of Sikh Panth is true in the Doaba region but Malwa and Majha regions do not think so. They are critical of the fact that SAD represents Sikh interests. An AAP worker commenting on the interconnection of religion and politics suggested, "People cast their vote to SAD in the name of Panth and they are anti-Congress only because the central leadership of Congress was involved in the anti-Sikh riots of 1984".

The findings from the three regions show that religious, economic, political and developmental issues have dominated the electoral politics of Punjab since 1984. Political issues have been voted for the most in Majha and Doaba, while people from Malwa have preferred to single out religious issues and most of them opine that all other electoral issues are also dominant in this context. A reporter claimed, "Every party conducts their electoral activities keeping in mind the religious issues and ignore the issue of development. In order to get votes, they do focus on freebies".

In the electoral politics of Punjab, the same electoral issues are repeated repeatedly and the voters are forced to vote on them as there is no alternative. The respondents from all over Punjab think every political party has made the issue of good governance a pet electoral issue among the issues of drugs and waters. The participants from the Doaba region have laid a great deal of emphasis on the issue of waters of Punjab which has been repeated again and again but the people of Punjab want the issue of unemployment in Punjab to be resolved on a priority basis as compared to other electoral issues. Economic growth and getting employment is the new mantra of the youth of Punjab.

After studying the electoral politics of Punjab from different viewpoints, having studied the historical background to the electoral politics of Punjab, pinpointing the phases through which it made its course entering the new arena of modern world democracy, a few of the trends can be noticed that differentiate it from its predecessor. It has changed the stance of political parties to introduce some changes

in their party structure, election manifestos and overall ideology. A CPI supporter and a member of the District Council added "people understand the economic issues these days and deal in the issues related to their well-being and education".

The politics of populism has also been begun impacting the commoners. Not only have the parties, but the voters also switched their preferences, putting Punjab's electoral politics on the new pathway. A student activist shared his views and remarked, "The young voters take an interest in politics; they focus on the election manifestos of different political parties while voting. SAD contested 2017 assembly elections on the issue of development and Congress too is banking upon the same issue in 2022 elections". While assessing the political future of Congress in the 2022 assembly elections, most of the respondents from every region opined that Congress is going to taste defeat while AAP got the maximum votes as the winner leaving behind all the legendary parties. As in 2017, AAP seems to be strong on paper.

According to the study's findings, the respondents think that the next elections would be a tri-party contest, which again highlights the significance of AAP on the political scene of Punjab. "AAP has made an impact on electoral politics. The 2017 assembly elections emerged as the opposition party for the first time and derailed SAD from getting this place. In some of the regions, it bagged the second position by getting a good percentage of votes. With the advent of AAP, the commoners are also entering politics. An AAP worker also supported the view that AAP has influenced the electoral politics of Punjab by adding the point that by winning four seats in Lok Sabha elections in 2014, it made its presence felt, though the local level electoral competition is still between the SAD and Congress". Talking about the AAP, one interviewee said that AAP would eat into the vote bank of both SAD and Congress.

The participants of the questionnaire from both rural and urban backgrounds labelled the Akali-BJP as an opportunistic alliance with no ideology to serve; it is only a compromise to get hold of the votes of Hindus and Sikhs. The responses taken from Malwa and Majha show that there is no chance of a non-Sikh face becoming the CM of Punjab, but in Doaba, there is a slight variation. Otherwise, all the respondents agree with that of the other two regions. Akali-BJP alliance will not contest elections together in 2022, rural and urban, both of the respondents from Malwa and Majha strongly feel so, but in Doaba, the voters slightly differentiate from this opinion.

To assess the electoral performance of different political parties, the researcher has included some of the questions in the questionnaire that were directly related to the victory or defeat of a particular party, and it has been found that cause of SAD's loss in the 2017 assembly elections was due to its inefficiency in handling the issue of desecration of Guru Grant Sahib while urban respondents from Doaba also pointed out the poor leadership of Sukhbir Singh Badal. However, urban respondents from Malwa do not consider this fact important and voted in favour of the poor governance of the SAD government. In totality, the respondents have given negative remarks about the SAD-BJP government of 2012 and were not satisfied with its performance. Rural and urban surveyors both showed distrust towards the alliance. The same is the case with Congress. Respondents from three regions were found to be dissatisfied with the current term of Congress.

In order to look out for the emerging trends, the study of new political parties and the futuristic alliances and political strategies adopted by the traditional political parties is also essential. The findings show that sufficient numbers of participants from Malwa have favourable views towards AAP while those of Doaba and Majha from the urban and rural locality have mixed feelings about the future of AAP in the upcoming elections. An ex MC opined, "Traditional parties like Congress and SAD are affected by the presence of AAP in Punjab. AAP is supporting the farmers and the people of Punjab want to give the reins of power into the hands of Bhagwant Maan". The findings also show that AAP is different in its ideology from other political parties and representative of people and democratic, rural candidates have shown special attention towards AAP and the young respondents of below 50 age group are more positive in their attitude towards AAP as compared to the above 50 age group. One of the ex MCs and a social worker denied the fact that there is any impact of AAP on Punjab politics, but one of the press reporters admits that AAP has given people the third alternative and another ex MC supported this viewpoint.

Respondents from Doaba feel that the dictatorship of Kejriwal is the cause of AAP's failure in Punjab. At the same time, surveyors from Majha opine that groupism in the party affected its success and the repliers from Malwa suggest that incapability of mobilizing the voters was the prime reason in AAP's failure among others. Another prominent cause of AAP's failure, especially in 2017, was the non-declaration of CM face while the answerers from Majha do not feel as strong as in the other two regions.

Commenting on the future and performance of AAP, an ex-employee and a social worker commented, "The ideology of AAP has impacted not only Punjab but the entire country. The name itself mentions 'Aam Aadmi' and its electoral symbol 'broom' appeals to the masses".

Nevertheless, its impact on the politics of Punjab is not much significant and it will not live for the long term. Consumption of political facilities, switching parties for political gain and the disinterest of the central leadership in the issues of Punjab, has scattered the party structure. Also, the non-declaration of CM face in 2017 had discouraged the party workers. In contrast, SAD gains support from the religious sentiments of Sikh voters and Congress's stable local level party structure and backing from central leadership is a far cry compared to AAP's working.

The people of Punjab are not ready for BJP to see it as contesting elections on its own in the 2022 assembly elections. Both urban and rural respondents do not think BJP is contesting and winning elections on its own, though surveyors from Doaba feel confident about BJP. Talking of the future of least significant political parties like BSP and LIP, the surveyors from rural and urban backgrounds in all regions except Doaba feel that BSP has failed to represent Dalits in elections while all the respondents from the three regions have no positive views about LIP.

Future Scope and Recommendations

The present research work has been conducted to study the emerging trends in the electoral politics of Punjab since 1984. For this purpose, the researcher has focused only on the assembly elections to work entirely on the politics of the state of Punjab. The researcher has tried to explore the determinants that influence the electoral politics of Punjab from 1984 till date. As the research study focuses only on the key factors that influence the electoral politics of Punjab, there is scope for future study which can focus on Centre-state relations. For this purpose, the study of general elections (Lok Sabha elections) can be done to broaden the project's scope. While working on Centre-state relations, the researcher can narrow down his/her research while choosing between administrative or financial relations.

As this research focuses on the study of main political parties at the local level (Punjab), there is a future scope of the study of the performance of different political

parties on the national level. There is also an excellent opportunity to explore the performance and structure of new emerging political parties/alliances in contrast with their performance in other states and along with the national political parties. The researcher has chosen six variables according to the research objectives of the study. In the future, future researchers can study and try other variables to explore the same problem. Variables like education, economic background, and so on can also be applied enhancing both the scope and quality of the research.

According to thes future research requirements, the variety and number of questions in the questionnaire can be increased/decreased. As it is impossible to include the entire population to study the electoral politics of Punjab, the researcher has given symbolic representations to two districts taking 240 respondents from three regions-Majha, Malwa and Doaba. In future, there is a possibility to increase the number of respondents to maximize the involvement of the research population. Also, there is a probability of taking a more detailed stance in selecting one region at a time. Taking only one region to study electoral politics will help explore the regional specificities as far as electoral politics is concerned. The researcher can use his/her resources in one direction, concentrating on only one specific region. The number of respondents from specific fields and critical informants and political experts can also be increased to enhance the quality of the research.

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Appendices A1

Questionnaire Form in English Version

Emerging Patterns in the Electoral Politics of Post 1984 Punjab: An Exploratory Study

This questionnaire is prepared for academic research purpose only. Your accurate and true answers will help the researcher in completion of the PhD research work. Please read the questions carefully and select the option that is most appropriate according to your perspective. Thanks for your contribution.

PART – 1

SET - A

Sr. No	Emerging Patterns in the Electoral Politics of Post 1984 Punjab: An Exploratory Study	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Disagree
1.	Do you think Religion and Politics are interrelated in Punjab?					
2.	Is Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) a representative political party of Sikhs?					
3.	Does the working of Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhik committee (SGPC) and Akal Takht influence the political performance of Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) in elections?					
4.	Do you think Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhik committee (SGPC) and Akal Takht are free from					

	any kind of political influence?				
5.	While voting, do you keep in mind the religious view point of the political party or candidate?				
6.	Do you find Gurudwaras as the space for the mobilization of Sikh politics?				
7.	Do you think Punjab is a Sikh dominated state?				
8.	Is there any connection between the caste factor and followers of Deras?				
9.	Does the mobilization of Dera followers towards a specific political party influence the overall outcome of elections?				
10.	Do you think Jat class dominates the politics of Punjab?				

11.	Which political party relies upon caste-based issues in order to influence political outcome in elections?	SAD	BJP	INC
12.	Which political party uses religious issues to get votes in elections?	SAD	BJP	INC
13.	What is the reason behind the tension between the Sikhs and Dera supporters?	Political reasons	Caste-based conflict	Religious reasons
14.	Dera is a space for	Political space for Dalits	Social and Cultural space for Dalits	A religious alternative to Gurudwara
15.	To what extent religious issues influence the political outcome of elections in Punjab?	Extremely	Moderately	Rarely
16.	Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) should indulge in religious affairs because	As a defender of Sikh faith	It has religious origin	Political Gain

SET – B

Sr. No	Emerging Patterns in the Electoral Politics of Post 1984 Punjab: An Exploratory Study	Yes	No
17.	Do you think religious issues should be linked with politics?		
18.	Do you give importance to the caste of a contesting candidate while voting?		
19.	Do you find the dominance of agricultural Jat class in the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD)?		
20.	Has Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) been successful in protecting the Sikh interests or providing justice to the victims of 1984?		
21.	Has the role of religion in politics influenced the Electoral performance of Congress in Punjab since 1984?		
22.	Do you find any religious influence while framing election manifestos for elections by political parties?		
23.	Do you think that the Dera heads control his/her followers politically?		
24.	According to your perspective, has Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) been successful in gaining political support from voters of other religions apart from Sikhs?		
25.	Are the Deras representatives of the Dalits?		

Part 2

Set A

Sr. No	Emerging Patterns in the Electoral Politics of Post 1984 Punjab: An Exploratory Study	1.	2.	3.	4.
1.	What are the main electoral issues that have dominated Punjab politics since 1984 till date?	Religious Issues	Economic Issues	Political Issues	Developmentall Issues
2.	What would be the future of Congress in Punjab?	Will win again	Will lose	Will be in opposition	Unpredictable
3.	What will be the future of AAP?	Will form government	Will slip down to third place	Remain in opposition	Unpredictable
4.	How AAP is different from SAD, BJP, Congress and other political parties?	No difference	Representative of people	Democratic in nature	Difference in ideology
5.	Which party will you prefer in 2022 assembly elections?	BJP	SAD	Congress	AAP
6.	Which electoral issue do you think is repeated again and again by the political parties?	The issue of waters of Punjab	Issue of drugs	Corruption	Good governance
7.	Whom do you want to see the next CM of	Sukhbir singh Badal	Navjot singh Sidhu	Bhagwant Mann	Captain Amrinder Singh

	Punjab?				
8.	Who is the dominant partner in SAD-BJP alliance?	SAD	BJP	Both are equal	Can't say
9.	How do you rate Sukhbir Singh Badal as the president as well as the CM face of SAD?	Very good	Good	Average	Below average
10.	What was the reason behind the loss of SAD in 2017 assembly elections?	Poor governance	Lack of democracy in the party structure	Poor leadership of Sukhbir Singh Badal	Desecration of Guru Granth Sahib in the Akali regime
11.	Which of the following issues is the most prominent that should be addressed at the earliest?	The issue of drugs	The issue of the waters of Punjab	Desecration of Guru Grant Sahib	The issue of Unemployment
12.	What will be another choice of you to form the Punjab government than bi party system?	Bi party should remain	Third Alternative should be given chance		
13.	Which political party has worked according to the respective election manifestos so far?	SAD	BJP	Congress	AAP

14.	Whom do you want to see the CM face if AAP wins 2022 assembly elections?	Bhagwant Mann	Arvind Kejriwal		Any other
15.	Is Captain Amrinder Singh the only influential leader in the Congress to lead the party in Punjab?	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
16.	What was the main reason behind the resurgence of Congress in Punjab in 2002 assembly elections?	CM face of Amrinder Singh	Anti-incumbency	Poor governance of SAD	Any other
17.	2022 assembly elections will be a?	Bi-party contest	Tri-party contest	Alliance vs. Alliance contest	Single party dominance
18.	How do you rate the performance of SAD- BJP alliance in Punjab politics?	Good	Very Good	Not good	Satisfactory
19.	SAD should indulge in religious affairs because of the following…?	As a defender of Sikh faith	It has religious origin	It should not indulge in religious matters	It is popular as a Sikh party
20.	How would you label SAD from the following	Secular Party	Panthic party	A+B	Representative of Jat class
21.	AAP's failure in Punjab was mainly due to	Dictatorship of Kejriwal	Factionism in Party	Lack of Sikh CM Face	Inability of AAP in converting

					popularity into votes
22.	While voting, what is the most important thing you consider	Candidate	Party	Caste/comm unity	Something else
23.	What is your opinion about the overall performance of congress government during the last 3 years?	Fully Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Not Satisfied
24.	Some people believe that Hindu-Sikh amity can be maintained in Punjab only by SAD(B)-BJP alliance	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
25.	Who has been the most influential leader among the following for their respective political parties?	Parkash Singh Badal	Captain Amrinder Singh.	Bhagwant Mann	Sukhbir Singh Badal
26.	The nature of electoral politics of Punjab is ...?	It is based on religion and caste	It is motivated by the will to hold the political power	It indulges in the welfare of the people	Any other
27.	The voters of Punjab vote keeping in mind...	CM face of a political party	Political party	Caste/Religi on of the candidate	Any other
28.	Do you think that centre	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly	Disagree

	government is anti-farmers and it has remained a strong political issue for the SAD to represent themselves as the pro- farmers party?			Agree	

SET - B

Sr. No	Emerging Patterns in the Electoral Politics of Post 1984 Punjab: An Exploratory Study	Yes	No
1	Do you think SAD-BJP alliance is an opportunistic alliance to get the votes from both Hindus and Sikhs?		
2.	Do you think BJP can make government in Punjab on its own?		
3.	Do you think the government at central level can influence the assembly elections in Punjab?		
4.	Do you think that AAP lost the 2017 assembly elections because the party didn't declare its CM face?		
5.	Is there any possibility of a Non-Punjabi face to be the CM of Punjab?		
6.	Do you want to see Captain Amrinder Singh as the next CM of Punjab again after the 2022 elections?		
7.	Do you think SAD-BJP alliance will contest the 2022 elections jointly?		
8.	Do you see AAP as a political party which is different form other political parties of Punjab?		
9.	Do you agree that SAD has failed in maintaining the prestige of Sikh religion?		
10.	In recent years, the interference of political parties in religious institutions has increased manifold. Do you agree with it?		
11.	Do you agree that AAP lost 2017 assembly election in		

	the wake of non-Sikh face of party leadership?		
12.	Do you think that the centre-state relations have remained at the centre of the electoral politics of Punjab?		
13.	Do you think AAP will win the 2022 assembly elections in Punjab?		

Bio-data of the Respondent

Name: --

Gender: ---------------------------

Age: -------------------------------

Religion: ---------------------------

Caste: -------------------------------

Sect: ----------------------------------

Language: ---------------------------

Locality: - ---------------------------

Education: ---------------------------

Occupation: -------------------------

Contact: ----------------------------------

Email Address: ---------------------------

Appendice A2

ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨਾਵਲੀ

ਸੰਨ 1984 ਦੇ ਚੋਣ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਉਭਰ ਰਹੇ ਪੈਟਰਨ: ਇਕ ਪੜਚੋਲ

ਇਹ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨਾਵਲੀ ਸਿਰਫ ਅਕਾਦਮਿਕ ਖੋਜ ਮਕਸਦ ਲਈ ਤਿਆਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ| ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਸਹੀ ਜਵਾਬ ਸਾਡੀ ਖੋਜਕਾਰਜਨੂੰਪੂਰਾਕਰਨਵਿਚ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਕਰਨਗੇ| ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਧਿਆਨ ਨਾਲ ਪੜ੍ਹੋ ਅਤੇ ਉਹ ਵਿਕਲਪ ਚੁਣੋ ਜੋ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਰਿਪੇਖ ਦੇ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਉਚਿਤ ਹੈ| ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਯੋਗਦਾਨ ਲਈ ਧੰਨਵਾਦ|

ਜਵਾਬਦੇਹ ਦਾ ਬਾਇਓਡਾਟਾ

ਨਾਮ --ਉਮਰ -----------ਲਿੰਗ -------------------ਪੇਂਡੂ/ਸ਼ਹਿਰੀ----------

ਧਰਮ ------------------------ਜਾਤੀ---------------ਭਾਸ਼ਾ -----------------------ਕਿੱਤਾ-------------------------

ਸਬਾਈਪਤਾ ---ਸਿੱਖਿਆ ---

ਸੰਪਰਕ ਨੰਬਰ --------------------------------------ਈਮੇਲ ਖਾਤਾ -------------------------------------

1. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਧਰਮ ਅਤੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਦਾ ਆਪਸ ਵਿਚ ਮੇਲ ਹੈ?

    ਸਹਿਮਤੀ   ਅਸਹਿਮਤ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ

2. ਕੀ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ (ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ) ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਨਿਧੀ ਹੈ?

    ਸਹਿਮਤੀ   ਅਸਹਿਮਤ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ

3. ਕੀ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ (ਐਸ ਜੀ ਪੀ ਸੀ) ਅਤੇ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਨੇ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਦੀ

ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਕਾਰਗੁਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ?

    ਸਹਿਮਤੀ   ਅਸਹਿਮਤ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ

4. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ (ਐਸਜੀਪੀਸੀ) ਅਤੇ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਤਰਾਂ ਦੇ

ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਤੋਂ ਮੁਕਤ ਹਨ?

     ਸਹਿਮਤੀ   ਅਸਹਿਮਤ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ

5. ਵੋਟ ਪਾਉਣ ਵੇਲੇ ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਜਾਂ ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਦੇ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਨਜ਼ਰੀਏ ਨੂੰ ਧਿਆਨ ਵਿਚ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹੋ?

     ਸਹਿਮਤੀ   ਅਸਹਿਮਤ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ

6. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਲਾਮਬੰਦ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਗੁਰਧਾਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ ਸਮਝਦੇ ਹੋ?

     ਸਹਿਮਤੀ   ਅਸਹਿਮਤ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ

7. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਇਕ ਸਿੱਖ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਰਾਜ ਹੈ?

     ਸਹਿਮਤੀ   ਅਸਹਿਮਤ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ

8. ਕੀ ਜਾਤ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਕ ਅਤੇ ਡੇਰਾ ਦੇ ਪੈਰੋਕਾਰਾਂ ਵਿਚਕਾਰ ਕੋਈ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਹੈ?

     ਸਹਿਮਤੀ   ਅਸਹਿਮਤ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ

9. ਕੀ ਡੇਰਾ ਪੈਰੋਕਾਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਇਕ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਲਾਮਬੰਦੀ ਹੈ?

     ਸਹਿਮਤੀ   ਅਸਹਿਮਤ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ

10. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਾਟ ਵਰਗ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਤੇ ਹਾਵੀ ਹੈ?

     ਸਹਿਮਤੀ   ਅਸਹਿਮਤ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ

11. ਕਿਹੜੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਪਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਜਾਤੀ ਅਧਾਰਤ ਮੁੱਦਿਆਂ 'ਤੇ ਨਿਰਭਰ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ?

     ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ   ਭਾਰਤੀ ਜਨਤਾ ਪਾਰਟੀ   ਇੰਡੀਅਨ ਨੈਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ

                    ਬਹੁਜਨ ਸਮਾਜ ਪਾਰਟੀ

12. ਕਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਵੋਟਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਮਸਲਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ?

शੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ   ਭਾਰਤੀ ਜਨਤਾ ਪਾਰਟੀ   ਇੰਡੀਅਨ ਨੈਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ

ਬਹੁਜਨ ਸਮਾਜ ਪਾਰਟੀ

13. ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਡੇਰਾ ਸਮਰਥਕਾਂ ਵਿਚਾਲੇ ਤਣਾਅ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਕੀ ਕਾਰਨ ਹੈ?

ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਕਾਰਨ   ਜਾਤ ਅਧਾਰਤ ਟਕਰਾਅ   ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਕਾਰਨ

ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਕਾਰਨ

14. ਡੇਰਾ .... ਲਈ ਇੱਕ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ ਹੈ

ਦਲਿਤਾਂ ਲਈ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਥਾਂ   ਦਲਿਤਾਂ ਲਈ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਅਤੇ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰਕ ਸਥਾਨ

ਗੁਰੁਦੁਆਰੇ ਦਾ ਇੱਕ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਵਿਕਲਪ   ਸਾਰੀ ਮਨੁੱਖਤਾ ਲਈ ਇੱਕ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ

15. ਕਿਸ ਹੱਦ ਤੱਕ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਮੁੱਦੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਦੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਨਤੀਜਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਤ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ?

ਬਹੁਤ   ਸੰਜਮ ਨਾਲ   ਸ਼ਾਇਦ ਹੀ   ਕੋਈ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਨਹੀਂ

16. ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ (ਧਾਰਮਿਕ) ਨੂੰ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਮਾਮਲਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹੋਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ …

ਸਿੱਖ ਧਰਮ ਦੇ ਰਖਵਾਲੇ ਵਜੋਂ   ਇਸਦਾ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਮੂਲ ਹੈ   ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਲਾਭ

ਇਸਨੂੰ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਮਾਮਲਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ

17. ਕੀਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਮੁੱਦਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਰਾਜ ਨੀਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਜੋੜਿਆ ਜਾਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

18. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਵਿਚਖੇਤੀਬਾੜੀ ਜਾਟ ਵਰਗ ਦਾ ਦਬਦਬਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

19. ਕੀਤੁਸੀਂ ਵੋਟ ਪਾਉਣ ਵੇਲੇ ਚੋਣ ਲੜ ਰਹੇ ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਜਾਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਮਹੱਤਵ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹੋ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

20. ਕੀ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਸਿੱਖ ਹਿੱਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਰਾਖੀ ਵਿਚਸਫਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਜਾਂ 1984 ਦੇਪੀੜਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਨਸਾਫ ਦਿਵਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

21. ਕੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਧਰਮ ਦੀ ਭੂਮਿਕਾ ਨੇ 1984 ਤੋਂਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ ਕਾਰਗੁਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

22. ਕੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਚੋਣ ਮੈਨੀਫੈਸਟੋ ਤਿਆਰ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਕੋਈ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਆਉਂਦਾਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

23. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਡੇਰਾ ਮੁਖੀਆਪਣੇ / ਉਸਦੇ ਪੈਰੋਕਾਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਨਿਯੰਤਰਿਤ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ? *

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

24. ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਨਜ਼ਰੀਏ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ, ਕੀ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ ਹੋਰ ਧਰਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਸਫਲ ਰਿਹਾਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

25. ਕੀ ਡੇਰਾ ਦਲਿਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਨੁਮਾਇੰਦੇ ਹਨ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

29. ਉਹ ਕਿਹੜੇ ਮੁੱਖ ਮੁੱਦੇ ਹਨ ਜੋ 1984 ਤੋਂ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਅੱਜ ਤੱਕ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਉੱਤੇ ਹਾਵੀ ਰਹੇ?

ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਮੁੱਦੇ   ਆਰਥਿਕ ਮੁੱਦੇ   ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਮੁੱਦੇ

ਵਿਕਾਸ ਦੇ ਮੁੱਦੇ

30.ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ ਦਾ ਭਵਿੱਖ ਕੀ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ?

ਦੁਬਾਰਾ ਜਿੱਤੇਗਾ   ਹਾਰ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ   ਵਿਰੋਧ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਣਗੇ

अनुमानि नहीं

31.(आप) आम आदमी पार्टी दा भविष्ख की होवेगा?

सरकार बणाऐगी   हेठां खिसक के तीजे सथान 'तेआजावेगा

विरोध विच रहे   अनुमानित नहीं

32.आम आदमी पार्टी (आप) कांगरस अते होर राजनीतिक पार्टीआं तो वॅखरी किवें है? *

     कोई अंतर नहीं   लोकां दा प्रतीनिध

     लोकतंतरी सुभाअ   विचारधारा विॅच अंतर

33. तुसीं 2022 दीआं विधानसभा चोणां विच किस पार्टी नूं तरजीह दिओगे?

     भारती जनता पार्टी (भाजपा)   श्रोमणी अकाली दल (अकालीदल)

     आम आदमी पार्टी (आप)   कांगरस

34. तुहानूं लगदा है कि किहड़ा चोण मुॅदा राजनीतिक पार्टीआं दुआरा बार बार दुहराइआ जांदा है?

     पंजाब दे पाणीआं दा मुॅदा   नशिआं दा मुॅदा   भ्रिश्टाचार दा

                    चंगी सरकार दा

35.तुसीं पंजाब दे अगले मुॅख मंतरी नूं किस नूं वेखणा चाहुंदे हो

     सुखबीर सिंघ बादल   नवजोत सिंघ सिॅधू   भगवंत मान

     कपतान अमरिंदर सिंघ

36. अकाली-भाजपा गॅठजोड़ विच प्रमुॅख भाईवाल कॅणहै?

     अकाली   भाजपा   देवें बराबर हन   नहीं कहि सकदे

37. सुखबीर सिंघ बादल नूं प्रधान होऐ दे नाल नाल श्रोमणी अकाली दल दा मुॅखमंतरी चिहरा किवें मंनदे हो

बहुत ਵਧੀਆ   ਚੰਗੇ   ਚੰਗੇ ਨਹੀਂ   ਠੀਕ ਠਾਕ

38. 2017 ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਧਾਨ ਸਭਾ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਦੇ ਹਾਰਨ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਕੀ ਕਾਰਨ ਸੀ?

ਮਾੜੀ ਸ਼ਾਸਨ ਪ੍ਰਣਾਲੀ   ਪਾਰਟੀ ਢਾਂਚੇ ਵਿਚ ਲੋਕਤੰਤਰ ਦੀ ਘਾਟ

ਸੁਖਬੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ ਦੀ ਮਾੜੀ ਲੀਡਰਸ਼ਿਪ   ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸ਼ਾਸਨ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਬੇਅਦਬੀ

39. ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖਿਆਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਕਿਹੜਾ ਮੁੱਦਾ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਜਲਦੀ ਹੱਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ?

ਨਸ਼ਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਦਾ   ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਪਾਣੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਦਾ

ਗੁਰੂ ਗਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਬੇਅਦਬੀ   ਬੇਰੁਜ਼ਗਾਰੀ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਦਾ

40. ਕਿਹੜੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਨੇ ਹੁਣ ਤਕ ਸਬੰਧਤ ਚੋਣ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੱਤਰਾਂ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕੰਮ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ?

ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ   ਦਲ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਜਨਤਾ ਪਾਰਟੀ

ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ   ਕਾਂਗਰਸ

41. ਜੇ ਆਪ 2022 ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਧਾਨ ਸਭਾ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਜਿੱਤ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਦਾ ਚਿਹਰਾ ਕਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਵੇਖਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹੋ?

ਭਗਵੰਤ ਮਾਨ   ਅਰਵਿੰਦ ਕੇਜਰੀਵਾਲ   ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ

42. 2002 ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਧਾਨ ਸਭਾ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ ਦੇ ਮੁੜ ਉੱਥਰਨ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਖ ਕਾਰਨ ਕੀ ਸੀ

ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਅਮਰਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਾ ਚਿਹਰਾ   ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਦੀ ਮਾੜੀ ਕਾਰਗੁਜ਼ਾਰੀ

ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਪ੍ਰਵਿਰਤੀ   ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ

43. 2022 ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਧਾਨ ਸਭਾ ਚੋਣਾਂਹੋਣਗੀਆਂ? *

ਦੋ-ਪੱਖੀ ਮੁਕਾਬਲਾ   ਤ੍ਰਿ-ਪਾਰਟੀ ਮੁਕਾਬਲਾ

ਅਲਾਇੰਸ ਬਨਾਮ ਅਲਾਇੰਸ ਮੁਕਾਬਲਾ   ਇਕੱਲੇ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦਾ ਦਬਦਬਾ

44. ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਅਕਾਲੀ-ਭਾਜਪਾ ਗਠਜੋੜ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਨੂੰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਦਰਜਾ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹੋ? *

    ਚੰਗੇ   ਬਹੁਤ ਚੰਗੇ   ਨਹੀਂ ਚੰਗੇ   ਸੰਤੁਸ਼ਟ

45. ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਨੂੰ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖਿਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਲੇਬਲ ਕਰੋਗੇ?

    ਸੈਕੁਲਰ ਪਾਰਟੀ   ਪੰਥਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ   ਏ + ਬੀ   ਜਾਟ ਕਲਾਸ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਨਿਧ.

46. ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ (ਆਪ) ਦੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਅਸਫਲਤਾ ਮੁੱਖ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ

    ਪਾਰਟੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਧੜੇਬੰਦੀ   ਕੇਜਰੀਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਤਾਨਾਸ਼ਾਹੀ

    ਸਿੱਖ ਸੀ.ਐੱਮ ਦੀ ਘਾਟ   ਲੋਕ ਪ੍ਰਿਅਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਵੋਟਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਬਦਲਣ ਵਿੱਚ 'ਆਪ ਦੀ ਅਸਮਰੱਥਾ

47. ਵੋਟ ਪਾਉਣ ਵੇਲੇ, ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਮਹੱਤਵਪੂਰਣ ਗੱਲ ਕੀ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮੰਨਦੇ ਹੋ?

    ਉਮੀਦਵਾਰ   ਪਾਰਟੀ   ਜਾਤੀ   ਕੁਝ ਹੋਰ

48. ਪਿਛਲੇ 3 ਸਾਲਾਂ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਸਮੁੱਚੀ ਕਾਰਗੁਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਰਾਏ ਕੀ ਹੈ?

    ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸੰਤੁਸ਼ਟ   ਸੰਤੁਸ਼ਟ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ   ਸੰਤੁਸ਼ਟ ਨਹੀਂ

49. ਕੁਝ ਲੋਕ ਮੰਨਦੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੰਦੂ-ਸਿੱਖ ਭਾਈਚਾਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਰਫ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ (ਬੀ) -ਭਾਜਪਾ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਜਨਤਾ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਗੱਠਜੋੜ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਚਾਈ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ?

    ਸਹਿਮਤੀ   ਅਸਹਿਮਤ   ਨਿਰਪੱਖ

50. ਆਪਣੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਲਈ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖਿਆਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਨੇਤਾ ਕੌਣ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ?

    ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ   ਕੈਪਟਨ ਅਮਰਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ   ਭਗਵੰਤ ਮਾਨ

    ਸੁਖਬੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ

51. ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਦਾ ਸੁਭਾਅ ਕੀ ਹੈ?

    ਇਹ ਧਰਮ ਅਤੇ ਜਾਤੀ 'ਤੇਅਧਾਰਤ ਹੈ   ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਇਮ ਰੱਖਣ ਦੀ ਇੱਛਾ ਤੋਂ ਪ੍ਰੇਰਿਤ ਹੈ

ਇਹ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਭਲਾਈ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹੈ   ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ

52. ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਵੋਟਰ ਧਿਆਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਵੋਟ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹਨ?

ਜਾਤੀ   ਧਰਮ   ਇਕ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਚਿਹਰਾ

ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ   ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ

53. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਕਿਸਾਨੀ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ (ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ) ਲਈ ਆਪਣਾ ਪੱਖਪੂਰਨ ਵਾਲੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਵਜੋਂ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਨਾ ਇਕ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਮੁੱਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

54. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ–ਭਾਰਤੀ ਜਨਤਾ ਪਾਰਟੀ (ਭਾਜਪਾ) ਦਾ ਗੱਠਜੋੜ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੋਵਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਵੋਟਾਂ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਇਕ ਮੌਕਾਪ੍ਰਸਤ ਗੱਠਜੋੜ ਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

55. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਭਾਜਪਾ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਹੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਬਣਾ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

56. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕੇਂਦਰੀ ਪੱਧਰ 'ਤੇ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਧਾਨਸਭਾ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਤ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

57. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ (ਆਪ) 2017 ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਧਾਨ ਸਭਾ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਹਾਰ ਗਈ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਨੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਚਿਹਰਾ ਐਲਾਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

58. ਕੀ ਗੈਰ-ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਚਿਹਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਖਮੰਤਰੀ ਬਣਨ ਦੀ ਕੋਈ ਸੰਭਾਵਨਾ ਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

59. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕੈਪਟਨ ਅਮਰਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ 2022 ਦੀਆਂ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਦੁਬਾਰਾ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਅਗਲੇ ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਵਜੋਂ ਵੇਖਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹੋ?

     ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

60. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅਕਾਲੀ-ਭਾਜਪਾ ਗੱਠਜੋੜ 2022 ਦੀਆਂ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਸਾਂਝੇ ਤੌਰ 'ਤੇ ਲੜੇਗਾ?

     ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

61. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ (ਆਪ) ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਦੇਖ ਦੇ ਹੋ ਜੋ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਹੋਰ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਵੱਖਰੀ ਹੈ?

     ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

62. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਨਾਲ ਸਹਿਮਤ ਹੋ ਕਿ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ (ਸਿੱਖ) ਸਿੱਖ ਧਰਮ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਾਨ ਕਾਇਮ ਰੱਖਣ ਵਿਚ ਅਸਫਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ?

     ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

63. ਹਾਲ ਹੀ ਦੇ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਦਖਲ ਕਈ ਗੁਣਾ ਵਧਿਆ ਹੈ. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਸਹਿਮਤ ਹੋ?

     ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

64. ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਹਿਮਤ ਹੋ ਕਿ ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ (ਆਪ) ਪਾਰਟੀ ਲੀਡਰਸ਼ਿਪ ਦੇ ਗੈਰ-ਸਿੱਖ ਚਿਹਰੇ ਦੇ ਮੱਦੇਨਜ਼ਰ 2017 ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਧਾਨ ਸਭਾ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਹਾਰ ਗਈ?

     ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

65. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕੇਂਦਰ-ਰਾਜ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਦੇ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਵਿਚ ਬਣੇ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ?

     ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

66. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ (ਆਪ) ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ 2022 ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਧਾਨ ਸਭਾ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਜਿੱਤੇਗੀ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

67. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਬਹੁਜਨਸਮਾਜ ਪਾਰਟੀ (ਬਸਪਾ) ਦਲਿਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਨਿਧੀ ਵਜੋਂ ਦਲਿਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਸਮਰਥਨ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ

ਕਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਸਫਲ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

68. ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਲੋਕ ਇਨਸਾਫ ਪਾਰਟੀ (ਐਲਆਈਪੀ) ਹੁਣ ਨਾਲੋਂ 2022 ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਧਾਨ ਸਭਾ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਇੱਕ

ਵੱਡੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਬਣ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ?

ਹਾਂ   ਨਹੀਂ

APPNDICES B1

LIST OF PLACES VISITED

Sr. No	District	Places Visited
1	Ludhiana	Villages- Bilaspur, Payal, Ghangas, Rurka, Daud, Doraha, Raikot, Sarinh, Ghulal, Bhurthala, Kheri, Ahmedgarh, Bhikhi, Buwani, Gidri, Model town Ludhiana,
2	Sangrur	Kup khurd, Narike,
5	Gurdaspur	Naseerpura,
6	Amritsar	Gujjarpura, Batala, Guru ki Wdali
7	Jalandhar	Villages- Rahon, Rurka, Prithwi Nagar Kishanpura, Khosla Mohalla Rahon, Onkar Nagar khothran road Phagwara, Rama MandiShiv Nagar Sodal roard Jalandhar
8	Rupnagar	Behloor Kalan, Kaulgarh, Chankoya SBS nagar, Dhaliwal Kadian, Bluran, Balachaur

APPPENDICE B2.

List of People Contacted For Validating Content of Questionnaire

Sr. No	Name	Designation
1	Dr Manvendra Singh	Associate Professor Lovely Professional university
2	Gurmeeet Kaur	Sarpanch Of the Village (Local Government)
3	Gurpreet Singh	Panch (Member of Gram Panchayat)
4	Santokh Singh	Chairman of A Gurdwara committee
5	Davinderpal Singh	Panch (Member of Gram Panchayat)

Appendices C1

List of Paper Publications

	Publications	Journals	UGC-care listed Journal/ Scopus Indexed Journal
1	Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) and 2017 Assembly Elections in Punjab: An Analytical Study Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) and 2017 Assembly Elections in Punjab: An Analytical Study	History Research Journal ISSN:0976-5425, VOL-5-ISSUE-5-SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER-2019	UGC-care listed Journal. Discontinued from Jan. 2020
2	The Staccato Of Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) In 2020: An Analytical Study Of Its Hat-Trick	European Journal of Molecular & Clinical Medicine ISSN 2515-8260 Volume 07, Issue 07, 2020	Discontinue in 2018
3	Teaching, Teacher and Student in the COVID 19 Era: An Assessment of Online Education	Shodh Sarita ISSN 2348-2397 Vol. 7, Issue 28, Oct-Dec 2020	UGC-care listed Journal. Discontinue from April 2021
4	Women: Playing Second Fiddle to Men	IJRAR January 2019, Volume 6, Issue 1	Not UGC-care listed Journal.
5	Corona Crisis and Electoral Politics: A Case of West Bengal Assembly Elections 2021	Covid-19 crisis: Psycho social perspectives ISBN 978-93-91178-37-6	Book
6	Gender Variant and Electoral Politics of Punjab: A Comparative Analysis of the Voters of Doaba Region	Under Publication	
7	The Punjab Problem: A Problem that was not there	Under publication	
8	An Assessment of Emerging Trends in the Electoral Politics of Punjab	Under publication	

Appndices C2

Conferences Attended/Paper Presented

Sr. No	Paper Presentation	Conference/Seminar/Symposium
1	Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) and 2017 Assembly Elections in Punjab: An Analytical Study Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) and 2017 Assembly Elections in Punjab: An Analytical Study	International Symposium On "The Interdisciplinary Hermeneutic: Reappraising the Socio-cultural Episteme" School of Humanities, Lovely Professional University, Punjab
2	Gender Variant and Electoral Politics of Punjab: A Comparative Analysis of the Voters of Doaba Region	International Conference on Equality, Diversity and Inclusivity: Issues and Concerns organized on 25th September, 2021 by School of Education & School of Humanities, Lovely Professional University, Punjab.