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Dalit Assertion in Colonial Punjab: A study of three Communities in Jalandhar City

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Abstract: While studying the Dalit in Punjab in the colonial period, there were three significant Dalit communities that worked for the cause of the upliftment of the community. These were the Balmikis, the Ad Dharmi, and the Megh. All these three communities tried their level best for Dalit assertion in Punjab. The Dalit in Punjab had never been given the social and political rights. They were even deprived of the right to have a job in the administrative and judicial sphere. The norms usually remained different for them in comparison to the other castes in Punjabi social order. They were given occupations like scavenging, toddy tapping, sweeping, leatherwork and the like which as per social norms made them the polluting castes. They were even given the lower ritual and social status in the society by the upper castes.

The Balmikis and their assertion in Jalandhar:

As per the Census Report of 1881, Lal Beg and Bala Shah were the two significant figures worshipped by the Balmikis of Punjab. As per the Census Report of 1911, there were 315674 Balmikis and 466172 Lal Begis in Punjab.¹ In 1921 the Balmikis were 221027 however the Lal Begis were 437295.² The number of the Balmikis and Lal Begis declined as visible in the Census Report of 1931. As per this report, there were 155738 Balmikis and 58897 Lal Begis in Punjab.³ It may be under the pressure by the Muslim, the Hindu or the Sikh and others, who pulled them into their own fold. Some of them might have returned themselves to Ad Dharm also.⁴ The Balmikis who joined Sikhism got a new name of Mazhabi Sikh in the rural socio-economic village set up where they started helping the agriculturist in ploughing, irrigating and weeding the fields.

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¹ Census Report 1911, p. 131.

² Census Report 1921, p. 180.

³ Census Report 1931, p. 301.

⁴ Satish Saberwal, *Mobile Men*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1976, pp. 50-52

The Balmikis were the first ones among the Dalit in Punjab who founded their own organizations. In 1901, a conference was also organized at Ali Mohalla Jalandhar, in which the members of the community from the different parts of Punjab participated. Babu Ganddu Dass, Mahatma Garib Dass, Pandit Kirpa Ram, Pandit Dittu Ram, Nathu Ram, Kanhaya Lal, Sadhu Jodha Ram, and Sant Gonda Dass were the significant participants of this conference in which Babu Ganddu Dass was elected as the President. They passed a resolution in the meeting in which it was unanimously decided to use the word Balmiki instead of previously coined word *Chuhra* and also decided to build some new Balmiki temples in the different parts of Punjab. They also decided to replace all of such ceremonies which previously practiced by them under the influence of Islam.⁵ This conference proved very fruitful because under its influence the Balmikis in Punjab organized themselves into many community organizations. They founded first Balmiki Sabha at Jalandhar under the Presidentship of Mahatma Faqir Chand, and Shadi Ram was nominated as its General Secretary. They got constructed a Balmiki temple at Ali Mohalla Jalandhar which later on became popular as Balmik Darbar. Such Sabhas organized in the different parts of Punjab enlightened the members of Balmik community members to enroll themselves as Balmikis instead of *Chuhra* in the Census Report of 1931.⁶ The Balmikis initially became a part of Ad Dharam Mandal but somehow the differences emerged and they got them separated for the Mandal.⁷

The Balmikis now got an opportunity when their significant community member Chaudhary Bansi Lal won the election at Lahore while defeating Rai Bahadur Sewak Ram. A conference was also arranged by Chunni Lal Thapar at Basti Sheikh Jalandhar in which Chaudhary Bansi Lal was invited as a chief guest. Now the Balmiki Ad Dharm Mandal was formed with its headquarter at Lahore. In 1932, the Communal Award was declared but no seat was reserved for the Dalit in Punjab as they were not succeeded to influence the Lothian Committee regarding their position in Punjab.⁸ When Mahatma Gandhi declared his fast unto death Babu Chunni Lal Thapar along with Babu Mangoo Ram Muggowal declared his fast unto death at Shimla with a demand to implement Communal Award and also to reserve seats

⁵ Pandit Bakshi Ram & Karnail Singh Sahota, *Balmik Sabha Da Itihas (Punjabi)*, Chandigarh: Bhartiya Balmiki Sabha (Regd.), 1999, pp. 30-34

⁶ Pandit Bakshi Ram & Karnail Singh Sahota, *Balmik Sabha Da Itihas (Punjabi)*, Chandigarh: Bhartiya Balmiki Sabha (Regd.), 1999, p. 52

⁷ Pandit Bakshi Ram & Karnail Singh Sahota, *Balmik Sabha Da Itihas (Punjabi)*, Chandigarh: Bhartiya Balmiki Sabha (Regd.), 1999, p. 57

⁸ Pandit Bakshi Ram & Karnail Singh Sahota, *Balmik Sabha Da Itihas (Punjabi)*, Chandigarh: Bhartiya Balmiki Sabha (Regd.), 1999, p. 62

for the Dalit of Punjab in it. As a result, when the Poona Pact was passed it included eight seats reserved for the Dalit in Punjab. It encouraged the Dalit of Punjab in general and the Balmikis particularly to work more enthusiastically for their rights. In 1933, the Balmikis summoned another conference at Mohalla Sanghran near Ali Mohalla Jalandhar under the banner of Punjab Pradesh Balmik Sabha in which Chaudhary Dogar Ram was elected as president and Pandit Bakshi Ram as General Secretary. In this conference, a resolution was passed to initiate an agitation all over Punjab to get the control of *Ram Tirath Ashram*, Amritsar in the hands of the Balmikis. The Sabha was succeeded in its task though it took a strong agitation to achieve the desired results.⁹

The Poona pact reserved eight seats for the Dalit in Punjab which compelled the Balmikis to think over it. A new political party with the name of the Unionist party was framed in Punjab by Sir Fazal Hussain which invited the Punjabis of all the religions and caste to join it for the cause of Punjab. They got close contact with Ad Dharam Mandal and included Babu Mangoo Ram as their significant member. It forced the Balmikis to search for a new political platform. Initially, they thought of Indian National Congress, but as it had opposed the Communal Award so it was not easy for the Balmikis to join Indian National Congress. Hence the Balmikis declared Chaudhary Bansi Lal their leader and decided to contest independently the elections of 1937. The candidates from different constituencies were declared by the Balmiki Sabha but all of them were defeated in the elections. It resulted in the closeness of the Balmikis with Indian National Congress in the later stage.¹⁰ As the majority of Balmikis in Jalandhar were working at Jalandhar Municipality, now they concentrated on getting their judicious rights there. They made *Balmiki Raksha Dal* and under its banner, they started the agitation which was supported by the Indian National Congress too. It brought them more closely to the Indian National Congress; as a result of the Congress also started nominating the candidates supported by Punjab Balmik Sabha, as in the case of the candidature of Chaudhary Sant Ram and Professor Yashwant Rai.¹¹ In post-independence period, the formation of All India Balmik Sabha, the re-strengthening of Punjab Balmik Sabha, the issue of reservation for the Balmikis in jobs and educational

⁹ Pandit Bakshi Ram & Karnail Singh Sahota, *Balmik Sabha Da Itihas (Punjabi)*, Chandigarh: Bhartiya Balmiki Sabha (Regd.), 1999, p 72

¹⁰ Pandit Bakshi Ram & Karnail Singh Sahota, *Balmik Sabha Da Itihas (Punjabi)*, Chandigarh: Bhartiya Balmiki Sabha (Regd.), 1999, p 80-85

¹¹ Pandit Bakshi Ram & Karnail Singh Sahota, *Balmik Sabha Da Itihas (Punjabi)*, Chandigarh: Bhartiya Balmiki Sabha (Regd.), 1999, pp. 94-95

institutions and the incident of 'Luvkush' movie, in all these activities the Balmikis of Punjab in general and the Balmikis of Jalandhar particularly participated with full zeal and got utmost success.¹² Now, the Balmiki Sabhas in Jalandhar are very active and are working for the cause of the community very efficiently.

The Ad Dharmis and their assertion in Jalandhar:

In Punjab, the untouchables initiated a movement at the begging of the 20th century with the name of Ad Dharm Mandal. The meaning of term Ad Dharm is ancient religion. The followers of this religion considered themselves as the original inhabitants of the land. This movement got inspiration from the ideas of significant medieval Saints who were popularly called the *Bhakats*. The Ad Dharm Mandal was founded on June 11-12, 1926 at village Muggowal in Hoshiarpur district. The chief architect of this movement was Babu Mangoo Ram of village Muggowal. He was a staunch devotee of Guru Ravidass, a significant Saint of *Bhakti* tradition. This organization followed the pattern of Sikhism. The significant readings from the scriptures of the Ad Dharmi Gurus were propagated among the community members. They started using special hymn '*Soham*' which means 'I am that'. They started using the term Guru for their holy men. They also adopted the phrase '*Jai Gurudev*' literary means 'Victory of the Divine Guru' to greet the persons of their community and in response to them, the other person is expected to greet with the phrase '*Dhan Gurudev*' literary means 'Blessed by the Divine Guru'.

Some resolutions were passed in this meeting of Ad Dharam Mandal at village Muggowal. Significantly they decided to follow the teaching of Maharishi Balmiki, Guru Ravidass, Satguru Namdev and Satguru Kabir in the true spirit however the domination of Ravidasias in the movement was so strong that it came to be identified with them.¹³ They also decided to celebrate the birthdays of these gurus in the whole of the province and even represent to the government to declare gazette holidays on the occasion. It was decided to make a sincere effort to eradicate the evil practice of untouchability. To educate the members of the community, pressure should be built upon the government to arrange for scholarships and fee-concessions for the Dalit students so that they may educate themselves.¹⁴The red

¹² Pandit Bakshi Ram & Karnail Singh Sahota, *Balmik Sabha Da Itihas (Punjabi)*, Chandigarh: Bhartiya Balmiki Sabha (Regd.), 1999, pp. 138-40

¹³ Paramjit S. Judge, "Punjabis in England: The Ad-Dharmi Experience" in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 31, (August 3-9, 2002), p. 3245.

¹⁴ *Ad Dharm Mandal Report, 1926-31*, pp. 10-16

color was considered as the symbolic color of the Ad Dharm Mandal as it was the color of the original inhabitants of India. Jalandhar was made headquarter of the Mandal, and moreover to win the support of the government they considered themselves the true supporters of the British and also the true patriots. They also compiled some significant principles of Ad Dharm Mandal as; no one can change the basic teachings of the Ad Dharm; any person without the discrimination of gender who belongs to the Ad Dharm does not know the principles of Mandal is leading a sinful life; every member should believe in the Guru and follow His teachings; each member of Ad Dharm Mandal should abstain himself from, fraud, theft, dishonesty or any such matter which brings disrespect to the community; to read *Adi Parkash Granth* and follow it, and to get knowledge and seek progress is compulsory for every Ad Dharmi.¹⁵

A significant organizational structure and leadership were also followed by Ad Dharm Mandal. They made a provision of President, Vice President, General Secretary, Joint Secretary, Treasurer, and Executive and Advisory Committee. Ad Dharm Mandal for its smooth working and expansion, also send propagators in the different parts of the province to seek public support. Ad Dharmi as a distinct social and religious group came to exist when the British government accepted the demand of the leaders of Ad Dharm Mandal to record them as a distinct caste in the Census Report of 1931.¹⁶ After the analysis of the Ad Dharm Mandal Report of 1926 and Census Report of 1931, it may be analyzed that it was the result of the working of these propagators that their strength was increased in the Census Report of 1931 as shown in the following Table No. T – 2 (1):

Table No. T – 1

Comparison of District wise strength of the members of Ad Dharm Mandal 1926 - 1931			
Sr. No.	District	No. of Members as Per Ad Dharm Mandal Report 1926	No. of Members as Per Census Report 1931
1.	Hoshiarpur	176	111829

¹⁵ Vinay Kumar, *Changing Trends In the History of Dalit Politics in Punjab in the 20th Century*, (Unpublished Ph. D Thesis), Chandigarh: Panjab University, 2010, pp. 44-45
¹⁶ Paramjit S. Judge, "Punjabis in England: The Ad-Dharmi Experience" in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 31, (August 3-9, 2002), p. 3245.

2.	<i>Jalandhar</i>	120	113580
3.	<i>Lyallpur</i>	90	50718
4.	<i>Kangra</i>	42	20833
5.	<i>Montgomery</i>	18	16119
6.	<i>Gurdaspur</i>	14	6545
7.	<i>Ludhiana</i>	14	17720
8.	<i>Ferozepore</i>	13	36262
9.	<i>Sheikhupura</i>	12	11741
10.	<i>Multan</i>	10	4927
11.	<i>Gujrat</i>	03	1010
12.	<i>Lahore</i>	02	1006
13.	<i>Karnal</i>	01	5011

Source: Ad Dharm Mandal Report (1926-31) & Census Report 1931

This table shows how the number of members who returned themselves as Ad Dharmi in the Census Report 1931 was increased. It was initially in a strong number in the Jalandhar Doab region and even for the Census record, it seems similar numerical strength in the Jalandhar Doab region because it was the center of this very movement. This Ad Dharm Mandal became a significant organization of the Dalit of Punjab. They also started a newspaper with the name of 'Adi Danka' which means the drum of the original inhabitants of India. In this newspaper, they propagated their ideology and also encouraged the members of the community to raise their voices for their justified demands. In Jalandhar, the significant locality of the Ad Dharmis is Bootan Mandi which is situated on National highways of Jalandhar – Nakodar – Ferozepore. It is not unfair if this locality is called the capital of the Dalit in Punjab.¹⁷

As a part of politics in Punjab in the pre-independence period, the role of Ad Dharm Mandal is very significant. In the Punjab Legislative Assembly Elections of 1936, the Ad

¹⁷ Vinay Kumar, *Changing Trends in the History of Dalit Politics in Punjab in the 20th Century*, (Unpublished Ph. D Thesis), Chandigarh: Panjab University, 2010, P. 128

Dharm Mandal supported the eight candidates contesting from the reserved constituencies, and interestingly seven out of the eight came out as victorious. The seven victorious candidates were Master Harnam Dass (Lyallpur), Gopal Singh *Khalsa* (Ludhiana), Bhagat Hans Raj (Sialkot), Chaudhary Faqir Chand (Rohtak), Chaudhary Prem Chand (Gurgaon), Jugal Kishore (Jagadhari) and Seth Kishan Dass (Jalandhar Urban). The only candidate who could not win the election was Babu Hazara Ram Piplanwala who lost the election to the candidate of Indian National Congress Moola Singh only by two votes.¹⁸ It was a significant entry of Ad Dharm Mandal to Punjab politics. The next election of 1945-46 was contested by Ad Dharm Mandal with an alliance with the Unionist Party in Punjab. The Unionist Party had already nominated Babu Mangoo Ram Muggowal the member of Jalandhar District Board in 1940, which attracted the Ad Dharm Mandal to have an election alliance with Unionist Party, moreover, the Mandal was not, in any case, was in favour of Indian National Congress. But the results of this election were very much expected as per the wishes of the Unionist Party as they won only 10 seats in the elections and one out of them was the seat of Babu Mangoo Ram Muggowal, of Ad Dharm Mandal. After this election, Babu Magoo Ram Muggowal decided to concentrate on the spiritual working for the community members. He also closed the office of Ad Dharm Mandal at Jalandhar city in June 1946.

This political vacuum created by Ad Dharm Mandal resulted to initiate struggle among the politically anxious groups to attain the power with the help of the Dalit. A majority of the members of Ad Dharm Mandal was under the influence of the ideas of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, so, later on, they joined All India Scheduled Caste Federation and worked with full zeal for the spread of Ambedkarism in Punjab.¹⁹ Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar visited every province in India before the general election of 1952. On the invitation of the State Committee of Punjab, he also visited Punjab province on 27th October 1951 at Jalandhar where he delivered a gridded speech at Bootan Mandi Jalandhar. After Jalandhar, he also visited Ludhiana and Patiala and addressed the Dalit to unite them for the community cause. When Scheduled Caste Federation lost the majority of the seats in this general election, Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar decided to form a new political party and on 30th September 1956, he formed Republican Party of India, though it was formally established only in October 1957 after the death of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar.²⁰ In Punjab, the leaders of the Republican Party

¹⁸ Vinay Kumar, *Changing Trends in the History of Dalit Politics in Punjab in the 20th Century*, (Unpublished Ph. D Thesis), Chandigarh: Panjab University, 2010, p. 212

¹⁹ Mark Juergensmeyer, *Religious Rebels in the Punjab*, Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1988, pp.145-47

²⁰ Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003, pp. 388-91.

of India launched an agitation to compel the government to have a check on the increasing prices of all the essential commodities. About 101 volunteers from Punjab started a bicycle rally towards Delhi under the leadership of Charan Dass Nidharak on 15th June 1964 which spread all over Punjab. They, later on, they added the demand to distribute the surplus barren land in Punjab among the needy Dalit. Their other demands were to nationalize the public sector banks, to implement the Minimum Wages Act 1948 with sincerity, some concessions to the Buddhist, to enforce the reservation policy for the Dalit at an earliest and to place the photograph of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar in the central hall of the Parliament.

It was the Republican agitation where the Dalit women in Jalandhar actively participated. They not only took the family responsibility but also contributed while giving arrest in the course of the agitation. The significant lady members who participated in this agitation were, Swarni Devi w/o Hans Raj Banhi, Bachni w/o Sansar Chand, Mindo w/o Dalipa, Meeto w/o Hans Raj Munim, Chinti w/o Seth Daulti Ram, Rao w/o Mela Ram Rikhi, Amro w/o Bhola Nath, Darsho w/o Mohan Lal and Dai Thakri w/o Kartar Chand.²¹ The Punjabi Suba movement proved a set blow to the Republican movement in Punjab as the significant leaders of the Republican Party were divided on the issue to support or oppose this Punjabi Suba movement. Moreover, the Republican Party of India at its central level was also divided. Now the members of the Republican Party joined BAMCEF and DS-4 for the cause of the community. Later on, the formation of the Bahujan Samaj Party provided a new base for the Dalit to raise the issues related to the community.

The Megh and their assertion in Jalandhar:

The Megh is another Dalit sub-caste present in Punjab in general and district Jalandhar particularly. Traditionally they were considered as the worshippers of Satguru Kabir as later on some of them formulated a separate identity with the name of Kabirpanth. The Megh is considered as one of the significant depressed class in Punjab. The population of Megh in Punjab was concentrated in the region of Gujrat, Sialkot, and Gurdaspur. As per Census Report 1881, the population of the Megh in these districts was 36651 which rose to 40661 in 1891 and 42239 in 1901 Census Report. But their population as per Census Report of 1911 decreased to 37862, in 1921 to 28321 and in 1931 to 21706 because in the region of Gujrat the Megh have adopted Vedic Dharam and returned their caste as Arya Samaj instead

²¹ Vinay Kumar, *Changing Trends in the History of Dalit Politics in Punjab in the 20th Century*, (Unpublished Ph. D Thesis), Chandigarh: Panjab University, 2010, p. 221.

of the Megh while in Gurdaspur they returned themselves as the Sikh or the Ad Dharmi without stating their caste.²²

The Megh got attracted to the Arya Samaj in 1902 because they were suffering considerably because of their inferior social status as judged by the so-called upper caste. They had not been given the right to live in the same house where the high caste Hindus lived; they had not even the right to walk freely on the public passage; they were not even allowed to join the social and religious festivals of the high caste Hindus; they had not even the right to get water from the wells used by upper caste people and were even forced to wait at a big distance so that some upper caste people may be pleased to pour water into the pots as their touch was considered polluting and even their shadow falling on the high caste Hindu was resented as a sin. They were not allowed to enter Hindu temples. Due to all such disparities, the Sialkot Arya Samaj on 14th March 1903 unanimously resolved to support the Megh for their upliftment. Now they decided to work for *shudhi* or purification. Around 3000 Meghs offered themselves to be purified on 28th-29th March 1903, but due to the opposition of the Muslim headman of some villages while threatening their Megh servants not to convert to Arya Samaj, so only 200 Meghs turned for the purification. The Arya Samajis who participated and took food and water from the hands of these newly purified Meghs were also excommunicated. The tension arises to such a stream that the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot Mr. Connelly had to intervene to save the lives of the Megh. The Arya Samaj purified about 36000 Meghs in Sialkot, Gujarat and Gurdaspur districts in a decade from 1903-1914. Now the Arya Samaj decided to remove the stigma attached to the word 'Megh', they were given a new name '*Arya Bhagat*' to raise their social status in the eyes of the Hindus so much so that the latter ceased their touch pollution. Arya Samaj started making some extra efforts to uplift their social position while opening some schools to educate them now the Meghs at Sialkot decided to set up a separate organization for their upliftment it resulted to the formation of Arya Megh Udar Sabha on 21st April 1912 with a motive to educate and train their children to perform more efficiently.

While tracing the history of the Megh, one may hear many stories related to the origin of the Megh Community. The Megh is considered to be the Pre-Aryans who came to India from the Mediterranean countries earlier than 1500 B.C. before the Aryan advent to India

²² Census of India, 1931, Volume XVII, Punjab Part I – Report, p. 347.

they were called *Madas* who had their capital *Salaka*, the present Sialkot. *Kalhana* has mentioned the name of a ruler *Meghwal* in his work *Rajtarangini* whom the Megh considers their ruler. The *Med* (Meghs) are also mentioned as *Antyajas* in the Hindu religious works.²³ In the region of Rawalpindi, they are called *Meng* or *Mihngh*, the Megh in Sialkot gives the following tradition of its origin:

*"In early times its ancestor, who claimed Brahmins parentage, used to dwell in the city of Kashi or Benares. He had two sons, one a very learned pandit and the other quite illiterate. He asked the elder to teach the younger, but he disobeyed the order, and indignant at this his father turned him out of his house. The boy set for the north out of the province (Jammu) and began to teach children like his ancestors. In the source of time, he also began to celebrate the jag hawan. Once when performing a jag aswameda, his charms failed to breathe life into the dead body of the cow. As people then began to look upon him with distrust and hatred he sent for his father whose charms succeeded in bringing to life the dead cow. His father, however, forbade him to eat with himself for a while but promised that he would after a time revoke this prohibition. But the son grew angry, relinquished all connection with his father, and thus became the founder of a new caste whose descendants are the Mihnghs."*²⁴

The Megh are living in the different parts in Punjab but they are more concentrated in Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts. Now instead of Megh they usually call themselves with the name of the *Bhagat*. They are fair in complexion and having the sub-castes similar to the upper caste Hindus like *Bhardwaj*, *Kashyap*, *Sandal*, *Kaushal*, *Uttam* and alike. Due to the partition of India, the Megh were forced to migrate from the newly formed region of Pakistan to India. They settled down in the bordering districts of Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir state. They were the refugees in India, so at many places, some base camps were settled for their temporary residence in Punjab. At Jalandhar, some camps were made for their settlement, and significant out of these is Bhargava Camp, on the name of the then Chief

²³ Vinay Kumar, *Changing Trends in the History of Dalit Politics in Punjab in the 20th Century*, (Unpublished Ph. D Thesis), Chandigarh: Panjab University, 2010, p. 138

²⁴ E. D. A Mac LAGAN, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. III, Patiala: Punjab Language Department, 1989, p. 77.

Minister of Punjab Gopi Chand Bhargava; and Gandhi Camp on the name of Mahatma Gandhi. The majority of the Megh settled down at Jalandhar are from the Sialkot district of present Pakistan. Another community came with them and settled down here are the *Barwala* whom even the Megh also considered inferior to them.²⁵ Presently, Bhargava Camp is a center of the utmost significance of the Megh in Jalandhar and notably the center point of their socio-political activities. The main occupation of the Megh at Jalandhar is the manufacturing of sports goods, however, now many out of them are also in the teaching profession or the Bank employees.²⁶

These three communities namely the Balmikis, the Ad Dharmis, and the Megh asserted in the colonial period. They formed their significant organizations which proved helpful for the development of these communities in all the spheres. With the passage of time, the Ad Dharmis in district Jalandhar became more significant in comparison to the other two communities in the political scenario of the region. Even today, the politics in Jalandhar is significantly under the dominance of these three Dalit communities in general and the Ad Dharmis particularly.

²⁵ Vinay Kumar, *Changing Trends in the History of Dalit Politics in Punjab in the 20th Century*, (Unpublished Ph. D Thesis), Chandigarh: Panjab University, 2010, p. 140

²⁶ Vinay Kumar, *Changing Trends in the History of Dalit Politics in Punjab in the 20th Century*, (Unpublished Ph. D Thesis), Chandigarh: Panjab University, 2010, p. 147