

# Punjab By-Election Result Analysis 2024

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## I. Introduction

The Election Commission of India (ECI) announced by-elections for **four assembly seats** in Punjab: Dera Baba Nanak, Chabbewal, Gidderbaha, and Barnala.<sup>1</sup> Voting took place on November 13<sup>th</sup>, 2024, and the counting of votes and results announcement was on November 23<sup>rd</sup>. However, the date of the by-elections was rescheduled for November 20<sup>th</sup> due to appeals by various political parties to change the date of elections, because of Gurupurab on 15<sup>th</sup> November. Considering the religious sentiments, the EIC decided to change the voting date, however, the date of counting of votes remained the same.

### A. Key Stakeholders: Major Political Parties And Candidates

The four vacancies arose as the MLAs in all four contested and won parliamentary elections held in June 2024. Amrinder Singh Raja Warring, a former Congress MLA from Giddherbaha, won the Ludhiana Lok Sabha seat.<sup>2</sup> Raj Kumar Chabbewal, a former Congress MLA who later joined the AAP, was elected to the Lok Sabha from Hoshiarpur. Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa who was elected as the Congress MLA from Dera Baba Nanak, was elected from the Gurdaspur Lok Sabha seat and Gurmeet Singh Meet Hayer, who was the AAP MLA from Baranala, was elected from the Sangrur Lok Sabha seat.

The contesting candidates were the **immediate family members** of the 2024-elected MPs.<sup>3</sup> The Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) opted out of the by-polls contest after SAD chief Sukhbir Singh Badal was declared as ‘tankhaiya’ (guilty of religious misconduct) by the Akal Takht-the supreme temporal seat of the Sikhs. Sukhbir Singh was barred from contesting elections for the alleged “mistakes” committed by his party and government during its rule from 2007 to 2017. Hence, the contest was triangular among the ruling party in the state- AAP (Aam Aadmi Party), the ruling party in the center- BJP (Bhartiya Janata Party), and the Indian National Congress (INC).

#### 1. Gidderbaha

In Gidderbaha, AAP nominated Hardeep Singh Dimpy Dhillon, who joined the party after quitting the SAD in August. He faced Amrita Warring Congress, the wife of the state party chief, and Ludhiana MP Amarinder Singh Raja Warring. BJP’s representative was Manpreet Badal, the former Finance Minister. The Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) fielded Sukhraj Niamiwala from here.

#### 2. Barnala

AAP’s Harinder Singh Dhariwal was nominated and faced Congress candidate Kuldeep Singh Dhillon. The BJP selected Kewal Singh Dhillon who had switched political affiliations. He is a two-time MLA from Barnala and a former Congress leader. The SAD(A) has fielded Govind Singh Sandhu, the grandson of SAD’s Amritsar President Simranjit Singh Mann.

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<sup>1</sup>[TOI](#)

<sup>2</sup>[Punjab bypolls: AAP names candidates for all four seats - The Hindu](#)

<sup>3</sup>[dailypioneer](#)

### 3. Chabbewal

AAP had fielded Ishaan Chabbewal, the son of AAP Hoshiarpur MP Raj Kumar Chhabewal against Congress' Ranjit Singh, who was previously with BSP, and BJP nominated Sohan Singh Thandal.

### 4. Dera Baba Nanak

Gurdeep Singh Randhawa, an AAP candidate, contested against Congress candidate Jatinder Kaur and BJP nominee Ravi Karan Kahlon. Ravi Karan's father, Nirmal Singh Kahlon, served as Punjab Vidhan Sabha speaker and held several ministerial positions during the SAD-BJP government.

## B. Political Dynasticism

Political leaders and parties in Punjab are hypocritical, just like in any other region, when it comes to political dynasticism. These leaders and political parties criticize others for **dynastic politics, nepotism, and party defection**, yet when the opportunity arises, they present their spouses, children, and relatives as potential "winning" candidates and boost political dynasticism, hence justifying it.

## C. Importance Of By-Elections In The Current Political Context

These by-elections served as a **litmus test** for the shifting political alliances in Punjab, beyond merely filling the vacant seats. The by-polls were regarded as a **mid-term evaluation** for the Chief Minister Bhagwant Mann-led AAP, which had come to power with a decisive victory in 2022, securing 92 out of 117 seats. However, the party faced a setback in the 2024 Lok Sabha elections, winning only three out of 13 parliamentary seats. The strong performance in these by-elections is a positive signal for the ruling party as it seeks to regain momentum.

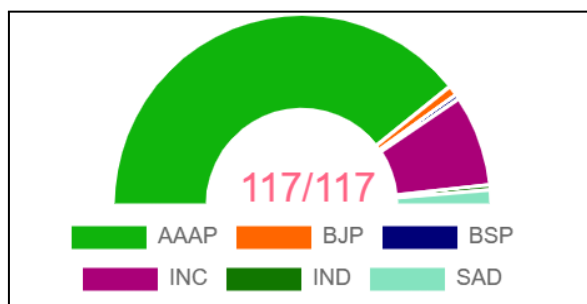
Meanwhile, the BJP's strategy of fielding candidates with deep roots in Punjab's politics, including those with extensive histories in the Congress and Akali Dal, reflected a calculated effort to establish a foothold in the state. However, further efforts are needed to consolidate its presence. The outcomes of these by-elections are expected to have far-reaching implications for Punjab's **political landscape**. They will likely influence party strategies for future elections and shape the state's broader governance and regional politics narrative.

## II. Historical Context:

### A. Analysis Of 2022 State Assembly Elections

The Aam Aadmi Party swept the Punjab Assembly Elections by winning 92 seats in the 117-member assembly. The Congress won 18 seats, the Shiromani Akali Dal alliance won four, the BJP won two, and an independent candidate grabbed one seat. The unprecedented victory of AAP was seen as a **shift in voter priorities** towards development, unemployment, health, and sanitation. Voter preferences were also shaped by the growing importance of social media and digital campaigns and the increasing significance of women and youth voters in the electoral landscape.

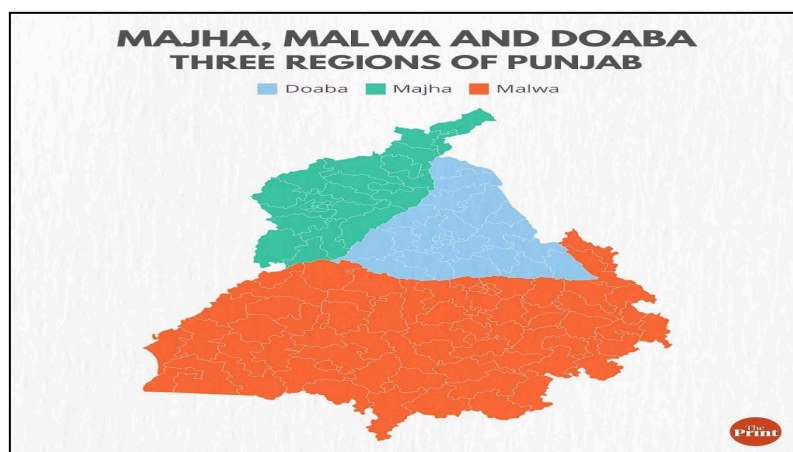
Notable leaders include AAP's chief ministerial face Bhagwant Mann from Dhuri, the opposition leader Harpal Singh Cheema from Dirba, state BJP chief Ashwani Kumar Sharma from Pathankot, Congress leader Pratap Singh Bajwa from Qadian and minister Rana Gurjeet Singh from Kaputhala. The entire political establishment of Punjab was defeated by the AAP. It won the highest number of seats won by any party in Punjab's political history.



**Image 1: Party Wise Vote Share<sup>4</sup>**

## B. Region Wise Division Of Seats

Punjab has three key regions—**Majha, Malwa, and Doaba**—each with its own social, political, and economic identities.<sup>5</sup> Going from the west to the east, the Majha region of present-day Punjab falls between the Ravi and the Beas. Then begins Daoba, the land between two rivers, which starts from the Beas and goes on to the Sutlej. The Malwa region lies beyond the Sutlej.



**Image 2: Region-wise division of Punjab<sup>6</sup>**

Each subregion in Punjab has a distinct political identity. Malwa, the largest of them (69 seats), is the seat of major state power. Except for two, all Punjab chief ministers have come from Malwa. It comprises 27% of farmers' share, with significant landholding inequalities. Malwa is also famous as the **Zamindari belt**, as it's home to rich farmers and landholders but is infamous for farmer suicides.

Majha, known as the religious belt ('**the sikh panthic**'), comprises several ancient gurudwaras, including the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Its population is more sensitive to religious issues, so it plays an important role in determining election outcomes. The Majha region has 25 seats. Doaba is the smallest of the three areas and has 23 seats. Doaba is known as the locus of Dalit politics and is known as the '**NRI belt**' of Punjab.

<sup>4</sup> [Image 1](#)

<sup>5</sup> [theprint](#)

<sup>6</sup> [theprint](#)

### III. Dalit Vote Share In Punjab

According to data from the Lokniti Survey (CSDS), since the 2002 Assembly elections, both Hindu and Sikh Dalits in Punjab have conventionally favored Congress over the BJP and SAD, regardless of the Election outcomes. The SCs in Punjab make up approximately 32.8%, making it the highest proportion of Dalits in any state of India, and 34 seats out of 117 are reserved for the SCs.

Dalit Sikh Vote			
YEAR	CONGRESS	SAD+BJP	AAP
2002	33%	26%	–
2007	49%	32%	–
2012	51%	34%	–
2017	41%	34%	19%

**Table 1: Data of Dalit Sikh Vote To Political Parties In Punjab**

Hindu Dalit Vote			
YEAR	CONGRESS	SAD+BJP	AAP
2002	47%	11%	–
2007	56%	25%	–
2012	37%	33%	–
2017	43%	26%	21%

**Table 2: Data of Hindu Dalit Vote To Political Parties In Punjab**

#### A. Dalit Sikh Vote Share

Congress clinched 33%, 49%, and 51% of the votes in 2002, 2007 and 2017 elections. Congress’ share of Dalit Sikh votes lowered by 41%, the Akalis to 24%, and the AAP had 19% of the share. Hence, the Congress party is striving to win back its Dalit Sikh votes and to extend its reach to the Dalit Community in general.

#### B. Hindu Dalit Votes

Congress secured 47%, 56% and 37% of the votes in 2002, 2007, and 2012 respectively. SAD-BJP took 11%, 25%, and 33% of the Dalit Hindu Votes in 2002, 2007 and 2012 respectively. In 2017, Congress took 43%, followed by the SAD-BJP 26% and the AAP garnering 21% of the votes.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup><https://sites.lsa.umich.edu/sikh-formations-podcast/2022/03/02/sharpening-caste-and-religious-identity-politics-in-the-punjab-elections/>

## IV. Constituency Wise Analysis:

### A. Gidderbaha

As per the 2011 census, there are approximately 61,119 (around 37.69%) SC voters, 1,27,253 (78.37%) rural voters, and 35,121 (21.63%) urban voters in Gidderbaha. The total population of Gidderbaha is 2,22,937, of which the SC population is 61,119 (around 37.69%). In Gidderbaha, there are around 30% Jatt Sikh (GEN), 20% Ramdasias (SC), 17% Mazhabi Sikhs (SC), 5% Rai Sikhs (SC), 4% Ramgharhias (OBC), 2% Brahmins (GEN) and 2% Baniyas (GEN).

Gidderbaha is considered the **home turf of the Badals**, as they established a stronghold there for the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD), the political party led by the family for years. Traditionally, Ramdasias(SC) and Mazhabi Sikhs(SC) have voted for the INC, whereas SAD has a strong base among Jat Sikhs.<sup>8</sup> However, with AAP's rising appeal among Jatt Sikhs particularly in the 2022 Assembly elections, a vote shift has taken place due to dissatisfaction with traditional parties. Rai Sikhs often align their vote preference with that of INC. Ramgharias as an OBC group is seen to be traditionally aligned towards SAD. Brahmins and Baniya communities have historically leaned towards the BJP, but their limited presence reduces their overall impact.

Vote Share Of Major Political Parties In Gidderbaha Assembly Seat				
Year of Election	INC	SAD	AAP	PPOP
2022 Assembly	35.48	34.54	27.05	0
2019 Parliament	39.8	42.2	10.7	0
2017 Assembly	45.61	33.97	18.2	0
2014 Parliament	42.49	40.06	11.66	0
2012 Assembly	40.4	29.44	0	25.63
2009 Parliament	33.62	57.83	0	0

Table 3: Data of Vote Share in Gidderbaha<sup>9</sup>

Voting Pattern Of Gidderbaha Seat In Past Assembly Elections				
Year	Candidate	Party	Votes	% Votes
2022	Amrinder Singh Raja Warring	INC	50998	35.47%
	Hardeep Singh Dimpy Dhillon	SAD	49649	34.53%
	Pratipal Sharma	AAP	38881	27.04%

<sup>8</sup>[tribuneindia.com](http://tribuneindia.com)

<sup>9</sup><https://chanakyya.com/Assembly-Details/Punjab/Gidderbaha>

Voting Pattern Of Gidderbaha Seat In Past Assembly Elections				
	Om Prakash	Punjab Kisan Dal	220	0.15
2017	Amrinder Singh Raja Warring	INC	63500	45.61%
	Hardeep Singh Dimpy Dhillon	SAD	47288	33.97%
	Jagdeep Singh	AAP	25334	18.2%
2012	Amrinder Singh Raja Warring	INC	50305	40.4%
	Sant Singh Badal	SAD	36653	29.44%
	Manpreet Singh Badal	PPOP	31906	25.63%
	Sheela Rani	BSP	1994	1.61%

**Table 4: Party Wise Vote Share of Gidderbaha Assembly Elections<sup>10</sup>**

2024 BY-ELECTION RESULT			
Candidate	Party	Total Votes	% Of Votes
Hardeep Singh Dimpy Dhillon	AAP	71644	52.16%
Amrita Warring	INC	49675	36.17%
Manpreet Singh Badal	BJP	12227	8.9%
Sukh Rajkaran Singh	SAD (Amritsar)	715	0.52%

**Table 5: By-Election Results of 2024 in Gidderbaha<sup>11</sup>**

AAP's Hardeep Singh Dhillon won in the Gidderbaha seat, defeating Congress' Amrita Warring by 21,969 votes. He secured 71,644 votes i.e. 52.16% of the vote share while Amrita Warring secured 49,675 votes accounting for 36.17% of the vote share. In Gidderbaha, voters were seen to have considered CM Bhagwant Mann's plea for '**badlaav**' (change). People have elected AAP's candidate over Amrita Warring, the wife of state Congress president Amrinder Singh Raja Warring. Gidderbaha has earlier chosen Raja Warring for three consecutive terms from 2012 to 2022. In 2022, he won against Dhillon by a margin of 1249 votes. In the Lok Sabha polls, Gidderbaha voted for Sarabjeet Khalsa, who won the Faridkot seat as an Independent MP and won over 32,000 votes from Gidderbaha alone. In the 2024 by-elections, Dhillon led from round

<sup>10</sup>[eci.gov.in](http://eci.gov.in)

<sup>11</sup>[eci.gov](http://eci.gov)

one and emerged victorious by 21,801 votes. Voters imply that they had voted for development and required issues such as sewage and waterlogging to be addressed.

The votes of Jatt Sikhs, Mazhabi Sikhs, Ramgharias, and Rai Sikhs got divided between INC and AAP with a major portion of it favoring AAP candidates. This might be because of the public sympathy for Dimpy Dhillon as he had lost two elections, his family's emotional speeches, the development push by the state government ahead of the by-poll, and the **intense campaign** by the party leadership, including four Cabinet ministers, CM Bhagwant Mann and by national convenor Arvind Kejriwal, all these factors worked in favor of Hardeep Singh Dimpy Dhillon.<sup>12</sup>

Another reason could be the **absence of SAD** from the electoral battle. Dimpy Dhillon gained support from and took along a majority of SAD workers from Gidderbaha when he joined the AAP after switching from SAD. Moreover, the SAD workers were disheartened after the party's decision not to contest any election, and most of these workers and their followers voted for Dimpy Dhillon. According to Raja Warring, the Congress Vote has increased in both Gidderbaha and Dera Baba Nanak segments, he claimed that the situation would have been different if the SAD had contested the election, resulting in a decreased vote share of Manpreet Badal, as it can be inferred from the result analysis that he got his majority vote share from Brahmins and Baniyas only. The BJP's assumption that a portion of the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) vote bank would transfer to them due to the Badal family's association with the region also did not work out. Dhillon's slogan "AAP da MLA, AAP di sarkar" (AAP's MLA and AAP's government) also proved effective, as he asked people to vote for him with a promise of bringing funds directly from the state CM, adding that the other candidates have done "nothing" for the constituency despite being in rule since 1995.<sup>13</sup>

## B. Barnala

As per the 2011 Census, there are around 53,085 SC Voters, 64,948 (37.12%) rural voters, and 110,019 (62.88%). In Barnala, there are around 30% Jatt Sikhs (GEN), 15% Ravidasia (SC), 12% Khattris (GEN), 14% Valmiki(SC), 10% BazigarS (SC), 5% Brahmin(GEN), 3% Ramgarhias (OBC), 3% Christians, 2% Muslim Gujjar, 2% Gujjars and 3% others.

Traditionally Ravidasias and Valmikis have been supporting Congress, but a shift can be seen in their voting preference towards AAP due to its focus on social welfare programs. Jatt Sikh votes are traditionally aligned with SAD, but younger voters are seen leaning towards AAP. Ravidasias and Valmikis have been mostly Congress supporters but now their votes are divided between INC and AAP. The Khatri votes historically divided between INC and SAD but are now increasingly favoring AAP. Brahmins though in a minority are primarily aligned with the BJP. Brahmins often favor BJP in national elections but their votes are sometimes split between INC and AAP in assembly elections. Ramgharia voters are mostly leaning towards SAD. Bazigars, Christians, Muslim Gujjars, and others contribute to the AAP's vote base.

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<sup>12</sup>[tribuneindia](http://tribuneindia.com)

<sup>13</sup>[hindustantimes](http://hindustantimes.com)

<b>Vote Share Of Major Political Parties In Barnala</b>				
<b>Year Of Election</b>	<b>AAP</b>	<b>SAD</b>	<b>INC</b>	<b>BJP</b>
2022 Assembly	49.27	20.67	12.82	6.94
2019 Parliament	35.1	22.9	30.6	0
2017 Assembly	35.49	23.2	33.68	0
2014 Parliament	55.68	23.86	15.07	0
2012 Assembly	0	41.7	46.4	0

**Table 6: Data Of Vote Share In Barnala<sup>14</sup>**

<b>Voting Pattern Of Barnala's Seat In The Past Assembly Elections</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>%Votes</b>
2022	Gurmeet Singh Meet	AAP	64800	49.27
	Kulwant Singh Keetu	SAD	27178	20.67
	Manish Bansal	INC	16853	12.82
	Gurpreet Singh	SAD (AMRITSAR)	9917	7.54
	Dhiraj Kumar	BJP	9122	6.94
2017	Gurmeet Singh Meet	AAP	47606	35.49
	Kewal Singh Dhillon	INC	45174	33.68
	Surinder Pal Singh Sibia	SAD	31111	23.2
	Simranjit Singh Mann	SAD (AMRITSAR)	5061	3.78
	Paramjit Kaur	BSP	2369	1.77
2012	Kewal Singh Dhillon	INC	54570	46.4
	Malkit Singh Kittu	SAD	49048	41.7
	Kulwant Singh	PPOP	5075	4.32
	Paramjit Kaur	BSP	4874	4.15

**Table 7: Partywise Voteshare Of Barnala Assembly Elections**

<sup>14</sup> [chanakya](#)



2024 By-Election Results			
Candidate	Party	Total Votes	Votes %
Kuldeep Singh Dhillon Kala	INC	28254	28.24
Harinder Singh Dhaliwal	AAP	26097	26.09
Kewal Singh Dhillon	BJP	17958	17.95
Gurdeep Singh Batth	INDEPENDENT	16899	16.89
Govind Singh Sandhu	SAD(AMRITSAR)	7900	7.9

**Table 8: Results Of By-Elections In Barnala<sup>15</sup>**

In the by-elections of November 2024, Congress' Kuldeep Dhillon won against AAP's Harinder Singh Dhariwal who got 26,097 votes and Independent candidate Gurdeep Singh Batth bagged 16,899 votes. Kuldeep Singh Dhillon from Congress defeated AAP's Harinder Singh Dhillon by 2,157 votes. INC's resurgence suggests its revival among SC groups and portions of the urban electorate (Khatri) which had earlier shifted towards AAP. AAP's vote share fell to 26.09%, signaling a sharp decline from 49.27% in 2022 and growing dissatisfaction with the ruling party's leadership. A substantial improvement can be seen in the BJP's performance from 6.94% vote share in 2022 to 17.95% in 2024.

The Jatt Sikh votes were likely split among AAP, INC, BJP, and SAD(A). Congress witnessed a slight revival. Khatri and Brahmins have favored the BJP, resulting in a rise in its vote share from the previous elections. The votes of Ramgarhias, Ravidasias, Christians, and other minorities are likely divided between INC and AAP. Most of the votes of Valmikis leaned towards INC, reflecting a wider SC consolidation in its favor.

The defeat of AAP candidate Harinder Singh Dhariwal is being associated with Gurdeep Singh Batth who secured 16,899 votes. Batth was the Barnala district president of AAP for more than six years, but he raised a banner of revolt on being denied the party ticket for the Barnala by-election and filed his nomination papers as an Independent candidate, as a result of which a major portion of AAP voters shifted in his favor, declining AAP's vote share.<sup>16</sup> Batth despite fighting against the AAP candidate got open support from party workers in several blocks as they were equally unhappy with AAP's decision of fielding Dhaliwal.

### C. Chabbewal

It is a SC category assembly seat. As per the 2011 Census, there are 73, 598 (45.86%) SC voters and 1,60, 485 rural voters. In Chabbewal, there are around 25% Ravidasias, 15% Jatt Sikhs, 14% Valmikis, 10% Brahmins, 5% Rajputs, 3% Aggarwal, 2% Khatri, 2% Labana, 2% Christians, 1% Mahashey and 21% others.

<sup>15</sup>[results.eci](https://results.eci)

<sup>16</sup>[tribuneindia](https://tribuneindia)

Traditionally, SC groups, especially Ravidasias and Valmikis have supported INC, but now the votes are divided between AAP and INC. SAD has a strong base among Jatt Sikhs, but young voters have shown a preference for AAP. Brahmins and Rajputs mostly align with BJP but a small percentage of their vote share in rural constituencies is for SAD. The votes for Christians in Barnala are mostly in support of INC.

<b>Vote Share Of Major Political Parties In Chabbewal</b>					
<b>Year Of Election</b>	<b>AAP</b>	<b>SAD</b>	<b>INC</b>	<b>SAD (Amritsar)</b>	<b>BJP</b>
2022 Assembly	49.27	20.67	12.82	7.54	6.94
2019 Parliament	35.1	22.9	30.6	0	0
2017 Assembly	35.49	23.2	33.68	0	0
2014 Parliament	55.68	23.86	15.07	0	0
2012 Assembly	0	41.7	46.4	0	0

**Table 9: Data Of Voteshare In Chabebewal<sup>17</sup>**

<b>Voting Pattern Of Barnala Assembly Seat In Past Assembly Election Results</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Vote%</b>
2022	Gurmeet Singh Meet Hayer	AAP	64800	49.27
	Kuwant Singh Keetu	SAD	27178	20.67
	Manish Bansal	INC	16853	12.82
	Gurpreet Singh	SAD(AMRITSAR)	9917	7.54
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	Simranjeet Singh Mann	SAD(AMRITSAR)	5061	3.78
	Paramjit Kaur	BSP	2369	1.77
2012	Kewal Singh Dhillon	INC	54570	46.4
	Malkit Singh Kittu	SAD	49048	41.7

<sup>17</sup>[chanakya](#)

Voting Pattern Of Barnala Assembly Seat In Past Assembly Election Results				
	Kulwant Singh	PPOP	5075	4.32
	Paramjit Kaur	BSP	4874	4.15

**Table 10: Party-Wise Vote Share Of Chabbewal Assembly Seat**

2024 By-Election Results			
Candidate	Party	Total Votes	% Share
Dr.Ishank Kumar	AAP	51,904	60.78%
Ranjit Kumar	INC	23,214	27.18%
Sohan Singh Thandal	BJP	8,692	10.18%
Nota	NOTA	884	1.04%

**Table 11: Result Of 2024 By-Elections In Chabbewal<sup>18</sup>**

The Aam Aadmi Party secured a major victory in the Chabbewal assembly by-election with a record margin of 28,690 votes- which signifies AAP's eminence in the state and the victory of sitting MLA Dr.Raj Kumar's son. Despite AAP's claims to promote fresh and new candidates and accusations of nepotism by people, the party secured a **60% vote share**, signaling mass support across Caste groups, particularly from the SC and rural voters.

The votes of Ravidasias and Valmikis likely got split between AAP and INC with a major portion of it favouring the AAP candidate. The majority of Jatt Sikh voters leaned towards AAP. The BJP's major vote share is from the Brahmin, Rajput, and Aggarwal communities. One factor for the major win of AAP is the claims by Ishank Kumar's father, an MP himself that electing Ishank Kumar would get the "double engine" needed for the area's development.<sup>19</sup> The **internal rebellion in Congress** played a role in its declined vote share, as the announcement of Ranjit Kumar, a former Bahujan Samaj Party candidate led to rebellion within the party with senior leader Kulwinder Singh Rasoolpuri accusing the Congress of betrayal. He accused the Congress of backstabbing as he was promised a ticket during the Lok Sabha elections and later it was given to a turncoat. This turncoat politics ade Congress to lose its credibility among voters.

#### **D. Dera Baba Nanak**

According to the 2011 Census, there are around 25,560 (13.45%) SC voters in Dera Baba Nanak. In Dera Baba Nanak, there are around 25% Jatt Sikhs, 20% Christians, 10% Bazigars, 10% Ramgarhias, 10% Ravidasias, 5% Aggarwals, 5% Khattris, 7% Valmikis, 5% Sainis, 2% Muslims and, 1% Brahmins.

<sup>18</sup>[https://proneta.in/chabbewal\\_assembly\\_constituency\\_punjab-044/](https://proneta.in/chabbewal_assembly_constituency_punjab-044/)

<sup>19</sup>[tribuneindia](https://tribuneindia.com)

Traditionally, Jatt Sikhs and Ramgarhias lean towards SAD, with some voters favoring INC. The majority of Christian votes have been historically in favor of Congress but now they are split between Congress and AAP. The Aggarwals, Khattris, and Brahmins favor the BJP, given traditional ties. The votes of Ravidasias and Balmikis get divided between INC and AAP.

<b>Vote-Share Of Major Political Parties In Dera Baba Nanak</b>				
<b>Year Of Election</b>	<b>INC</b>	<b>SAD</b>	<b>AAP</b>	<b>BJP</b>
2022 Assembly	36.41	36.09	21.99	0
2019 Parliament	54.1	0	0	39.8
2017 Assembly	42.83	41.99	12.22	0
2014 Parliament	29.61	0	15.91	49.91
2012 Assembly	50.22	48	0	0
2009 Parliament	42.61	0	0	52.68

**Table 12: Data Of Vote-Share In Dera Baba Nanak**

<b>Voting Pattern Of Dera Baba Nanak Assembly Seat In Past Assembly Elections</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Vote%</b>
2022	Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa	INC	52555	36.41
	Ravikaran Singh Kahlon	SAD	52089	36.09
	Gurdeep Singh	AAP	31742	21.99
	Jagjit Singh	INDEPENDENT	2684	1.86
	Kuldeep Singh	BJP	1913	1.33
2017	Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa	INC	60385	42.83
	Sucha Singh Langah	SAD	59191	41.99
	Gurpartap Singh Khushalpur	AAP	17222	12.22
2012	Sukhjinder Singh	INC	66249	50.22
	Sucha Singh	SAD	63354	48

**Table 13: Partywise Vote Share In Dera Baba Nanak Assembly Election**

2024 By-Election Results			
Candidate	Party	Total Votes	Vote %
Gurdeep Singh Randhawa	AAP	59104	47.68
Jatinder Kaur Randhawa	INC	53405	43.08
Ravi Karan Singh Kahlon	BJP	6505	5.25
Lovepreet Singh Toofan	SAD (AMRITSAR)	2358	1.9

**Table 14: By-Election Results In Dera Baba Nanak**

In the November 2024 Assembly by-elections, a total of 11 candidates contested, while in the 2022 Punjab Assembly elections there were 10 candidates for this seat. In the 2022 Assembly elections, Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa of INC won by a margin of 466 votes by defeating Ravikaran Singh Kahlon of SAD. In 2024, Gurdeep Singh Randhawa of the Aam Aadmi Party won the Dera Baba Nanak assembly by-election by 5699 votes, leaving Congress candidate Jatinder Kaur Randhawa in the second spot and BJP's Ravi Karan Singh Kahlon in the third position with only 6,505 votes. After his win, Gurdeep Randhawa stated his victory as a **victory over nepotism** and arrogance, which he highlighted throughout his campaign.

The votes of SC communities of Ravidasias, Balmikis, and Bazigars were split between AAP and Congress with a major portion of them favoring AAP. The votes of Jatt Sikhs are likely to have split between AAP, INC, and SAD, with younger voters leaning towards AAP, and a marginal percentage of voters leaning towards SAD leading to its decline. Christians' votes were divided between INC and AAP. The votes of Aggarwal, Brahmins, and Khattris leaned toward the BJP. Ramgarhias who historically favoured SAD, appeared to switch allegiance to other parties, particularly AAP.

Jatinder Kaur's husband Congress MP Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa attributed the loss of Congress and the victory of AAP to two factors- the influence of alleged "**gangster elements**" and the support extended by SAD to AAP after pulling out of the race. He claimed that the AAP won this election with the help of gangsters. He commented that the Congress received more votes in 2024 by-elections than it had in 2022, indicating that the party's traditional voter base didn't shrink and there has been no major shift in voter sentiment.<sup>20</sup> Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa alleged that AAP candidate Gurdeep Singh Randhawa has unleashed gangsters on him to instill fear in him, his wife who would be contesting elections, and their supporters. This was done to disengage him from campaigning for his wife Jatinder Kaur.<sup>21</sup> In addition to this, the SAD committee in Dera Baba Nanak also announced support for AAP candidate Gurdeep Singh Randhawa which wooed SAD voters in AAP's favor.<sup>22</sup> It can also be noted that Ravi Kahlon failed to make

<sup>20</sup> [timesofindia](#)

<sup>21</sup> [hindustantimes](#)

<sup>22</sup> [hindustantimes](#)

a significant impact in securing the traditional SAD Jatt Sikh vote, which appears to have transferred entirely to the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP).

In the Dera Baba Nanak, the **Christian community** has become a key electoral force, following large-scale conversions among Dalits in the Gurdaspur border region. The rise of numerous churches in the area underscores this shift. Both Congress and AAP candidates from this constituency have organized big gatherings of the Christian community. Congress leader Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa uttered the word-Hallelujah- a couple of times in his speech. (Hallelujah is an interjection from the Hebrew language used to express gratitude to God).<sup>23</sup> AAP leaders have been found covertly offering incentives to Christian community leaders. Senior leaders of the community said that they would vote for Congress because the AAP leaders seldom attend their religious functions and also dissolved the Punjab Christian Welfare Board.

## V. Promises Made By Leaders During Their Election Campaign<sup>24</sup>

### A. Manpreet Badal

He promised to build a railway overpass and underpass for the Bathinda-Sriganganagar line in Gidderbaha, funds for 20,000 houses for BPL families under the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana, and 15,000 solar power tubewell connections under the Pradhan Mantri Kusam Scheme. He also addressed the completion of the work of sewerage, water supply, parks, street lights, etc. Manpreet Badal was targeted and criticized by Dimpy Dhillon, people of Gidderbaha elected Manpreet Badal as the MLA 4 times, but he left the people of Gidderbaha and went to Bathinda and now has to come to Gidderbaha again.

### B. Dimpy Dhillon

Dimpy Dhillon criticized his opponents for changing constituencies. Addressing the constituency's backwardness, he sought votes on the issues of sewage, impure drinking water, broken roads, and a lack of health facilities. He also talked about completing the work of the Gidderbaha vegetable and grain market.

### C. Amrita Warring

She sought votes by addressing her husband Amarinder Singh Rja Waring's win and being the first woman candidate from the constituency. She also criticized the AAP for unfulfilled election promises. She assured the people to work tirelessly to ensure that the sewerage system of Gidderbaha is upgraded.

## VI. Conclusion

The results of the by-elections proved as a significant factor in shaping the political course of the state. AAP won 3 out of the 4 seats, including Gidderbaha, Dera Baba Nanak, and Chabbewal which was declared by its party leaders as 'semi-finals' before the Delhi Assembly Polls. The Congress suffered an electoral setback as it lost 3 of the four seats. It won the Barnala seat. The opting out of SAD from the by-elections also played a major role, as the SAD voters appealed to their supporters to vote for AAP.

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<sup>23</sup> [tribuneindia](http://tribuneindia.com)

<sup>24</sup> [etvbharat](http://etvbharat.com)

These elections signaled a **transformative shift** in the political dynamics of the state, reflecting the evolving priorities of its electorate. These results signify AAP's continued dominance in Punjab, despite problems being faced in governance, the rural crisis, and unrest among farmers. The Congress remained a strong competitor, leveraging its traditional support among Dalits, Christians, and other minority groups, however, it was unable to reclaim its lost ground from AAP. The BJP made marginal gains by consolidating votes from smaller groups and fielding candidates with deep roots in Punjab's politics, including those with extensive histories in the Congress and Akali Dal but continues to face challenges in resonating with Punjab's rural and Sikh majority electorate. These elections highlight AAP's growing dominance and the challenges incumbent parties face due to **shifting voter expectations**. These by-elections will significantly shape Punjab's political landscape.

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