

Haryana Lok Sabha 2024 Election Analysis

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1. Abstract

The research paper aims to analyze the **General elections of Haryana state in the year 2024**. The paper begins with a brief introduction of the elections in the state granting a rough idea of the elections over the years. The paper then further delves into a **comparative analysis of past elections** to understand the **trends of the state** and the narratives that caused these trends. Then the elections are understood by breaking them down into **constituencies and analysing them individually** to understand the various factors that led to the outcome of each constituency. All **ten constituencies were analyzed** individually, their results compared to the previous years, and then these results were understood in an in-depth manner with the occurrences and campaigns of the various candidates. The **outcomes were linked to the statements** given **by the voters** or the campaigns of the party leaders and connections were established in the paper. The **major reasons for the results of the elections** were understood. The **future implications of the results** of the assembly elections as well as what the parties can improve for the next elections have been listed in the paper. The paper was concluded with an understanding of the election and the activities and occurrences that influenced the voters and the outcome.

Keywords- Haryana Lok Sabha Elections, constituencies, BJP, INC

2. Introduction

On **25th May 2024 Haryana Lok Sabha Elections were held** and 10 members representing the ten constituencies were elected to the 18th Lok Sabha. Haryana has a diverse socio-economic fabric shaped by its **agricultural economy**, over the years it has exhibited **complex voting patterns** that are influenced by a variety of factors. In the recent elections, where the **incumbent government performed poorly**, while the **opposition bagged 5 seats**, which is 5 more than the previous time. Several factors like **caste, anti-incumbency sentiments, the impact of national policies on the state**, etc influenced the voting patterns. Haryana was made into a **new state on 1st November 1966**. It was carved out of Punjab and since then elections have been held by the Election Commission of India. While it was a part of Punjab elections held in 1951,1957,1962 Lok Sabha Elections were held. Haryana has 10 constituencies of which 2 are reserved for the scheduled castes. Further when **compared to last elections, the voter turnout had fallen by about 5 %**. Before the elections, several psephologists had come up with opinion polls that kept the NDA in the lead. Times Now - ETG had formulated their **opinion poll results to be about 6 to 8 seats to NDA**, it was leading. But the most shocking occurrence was the **NDA and INDIA alliance being at par**.

3. Historical Context

3.1 Overview of Previous Lok Sabha Elections in Haryana

With a **voter turnout of 74.3%**, Bhartiya Janata Party won **ten seats in 2019**. There were several major parties apart from the BJP, the Indian National Congress (INC), the Jannanayak Janata Party, the Indian National Lok Dal, the Aam Adami Party, the Bahujan Samaj Party, and about **50 parties contested in the election** of 2019. The BJP, INC, and Indian National Lok Dal had contested for 10 seats of which only the BJP emerged victorious. **The BJP won 3 more seats than it did in 2014 when it won 7 seats. 85 independent candidates** had contested in the election. In the graph, It can be observed that the **BJP received 58.2% of votes** of the total votes polled in Haryana and the second highest was **28.5% that the INC received**.

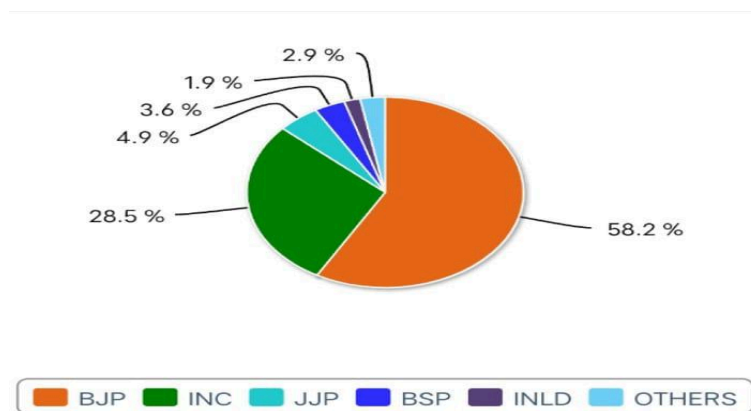


Image Source - [IndiaVotes](#)

The 2014 Lok Sabha elections had major political parties like the BJP, and INC, and a **breakaway part of INC namely Haryana Janhit Congress** was in **alliance with the BJP** for the **2014 elections** and Indian National Lok Dal. Later Haryana Janhit Congress **merged with INC again in 2016**. In this election, the **BJP had won 7 seats**, which showed a **stark rise** from the **zero seats** they had before this. Indian National Lok Dal had also experienced an increase of 2 seats. From the **2004 elections INC had retained its power in 2009**, marking a **reversal of the anti-incumbency trend** that had been prevalent. As compared to the 2009 elections, a major change has happened, since the **United Progressive Alliance (UPA)** an INC-led alliance **won 9 seats in 2009 to only 1 in 2014** and none in 2019 to 5 in 2024, and the BJP going from an extreme low to the highest and in 2024 being at par with INC.

3.2 Key Political Trends

Analyzing the results of the elections from 2004, it is seen that the Congress government had emerged victorious. Following the same in 2009, Congress retained its position despite the alliance between the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Indian National Lok Dal. In every election since the creation of Haryana, **the ruling party has been defeated, except for in 2009** and 2019. Following the 2014 elections where the BJP had won 7 seats, they won 10 in 2019, which is an exception to the trend of anti-incumbency

Seeing the election results over the years, **major trends** have been noted in Haryana, one being **anti-incumbency** and the other being that **usually when the Congress was faced with a pre-poll alliance of its rivals it lost**. Apart from 2009, which was again an **exception to this trend**. The anti-incumbency stems from the state's developed nature. Being **agriculturally and industrially developed**, the **per capita income of the state is high**, owing to this most of the population is **not satisfied by merely freebies, or incentives**. Hence the voters believe a **change in regime** to be fit for progress. This state falls in the category of those with **high electoral volatility**. Another factor for explaining the highly volatile nature of politics in Haryana can be the **presence of political alliances**, their quick breaking away, and their impact on the electoral outcome. Citing the example of the **2004 Lok Sabha elections**, where the **BJP** had apprehended an **anti-incumbency wave against Abhay Singh Chautala** and hence had **broken off the alliance** before the elections. Another apt example of anti-incumbency and **volatility was the 2024 elections**, wherein the people voted in a way to **break the BJP dominance**. The **propaganda for 400+ seats** harmed the BJP's standing. The voters voted in a manner that broke the BJP's hold on the state. Prima facie we see INC and the BJP to be the 2 most important parties, yet on further probing it is evident that there is an **influence of big political families** on the elections as well. Whichever party they support, usually, the votes landslide in favor of that party. The **Hoodas of Rohtak, Chautalas of Sirsa, Shri Bansi Lal and Shri Bhajan Lal, Shri Birender Singh, and Bishnoi of Hissar over 3 generations have controlled the politics of the state**. They have channeled the Jat votes and **used the caste arithmetic** in the most efficient way for victory. But keeping the 2024 elections in mind, a **downward trend has been seen for most of these families**, they are losing their standing in Haryana.

3.3 Origination of Major Political Parties

Over the years the 2 national parties the BJP and INC have formed various alliances and contested and won elections in Haryana. Yet religious, economic, and ethnic factors coupled

with the caste system have led to the origination of the regional parties. The **INLD in Haryana is an example of a state party** formed due to the **dominant peasant castes like the Jats (General)** (25-30% of the population) **and Ahir (OBC)**. It was the brainchild of **Shri Chaudhary Devi Lal**, also known as the Tau of Haryana. Even before the formation of Haryana as a state, there were **regional parties** like the **Unionist Party by Sir Chhotu Ram**, **Haryana Lok Samiti by Shri Sher Singh**, etc. These parties have been **merged into Congress time and again**. After 1966, the regional parties again emerged in the state. **Factionalist trends started in the parties**. When Congress underwent factionalism, further regional parties were formed. **Vishal Haryana Party (VHP)** in 1967 was the **first to step out of Congress party**. It was formed due to **Shri Rao Birender Singh's triumph**, who had a big peasant following. However, the party was **criticized** for only **focusing on the Ahir (OBC) peasantry**. Based on the **Vedic socialism**, **Arya Sabha** was formed by **Shri Swami Agnivesh in 1970**. But both **could not succeed** in Haryana. There were parties like the **Haryana Vikas Party (HVP)** and the **Haryana Janhit Congress (HJC)**, both **joined Congress** in 2005 and 2016. **INLD is the only regional party** that has been able to maintain its **roots in Haryana**. Yet in 2019, it was **divided into the Jannayak Janta Party (JJP)**. JJP emerged as a splinter that was **founded by Shri Dushyant Chautala**. He aimed to uphold the **ideology of Shri Devi Lal**. **INLD won 2 seats in 2019** while JJP won none. In the 2024 elections, **both did not secure any seats** and only the BJP and INC managed to do so.

4. Pre- Election Scenario

4.1 Narratives that dominated the elections

In the 2024 elections, it can be observed that **the BJP has wilted in Haryana**, after losing 5 seats to INC. The **rural-urban divide** is a primary reason for the outcome. A **majority** of the voter population of Haryana **resides in rural areas**, **65.12** percent of Haryana lives in rural areas. The BJP's votes are always from the **urban and semi-urban pockets**, they lacked a rural base. In **2019**, the BJP was compelled to **ally with JJP to secure the Jat votes**. **Till 2020** the BJP and **Shiromani Akali Dal** worked together and hence the BJP **only contested three Lok Sabha segments**, the rural areas would be taken up by the Akali Dal. The **farm laws** also impacted the voter's decisions. The farmers' protests further **widened the gap between rural and urban** voters. The controversial farm laws navigated the majority of the voter behaviour. The first farmer's agitation that began in 2020 was supported by all factions of people. But the second one received a lukewarm response from the urban Haryana areas as it caused losses for business owners. The **farmer's wrath was the most severe for the Bharatiya Janta Party**,

which is in power in the centre and Haryana. “The BJP used the state machinery to oppress farmers,” Jagjit Singh Dallewal, the president of the Bhartiya Kisan Union Ekta, in Sidhupur.¹ The agitated farmers **did not allow the BJP leaders to campaign in their areas** because they were not allowed to enter Delhi to convey their grievances of protest. The Farmer’s unions had painted the **incumbent party’s image as ‘anti-farmer.’** Despite increased MSP, the BJP failed to attract rural votes. In 2019, the BJP lacked Jat votes, and hence they tried to attract Non-Jats and OBC. They had **replaced Shri Manohar Khattar** just before the Lok Sabha polls and **Shri Nayab Singh Saini was made the Chief Minister to attract the OBCs**, yet it did not rule out anti-incumbency. According to NSSO data, Haryana had experienced the **third-highest rate of unemployment** in the country. **6.1% unemployment** of people over 15 years of age. Under MGNREGA the national rural employment scheme did not provide work opportunities, and the state’s scheme to reserve 75% of vacancies, and the government recruitment center in Rohtak for construction workers in Israel both backfired.

Another factor affecting the opinion of the voters was the change in the Chief Minister from Shri Manohar Lal Khattar (GEN Khatri) to Shri Nayab Saini very close to the election. Despite the power being transferred to Shri Nayab Saini, **Shri Manohar Lal Khattar (GEN Khatri) continued to behave more powerfully** than the current chief minister. Having analysed the voter behaviour in Haryana it is understood that **voters do not support a portrayal of weakness. Shri Nayab Saini** with his **lack of command** over his position depicted weakness and this **directed several voters to vote in favour of other parts** The **Agniveer scheme** sparked a lot of controversies, and **Congress** managed to capitalize on it. They **promised to end the recruitment scheme.** On Congress wresting five seats from the BJP, Shri Bhupinder Hooda said that he had been saying “There is a wave blowing in favour of the Congress”.²

4.2 Voter Demographics and Behavior

There was a drop in **voter turnout from 70% to 64.80 %**, more votes were cast in the rural areas, and even the **long weekend and rising temperatures** affected the turnout. The Parliamentary constituency of **Sirsa had the highest voter turnout of 69%.** **Ambala** recorded a turnout of **66.9%** while **Kurukshetra** saw **66.2%** voting. Along the same lines, **Faridabad** had recorded **59.7%**, **Hisar 64.6%**, **Sonipat 62.2%**, **Rohtak 64.5%**, **Bhiwani-Mahendragarh 65.2%**, **Karnal 63.2%** and **Gurgaon 60.6%** voter turnout. A major factor influencing voting patterns was the farm laws, but apart from that **Congress** had

¹ [Caravan Magazine](#)

² [Business standard](#)

even **bagged one seat** of the constituency from where the **Bharat Jodo Yatra had passed**. The yatra had passed from 5 constituencies, of which the BJP won 4. For the BJP, after analyzing the results for the past few elections we see, **from 2009, 12.01% of votes polled indicating an upward trend, 2014 where they received 34.7% of the votes polled, in 2019, 58.21 % of the votes polled and in 2024 58.02% of the votes polled**. For the 2024 elections, the votes were stagnant. For **INC from the 2004 elections and 2009, their share remained almost unchanged, with 41.7% of votes polled, and in 2019, with Hooda as the leader, 22.9% votes, in 2024, 28.42% of the votes were received by INC**.

5. Constituency wise analysis

5.1 Voter turnout and campaign analysis

There are 10 constituencies in Haryana and Congress has secured Rohtak, Sonapat, Hisar, Sirsa, and Ambala. **Kurukshetra, Karnal, Gurgaon, Faridabad, and Bhiwani-Mahendragarh were the 10 constituencies that were won by the BJP**.

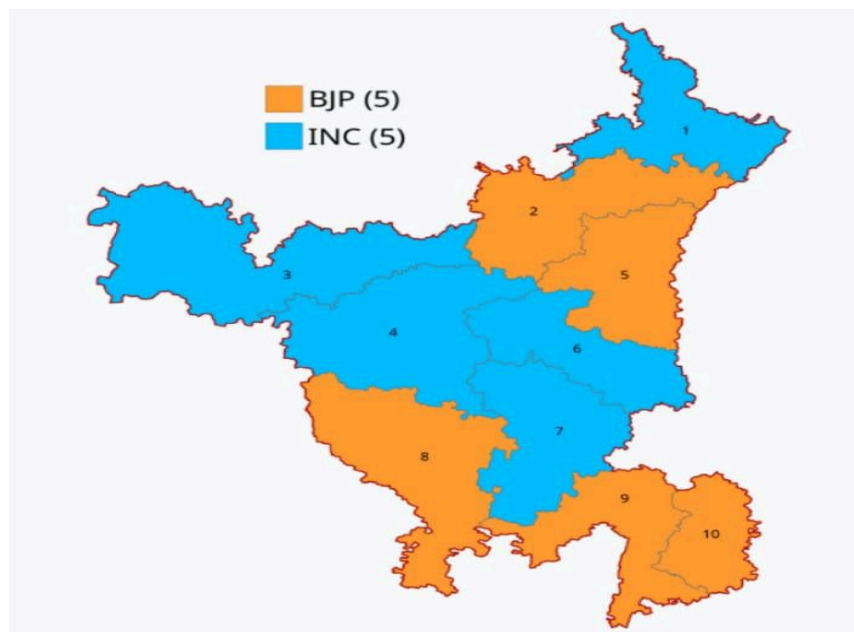


Image Source- [Wikipedia](#)

Constituency	Total Votes Polled	Male Voters	Female Voters	Other
Kurukshetra	67.01%	6,36,532	5,65,857	12
Sirsa	69.77%	7,29,125	6,22,786	21
Ambala	67.43%	7,23,622	6,20,875	6
Hisar	65.27%	6,36,644	5,32,137	3
Karnal	63.74 %	7,21,745	6,19,410	19
Sonepat	63.44%	6,10,295	5,10,488	8
Rohtak	65.68%	6,68,815	5,72,384	2
Bhiwani-Mahendragarh	65.39%	6,27,622	5,44,903	1
Gurgaon	62.03%	8,58,499	7,37,734	7
Faridabad	60.52%	8,14,402	6,56,241	6

Table 1: Total Votes polled and Voter Demographic

- a) **Ambala** - From this constituency, Shri Shri Varun Chaudhary (SC Mullana) was the INC candidate and Smt. Banto Kataria (SC) was the BJP candidate. It covers the Panchkula and Ambala districts and is part of Yamunanagar district. It is **reserved for the Scheduled caste candidates**, with 27.2% of SC voters. Here Shri Varun Chaudhary (SC Mullana) emerged victorious with 6,63,657 votes and Smt. Banto Kataria (SC) gave a tough fight with 6,14,621 votes. He won **by a margin of 49,036 votes**. The **BJP votes show a significant reduction** front the last elections (where they had secured 7,46,508 votes) and a **significant jump for INC** (4,04,163 votes secured in 2019). Sikhs constitute more than 9% of the total population, with SCs another 24% with the Jaats voting majorly for the INC and a split in the votes of the SC. The BJP was **banking on their pro-woman campaign**, citing the Nari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam, Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao. While, Shri Varun Chaudhary (SC Mullana), had been propagating his party's manifesto focusing on the **five 'pillars of justice'**.
- b) **Kurukshetra** - From this constituency, **Shri Naveen Jindal (GEN-Baniya), the BJP candidate** emerged **victorious**. This was the only seat that **AAP(Aam Aadmi Party) had**

contested in Haryana. Shri Sushil Gupta (GEN-Baniya) of AAP came in as the 1st runner-up with 42.55% of the votes polled. Shri Naveen Jindal (GEN-Baniya) won the seat by **29,021 votes**. As compared to the 2019 elections where the BJP had won the seat by an extremely large margin, this year the votes for the BJP went down significantly. Nayab Singh, the BJP candidate of 2019 had secured 6,88,629 votes, and the candidate of 2024 had 5,42,175 votes. Despite the win, the **BJP** experienced a **sharp decline in votes**, which shows that the BJP must improve its performance if it wants to keep the seat. Congress had won this seat four times between 1980 and 2009. But after that, the BJP gained dominance marking a shift in voter preferences. **Shri Naveen Jindal (GEN Baniya)** the BJP candidate in 2004 and 2009 **won this seat on a Congress ticket**. The candidate Shri Naveen Jindal (GEN Baniya) won through the BJP ticket in 2024. Shri Naveen Jindal (GEN Baniya) has used his **charismatic leadership** and **campaign speeches** to sway people. He promised to give a spiritual and religious identity to Kurukshetra on the world stage. With his **prior acquaintance with the region**, he promised voters to make Kurukshetra a developed constituency and used his experience card to convince people. Being a predominantly **agricultural constituency**, Shri Naveen Jindal (GEN Baniya) furthered the BJP's **promises of unprecedented MSP increase**, stabilising agricultural machinery prices, etc according to the manifesto.

To analyze the caste-wise votes in the constituency, the caste composition is to be understood which is as follows. The **Jat voters are 14%** and 4% are Jat Sikh voters who voted majorly for INC. **Brahmin and Saini** voters are 8% each and they voted for the BJP. The Agarwal community has 5% voters. The **Gurjar voters constitute 3%** of the electorate and they voted for the BJP. The number of Chamar voters belonging to Scheduled Castes is 11.44% and the Valmiki community is 7% voters. Since a majority of the voters voted for the BJP the BJP candidate won.

- c) **Hisar** - The constituency of Hisar covers the entire **Hisar district** and **parts of Jind and Bhiwani districts**. **Shri Jai Prakash (GEN Jaat) of INC won the elections for 2024** with 48.58% votes. Shri Ranjit Singh (GEN-Jaat) of the BJP received 43.19% of the votes polled showing a neck-to-neck fight. Shri Ranjit Singh (GEN-Jaat) was defeated **by a margin of 63,381 votes**. In 2019, Brijendra Singh, the BJP candidate, secured a total of 603,289 votes and won the elections but compared to 2024, the **BJP experienced a sharp fall in votes**. The **Chautala family politics** has also been an important factor in the outcome. The dramatic **changes during the Lok Sabha elections**, had reduced the **BJP-led state government to a minority in the Haryana Assembly**. JJP leader and former Deputy Chief Minister Dushyant Chautala has said the government has **lost the trust** of the people. **"We will support a move**

to bring down the government. The Congress has to decide if it will make a move or not," he said. ³ The constituency has about **33% of Jaat voters** who voted majorly for the INC. About **23% of SC** experienced a split in votes between INC and the BJP favouring the INC, and **11% of Brahmins** voted majorly for the BJP in this constituency. The constituency saw a slide towards the INC candidate due to their well-played caste politics.

- d) **Sirsa** -In the Sirsa constituency, **Smt Kumari Selja won through the Congress ticket** with a landslide victory with 54.17% of votes polled. **Shri Ashok Tanwar of the BJP** came in as the first runner-up with only **34.35% votes polled**. The BJP candidate was defeated by a **margin of 2,68,447 votes**. This constituency covers the entire **Sirsa and Fatehabad districts** and part of the **Jind district of the state**. Sirsa has a substantial **Sikh population** and during the **farmer's protests** had experienced a lot of mobilization and unrest. The protests are still a very prevalent issue in the area and majorly in the rural parts of the constituency. Smt Kumari Selja utilized this in her speech and **campaign to target this issue**.

Smt Kumari Selja believed in her **connection with people**, while **Tanwar was banking on his Modi factor** and the **BJP's organizational skills**. Further, he was relying on the **72.6 % of the Hindus of Sirsa to vote for him due to the Ram Mandir. Kiran Chaudhary and Randeep Singh Surjewala** spent a lot of hours working on the **environment for Smt Kumari Selja (SC Chamar)'s victory**. Smt Kumari Selja (SC Chamar), who contested from Ambala last time, said she has a connection with people across Haryana. She said. "I have a strong connection with people in Sirsa; my father won from here several times and so do I. People know me. I have stayed among them in their joy and sorrow," she said. Hence seeing how Smt Kumari Selja (SC Chamar) with her ties to Sirsa swayed the votes in her favor. Sirsa has about **44% of Jaat voters** who voted majorly for the INC. The constituency has about **24% of the Punjabi community** voters like the Khattris, Aroras, and Mehtas. About **19 % of Sainis, Kumhars, Ahir, and Gurjar** voters majorly aligned with the BJP.

- e) **Karnal - Shri Manohar Lal Khattar (GEN-Khatri) with the BJP party won** the seat from this constituency. While Shri Divyanshu Budhiraja (GEN-Khatri) of INC did not secure enough votes, he was defeated by a **margin of 2.32,577 votes**. The 2019 Lok Sabha elections saw the BJP's Sanjay Bhatia winning the seat with 9,11,594. Although **the BJP won** both the years yet there was a significant **fall in the votes received by the party**. In 2019 the BJP received 70.1% of the votes polled in 2024 it received 49.8% of the votes polled. Despite the victory, the downfall of votes is an important **indicator of dissatisfaction**. The BJP has

³ [NDTV](#)

maintained a stronghold on the seat since the last two elections. The Karnal constituency has **21% of SC voters** who voted majorly for the BJP and about **6% of Sikh voters who voted majorly for the INC**. The **Ror community** is a significant vote bank here and they majorly voted for the BJP due to well-played moves by the BJP.

Karnal is an **agricultural-industrial district** and is famous for its Basmati rice. Khattar is a **staunch believer in the progress made under Modi Government** which he **highlights in his speech**. **Blames Congress** for sowing thorns like **Article 370, Naxalism and Terrorism**. For **Congress, it is 'family first'**, for the **BJP it is 'country first'**, such campaigns were focused more on national issues, not the state-level conflicts. A **fall in votes for the BJP** must be attributed to the **mishandled farmers and wrestlers' protests**. A local transporter Surender said, "The BJP governments, both at Centre and state did not handle the farmers' and wrestlers' protests well. They were mistreated." This is a **sentiment that echoes in the rural parts** of both Panipat and Karnal and is particularly **louder among the Sikhs**.

- f) **Sonipat** - Sonipat is a predominantly **Jaat (GEN) constituency with 36.5 %** of the population being Jaat (GEN). Both the parties INC and the BJP have usually put a Jaat (General) candidate for an easy victory. Of the 12 elections that have been held in **Sonipat, 9 times a Jaat (GEN) candidate has acquired the seat** but in the elections of 2024 the parties did not go with a Jaat (GEN) candidate. **Shri Satpal Brahmachari (GEN Brahmin), a Jind native was the representative of INC and won the 2024 elections** with 48.8% of votes polled by **21,816 votes**. The BJP candidate Mohan Lal Badoli received 46.8% of the votes polled, which is low as compared to the 2019 elections where had received 52% of the votes. **Parties like INDL, JJP, and BSP had given their ticket to Jaat (GEN) contenders** yet they did **not acquire significant votes**.

Congress was banking on Shri Satpal Brahmachari (GEN Brahmin)'s **local ties** and his **ashram network have earned him popularity** over time. Congress leaders call his **candidacy 'a masterstroke'** since it will also **benefit the neighboring seats**. Despite being active in Uttarakhand Shri Satpal Brahmachari (GEN Brahmin) enjoys a good rapport with the people of Jind due to his **Dharamshala in Haridwar, Gangoli, and Pandu Pandara, where numerous people enjoy his hospitality**. "I don't know much about the other assembly segments of Sonipat, but there is hardly any village in Jind, Julana, Safidon, and Gohana assembly segments from where people have not been to his dharamshalas during their pilgrimages," Dhull told ThePrint.⁴ A strong wave of **anti-incumbency** had been noticed since the **farmers, women wrestlers, and sarpanches were thrashed** by the police when

⁴ [The Print](#)

they were raising their voices. The constituency has **36% of Jaat** votes that are split between the BJP and the INC candidate. With **13% of Brahmins** in the constituency voting majorly for the INC candidate and 5% of Baniyas and 8% of the Punjabi community. The brahmins served as a deciding vote leading to the victory of the INC candidate,

- g) **Rohtak** - It covers the entire **Rohtak and Jhajjar districts** and **part of Rewari districts**. **36.9 % of the voters of Rohtak are Jats (GEN)**, this constituency has been dominated majorly by the **Hooda family**, except for in 2019 when the BJP candidate came to light. In the 2024 general elections, Shri Deepender Singh Hooda (GEN Jaat) won with 62.76% of the votes polled and it was a decisive majority because of the BJP candidate Shri Arvind Kumar Sharma (GEN Brahmin) had received only 35.11% of the votes. The BJP candidate lost by a significant **margin of 3,21,015 votes**. In the 2019 elections, Shri Arvind Kumar Sharma (GEN Brahmin), the BJP candidate received 47.01% of the votes which was a neck-to-neck fight with Deepender Singh Hooda who had received about 46% of the votes. Over the elections of 2009, and 2014 **Shri Deepender Singh Hooda (Jaat GEN) has always been the representative of the Rohtak constituency** to the Lok Sabha and INC has always won. **Rohtak is the bastion of the Hooda Family**, since the loss of 2019 which was by a very slim margin, Shri Deepender Hooda (GEN Jaat) has been focusing on **uplifting** his votes **majorly in Kosli**.

Shri Deepender Hooda (GEN-Jaat) lost the 2019 elections despite the lead in **5 out of 9 assembly segments**. The **Ahir (OBC)-dominated Kosli offset his gains**. Kosli has 'Army villages', where the central government's **Agniveer scheme had backfired**. But since then the **Hoodas** have taken **advantage of the problems** of Kosli and banked their votes on the same. Shri Deepender Singh Hooda (GEN Jaat) led a **campaign in the assembly segment of Kosli** and shed light on major issues like BJP's **lack of any action to the demand for a separate Ahir (OBC) Regiment** in the army and the problems of the Agniveer scheme.

Congress campaigns and poll manifesto promise to withdraw this short-service scheme and have in place regular recruitments to the armed forces. Shri Deepender Singh Hooda (GEN Jaat) in one of his statements to the press highlighted how the BJP had launched several **anti-farmer and anti-soldier policies** this was extremely detrimental to the **Ahirwal belt**. In Haryana over 5000 youths used to be **recruited into the army** but due to the Agniveer scheme recruitment has **dropped to less than 10%**. Sharma's Strategies revolved around Modi's charisma and Deepender **focused on improving Rohtak's infrastructure** and addressing the problems faced by the people. The voters of Rohtak are outspoken and never forgive their politicians for betraying their mandate. With the Agniveer scheme, the BJP had caused an agitation among the people and therefore the result can be seen in the loss faced by

the BJP in the constituency. The constituency has about 37% of Jaat voters that consolidated in favour of the INC candidate while BJP banked in the non-Jaat votes. They focused on the 10 lakh non-Jat voters out of 16.5 lakh voters, making it about 60% of the voter population. With 7% of Brahmin votes that went to majorly BJP in this constituency most of the other Non-Jaat communities voted for the INC majorly leading to a decisive victory for the INC candidate.

- h) **Gurgaon-** This constituency was created by **merging five assembly segments** of the **Mahendranagar** constituency with **four assembly segments** of the erstwhile **Faridabad** constituency. The **BJP candidate Shri Rao Indrajeet Singh (OBC Ahir)** won the elections with 50.48% votes yet this was 10% lower than the previous 2019 elections Shri Raj Babbar (OBC Sonar) of INC didn't win but secured 11% more than in the 2019 elections with 45.79% votes. He lost the **elections by 75,000 votes**. Here we see a fall in the votes received by the BJP candidate, despite the victory, it indicates a sense of defeat for the BJP. A stark increase of 11% marks a jump in the **popularity of INC**. The BJP is known to have a strong hold over this constituency and **Shri Raj Babbar (OBC Sonar)** an actor-politician and Congress candidate is seen as an **outsider** who is trying to penetrate this,

Inderjit Singh, a descendant of the local royal Ahir (OBC) family is also a **prominent Ahir (OBC) leader**. Since 2008 **Shri Rao Indrajeet Singh (OBC Ahir)** has won the seat **three times in a row once on a Congress ticket and twice on a BJP ticket**. The BJP has made this into a **native versus outsider fight** while the **INC** candidate has **raised the issue of lack of amenities** in the constituency. A convener of **Making Model Gurugram**, says that apart from **sanitation and waste management** there are several major issues like **builders not concurring to the timeline** for their projects. The rural areas have faced a **lack of job opportunities**. Rashid Hussain, a youngster in Nuh, says that jobs are the big issue here. "Most of the youngsters here are cab drivers and run Uber-Ola cabs in Gurgaon. But I need better job opportunities," said **Hussain who described Inderjit as a good man but says his community is averse to the idea of voting for the BJP.**⁵

The urban voters and consolidation of Muslims and Jats put the BJP in a sticky situation, majorly in the Meo Muslim-dominated segments of Nuh, Ferozpur Jhirka, and Punahana. These areas were where the BJP did not enjoy a majority, further, **Shri Inderjit Singh** had tried to address the **communal clashes** that had broken out **in Nuh last year** during a shobha yatra by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. He tried to reach out to the voters yet they faced backlash due to the lack of job opportunities. Although the BJP won this seat, the dip in their popularity can be attributed to this.

⁵ [Economic Times](#)

The caste equation of the constituency is as follows the **Ahir community comprising 17%** population, voted majorly for the BJP candidate. The **Muslim Meo community being 19% of the population** voted majorly for the INC candidate. The **SC population is 15%** and they voted for the BJP candidate majorly yet a slight split as the INC candidate captured a few votes.. The Jaat voters in this constituency comprising 8% voters population voted for the INC candidate. The BJP candidate won yet not a very decisive victory which can be seen in the voting patterns.

- i) **Faridabad-** The constituency with **16.4% scheduled caste population**, engulfs 9 Vidhan Sabha constituencies. In the 2024 elections, **Shri Krishan Pal Gurjar (OBC Gurjar) the BJP candidate won the seat with 53.60%votes** polled, while INC candidate **Shri Mahendra Pratap Singh (OBC Gurjar) got 41.48% votes**. Shri Krishan Pal Gurjar (OBC Gurjar) won the election by 1,72,914 votes. As we compare this to the 2019 elections, we notice a **significant reduction in the votes of the BJP**, they had received 68.68% of the votes polled in 2019, marking a 15% deduction. INC candidate, Avtar Singh Bhandana received only 20 % of the votes in 2019, which shot up by 21% in 2024. Despite the win, the BJP experienced an **abysmal fall in their vote share** hence indicating a growing popularity of INC.

Avtar Singh won the elections last in 2009, then on Krishan Pal has consecutively emerged victorious. Over **8 lakh people** in this constituency pledged to come forward and celebrate this festival of democracy, hence an **extremely high voter turnout**. In the rallies by the BJP, Shri Krishan Pal Gurjar (OBC Gurjar) attacked the Congress candidate, focusing on how they **retarded the development in Faridabad during their peak**. They would rely on the Punjabi community as their vote bank, and after winning the elections neglect them. He further brought up the point of how **they had not given Punjabi assembly seats**, past the prior 2 elections. In his tenure, Shri Krishan Pal Gurjar (OBC Gurjar) had ensured development works in the entirety of the Faridabad region. The fall in vote shares is indicative of the **anti-incumbency trend** and further humble the BJP Government so that they are kept in check. The constituency has a majority of Jaat voters, yet over the year no Jaat leader has reached the Lok Sabha from this constituency. In the 2024 elections both the parties fielded Gurjar leaders to please the masses. The constituency has a majority of the Jaat population followed by Scheduled Caste voters, the Gurjars then the OBCs. As seen from the 2019 elections over 50% of the Jat votes consolidated in favour of the BJP yet this year, BJP chose to focus on the non - Jaat votes and consolidate them in their favour. This strategy worked as Dalit and Jaat vote consolidated in favour of the BJP in this constituency.

- j) **Bhiwani-Mahendragarh-** With a **24.4% Yadav (OBC) population and 17% Jats (GEN)**,

this constituency came into existence in 2008. This constituency was created by merging **four assembly segments of the former Mahendranagar** constituency and **five assembly segments of the Bhiwani and Charkhi Dadri constituency**. In the 2024 elections, **Shri Dharambir Singh Chaudhary (GEN Jaat) of the BJP won** with 49.74% of the votes polled and Shri Dan Singh Yadav (OBC Ahir) came in after with 46.24% of the votes polled. The BJP had experienced a decrease in the vote share by 13% while votes polled in favour of the INC candidate rose by 21% from 2019. Shri Dharambir Singh Chaudhary (GEN Jaat) **won by a margin of 41,510** votes in this election. Dharambhair Singh had been in power since the 2014 elections and had an **upward trend** in the vote shares, but in 2024 proved to be the opposite, yet the BJP got a majority. This constituency has had prominent leaders from the Bhiwani belt elected to represent them. However the INC fielded a leader from the Mahendra Nagar area for the first time. Hence the voters of that area voted enthusiastically for Shri Dan Singh Yadav (OBC Ahir). Apart from that Ahir community, even most Jaat voters who resented the BJP voted for him. Yet a slight splintering is noticed in the Jaat community as Shri Dharambir Singh belongs to their community but their aversion to BJP led to a splitting of the votes.

A major obstacle in this constituency was the **agitation of the farmers**, instead of alleviating the problems of the farmers the **BJP government had exacerbated** them according to several sources. The candidate Shri Dharambir Singh Chaudhary (GEN Jaat) is said to be an **influential candidate** in the region yet he is **not connected to the ground** or perceptive to the issues faced by the people. Therefore an **anti-incumbency wave rose against him**. Further Dharmbir Singh was **banking on Prime Minister Modi's image**, showing a disconnect with the population of the constituency. The Bhiwani-Mahendragarh Lok Sabha constituency has the **highest number of Jats, 3,60,000 voters**. The next are the **Yadav, Ahir (OBC) voters, approximately 2,60,000**. From several sources, it had been confirmed that the Ahir (OBC) vote and Jatt votes were **expected to go to the Congress Party**. The **JJP had also put forward a strong candidate** but due to anger against the party's leadership, the fight was contained between the BJP and Congress. The **campaigns by Shri Dharambir Singh Chaudhary (GEN Jaat)** were regularly faced by **crowds demanding answers from the BJP regarding price rise, inflation, unemployment, and the Agni Veer scheme**. The Modi government was unable to fix the **water-related issue of the constituency** as well and that significantly impacted their outcome. After considering these various factors it was understood that the BJP received votes significantly because of the lack of any substantial opposition. Despite the anger against the BJP, the people were rendered helpless concerning the candidates to vote for. **The One Rank One Pension scheme** of the center had also proved helpful since major beneficiaries hailed this constituency. This constituency has seen a very neck-to-neck competition for these reasons.

6. Caste-wise voting patterns

Haryana is the 18th most populous state of India and has a variety of populations of many religions & communities. Having analysed the voting patterns across the constituencies we see a high degree of volatility amongst the voters. To further understand how caste influenced the voters, the caste composition of the state and their choice of leaders need to be understood. The religious data of the state shows that a major religion is Hinduism, followed by Islam.

<u>Sr.no.</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Percentage%</u>
1.	Hindu	87%
2.	Muslim	7%
3.	Sikh	5%
4.	Jain	0.21%
5.	Christian	0.20%
6.	Buddhists	0.03%

Table 2: Religious groups in Haryana

Source: [Census 2011](#)

Further, the different castes and subcastes in Haryana help understand voting behaviors and thus, provide plausible justifications for the results. The caste composition in Haryana is as follows. With the maximum percentage of the population being general the next leading caste is the OBCs in Haryana and then the Dalits (Scheduled castes).

<u>Caste</u>	<u>Percentage %</u>
OBCs	35%
Dalits (SCs)	20.17%
Tribal (STs)	0%
General	45%

Table 3: Caste Composition of Haryana

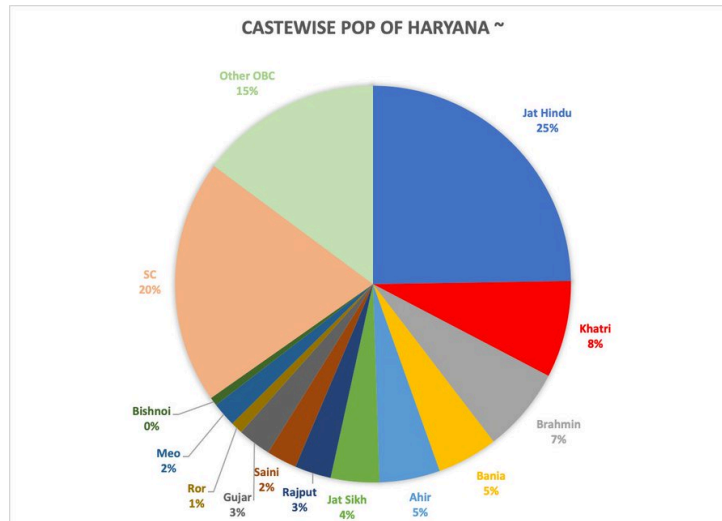
Source: [Census 2011](#)

Several subgroups under these castes in Haryana include the Jats, Ahirs, Rajputs, and Aroras. The caste-wise voting is really where the story of Haryana's outcome lies. The two major parties the INC and the BJP have been at loggerheads in this state; therefore, light will be shed on these two to analyze the caste-wise voting pattern.

Castes of Haryana	% of Population	BJP 2019	BJP 2024	INC2019	INC 2024
Harijan(SC)	5%	49%	34% ↓	39%	45% ↑
Balmiki(SC)	3%	57%	43% ↓	36%	47% ↑
Jat (General)	19%	36%	30% ↓	41%	61% ↑
Gujjars (OBC)	3%	66%	59% ↓	26%	27% ↑
Saini (OBC)	3%	65%	69% ↑	29%	25% ↓
Brahmins	7%	74%	65% ↓	16%	31% ↑
Muslims	5%	6%	5% ↓	85%	89% ↑

Table: Caste-wise voting patterns

Source: [India Today](#)



Source: [Twitter](#)

While analyzing the voting patterns of the different communities a very evident pattern is the **consolidation of the Jaat votes in favour of INC** and a **reverse consolidation of the non-Jats** i.e. Gujjars (OBC), Sainis (OBC), and Brahmins in **favour of the BJP**. The switch to Kurukshetra MP Nayab Singh Saini was made to ensure the **support of the backward communities to the BJP**. The BJP changed its sitting Chief Minister Manohar Lal Khattar and replaced him with an OBC face to woo the OBCs in the state. To tackle the wave of anti-incumbency the BJP had also used caste politics. The BJP had sought the Election Commission's permission in May of 2024 to appoint a person from the **Ror (General) community** as the chairman of the **Haryana Staff Selection Commission**. This was done during the period of the model code of conduct yet official communications had confirmed that the due process had begun before the imposition of MCC. The BJP appointed a person from the Ror community to woo the community for the vote bank. The Ror (General) community is a **significant vote bank in the Karnal constituency** and since Manohar Lal Khattar (GEN Khatri) faced tough competition in the constituency this move was made. It aided Manohar Lal Khattar (GEN Khatri) as he won the seat in Karnal and the **majority of the Ror (General) community voted for the BJP**. To **consolidate the Brahmin votes**, Khattar approached the central Government and got postal stamps of "Lord Parshuram", who is closely linked to the Brahmins issued to woo them. A **significant majority of Brahmin votes consolidated in favour of the BJP in Haryana**.

A very significant narrative was of **"Jat versus not Jat"** or **"35 Biradari versus 1 Biradari."** This narrative flourished in Haryana and the BJP had openly supported this which led to **polarisation of non-Jaat votes in favour of the BJP**.

The major constituencies of **Ambala, Rohtak, Hisar, Sirsa, and Sonipat** have a majority of the **Jat(General) population** Here the **BJP lost their seats to INC**. The Congress had given a **free hand to their prominent Jat leaders** like Bhupender and Dipender Hooda which helped sway the

Jaat (General) votes. Further, the **farmers' and wrestlers' agitation** angered the Jat (General) voters. They voted against the BJP, and Congress was the only worthy opponent. Even Dalits who were an important cog in the BJP vote bank, this year a majority of them voted for INC. Chamars (SC) have always voted for the Congress Party. This time the **Congress** managed to consolidate a **majority of Dalit votes** in their favour which also led to the downfall of the BJP. While analysing the votes of the Muslim community, a whopping majority of 89% voted for the INC. The **BJP has denied reservation** to the Muslims in Haryana. But the **INC promised to the Muslim voters** that they would receive reservations if voted in power. Over the years the **Muslims have always chosen to vote the Congress party** to power and the pattern continued for these elections as well. These various groups of the society have voted for the different parties giving an idea of what caste equation was at play and how it affected the elections in Haryana.

7. Master strategies of the parties: a neck-to-neck fight

After having analysed the different outcomes of the different constituencies and their respective reasons several factors have come to light that caused the outcome. The **Agni Veer** scheme that the BJP government started instead of proving beneficial for the people turned out to be a **major reason for the loss of seats for the BJP**. Since **only 25% of the people were to be recruited after four years of training**, most people who were not recruited found the system to be flawed. they stated that it lead to **increase unemployment** in major regions of Haryana. The **lack of good job opportunities** that utilized the individual's potential in rural areas was also an important factor that sounded the opinions of people. The government's retaliation for the **wrestlers' agitation and the farmers' protest** also sparked controversies. The **lack of action by the BJP government** as well as the abysmal treatment of the protesters caused people to favour other parties in Haryana. Over the years the various election results and anti-incumbency attitude of the people have been noted. Several people thought that the **BJP government was becoming overconfident** and needed to be kept in check. Therefore voting in power a strong opposition would allow a **close vigilance** on the BJP. The other parties had painted a narrative that if the BJP government **acquired 400 seats** in the Lok Sabha they **would do away with the reservation system** as well as **amend the constitution** without worrying about a special majority. Therefore many people voted against the BJP. Through their campaign speech across constituencies, the Congress candidates highlighted these issues. Shri Dipender Singh Hooda (GEN Jaat) a prominent leader of INC exploited the Jat's disillusionment with the BJP, which was because of a feeling amongst the Jats that the BJP sidelined the interests of the community. **Deepender Hooda's firm grip was seen when INC won all four Jaat (GEN) dominated areas ie. Rohtak, Sirsa, Sonapat and Hisar**. Not only did Congress manage to grab the Jaat (GEN) votes that comprise 22% of the state electorate but they were also able to **reduce the BJP support among Dalits and Sikhs** in the state. The BJP was able to retain 5 seats because it had made a **strong voter base among non-Jaat**

OBCs which were 21% of the electorate and even **Rajput, Baniyas, Punjabis** and other forward castes supported the BJP.

Another factor is also the **volatility of the voters** in Haryana. There was a change in the sentiments of the people concerning the government in power and hence many of them voted against the BJP. Further INC has recognized the importance of **swaying Muslim voters** by addressing their concerns. The increased popularity of the INC was due to several promises made in their manifesto, one of the famous ones being The **guarantee to legalise MSP** that addressed the farmer's concerns. Certain political families like the Hooda family also managed to keep a grasp over their constituency. Several factors influenced people to vote in favour of INC, majorly because of the lack of any other opposition. Overall a major change that the INC incorporated was to **choose better-suited candidates** for the constituencies. Unlike Manohar Lal Khatter of the BJP who placed ill-suited candidates for certain constituencies. This also swayed the voters.

8. Future implications of the result

A **clear discontent with the performance of the BJP government** has been noticed across the constituencies of Haryana. People have **voted increasingly for INC**. Despite winning all 10 Lok Sabha seats in the 2019 elections the BJP could not continue with its success streak in 2024 elections and therefore lost 5 seats. The Lok Sabha elections of 2024 are most likely to influence the assembly elections in Haryana. The Assembly elections of Haryana are to be **held on 5th October 2024** which is very close to the Lok Sabha election of 2024. The BJP-led NDA Alliance is empowered in the state hence the elections will be challenging since the **ruling dispensation suffered a setback** in the general elections 2024 as compared to 2019. The result portrays that **Congress** can expect to see a **resurgence in its popularity** in the Assembly Elections. Even though the parties are at par, the **BJP's vote share declined** by 58% in 2019 to 46% in 2024, whereas **Congress's vote share increased** from 28.5% to 43.67% in 2024. Surveys conducted by psephologists have predicted an **average decline in double digits** in the vote share for the BJP in the **assembly election** to be conducted later this year. "Jats and Dalits helped the Congress win state elections in the past. The return of both votes is a good sign for the party ahead of the polls," said Pal.⁶ This shows how the **Congress party expects a better outcome** in the **assembly polls** to be conducted. The **Congress-AAP alliance's** (INDIA bloc partners) vote share was **about 1% more** than the **BJP's share**. Even the **3 independent MLAs** who withdrew their support from the BJP in Haryana, have created a situation of crisis for the state government. According to a Tribune report, the **alliance leads in 46 assembly segments** compared

⁶ [The Wire](#)

to the **BJP, which leads in 44 segments**, going by the voting pattern in the recently concluded LS polls.⁷

Both the BJP and INC had come to loggerheads in the state and this was seen as they faced the extreme neck-to-neck competition in the different constituencies. Despite the challenges faced by both it is imperative to understand that the opposition has now seen an increase in support from the voters, hence any **notion of the BJP being invincible has weakened**. In a survey conducted by India today for the performance of the BJP, **44% of the people were not at all satisfied** and this shows that about 44% of the population **will not vote for the BJP** in the upcoming elections. **25% of the people were very satisfied** and will surely vote for the BJP. 25% of the people were somewhat satisfied. This **25% will be responsible for making or breaking the BJP at the state level** For the upcoming Assembly Elections the **BJP will have to strengthen its rainbow coalition** of castes to counter the INC leader Hooda's domination. We can expect **Congress** to try to **destabilize Nayab Singh Saini-led the BJP regime**. But another front of the INDL and the BSP alliance may grab a couple of assembly segments. Even the JJP and Chandrashekhar Azad's party, the Aazad Samaj Party have allied. They issued a list of 19 candidates for the upcoming elections. The election results have put **both the parties under scrutiny** from the voters and it is believed that to perform better in the next elections both these parties will aim to **work efficiently** and **provide better** to the people in their constituencies.

9. Conclusion

The paper analysed the elections of Haryana state for the year 2024. These Lok sabha elections were dictated by a plethora of narratives ranging from **caste-based votes to the Agnipath scheme**. The paper has identified issues like the **anti-incumbency nature**, the **volatility of the voters**, **unemployment, inflation, agriculture**, etc to have been factors in influencing the votes. The paper identified the **importance of addressing local issues** and how they can have a significant impact on the votes granted by the people. The success of the candidates or the parties hinged on their efforts and caliber to resonate with the people of their constituencies. Your parties like the BJP and INC played a crucial role with their strategies and campaigns in influencing the people. There were several social factors like the **rural urban divide** that also played a significant role in the outcome of the elections. In conclusion, the Haryana Lok Sabha elections of 2024 were a **testimony to the dynamic democracy of our nation** that keeps the system in check. The outcomes help shape the political future and also help understand the national or state-level issues. As Haryana continues to navigate its socio-political journey, the developments from these elections will play a **pivotal role in shaping its path forward**.

⁷[The Mint](#)

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