

General Elections 2019: A Study of The Role of Caste and Dynastic Politics in Hisar Parliamentary Constituency of Haryana

By

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Abstract

A Modi wave during the general elections in the Hisar parliamentary constituency in comparison to 2014 enhanced the winning margin in the Lok Sabha elections of 2019. The BJP party's amazing victory was influenced by several different factors. Nationalistic sentiments have fuelled a wave of support for the BJP government at the federal level, especially in the wake of the Pulwama incident in Jammu and Kashmir that targeted security personnel. The level of transparency in the administration of the Haryana state government was a crucial factor in the Lok Sabha elections in the region. Additionally, dynasty politics had a big role in the elections. In this election, the third and fourth generations of three families who are well-known in Haryana politics are competing. As a result of his ancestry and support from the community's artisans and farmers, Brijender Singh's victory is also supported by Ch. Chhotu Ram politics. The current article also examines the role of caste in the Hisar Parliamentary constituency elections in addition to the variables.

Keywords: Elections, Parliamentary, Haryana, Hisar.

Introduction

The 2019 general election in India, which took place from April 11 to May 19, resulted in the election of the 17th Lok Sabha, with the greatest turnout ever of 67% and a higher turnout of female voters. On May 23, the day after the counting was finished, most of the results were made public. Therefore, the Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) won with 303 seats. Furthermore, the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) won 353 seats with 45% of the vote nationally. Congress claimed to be the leader of the opposition, but it only managed to gain 52 seats while obtaining 91 from the United Progressive Alliance. It's vital to remember that for the same, 55 seats—or at least 10%—must be available charges of eroding institutions, economic performance, national security and terrorism, unemployment and rural hardship, and dynastic politics were the main topics upsetting the electoral scene at a national level. (<https://eci.gov.in/general-election/general-elections-2019>)

On May 12, 2019, there was only one election held in Haryana's parliamentary constituencies. The Sirsa and Ambala, two of these 10 constituencies, are reserved for the candidates from Scheduled Castes. There was a total of 223 candidates, including 11 women, competing for office. 18056895 people were registered to vote. 13,931 of the 19,441 polling locations the state of Haryana set up were in rural areas, while 5,510 were in urban areas. One of the Indian states, Haryana, is made up of 6841 villages, 21 districts, and 165 cities. According to the 2011 census, the state has 25351462 citizens, with 13494734 men and 11856728 women. Compared to the national average of 943, Haryana had 879 women for every 1,000 men. The state of Haryana did not have any Scheduled Tribes (ST) and a Scheduled Caste (SC) population of 20.17%. (Rao,2019)

Haryana State At 2019 General Elections

Rao Inderjeet Singh from Gurgaon and Krishan Pal Gurjar, the party's former state president, are two prominent BJP leaders involved in the contests. Brijender Singh, the son of union minister Birender Singh and great-grandson of Ch. Chhoturam, is engaged in a race for the Hissar parliamentary seat with Bhavya Bishnoi, the grandson of former CM Bhajan Lal. With the participation of Dushyant Singh Chautala, a sitting MP and the leader of the recently launched JJP, the Hissar battle gains importance. The seat was the scene of a political battle between various Haryana dynasties.

Bhupinder Singh Hooda, a former chief minister and member of the legislature from Garhi-Sampla, is running for Congress in Sonapat, while Kumari Selja, a former central minister, is running for the Ambala reserve parliamentary seat. From the Sirsa parliamentary constituency, Ashok Tanwar, a significant party figure and state Congress chairman, is running for office. With the entry of Digvijay Chautala, Sonapat seat became more interesting. Bhupinder Hooda and Digvijay Chautala are expecting to gain more and more votes from the vote share of over 6.70 lakh Jat voters, while the incumbent MP, Ramesh Kaushik, a Brahmin, was hopeful with a major share of approximately 1.50 lakh Brahmin voters in the Parliamentary constituency.

Deepender Hooda, the son of Bhupinder Singh, was in Rohtak and aiming for a fourth straight triumph for the Hooda citadel. The Jat politician is competing against former MP Arvind Sharma, a well-known Brahmin leader, and the nation's powerful Modi wave. This parliamentary constituency has had three victories for Deepender. Yadavs, Brahmins, and other non-Jat communities have helped him win prior elections despite the Jat community's supremacy. But the dynamics have shifted because of the post-Jat unrest and the BJP's non-Jat policies. Shruti Chaudhary, the granddaughter of former Haryana Chief Minister Bansi Lal and the daughter of prominent congressman Kiran Chaudhary, fought for the hot seat in Bhiwani. Between sitting MP Dharambir and Shruti Chaudhary, there was a direct fight in Bhiwani. In 2014, Shruti had finished third, losing out to Dharambir by a margin of 1.3 lakh votes and Rao Bahadur Singh of INLD by a meagre 7,000 votes. (Ashok Kumar, 2019)

Gurgaon, where the incumbent MP and son of the former CM, Rao Birender Singh, was trying to maintain its place in local and central politics, was another hot seat in the state's 2019 election. Punhana, Ferozepur Jhirka, and Nuh, three Mewat region assembly constituencies, were expected to have a significant impact on the election. Meo Muslims predominate in the Mewat region, which spans north-western India and includes Haryana as well as Alwar and Bharatpur in Rajasthan. With its Meo Muslim legislators defecting to the Congress, the INLD, which had won two assembly seats from the Mewat district in 2014, is now in a dire condition. This time, the election was viewed as a straight battle between Inderjeet and Capt. Ajay Singh Yadav, a prominent member of the Congress and a former cabinet minister. However, Rahul Gandhi, the head of the Congress, ran a campaign here to mobilize urban and Meo Muslims in the Gurgaon Parliamentary constituency. But despite Rao Inderjeet Singh's powerful campaign and the Modi wave that swept the nation, the BJP was well-liked there.

As one of the BJP's top campaigners in Haryana, State Chief Minister Manohar Lal Khatter was actively supporting party candidate Nawab Singh Saini in Kurukshetra as he ran against freshly dissident Rajkumar Saini and his Lok Suraksha Party. In a significant event at Kurukshetra, Prime Minister Narendra Modi promoted his party while Nawab Singh Saini sought to mobilize Dalit and minority votes, which will improve the BJP's position. Arjun Chautala, the grandson of the last chief minister, Omprakash Chautala, was running as an INLD candidate. (Ashok Kumar, 2019)

Jat reservation and the Khatter government's opposition to it altered the political landscape and mobilized non-Jat voters in support of the BJP in the 2019 elections. Despite making just 27% of the population of Haryana, Jats have historically dominated politics. However, a recent gulf between Jats and non-Jats appears to have entirely altered the political landscape. The following table displays the breakdown of voters in each of the state of Haryana's parliamentary districts. (as on 23rd April 2019).

Table 1: *Gender wise distribution of voters in Haryana*

Name of Parliamentary Constituency	Male	Female	Third gender	Total voters
Ambala	990603	862944	30	1853577
Kurukshetra	882798	774525	12	1657335
Sirsa	959026	844316	11	1803353
Hissar	882418	749383	8	1631809
Karnal	1019227	884941	25	1904193
Sonipat	866353	726230	27	1592610
Rohtak	937701	799422	10	1737133
Bhiwani	889989	764366	12	1654367
Gurgaon	1145459	1005174	35	2150668
Faridabad	1142942	928872	37	2071851
Total	9716516	8340173	207	18056896

Sources: *Office of election department, Panchkula, Haryana.*

The state BJP government's opening up/transparency of government job recruitment was being seen as a major achievement, even though the state Congress campaign in the state revolved around the achievements of its previous governments in the state and in the centre like, minimum income guarantee scheme and a jobs promise. The jobs have also given credence to the BJP's charge against Hooda that all employment, educational prospects, and development opportunities were focused on just their electoral districts.

Hisar Parliamentary Constituency

One of the ten parliamentary constituencies established during the first elections in the state of Haryana's history was the Hisar Parliamentary Constituency. The parliamentary constituency encompasses the entire Hisar district, a portion of Jind district, and of Bhiwani district.

Table 2: *Electoral history of Hisar Parliamentary Constituency*

Year	Name of candidate	Party
1952.	Lala Achint Ram	Indian National Congress
1957.	Thakur Das Bhargav	
1962.	Mani Ram Bagri	Samyukta Socialist Party
1967.	Ram Krishan Gupta	Indian National Congress
1971.	Mani Ram Godara	
1977.	Inder Singh Sheokand	Janta Party
1980.	Mani Ram Bagri	
1984.	Birender Singh	INC
1989.	Jai Parkash	JD
1991.	Narain Singh	INC
1996	Jai Parkash	HVP
1998.	Surender Singh Barwala	Inian National Lok Dal
1999.		

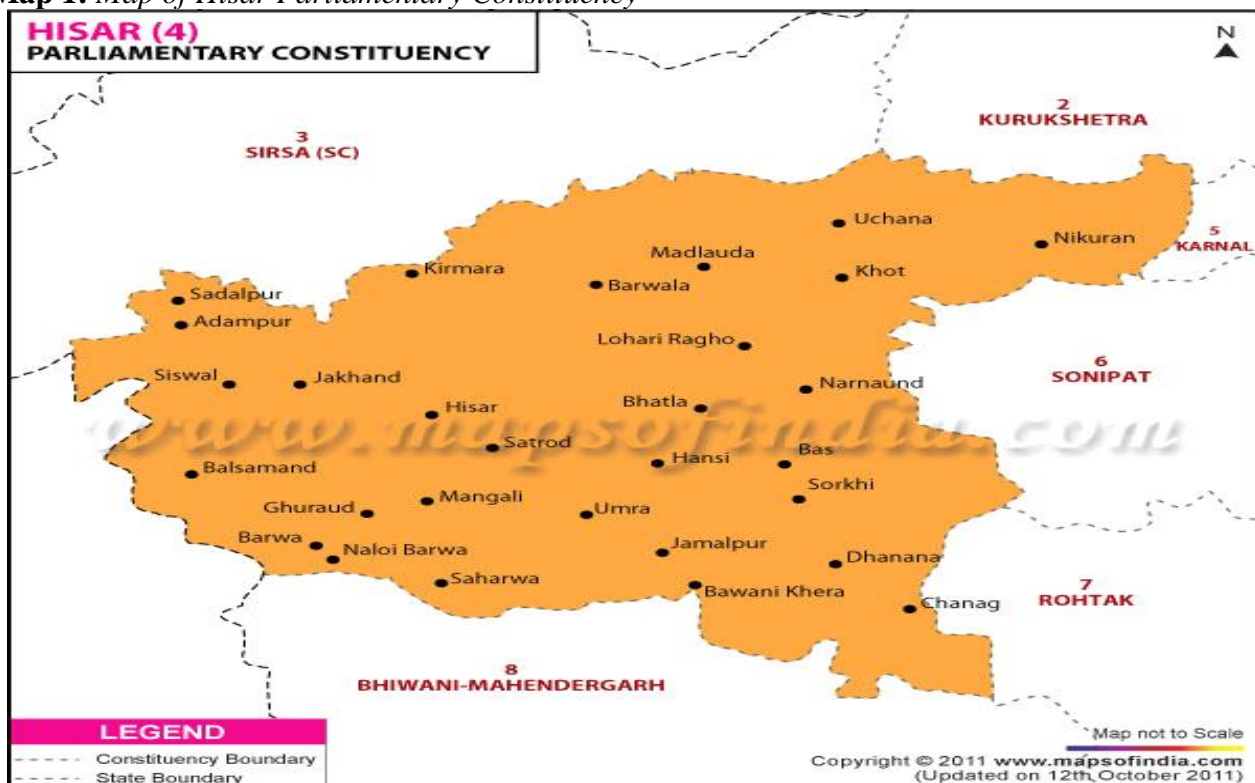
2004.	Jai Parkash	Indian National Congress
2009.	Bhajan Lal	Haryana Janhit Congress
2011.	Kuldeep Bishnoi	Haryana Janhit Congress
2014.	Dushyanat Chautala	Jan Nayak Janta Party
2019.	Brijender Singh	Bhartiya Janta Party

Source: *Office of election Tehsildar, Hisar*

In last 13 elections to the Parliamentary constituency of Hisar, Congress has the record of maximum winning 6 times here. (<https://www.jagran.com/elections/lok-sabha-hisar-lok-sabha-election-result-2014-2019-winning-candidate,2019>) Since all of the members throughout history have been men, one pattern in this parliamentary seat is the male domination. There are 15,80,349 registered voters in the Parliamentary constituency overall, including 7,28,514 female and 8,51,835 male voters. The Jat-dominated Hisar Lok Sabha constituency which has over 500,000 Jats (33%), over 70,000 Prajapati/Kumhar (5%), over 180,000 Brahmins (15%), 65,000 Punjabis (4%), over 36,000 Bishnois (2.2%), and the remaining 400,000 (23%), who are from various Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes, according to election commission data published by the Daily Pioneer in January 2019. The Hisar Parliamentary Constituency has a total of nine assembly segments, including seven from the Hisar District and one each from the Jind and Bhiwani Districts. Assembly areas in the Hisar district include Hansi, Nalwa, Barwala, Adampur, Narnaund, and Uklana, while Uchana Kalan and Bawani Kheda come from the Jind and Bhiwani districts, respectively.

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hisar_Lok_Sabha_constituency.)

Map 1: *Map of Hisar Parliamentary Constituency*



Source: www.mapsofindia.com

Uchana Kalan, Adampur, Uklana, Narnaund, Hansi, Barwala, Hisar, Nalwa Choudhary, and Bawani Kheda make up the total of nine assembly segments that are included in it.

Pre-Poll Senerio Of The Constituency

The 2019 elections got underway with the Indian Election Commission's announcement and the political parties' distribution of tickets. Three Lals have always been at the centre of Haryana politics. In Hisar, family members from each of these dynasties are seen fighting, highlighting the antagonism between them. The state of Rajasthan borders this metropolis, popularly known as the "City of Steel," which Firoj Shah Tughlaq built in 1354. Since a fort had been constructed there, it has been referred to as Hisar-a-Firoja, which is Arabic for "city of Firoj." Under Akbar's rule, the name Firoja was dropped, and the region became known as Hisar.

This Banger region seat was well-known to the previous chief minister Ch. Bhajan Lal, but currently, Dushyant Chautala, a fourth-generation descendant of Ch. Devlal, is in charge and is a member of parliament from this constituency. On the one hand, by selecting Brijender Singh as its candidate, the BJP is vying for the seat in honour of the Modi-Wave and former great leader Ch. Chhoturam. The grandson of Bhajan Lal, Bhavya Bishnoi, is the opponent in this fight that he is having on the other hand. About 33% of Hisar's 16 lakh voters are Jat, with Bishnoi voters coming in second. The election's key discussion points this time was the decisive leadership. Sanwar Mal, a voter from the nearby village of Bhojraj, claims that although Dushyant Chautala is also receiving votes, the Modi wave is still strong in Hisar. Beyond regional or national concerns, another voter named Gyan Singh, a citizen of Hisar City's Shanti Nagar, declared his support for the Modi government at the national level. In addition to the several projects that Dushyant Chautala has finished, Mr. Sri Chand noted that most people think his party won't prevail in the general election. The BJP is hopeful about the open-book and welfare-driven initiatives being made in the state by the present Manohar administration. In addition, Hisar city is currently undergoing construction on numerous other projects, such as giving water to all colonies, constructing a road bypass to lessen traffic, and removing all train crossings. A major local concern is increasing recalculation in HUDA. (Khusbu Goyal, 2019)

In Hisar, several influential political groups were present along with their leading candidates. The current member of parliament and head of the Jannayak Janta Party is running once more. He is the grandson of Ch. Om Parkash Chautala, former chief minister of Haryana, and the great-grandson of Ch. Devi Lal, a former deputy prime minister of India. His father served as the party's head at one point. He is present this time with a good reputation and results from his prior term as an MP.

In 2014, Dushyant Chautala, an INLD candidate from this district, won. He started his own political party, the Jannayak Janta Party (JJP), after quitting the INLD in 2018. He is standing as a joint candidate this time around after forming an alliance with the AAP. To become the youngest member of parliament, Dushyant Chautala, then 26 years old, defeated Kuldeep Bishnoi, Ch. Bhajan Lal's son. (Virender Bhatiya, <https://www.firstpost.com/politics/lok-sabha-election-2019>)

The official BJP party candidate is the great-grandson of Ch. Chhoturam, a well-known Jat leader and former local politician. Brijender Singh was the nominee selected by the party. His father, Birender Singh, and mother, Prem Lata, are well-known BJP figures who have both held elected office in the Uchana segment. He arrived here to contest in the election after leaving the IAS, which is a huge risk in and of itself. He is optimistic in the non-Jat support for the BJP based on the Uchana mid-term election in the area and part of the Parliamentary constituency. Beyond Uchana, he is well-liked in Hisar, Hansi, Barwala, Bawanikheda, and Uklana, among other places. He holds a postgraduate degree and resides permanently in the Jind district's Dumarkha village. The Haryana minister of finance, Captain Abhimanyu, is a Narnaund MLA, whilst Kamal Gupta is a Hisar MLA. Bishamber Balmiki represents Bawani Kheda as an MLA. In the Hisar parliamentary constituency,

these BJP lawmakers play significant roles. There is pressure on every minister to offer Brijender Singh as much general support as they can.

Bhavya Bishnoi sought support as a congress candidate from non-Jat voters while hoping to split Jat votes among his competitors. He is a native of the area and the great-grandson of Ch. Bhajan Lal, a former chief minister of Haryana. He is persuaded to support him by Kuldeep Bishnoi, his father, and other Haryana Janhit Congress, HJC(BL) party members. Prem Lata, an MLA from Uchana, and Birender Singh, a member of the Union cabinet, are having trouble enlisting support for Chhoturam and the Modi-Wave everywhere. (<https://www.jagran.com/elections/lok-sabha-hisar-lok-sabha-election-result-2014-2019-winning-candidate,2019>)

Triangle-shaped battlelines have formed there. This time, the INLD issued Suresh Kaunth a ticket. Representatives for the district are two INLD MLAs. Ranbir Gangwa, an INLD MLA from Nalwa, has left the party and is now backing the BJP candidate, while Ved Narang, an MLA from Barwala, supports the party's nominee and is responsible for providing the INLD candidate the largest lead from this area. Following his departure from the party, Anup Dhanak, a former INLD MLA from Barwala, backed JJP. (aajtak.in,2019)

During his last tenure, Dushyant Chautala sought to win over the public with his honourable and responsible work, whilst Brijender Singh sought to derail Dushyant Chautala by gaining support from the Jat community. In the 2014 elections, Dushyant was reportedly supported by 95% of Jat voters, and his only victories were in the assembly districts of Uchana, Narnaund, and Uklana. His supporters, who are mainly non-Jat voters, claim that he might do well this time in Nalwa, Hansi, Bawani Kheda, and Barwala as well. On the other hand, it is anticipated that the split Jat vote will favour Congress candidate Bhavya Bishnoi, while the split non-Jat vote will ensure the win of BJP candidate Brijender Singh. Knowing the situation, Bhavya Bishnoi tried to win over the traditional Punjabi supporters of his grandfather. (<https://www.aajtak.in/india/haryana/story/hisar-lok-sabha-election-result-2019>)

Result And Its Analysis

The BJP grew its support base in 2019 general elections, thanks in large part to the capable leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi. In any Lok Sabha election, the BJP received 22,90,78,261 votes, the greatest proportion of any party (45% of the total votes). Furthermore, the votes received are almost two times as many as the 11,94,94,952 votes received by the Indian National Congress. According to the results of the 2019 general elections in Haryana, the BJP won all 10 seats this time with enormous margins, ranging from 1.60 to 6.50 lakh except Rohtak Parliamentary seat, propelled by a powerful Modi-wave across the entire nation. Ramesh Kaushik of the BJP beat former Chief Minister Bhupinder Singh Hooda in Sonipat, which was the party's biggest loss.

Table 3: Results of Haryana Parliamentary elections 2019

Name of Constituency	Winning Candidate	Party	% of votes polled
Ambala	Rattan Lal Kataria	BJP	56.72
Bhiwani- Mahendergarh	Dharambir	BJP	63.45
Faridabad	Krishan Pal	BJP	68.8
Gurgaon	Rao Inderjeet Singh	BJP	60.94
Hissar	Brijender Singh	BJP	51.13
Karnal	Sanjay Bhatia	BJP	70.08

Kurukshetra	Nayab Singh	BJP	55.98
Rohtak	Arvind Kumar Sharma	BJP	47.01
Sirsa	Sunita Duggal	BJP	52.16
Sonipat	Ramesh Kumar Kaushik	BJP	52.03

Source: *Haryana Lok Sabha Elections Results 2019: Party Wise Seats, (www.indianexpress.com)*

This time, the BJP in Haryana increased its position; in 2014, the party was able to win seven seats in the state, but two of those seats went to the INLD, led by Om Parkash Chautala, and Congress was left with just one seat, the Rohtak Parliamentary constituency. In 2019, the venerable Congress party lost just one seat when three-term MP Deepender Singh Hooda was narrowly defeated by BJP contender.

The BJP won all 10 seats in the 2019 general elections with massive margins, ranging from 1.60 to 6.50 lakh, except for Rohtak Parliamentary seat, thanks to a strong Modi-wave that swept the entire country. The BJP's victory over Bhupinder Singh Hooda, the former chief minister in Sonipat, was the greatest defeat. When three-term MP Deepender Singh Hooda was barely defeated by a BJP candidate, the venerable Congress party only lost one seat. Strong-hitting Congress party leaders were defeated in these elections, including party chief Kumari Selja from Ambala, Kuldeep Sharma from Karnal, Nirmal Singh from Kurukshetra, Bhavya Bishnoi from Bhiwani, and Ajay Singh Yadav from Gurgaon. The state's 10 parliamentary seats attracted 223 candidates. Out of the entire number of candidates, only 9 women ran. There were 69.5 percent of votes cast. (<https://eci.gov.in/files/file/10961-17state-wise-seat-won-valid-votes>)

In total, 73.29% of voters in the Hisar parliamentary constituency cast ballots. Brijender Singh of the BJP was named the winner of the 2019 general elections for the Hisar parliamentary constituency. He received 6,03,289 votes in total, or 51% of all the votes cast in the constituency. With 314,068 votes, he trounced Dushyant Chautala, while Bhavya, the congress candidate, came in third. 51.13% of the votes cast went to Brijender Singh, while 24.51% of the votes cast went to Dushyant. In this peacefully concluded election process, only 15.63% of polled voters chose the Congress candidate, Bhavya. Bhavya Bishnoi bemoaned the country's Modi-Wave and claimed that voters did not support development but lied on its name. Brijender Singh, the BJP candidate, gave thanks for the victory to the party's national leadership, state leaders, and all-party supporters. He continued by saying that the outcome exceeded his expectations, yet he had no doubts.

Table 4: *Hisar parliamentary constituency in last three elections*

Year	Candidate's Name	Party	Result Vote	Vote Share	Margin
2019	Brijender Singh	BJP	Winner 6,03,289	51%	3,14,068
2014	Dushyant Chautala	INLD	Winner 4,94,478	43%	31,847
2009	Bhajan Lal	HJC(BL)	Winner 2,48,476	30%	6983

Source: <https://www.oneindia.com/hisar-lok-sabha-election-result-135>

Dushyant Chautala defeated Kuldeep Bishnoi in 2014, even though he was a joint candidate of the BJP and the HJC (Haryana Janhit Congress). After the passing of his father, Ch. Bhajan Lal, the Hisar, MP at the time, Kuldeep Bishnoi won the subsequent by-election in 2011. The father of Dushyant Chautala, Ajay Sigh Chautala, was vanquished by him. The defeat of Kuldeep Bishnoi in 2014 was viewed as a response to 2011.

Observations/ Findings

- In the general elections, the BJP gained 303 seats nationally, up from 282, while winning all ten parliamentary seats in Haryana, up from seven in her favour in the general elections of 2014. This time around, no opposition Party or leader was accepted as the official opposition leader in the parliament.
- Institutional deterioration, economic performance, terrorism, national security, rural distress, and dynastic politics were the main concerns at the national level in 2019. The Haryana state election environment is being shaken by new trends such as the fall of dynasty politics, Jat vs. Non-Jat comparisons, winning of the state ruling party in parliamentary elections, the Modi wave, and BJP micromanagement through pannaparmukhs for door-to-door campaigning.
- Along with the other parliamentary seats in the state of Haryana, the BJP won the Rohtak seat in 2019, the only seat won by Congress in 2014. Rohtak was regarded as the Congress party's safest seat in the state as it was the home district of the former chief minister of Haryana, Ch Bhupinder Singh Hooda. Moreover, from the initial elections in 1952, the Hooda family has won the Rohtak seat nine times. Even though the winning margin was not very large, the BJP's victory in the Rohtak seat in the 2019 parliamentary elections is a significant one.
- Caste dominates the election process in Hisar parliamentary constituency and generally at the state level. OBC card played by BJP in Hisar was successful which was witnessed during counting of votes also. The equations of Jat Vs. Non-Jat work on the party line not for the candidate, as Haryana Janhit Congress (BL) candidate and grandson of Ch. Bhajan Lal was thrown at the third place in the result and was to satisfy with only 15% votes. Despite being from Jat community, Brijender Singh was favoured by non-Jat voters too in the parliamentary Constituency.
- Even though, Dushyant Chautala was actively campaigning in the district and had an excellent reputation also there. He frequently emphasized the numerous projects and advances he had helped bring about in the area, particularly in the city of Hisar. He also made additional contributions, including providing water to all colonies, building a road bypass to reduce traffic, and removing all city train crossings. But the impact of ongoing Modi wave in the area and in the whole nation, as well as the BJP government's clean and transparent image, were enough to guarantee the BJP candidate in Hisar victory.
- 'Infighting within Congress caused them to lose this election in Hisar. Only Randeep Singh Surjewala was fighting for the party; Hooda, Selja, Kiran, and Jai Parkash were not. Even they desired Bhavya's defeat to derail Bhajan Lal's and Kuldeep Bishnoi's potential political future in Haryana. However, following their split, INLD preferred Dushyant Chautala's defeat more than their own success. Even some of its cadres were reportedly moved to endorse the BJP. The situation strengthened the already powerful Modi-wave that is currently sweeping the nation, ensuring BJP victory. He won the Uchana seat, but only a few months later, when Prem Lata, his mother, and a former cabinet minister for Haryana, was running for office, did the same Uchana section ensure the BJP's crushing defeat in the state elections by a significant majority. It implies that Brijender was elected solely in response to the Modi wave and not because of the Chhoturam political base in the area.' (Naresh Sharma, Youth Congress leader, Hisar)
- While INLD's voting percentage reduced and it moved from third to fourth place in the results of the election in the parliamentary constituency, the Congress party (INC) saw a decrease in its support base here. 'The results of the general elections in Hisar in 2019 were influenced by two things. One of them is the rift in the INLD and the contribution of its

cadres to Dushyant Singh's defeat. On the other hand, the Ch. Chhoturam politics of artisans and farmers, along with its fresh and clean faced, formerly IAS, leader Brijender Singh, laid the groundwork for the country's powerful Modi wave and the present Haryana government's clean and transparent image'. (Manoj Atri, Advocate, and businessman, Narwana)

- After winning all ten of the state's legislative seats, the leadership of the Haryana Chief minister has grown stronger, particularly in the eyes of the party high command. It is important to note that Sh. Manohar Lal Khatter, the current chief minister of Haryana, hails from the district of Rohtak.

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Declaration

It is to be certified that the paper entitled **GENERAL ELECTIONS 2019: A STUDY OF THE ROLE OF CASTE AND DYNASTIC POLITICS IN HISAR PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCY OF HARYANA**

is my own creation. It is not sent for publication, neither published anywhere else.

With Regards

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