



Women's Contribution in Haryana Politics: A Comprehensive Analysis

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Abstract

Research Problem: Women's political participation in Haryana has remained limited due to deep-rooted socio-cultural barriers and systemic challenges. Since its formation in 1966, the state's political landscape has been predominantly male-dominated, with women constituting only a small fraction of elected representatives. Despite constitutional provisions supporting gender inclusivity, patriarchal norms, lack of political support, and proxy representation continue to hinder women's independent political agency.

Methodology: This study employs a mixed-method approach, integrating qualitative and quantitative research. Qualitative analysis includes the review of policy documents, scholarly literature, and media reports to understand socio-political barriers. Quantitative data from election results provide empirical insights into women's political representation trends, particularly in the 2024 Haryana Legislative Assembly elections.

Key Findings: The 2024 Haryana elections marked a historic milestone with 13 women elected to the 90-member house—the highest number in state history. However, the overall participation of female candidates remains low, with major political parties fielding only 51 women out of 1,028 total candidates, a decline from 104 in 2019. The study identifies key obstacles, including





patriarchal norms, limited party nominations, and the prevalence of proxy representation. Despite these challenges, leaders like Kumari Selja, and Vinesh Phogat signal a growing acceptance of female leadership in Haryana politics.

Conclusion: Increasing political awareness, grassroots mobilization, and policy interventions such as gender quotas are crucial for enhancing women's representation. Addressing structural barriers and fostering an inclusive political environment is essential for achieving gender parity in Haryana's governance.

Keywords: Women in politics, Haryana, political participation, gender representation, sociocultural challenges

1. Introduction

Haryana, since its formation in 1966, has witnessed limited female representation in its political landscape. The state's deeply entrenched patriarchal structure and traditional societal norms have often acted as barriers to women's active participation in governance and electoral politics (Kaul & Sahni, 2009). Despite constitutional provisions and policies aimed at promoting gender inclusivity, women in Haryana continue to face significant obstacles in entering and sustaining a political career. The dominance of male politicians, the socio-cultural expectation of women prioritizing domestic roles, and systemic discrimination in political parties have collectively hindered women's progress in politics (Chattopadhyay & Duflo, 2001). As a result, female representation in Haryana's legislative processes has remained disproportionately low compared to their male counterparts. Historically, women's participation in Haryana's electoral system has been minimal. In the 14 assembly elections held since 1967, only 87 women have been elected as Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs), constituting a mere 7.62% of the total elected representatives (BehanBox, 2024). Furthermore, the state has never had a female Chief Minister, and very few women have held key ministerial positions. The underrepresentation of women is not just a reflection of societal biases but also the reluctance of political parties to nominate female



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candidates in winnable constituencies (The New Indian Express, 2024). Even when women do contest elections, they often serve as proxy representatives for male relatives, limiting their ability to act as independent political leaders (Gochhayat, 2013). This systemic issue underscores the need for an in-depth exploration of the barriers preventing women's full participation in Haryana politics. Despite these challenges, the 2024 Haryana Legislative Assembly elections marked a milestone in women's political representation, with 13 women securing seats—the highest number in the state's history (The Times of India, 2024). This increase suggests a growing acceptance of female leadership among voters, yet political parties still demonstrate hesitancy in fielding women candidates. The number of female candidates dropped significantly in the 2024 elections, with only 51 women contesting out of 1,028 total candidates, compared to 104 in 2019 (The New Indian Express, 2024). This decline highlights the continued barriers within political party structures that prevent women from gaining equal opportunities in elections. Furthermore, the limited presence of female leaders in high-ranking positions suggests that merely increasing the number of elected women is insufficient—systemic reforms are needed to ensure their meaningful participation in governance.

This paper seeks to explore the extent of women's involvement in Haryana politics, the key challenges they face, and the progress made over the years. By analyzing historical trends, highlighting notable female political figures, and evaluating the latest electoral data, this study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the evolving role of women in Haryana's political sphere. Additionally, the paper will assess the socio-cultural challenges that continue to limit women's representation and propose policy recommendations to enhance gender equality in political participation. Addressing these structural barriers through policy reforms, grassroots activism, and greater political will is essential for achieving a more inclusive and equitable political environment in Haryana.





2. Historical Overview of Women's Political Participation in Haryana

Historically, women's representation in Haryana's legislative processes has been minimal. Since the state's first assembly elections in 1967, only 87 women have been elected as Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs), constituting merely 7.62% of the total elected representatives (BehanBox, 2024). This low representation is reflective of deep-rooted socio-cultural barriers that discourage women's participation in governance. The patriarchal structure of Haryana's society has traditionally placed women in subordinate roles, limiting their access to education, economic resources, and political platforms (Kaul & Sahni, 2009). As a result, women have struggled to gain political agency, often being relegated to secondary positions within party structures or serving as proxies for male politicians. Notably, Haryana has never had a female Chief Minister, and women have rarely held significant ministerial portfolios in the state government (The Times of India, 2024).

The political marginalization of women in Haryana is further exacerbated by the reluctance of political parties to field female candidates. In the early decades following Haryana's formation, the presence of women in electoral politics was almost negligible, with only a handful of women contesting and winning elections (Chattopadhyay & Duflo, 2001). Even in recent elections, political parties have been hesitant to nominate women in winnable constituencies, fearing that traditional voters may not accept female leadership (Hindustan Times, 2024). The 2019 assembly elections saw 104 women candidates contesting, but this number sharply declined to 51 in 2024, highlighting a persistent gender gap in electoral representation (The New Indian Express, 2024). This decline is a stark contrast to national efforts to improve women's political participation through policy initiatives such as the Women's Reservation Bill, which seeks to allocate 33% of seats in legislative bodies to women (Rai, 2005).

A major factor hindering women's political advancement in Haryana is the widespread practice of proxy representation. Many women who secure electoral victories are often family members of established male politicians and serve as nominal leaders while real decision-making power



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remains with their male relatives (Gochhayat, 2013). This phenomenon is particularly common in rural areas, where societal norms discourage women from taking independent political stands. Studies on Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) reveal that even when women are elected as sarpanches (village heads), they frequently function under the influence of their husbands or male relatives, a trend often referred to as "sarpanch pati" culture (Kaul & Sahni, 2009). This proxy representation limits the effectiveness of women's political engagement, preventing them from exercising real authority and contributing meaningfully to governance and policy-making.

Despite these challenges, there have been some significant milestones in women's political participation in Haryana. The 2024 assembly elections witnessed the highest number of female MLAs in the state's history, with 13 women winning seats (The Times of India, 2024). This represents a small yet crucial step toward greater gender inclusivity in Haryana's political landscape. Over the years, a few women leaders have emerged as prominent political figures, demonstrating that female politicians can wield influence and drive change despite structural barriers. Leaders like Kumari Selja, a senior Congress leader, and Geeta Bhukkal, a former cabinet minister, have played pivotal roles in shaping policy debates and advocating for women's empowerment (Wikipedia, 2024a; Wikipedia, 2024b). However, these individual successes have not yet translated into a broader systemic shift, as women continue to be underrepresented in decision-making roles.

To achieve meaningful political representation for women in Haryana, systemic reforms are necessary. Policies such as mandatory quotas for female candidates in state elections, financial support for women entering politics, and targeted leadership training programs can help bridge the gender gap in governance (Deininger & Nagarajan, 2011). Additionally, greater political awareness and mobilization at the grassroots level can empower more women to contest elections and assert their rights within party structures. The journey towards gender parity in Haryana's political arena remains challenging, but the increasing participation of women in electoral politics signals a slow but promising shift. If these trends continue and are reinforced through policy interventions and



societal change, Haryana may eventually witness a more balanced and equitable political representation for women.

3. Prominent Female Political Figures in Haryana

Despite the numerous challenges that hinder women's political participation in Haryana, several female leaders have emerged as influential figures, shaping the state's political landscape. These women have played a crucial role in governance, policy-making, and leadership, overcoming socio-cultural barriers to establish themselves in the male-dominated political sphere. Their contributions have not only paved the way for greater female representation but have also inspired future generations of women to engage in politics.

Chandrawati: A Pioneer in Haryana Politics





Source: Chandrawati. Photo courtesy: Twitter/@DeependerSHooda

Chandrawati holds the distinction of being one of the earliest and most influential women in Haryana's political history. She became the first woman Deputy Speaker of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha and later served as the Governor of Pondicherry, a rare achievement for a woman in her time (BehanBox, 2024). Her journey in politics was marked by resilience and dedication to public service. As a prominent leader of the Indian National Congress, she played a significant role in advocating for social justice and women's empowerment in Haryana. Chandrawati was instrumental in raising issues related to education, gender equality, and rural development, often challenging the patriarchal norms that dominated the political landscape. Her leadership set a precedent for women's participation in Haryana politics, demonstrating that women could hold influential positions and contribute meaningfully to governance. Despite facing societal resistance, her contributions left a lasting impact, making her an iconic figure in the history of Haryana's political evolution.

Kumari Selja: A Nationally Recognized Leader





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Source: https://indianexpress.com/about/kumari-selja/

Kumari Selja is one of the most recognized female politicians from Haryana, known for her extensive political career and her role in shaping national and state-level policies. A senior leader of the Indian National Congress, she has held multiple ministerial positions at both the state and central levels, including Minister for Social Justice and Empowerment, Minister of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, and Minister of Culture (Wikipedia, 2024a). Born into a Dalit family, Selja has been a strong advocate for social justice, working towards the upliftment of marginalized communities and championing women's rights. Her political career spans several decades, during which she has played a key role in addressing issues related to caste discrimination, gender equality, and urban development. Apart from her ministerial roles, Selja has been an active participant in Haryana's state politics, serving as the President of the Haryana Pradesh Congress Committee. Under her leadership, the Congress party in Haryana has emphasized the need for greater female political representation and policy initiatives focused on gender equality. She has often spoken about the challenges women face in politics, advocating for stronger policies to support female candidates and ensure their independent decision-making power. Her influence extends beyond Haryana, as she has contributed significantly to national debates on gender and social issues, reinforcing the importance of female leadership in Indian politics (The Times of India, 2024).



Geeta Bhukkal: A Key Architect of Haryana's Education Policies



Source: https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/trying-to-make-haryana-the-education-hub-of-the-country-geeta-bhukkal/story-8t9ITEuWjHYETKhbFIJcaM.html

Geeta Bhukkal is another prominent female politician from Haryana who has made significant contributions to the state's governance. She has served multiple terms as an MLA and has held key ministerial portfolios, including Education and Women & Child Development (Wikipedia, 2024b). Her tenure as Haryana's Education Minister was marked by several policy reforms aimed at improving the state's educational infrastructure and increasing access to quality education for Peer-Reviewed |Refereed | Indexed | International Journal |2023 Global Insights, Multidisciplinary Excellence





children, particularly girls. Under her leadership, Haryana saw the implementation of various initiatives to boost female literacy rates and enhance school enrollment among girls in rural areas. In addition to her work in the education sector, Bhukkal has been a vocal advocate for women's empowerment and social welfare policies. She has emphasized the importance of increasing female participation in decision-making bodies and has actively promoted schemes aimed at supporting working women and female entrepreneurs (Hindustan Times, 2024). Despite operating in a challenging political environment, she has consistently worked towards making governance more inclusive and responsive to the needs of women and marginalized communities. Her ability to navigate Haryana's male-dominated political arena and push for progressive policies has established her as a formidable leader.

Vinesh Phogat: From Wrestling Champion to Political Leader



Source: https://frontline.thehindu.com/politics/vinesh-phogat-haryana-elections-julana-congress-candidate-olympic-wrestler-politics-2024/article68709283.ece



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A more recent entrant into Haryana politics, Vinesh Phogat, is a celebrated wrestler who transitioned from sports to public service by contesting the 2024 Haryana Assembly elections. Representing the Indian National Congress, she won from the Julana constituency, marking the beginning of her political journey (Wikipedia, 2024c). Phogat comes from a family of renowned wrestlers and has been an inspiration for women in sports, breaking stereotypes and advocating for gender equality in athletics. Her decision to enter politics reflects her commitment to bringing change beyond the sports arena and addressing larger societal issues, including women's rights, education, and sports development. Phogat's entry into politics has been viewed as a significant moment for women's leadership in Haryana, as she represents a new generation of female leaders who come from non-traditional political backgrounds. Her popularity as a sports icon has given her a strong public presence, enabling her to connect with young voters and advocate for policies that promote youth empowerment and gender equality. As an MLA, she has emphasized the need for better sports infrastructure, improved educational opportunities for girls, and stronger laws to protect women's rights (The New Indian Express, 2024). While she is still in the early stages of her political career, her transition from an athlete to a lawmaker highlights the growing acceptance of diverse female leadership in Haryana's political landscape.

The contributions of women like Chandrawati, Kumari Selja, Geeta Bhukkal, and Vinesh Phogat demonstrate that, despite persistent challenges, female politicians in Haryana have made significant strides in governance and policy-making. These leaders have broken barriers, challenged societal norms, and worked towards gender-inclusive development. However, their success stories also underscore the need for systemic changes to ensure that more women can enter and sustain political careers in Haryana. Increased political representation, stronger institutional support, and policy reforms are necessary to build upon the progress made by these pioneering women. Their journeys serve as an inspiration for the next generation, proving that with determination and support, women can play a transformative role in Haryana's political future.





4. Recent Trends and Developments

The 2024 Haryana Legislative Assembly elections marked a significant milestone in the political representation of women in the state. For the first time in Haryana's history, 13 women were elected to the 90-member assembly, the highest number ever recorded (The Times of India, 2024). This increase indicates a gradual shift in voter perception, reflecting a growing acceptance and support for female leadership. However, while this development signals progress, the overall representation of women in Haryana's political landscape remains significantly low when compared to their male counterparts. The increase in the number of elected women does not necessarily indicate structural change, as women still face substantial barriers to political participation, such as limited access to party nominations, financial constraints, and societal biases (BehanBox, 2024). Despite the record number of female MLAs, the 2024 elections also highlighted a concerning trend—a decline in the number of women candidates fielded by political parties. In the 2024 elections, only 51 women contested out of a total of 1,028 candidates, a sharp decrease from 104 female candidates in 2019 (The New Indian Express, 2024). This reduction suggests that political parties remain hesitant to promote women candidates, either due to concerns about electoral viability or persistent gender biases within party structures. Major political parties, including the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Indian National Congress (INC), and Jannayak Janta Party (JJP), have all faced criticism for not fielding enough women despite advocating for gender equality in politics (Hindustan Times, 2024). This contradiction between political rhetoric and actual nominations indicates the need for stronger internal party policies and structural reforms to ensure higher female representation in elections.

Another key development in Haryana politics has been the rising prominence of grassroots female leaders, particularly in local governance structures such as Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). Studies have shown that reservations for women in local governance have empowered many female leaders at the village and district levels (Kaul & Sahni, 2009). However, many of these elected women continue to serve as proxy candidates for male relatives, a practice known as



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"sarpanch pati" culture, where the real decision-making power remains in the hands of male family members (Gochhayat, 2013). While political reservations have increased the numerical presence of women in governance, the challenge remains to ensure their actual decision-making authority. Haryana has seen some success stories where women sarpanches have broken free from this system and implemented significant policy changes in their villages, but these remain isolated cases rather than widespread trends (Raman, n.d.). In addition to political participation, recent years have seen an increase in women's activism and engagement in Haryana's socio-political movements. Women's groups and civil society organizations have played a critical role in advocating for greater female representation in legislative bodies and demanding policies that support women's political empowerment (Vijayalakshmi, 2005). The growing visibility of female politicians such as Kumari Selja, Geeta Bhukkal, and Vinesh Phogat has also contributed to the changing narrative around women's leadership in Haryana (Wikipedia, 2024a; Wikipedia, 2024b; Wikipedia, 2024c). These leaders have actively campaigned for increased participation of women in politics, emphasizing issues such as education, gender-based violence, and economic empowerment. Their efforts have helped challenge traditional gender norms and encouraged more women to consider political careers.

While the 2024 elections reflect a positive trend in women's political participation, significant challenges remain in achieving gender parity in Haryana's political system. The underrepresentation of women in candidate lists, the prevalence of proxy leadership, and the lack of institutional support continue to hinder progress. To address these issues, policy interventions such as mandatory quotas for women in state legislatures, financial support for female candidates, and leadership training programs are essential (Deininger & Nagarajan, 2011). Additionally, a cultural shift is needed to break down societal barriers that discourage women from entering politics. If these issues are addressed, Haryana has the potential to become a leading example of gender-inclusive governance in India, paving the way for future generations of female political leaders.





5. Socio-Cultural Challenges

Women's underrepresentation in Haryana's political landscape is deeply rooted in socio-cultural and structural barriers that prevent them from actively participating in governance. Despite constitutional provisions and policy measures aimed at increasing female representation, the state continues to struggle with gender disparity in politics. Several key factors contribute to this issue, including patriarchal societal norms, proxy representation, and limited support from political parties. These challenges highlight the systemic obstacles that women face when attempting to establish themselves as independent political leaders.

Patriarchal Society and Gender Norms

Haryana has one of the most deeply entrenched patriarchal societies in India, with traditional gender roles significantly influencing women's participation in public life (Kaul & Sahni, 2009). The state has historically recorded low female literacy rates, high gender discrimination, and a strong preference for male leadership, all of which contribute to the marginalization of women in politics. Cultural expectations often dictate that women should focus on domestic responsibilities rather than engage in political activities, leading to limited family and community support for female candidates (Chattopadhyay & Duflo, 2001). Additionally, societal biases frequently discourage women from speaking in public forums or assuming leadership roles, further restricting their political agency (Rai, 2005). The strong influence of patriarchal values not only discourages women from contesting elections but also affects voter perception, as many constituents still prefer male candidates over female leaders (BehanBox, 2024).

Proxy Representation and Tokenism

A significant challenge in Haryana politics is the phenomenon of proxy representation, where women are elected but serve as mere figureheads for their male relatives, such as husbands, fathers, or brothers (Gochhayat, 2013). This practice is particularly prevalent in rural areas and within local governance structures such as Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), where women are often Peer-Reviewed |Refereed | Indexed | International Journal |2023 Global Insights, Multidisciplinary Excellence





nominated as candidates due to legal mandates but lack real decision-making power (Kaul & Sahni, 2009). This system, commonly referred to as "sarpanch pati" culture, severely limits women's political autonomy and reinforces male dominance in governance (Raman, n.d.). Even at the state assembly level, many female MLAs owe their political positions to family dynasties rather than independent political activism. The lack of genuine political empowerment means that while the numerical representation of women might increase, their actual influence in policy-making remains minimal (Deininger & Nagarajan, 2011). Proxy representation also reflects a broader trend of tokenism, where political parties and governments use female candidates to meet symbolic gender inclusion goals without ensuring they have real power (Hindustan Times, 2024). This issue undermines the effectiveness of gender reservations and quotas, as it allows male politicians to continue controlling decision-making processes through female family members. Until women are able to hold independent authority in governance, their role in Haryana's political framework will remain largely superficial.

Limited Political Party Support

One of the biggest barriers to women's political participation in Haryana is the reluctance of political parties to support female candidates. Despite increasing awareness about gender equality in governance, major parties continue to field disproportionately fewer women in elections. In the 2024 Haryana Assembly elections, out of 1,028 total candidates, only 51 were women, a sharp decline from 104 in the 2019 elections (The New Indian Express, 2024). This trend indicates that while voters may be more open to electing female candidates, political parties remain hesitant to nominate them, often preferring male candidates whom they perceive as more "electable" (Hindustan Times, 2024). The lack of financial and organizational support for female candidates further exacerbates the issue. Political campaigns require significant resources, and women often face greater challenges in securing funding and mobilizing grassroots networks compared to their male counterparts (Vijayalakshmi, 2005). Additionally, political parties rarely invest in leadership development programs for women, which results in fewer female politicians emerging as strong





contenders for key positions (Rai, 2005). Even when women do secure party tickets, they are often assigned to constituencies where their chances of winning are low, reinforcing structural disadvantages (The Times of India, 2024).

6. Conclusion

While there has been notable progress in increasing women's political representation in Haryana, significant challenges persist in ensuring their full and independent participation in governance. The 2024 Haryana Legislative Assembly elections marked a historic milestone with 13 women elected, the highest in the state's history. However, the decline in the number of female candidates fielded by political parties—from 104 in 2019 to just 51 in 2024—indicates that systemic barriers still hinder women's entry into electoral politics (The New Indian Express, 2024). The persistence of patriarchal norms, proxy representation, and limited political party support continues to restrict women's ability to exercise independent political agency (BehanBox, 2024). Women leaders such as Kumari Selja, Geeta Bhukkal, and Vinesh Phogat have made remarkable contributions, demonstrating that women can play a transformative role in Haryana politics when given the opportunity (Wikipedia, 2024a; Wikipedia, 2024b; Wikipedia, 2024c). However, their success stories remain exceptions rather than the norm. To achieve true gender parity, political parties must actively promote female leadership, ensuring that women receive adequate support, resources, and opportunities to contest elections. Policy interventions such as mandatory gender quotas, financial assistance for women candidates, and leadership training programs can help bridge the gender gap in Haryana's political landscape (Deininger & Nagarajan, 2011). Additionally, shifting societal attitudes toward women's leadership is crucial for fostering a more inclusive political environment. By addressing these challenges, Haryana can take meaningful strides toward achieving gender equality in governance, ensuring that women are not just present in politics but are also empowered decision-makers shaping the state's future.





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