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Evolution of Women's Rights in Independent India: Legal, Policy, And Social Transformations

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Abstract- Ever since 1947, as India attained independence, the development of women rights has been one of the most important, but disputable areas of national building. The equality, non-discrimination, and social justice, which were presented in the Constitution of India, became the cornerstones of the equality among genders and established a normative structure regarding gender equality. This framework has been implemented over the decades by passing legislative reforms, judicial injections, policies by the government, as well as international commitments. This essay explores the history of women rights in independent India, through tracing its provisions in the constitution, defining constitutional milestones of women rights, fundamental legislations, landmark judicial rulings and policy measures targeted at empowerment of women. Indeed, through a qualitative doctrinal and policy-analysis approach, the research consolidates legal documents, government reports, national poll data, and the academic literature to evaluate the success and the ongoing deficiencies. The results demonstrate that although India has established one of the most elaborate platforms of legal frameworks of women rights amongst the postcolonial nations, structural and unequal application and lack of socio-cultural norms remain as the limiting factor of substantive equality. This paper claims that the history of the development of women rights in India describes gradual transformation of the formal equality into the rights-based and intersectional approach; however, major issues lie in the process of legal rights transformation into actual practices. The article fits the feminist legal studies literature base because of the provision of a structural historical and analytical narrative of womens rights in post-independent India.

Keywords- Women's rights, gender equality, Indian Constitution, feminist legal reform, CEDAW, postcolonial India

I. Introduction

Stature of women is one of the major issues that have been attempted to be reformed in India since the nineteenth century but political independence in 1947 was the historical turning point on formal institutionalization of features of rights of women in a constitutional democracy. The makers of the Indian Constitution found the vision in a new societal structure based on values of justice, equality, liberty, and dignity without accommodating gender discrimination and introducing women rights into the national project of nation-building and social change (Government of India, 2024). At independence, India had universal adult franchise, unlike most other postcolonial states that delayed, or limited women participation in the political arena, or by giving universal suffrage, women were given equality in politics, as anticipated. This seminal



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ruling made gender equality a fundamental democratic principle and not a social aspiration.

However, the acceptance of formal political equality never necessarily extended to actual social and economic or cultural empowerment of women. Firmly established patriarchal values, unequal distributions of resources as well as structural limitations remained to fuel my life as a woman in post-independence India. Consequently, the development of women rights has been a complicated but in many cases uneven interplay between the constitutional requirements, legislative action, judicial decisions, women movements and the international standards.

During the early years following independence, reforms were more focused on the personal laws which included marriage, divorce, inheritance, and family relations especially the Hindu law. Legislation like the Hindu Code Bills aimed to modernize family law and enhance status of women over and above laws, but what was produced of them was based on political facilitation and social opposition. Gradually, the restriction of women rights into the house was widened to include not just employment and education, but also rights to reproductive health, property rights and anti violence. The state started taking up more of the role of redressing gender inequalities in the form of labour law, welfare policies and specialised development programmes.

The judicial system has been a great factor in promoting the rights of women by interpreting constitutional provisions in the progressive and broad terms. Indian courts have enhanced measures against discrimination, sexual harassment, domestic violence, and workplace inequalities through public interest litigation and landmark judgments, in most cases referring to international conventions and constitutional morality to fill the loopholes within a legislative regime. Judicial activism has therefore played a significant corrective role where the social practices and administrative enforcement have followed the constitutional ideals.

In spite of all these legal and institutional improvements, the social structure of Indian society is still rooted in gender inequality. It is also complicated by a sustained inequality in education, labour force involvement, health outcomes, and exposure to violence that grows the restrictions of a right-focused approach only (International Institute for Population Sciences & ICF, 2021). This long standing disjuncture between stipulated equality on paper and real social performance indicates the fundamental paradox of female rights in independent India: high levels of constitutional and legal security are in existence with strong tendencies of disparity and marginalization.

It is on this basis that this paper seeks to explore the development of the women rights in independent India by answering three questions that have a direct connection- How have women rights evolved since independence? What has been the role of law, policy and judiciary in driving this direction? And what are the times in between official entitlements and actual equality? Placing women rights in a historical and institutional context, the research provides a holistic evaluation of both the gains and the problems that have resulted in a limited ability to achieve gender justice in the presence of post-independent India



II. Literature Review

The scholarly literature about women rights in India is very wide and interdisciplinary including law, sociology, political science, economics, history and gender studies. One of the arguments that run through this literature is the conflict between the constitutional entitlements of equality and the reality of patriarchal social construction of the lives of women. Early feminist jurisprudence forecasted the constraints on removing gender structures within the law that remained, through the formal legal reform. According to Agnes (1999), the legal reforms during the post-independence period, whilst introducing far reaching expansion of women, such reforms also tend to be within a patriarchal legal and social system within which the emancipatory potential of reforms becomes limited. According to this perspective, law is not only an agent of change but also a venue where hegemonic social disciplines are replicated.

The placement of rights of women in the history of independent India places their rights into extended pathways of social reform and nation. According to Forbes (1996), gender ideologies in the colonial and postcolonial world were more of continuity than the discourse of nationalism tended to romanticize women as a representation of cultural purity but at the same time, women lacked free will. This survival makes it difficult to tell the regressive histories of linear development since independence and highlights how the use of gender norms that had firmly embedded roots in the colonial era still influenced postcolonial policy and law. Feminist historians therefore stress that independence was neither a break nor a complete change but a re-formation of old gendered relations of power.

Much of the literature dwells on personal law reforms which was one of the root areas of women rights in India. Gender justice has been at the forefront of family laws of marriage, divorce, inheritance and succession, especially under legal pluralism. Agarwal (1994) presents a classic study on the rights of women in inheritance and property rights where he shows that the issue of owning sources of production is of primary importance of determining the economic independence of women, bargaining powers and shield against poverty and violence. This argument is supported later in a study by Agarwal (2024) who indicates that even with legal reforms, the successful empowerment of women to control land and property is its limitation with social resistance and socio-cultural customs as well as the weakness of enforcement mechanisms.

The fact about the de jure equality and de facto results is further depicted by empirical studies on Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act, 2005. The amendment gave the daughters the same coparcenary rights but studies show that women usually face depression in the family, lack of legal knowledge and administration has been an outcome as women fight to inherit property. These findings indicate that legal reform cannot achieve anything on its own without its counterparts in terms of social change,



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institutions and strength. There is therefore a warning against the assumption of equating statutory change and substantive empowerment by the scholars.

Violence against women and legal and policy reactions of the state are another noticeable body of research. One of the most famous reports on feminism in terms of scholarship and policy-making style is the landmark *Towards Equality*, which was released in 1974 by the Committee on the Status of Women in India (Agarwal, 2017). The report had systematically reported the degrading position of women in major sectors like education, employment, health and politics and uncovered the mismatch between constitutional principles and social sources of reality. It also helped spur autonomy of women movements in India, which was instrumental in bulldozing of legal changes.

Research on laws against gender-based violence (dowry harassment, sexual assault, domestic violence, etc.) have also been conducted afterwards. Protection of Women on Domestic Violence Act, 2005 is commonly referred to as a liberal legislation that expanded the definition of violence to include emotional, economic, and psychological violence. Nevertheless, researchers find that there are continuing issues related to enforcement, such as a lack of institutional support, insufficiency of other enforcement agencies in training, and disparities in access to justice between geographic areas and social groups (Das & Lakshmana, 2020). These data support the significance of looking beyond legal design and considering the role of administrative capacity and social-cultural background in the latter.

Another theme that dominates the literature on women rights in India is the judicial activism. The interventionist role has frequently been taken by the courts, which interpret the provisions of constitutions broadly and apply the international human rights standards to domestic jurisprudence. The *Vishaka v. The judgment on the case of State of Rajasthan* is often referred to as one of the landmark cases when the judiciary used the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) to outline the principles on the issue of sexual harassment at the workplace (Maity, 2016). This judgment has been considered by scholars as a great illustration of how judicial creativity can correct legislative shortcomings.

Equally, the case of *Shayara Bano* that invalidated the instant triple talaq practice has elicited a lot of academic interest. The arguments focus on how the court resorts to constitutional morality, gender justice, and core rights to question the discriminatory tendencies in personal law (Korsch, 2017). Simultaneously, the critics warn that any judicial interventions can also provoke political reactions and do not necessarily involve any lasting changes in society unless accompanied by other institutional and social broader contexts.

Literature dealing with policies focuses on state-driven programs to empower women such as the National Policy on Empowerment of Women (2001), gender-responsible budgeting and gender specific welfare programmes. Although these policies represent some positive intentions to establish gender equality, in practical research, there are disparate results among the states, regions and social groups. Table 3 and Table 5



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emphasize the importance of location-related policies in relations to intersectional analyses, which underscores the necessity of tailoring policies.

In general, the literature sheds light on the idea that the rights of women in India are formed in a complicated combination of ideals that operate in the constitution, legal pluralism, social stratifications, and political contestation. Researchers are always referring to the disconnect between the ideal of equality and justice in the real life and the also thought that the real empowerment would only take place through enactment of progressive legislation and judicial decisions as well as through social change and effective implementation strategy.

Table 1. Constitutional Articles Related to Women's Rights

Article	Provision	Relevance to Women
14	Equality before law	Legal equality
15(1)	Non-discrimination	Gender justice
15(3)	Special provisions	Affirmative action
16	Equal opportunity	Employment rights
39(d)	Equal pay	Wage parity
42	Maternity relief	Reproductive justice



Figure 1 Conceptual Framework of Women's Rights Evolution in India

III. Methodology

The research approach chosen in this study is qualitative, doctrinal, and policy-analysis research in order to explore the development of women rights in independent India. Since the research questions are normative and, by definition, institutional, a qualitative design seems the most suitable since it will enable a more thorough analysis of legal texts, judicial decisions, and policymaking. The research is not aimed at the quantification of any particular attitudes or behaviors but rather in the way in which the



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rights of women have been theorized, institutionalized and construed in the constitutional and legal system of India since independence.

The main sources of the research will include the provisions of the constitution, legislations in the parliament as well as the ruling of the Supreme Court of India and the official government reports. The focus of constitutional analysis is the provisions concerning equality, non-discrimination, and social justice, in general the Articles 14, 15, 16, 39, and 42 of the Constitution of India of which there are normative premises to gender equality and affirmative action. The parliamentary legislations under discussion are the major laws which refer to personal law reform, labour rights, protection against violence, and equality at work. The judicial sources include the landmark Supreme Court rulings which have been influential in the field of interpreting and developing the scope and authority of women rights especially with the constitutional logic and applying the international human rights standards.

Peer-reviewed journal articles, scholarly books, feminist legal studies, and policy studies are examples of secondary sources that present an interpretive and critical view of women rights in India. They also refer to international documents, especially reports and conventions that are being appointed by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) to place Indian developments of law in a global framework of human rights (United Nations, 1979). The sources allow understanding the way in which domestic law is in accordance with or does not correspond to the international standards of gender equality.

The study is not based on a chronological or case study methodology but follows a themed approach to analysis. Thematic analysis will be used to determine the trend of recurring patterns, priorities and changes in the treatment of female rights law and policies over the periods (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The procedure of analysis is divided into four stages that are related to one another. In the first place, constitutional stipulations, concerning equality, non-discrimination, and affirmative action, are discussed so as to determine the normative bases of women rights in independent India. This step addresses both fundamentals of enforceable rights as well as the principles of direction which are to be applied together in the determination of the intent of the legislation and the interpretation of the law.

Second, major legislations are examined in terms of the time sequence to track the changes in priorities and attitude of the state towards the issue of women rights. These involve review of initial post-independence personal law reforms, and then subsequent legislature intervention in employment, welfare and anti-violence. This analysis will not only be focused on the content of these laws but also the social and political contexts within which they were passed which uses secondary literature to evaluate debate, resistance, and reform directions.

Third, case law is examined to determine the contribution of the judiciary in the development of woman rights. Judicial review is concerned with the way courts have construed the guarantees in the Constitution, whether they have provided interpretations of gaps in the body of law, and have recourse to constitutional morality, substantive equality and international law. Special emphasis will be given on those



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cases in which the court has broadened the definition of rights of women beyond the text of the statutes, and consequently viewed as a driver of legal and social transformation.

Lastly, it is necessary to put legal development into perspective in accordance with national-level policy data. According to the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5), there are gender differences in education, health, participation in the labour force and being exposed to violence (International Institute for Population Sciences & ICF, 2021). To demonstrate the trends of gender-based violence and access to justice, the statistics on crime and official reports are employed. Although these statistics are not experimented with the use of statistics, they are used as contextual facts to determine whether the progress, achieved in the realm of law and constitutional change, has caused measurable changes in the living conditions of women.

The research is descriptive and analytic as opposed to empirical. It does not incorporate primary field investigation, surveys, and interviews since its main goal is to examine the development of law and organizational structures. The analysis however involves triangulation or the combination of doctrinal legal analysis with policy data and secondary empirical findings to improve the level of analytical rigor and validity (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This triangulation assists in counteracting the gap between the law on the books and law in practice, which is a common worry in feminist legal studies.

A number of study limitations should be mentioned. First, the use of secondary data and country-wide indicators restricts the possibility of local differences in the deployment and enforcement. The experiences of women in law and policy resonate very differently in regions, castes, classes and religion which cannot under any circumstances be comprehensively analyzed within the frame of the current study. Secondly, having no primary empirical evidence limits the information about daily legal consciousness and the informal dispute-solving methods. Even with these drawbacks, the approach fits well the purpose of the study since it offers a detailed and institutionally based discussion of how women rights have changed after independent India.

Table 2 Major Legislations Affecting Women's Rights in Independent India

Year	Legislation	Core Focus
1955–56	Hindu Code Bills	Marriage, inheritance
1976	Equal Remuneration Act	Wage equality
1994	PC-PNDT Act	Gender justice before birth
2005	Domestic Violence Act	Protection from abuse
2013	Sexual Harassment Act	Workplace safety



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Year	Legislation	Core Focus
2017	Maternity Benefit Amendment	Work–family balance

IV. Results

These phases can be found at three steps in the development of the women rights in independent India; they are wide and overlapping in terms of the changing priorities of the state and social movements, as well as, the change in courts thinking. These periods are not necessarily linear, but it is only the tendencies that were prominent during specific periods of history. Collectively, they depict the way in which, women rights have become not only formally equal in the law but also protection-oriented welfare policy and, less recently, also rights based and empowerment oriented.

The initial period of approximately 1947 to late 1970s was the period of focusing on formal legal equality. This time round, the Indian state tried to bring to light a constitutional base of gender justice as a larger nation-building initiative. Articles 14, 15, and 16 provided equality before the law, the non-discriminative basis on sex, and the same chance of employment in the state. Notably, Article 15(3) gave the state the ability to make some special provisions to women and it can be seen as an initial acceptance of the fact that formal equality may not be sufficient to correct historical inversion. Legislative reforms in the early days with focal attention on the personal laws were meant to modernize family relationship and advance the legal condition of the women in the aspects of marriage, divorce and even inheritance. These reforms were, however, frequently influence by politics and conservatism of social life with only limited transformative impact. Consequently, women gained formal rights but did not attain substantive equality in the life they were experiencing.

Interpretation of the law by judicial bodies in the period was mainly aimed at affirming constitutional rights to equality and non-discrimination. Courts were very clear on equal treatment under the law but were quite conservative in dealing with structural and social aspects of gender inequality. As a result, only the initial stage established a fundamental normative space but failed to threaten much patriarchal power relations in the social institutions.

The latter period that started in the late 1970s goes all the way until the 1980s and 1990s with a shift towards protection and welfare. The turning point was caused by feminist activism, critical reportage by the policy, and increasing levels of awareness about violence and mistreatment of women. The issue of falling sex ratios and poor labour force participation combined with rampant violence raised by the publication of *Towards Equality* by the Committee on the Status of Women in India shed light on the disparity between the ideal and the reality of the women living in India (Committee on the Status of Women in India, 1974). The state, in turn, started to portray women more often as a vulnerable population that needs to be under protection with certain legislations and welfare actions.



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The policy changes that were made during this period dealt with the issues of dowry-related violence, sex assault, and discrimination at the workplace. Protective labour legislation and welfare based plans were aimed to help curb gender injustice especially to the poor and marginalized women. Although the measures marked a significant recognition of the harm caused to women on the basis of gender, critics note that they tended to support a viewpoint of women being passive recipients of state protection and not proactive right-containing citizens. However, this stage widened the field of state action in terms of dealing with gender inequality and gave this foundation to more rights-based strategies in later decades.

Judicial activism gained strength in this regime period as the courts started to get involved in issues of dignity, safety, and substantive equality. Judicial logic came to shift off brief equality to the comprehension of the formational character of discrimination, in particular, when it came to cases of sexual violence and workplace harassment.

The third stage, since the beginning of 2000s, can be characterized by more explicit rights-based and empowerment-based approach to the rights of women. It is a time where international standards of human rights, especially the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and increased focus on intersectionality and substantive equality played roles. The legislative changes like the Protection of Women against Domestic Violence Act, 2005, and amendments in the inheritance and labour laws expanded the meaning of women rights to incorporate the concept of bodily integrity, economic and violence freedom.



Figure 2. Judiciary as an Agent of Women's Rights Expansion

Judicial interpretation at this stage has been a transformational factor. Part of the constitutional provisions used by the courts have included dignity, bodily autonomy, reproductive choice, and workplace safety, usually using constitutional morality and international commitments. The trend of this jurisprudence is the change of thinking about women as the main beneficiaries of the protection to the understanding of women as the independent right-holders who deserve complete access to social, economic, and political life.

Irrespective of these gains, there are still indicators of gender disparities that are not removed. According to the results of the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5), there are still inequalities in nutrition, labour participation, and power to make decisions within the house, especially in women belonging to marginalized social groups (International Institute for Population Sciences & ICF, 2021). Although the level of female education has been increased, this has not been reflected in the same manner to workforce participation showing that the legal reform has structural challenges. In the same manner, women lack equality in making health-related and financial choices, which highlights the inferiority of legal empowerment without other social processes.

This paradox is also shown in crime statistics. The statistics show that there was an increase in registered cases of crimes against women in the past years (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2024). Although more arrests can be a sign of greater consciousness,



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knowledge of law, and trust in police, it is also an indication of the continuation of the gender-based violence-induced insecurity. These tendencies indicate that the social parameters that generate vulnerability and exclusion have not been changed by legal and constitutional advancement to the extent becoming lawful.

On the whole, the findings point to the major dilemma in the development of female rights in post-independent India. Good constitutional guarantees, liberal laws and activist judicial interpretations co-exist with social inequalities and disparities in application. Although such a direction of reform is an indicator of substantial changes of norms and institutions, the disintegration between formal rights and material equality continues to characterize the condition. This fact contributes to the necessity of an alternative perspective on the right of women not as a legal project but as a larger social and political process that requires a long-term institutional investment and a transformation in culture.

Table 3. Key Supreme Court Judgments Advancing Women's Rights

Case	Year	Right Advanced
Vishaka v. State of Rajasthan	1997	Workplace dignity
Shayara Bano v. Union of India	2017	Marital equality
Reproductive autonomy cases	2022–23	Bodily autonomy

Table 4. Selected NFHS-5 Indicators Related to Women's Status

Indicator	National Average
Women with 10+ years of schooling	~41%
Female labour force participation	~25%
Women experiencing spousal violence	~29%



Figure 3 Trends in Legal and Policy Interventions for Women (1950–2025)

V. Discussion & Conclusion

The history of women rights development in the independent India, can be seen as displaying significant normative and institutional improvements, which indicate that the state has maintained a long-term appeal to gender equality in the constitutional democracy. Indian Constitution has established a strong principles through establishing equality and non-discrimination, social justice principles to the core of justice. Since it is incorporated with the activism of legislators and the progressive interpretation of the judiciary, this framework has resulted in a broad rights architecture that encompasses various aspects of the lives of women, such as the relationships within a family, employment, the control over their bodies, and the prevention of violence. The involvement of India with the international human rights conventions especially the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has further entrenched the principles of gender equality since the domestic law is now in tandem with the international law (United Nations, 1979).

The results presented in this paper prove that the rights of women in India have passed through separate yet intersecting stages; initially from formal equality on legal terms to the welfare state protection, which is followed by more modern aspects; the rights protection and women empowerments strategy. The movement follows global trends of gender justice, in which there has been a change towards a focus on substantive equality and acknowledgment of structural disadvantage instead of equal treatment under the law. This shift can be observed in judicial interpretations that anticipate



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dignity, bodily autonomy and workplace safety, which indicates a process of rejection of narrow and formalistic views of equality in favor of the more transformative view of equality.

Regardless of such progress, the existence of gender inequality gives the shortcomings of legal reform as an individual social change strategy prominence. Existing statistics indicate persistent inequalities within the labour force participation, nutrition, power to decide, and violence (International Institute of Population Sciences and ICF, 2021). Such results highlight the main paradox in the fact that, though women in India have a wide range of constitutional and statutory protection, the extent to which women can exercise their rights is even-handed and limited by social norms, economic reliance and institutional capability. Such discrepancy between law and living experience has been heavily observed in the feminist legal studies, which warns against the aspect of conflating the law and the empowerment in substance (Agnes, 1999).

One of the factors that influence this disparity is the existence of the patriarchal societal norms that govern the position of women in families, community, and labour markets. The social forms usually have legal reforms, which limit their capacity to transform. As an example, the law may have laws regarding inheritance and property rights, but in most cases women are pressured by their families, unaware of the rights and administrative hurdles may arise in seeking to get them (Agarwal, 1994). Equally, violence is a prime example of the way in which the protective legislation can be compromised by the lack of strong enforcement, under-finance of institutions, and the stigma surrounding reporting the abuse (Das & Lakshmana, 2020). These dynamics have been used to indicate that the realization of rights does not solely rely on legal design but rather on the long term social willingness and institute back ups.

Access to rights is another mediator of the problem of women by economic dependency. Poor employment opportunities, differing rates of wages, and unbalanced absentee care denies women their freedoms and bargaining capabilities, diminishing them into the ability to defend their rights in courts. Although policy initiatives and welfare schemes are meant to resolve these inequalities, there are still unequal results in regions and social groups. Intersectional studies show that caste, class, religion, disability and rural-urban location can play a significant role in determining the way women enjoy rights and can receive state support. As a result, there is a risk that, in a single set of legal regulations, there will be unequal results, which contributes to the principle of context-sensitive and intersectional policy development.

Another important factor to determine the effectiveness of rights is the institutional capacity. Judicial, law enforcement, government and local government institutions have a key part to play in making the law a practice. Weak implementation is usually caused by gaps in training, resources and accountability especially when it is an issue of gender-based violence and workplace discrimination. Even though judicial activism has helped in sealing some of the loopholes in law making, the use of courts cannot replace thorough institutional changes and proper governance systems.

The argument is therefore supported in the discussion that women rights in India are best perceived as a continuous and disputed initiative and not a success. The



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proliferation of rights in the law is a necessary albeit a non-sufficient requirement of gender justice. Substantive equality necessitates long standing process of interaction with social attitudes, economic structures and institutional practices of influence in women daily lives. Women need to be empowered to demand the rights to legal literacy and awareness-building programs, whereas interventions including community level can assist in breaking the norms that restrict the agency of women.

This paper draws a conclusion that the development of female rights in independent India represents a progressive yet meaningful change in attitude towards inciting formal equality to more substantive and rights-dependent approaches. A strong normative model of gender equality incorporates constitutional assurances, legislative modifications, judicial, and global commitments. Incomplete inequalities, however, demonstrate the restriction in formal legal reform when it cannot be effectively used and social change achieved. The gap between the paper rights and the rights in practice is one of the main problems of policymakers, legal institutions, and civil society to bridge.

Such studies should be developed going beyond national levels to include regional, sectoral, and intersectional views which can bring varied experiences of women in India. Experimental research that uses field work as well as legal analysis, will help us better comprehend the women in their day to day interactions with legal systems and their use of right on the ground. This kind of work would supplement academic and policy driven works by basing them on lived realities. The objective of strengthening the rights of women in India takes, in the long run, more than having progressive laws and judicial judgments, but also a long-term social, economic, and institutional change that could empower women to enjoy the benefits of these rights fully and evenly.

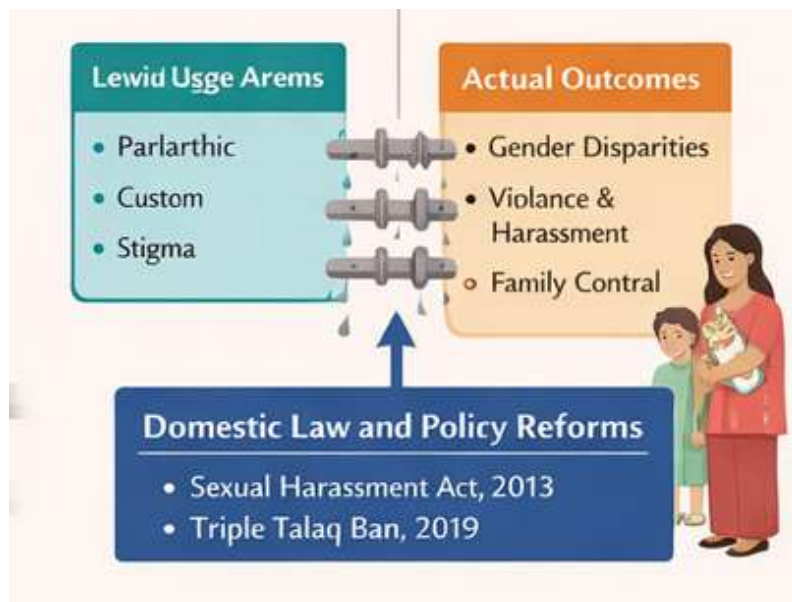


Figure 4. Gap Between Legal Rights and Lived Realities

Table 5 Key Challenges in Realizing Women's Rights in India

Domain	Persistent Challenges
Legal	Enforcement gaps
Economic	Low labour participation
Social	Patriarchal norms
Institutional	Capacity constraints

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