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SEX WORKERS AND HUMAN RIGHTS: INDIAN SCENARIO

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"Prostitution and the accompanying evil of the traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person and endanger the welfare of the individual, the family and the community."


INTRODUCTION

From ancient periods to till date ‘Prostitution’ or ‘Sex Work’ is in existence in one form or the other. It is in vogue in all societies, all over the world and in all ages. Acceptance or encouragement of prostitution seems to be a common societal posture and is often resorted to by disadvantaged females. Prostitution is considered as an alternative to redeem the economic liberty of women. Moral, ethical sociological values are often brushed aside in encouraging prostitution when the economic reward is high.

Since the time marriage received as a sociological institution, sex outside marriage has been considered as a serious threat to monogamous morality. But prostitution has not only persisted and has become brasher and more multi-faceted in the changing global scenario. From ancient days to modern times it is still a cryptic issue why men buy and women sell sex, through some simple and complex answers can be found. Traditionally, it is viewed that sex is a biological need universally and conversely the denial of sex will lead to more violence against women. Off late, radical feminists, both in the West and in India strongly desist this view as it fails to recognize prostitution as a form of gender related violence. Accordingly, it is felt that sex work institutionalizes the concept of male right to access to the female body freely and sex becomes as an obligatory service.

The need for regulation of sexual relations in human beings has been felt by civilized societies on the premise that sex outside marriage not only

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disturb the familiar relations but also a social evil. Laws have been made to curb prostitution and declared sex work is illegal and immoral. However, the degree of sanctions imposed through customs or law has relative to time and place. The norms or legal regulations remained only in the statute book than eradicating prostitution. In fact, the efforts to sideline the legal norms have sustained all through than implementing them, and will sustain because the laws are only man made. Hence any legal regulation is made to suppress prostitution is one form or the other, it immediately raises in a different dimension.

Off late, male prostitution such as Studs, Gays, homosexuals are entering into the oldest profession of prostitution. But this paper confines to only female prostitutes, the word ‘sex worker’ has emerged. To match with the contemporary developments and thinking, the word sex worker is also used in this paper. According to Kamala Kempadeo ‘Sex worker as a term suggests prostitution not an identity, a social or psychological characteristic of women often indicted by “Whore” but as an income-generating activity or a form of labour.’

**CAUSES OF PROSTITUTION**

There are various factors that induce women into prostitution than simply nullifying or attributing that some women who have more ‘lust’ than man in satisfying their sexual needs voluntarily resort to it. In fact biologically, it is the male who has provided a more aggressive sexual appetite than in females. If the, sexual voracity of women is as aggressive as males, the situation would have been far more ripe in the world than the present day position. It became a habit for males to ‘exploit women for their psychological and sexual pleasures and blame them that they are only responsible for the misdeeds. Hence one can not speak with authority that women choose prostitution or sex work voluntarily. They are often forced or trafficked into the profession at the cost of their life, liberty, fundamental freedoms and health. As an offshoot for a variety of reasons women enter the trade of sex which will be examined briefly.

**POVERTY AND ILLITERACY**

Poverty and illiteracy are one of the fundamental aspects that women and girls enter into the profession. Although several legislation’s are in existence in various countries, and many Conventions and Declarations are

adapted by the International Organizations in extending special protection to raise the economic position of women in general and particular, they haven't achieved self-sufficiency on their own without the help and assistance of man. Since the policies and the law are mainly drafted by the male-dominated bodies, they are oriented in such a fashion that the women should be dependent in one way or other on the mercy of man. The economic dependence in turn determines the rate of literacy of women in various ways and means, especially in developing countries. But at the same time, simply because women are not economically independent and depending on man in one way or the other, it cannot be attributed that all women live in poverty choose the trade has their ultimate goal. The other dehumanizing aspects such as ill-treatment and negligence by parents and husbands and mother-in-laws, unhappy homes, unfulfilled sexual urges due to late marriages, the desire for easy life, the burden to share the responsibilities of a huge family could be coupled with the aspects of poverty and illiteracy that influence some women to enter into sex work.

Apart from these aspects, parents and husbands living in poverty who are not able to educate or marry their children because of dowry and other various factors often sell their daughters and even wives to sustain the living families has carried various stories clearly depicts beyond any doubt that some husbands even force women to do sex work for the sake of maintaining larger families that they have to shoulder. This is one of the diverse factors in the developing world, wherein women enter into the profession. In India recently various stories came to limelight of selling girls in various parts of the country, especially in the State of Orissa, which has regular natural disasters. Further, in view of lack of a Common Civil Code in India to govern all the communities with respect to their personal laws, several of the Muslim women are the victims of the law of divorce and forced to enter into sex work as an alternative for their livelihood. This isn't an exaggeration. The pathetic stories of Muslim women who are living in the profession often confine this as one of the Status of Muslim Women in India confirms the point beyond any doubt, that even after the national judgments by the judiciary and the enactment of the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act 1986 several Muslim women enter the profession because of the male-dominated divorce system.

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In view of economic depression and illiteracy brothel runners, promoters and pimps are easily thriving on the oldest profession and luring more and more women every day into the trade of flesh.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

From ancient periods to modern times, violence against women physically, psychologically or sexually has become a common feature in all most all the societies without exception. From the tender age of childhood women are very often abused by the family and society for no fault of theirs. This is one of the finest tricks that is often employed by men to suppress the power and strength of women under their control to enable their tyrannical male dominating character and also with the fear that if women are allowed freely, they may exceed man in every field. Men resort to violence against women in public and private life by all means with the assumption that god has given them the strength only to control women and to treat them as the objects of sex or demigods. Of late, the violence occurring in the family which include battering, sexual abuse of children from the tender age, dowry related violence, marital rape based genital mutilation. And in the Society such as rape, sexual abuse and sexual harassment and intimidation at work, atrocities against minority women and widows, nuns and women workers, migrant women and women being in poverty in rural areas, high social attitudes-drug abuse, economic and health costs-are some of the crucial factors that influence to a great extent to many women to choose prostitution and contributing for the sustainability of the profession.

SOCIAL, CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND POLICY ASPECTS

In several cases, women are pushed into sex work on the name of customs and religious sentiments. To promote religion and arts in various countries, women are being forced into prostitution in the name of religious and customary practices and, however, there were many rules and regulations had been followed regulating prostitution in both the cases.

According to the ancient literature there are 250 synonyms for the word ‘prostitute’. Among them, the following words were used frequently. They are ganika, rupajiva, vesya, dasi devadasi, pumicali, silpakhanda and

5. For the practice of various countries see S.K Ghosh, supra n. 1, pp 3-4.
rupadasi etc. Among the various works, Kauatiyala's Arthasastra dealt comprehensively with respect to the position of prostitutes in the ancient world. The word ganika is the most frequently used word by Kauatiyala to denote prostitutes recognized by the State and has a specific meaning in the Sanskrit works.

The word ganika means a prostitute who is endowed with good character, beauty and good qualities and having experience in the sixty-four arts.\(^8\) Any women received the title ganika they were only government servants and were entitled to receive salary from the treasury of the King which used to vary between 1000 pana to 3000 panas, per annum depending on their experience in the sixty four arts and beauty. Their salary was comparatively high than that of the various government servants and next to the Ministers of the State. Apart from the salary received from the treasury of the king, the ganika's used to receive extraordinary income in the form of a such as garments, gold silver, copper, brass, spices, cattle, grain, price from other customers entertained by her with the permission of the State.

In ancient time, since prostitution was considered as an income generating profession, there were many rules and regulations were framed extensively dealing with the profession. There was a Minister and Superintendent of Prostitutes who were responsible for the care and supervision of ganikas. Therefore the ganikas were under an obligation to inform the Superintendent about each payment they received for every sexual act outside the purview of the salary received from the government and bound to transfer the money to the treasury as tax. It is also evident from the ancient literature that prostitutes used to occupy a high position in the society and well to do and were respected in several ways and means which includes participating in the public meeting of the King and also used to work as spices in the secret wing of the State.

If a prostitute looses her beauty or becomes old or ill, they used to be employed in lesser jobs in the King's court or in the palace and were entitled to receive salary or pension as per their nature of duties. However, they used to loose their personal freedom and freedom of disposing their property freely and as well no personal freedom over their children. But they can redeem themselves along with their children either on their own or by some body or by the King on his own account. If they are redeemed on their own or by some body they had to pay huge amount of money for

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\(^8\) According to ancient literature a women endowed in all the arts of life such as music, dancing singing, cosmetics, dress-making, sorcery, spying, archery, satisfying the sexual pleasures of men in various postures etc., used to be described as a women attained perfection in life and described as an expert in 64 arts of life.
their redemption. Since the redemption money was too high, majority of them used to continue in the profession.

Apart from the ganikas, the prostitutes used to live on their own also used to receive various facilities from the State, such as housing and protection of health and material care by the State. But they had to pay huge amount as tax to the exchequer depending on the income generating capacity of theirs. Many a times these prostitutes also used to be appointed for various lesser jobs in the court of the king and used to receive salary only for the period of their employment.

In the Middle Ages, the god in temples was treated like an earthly King and women used to pursue their trade on the name of devadasi (temple servant). In the beginning they were banned to have sexual intercourse with mortals. But in the later periods, with the spread of Islamic rule in India temple servants became common prostitutes.9

During the Muslim rule too, prostitution was recognized and encouraged by the State. Dancing and singing girls and courtesans were in great demand. Though they used to pay taxes like in the ancient period, the attention of the State towards them was negligible. One particular feature of the Muslim rule was during the battles a large number of Hindu women whom they captured used to be forced to enter into the profession.

With the, arrival of Portuguese, French and British traders, prostitution assumed different dimensions and State regulation started ripped off slowly. During the British rule the position of prostitutes degraded as compared to the ancient and medieval periods and were treated as slaves and sex objects. Their position became more precarious from then onwards. The partition and independence of India gave more impetus to prostitution due to the break down of family life, economic distress or refugees who migrated to India from the other side of the border. Today in the name of fashion advancement in communications, fast buck culture, unemployment, illiteracy, population and the easy accessibility of safe sexual methods prostitution has alarmingly increasing on indifferent names and perceptions.

**HUMAN RIGHTS AND SEX WORKERS**

Human rights are the rights which human beings enjoyed even before the crystallization of an organised political system or the modern concept of State. Human rights, which are sprung from natural law, automatically,

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became a part and parcel of the modern legal systems in the national and international spheres. In many States where women's legal rights are protected in theory, evidence of practice demonstrates a tragic neglect of enforcement.

It is either national or international legal arena woman always suffer subordination and indignities. The suffering is unnoticed because of the dominance of the masculine framers of law. In this framework of mind set of the legal battles, it is difficult to speak of recognition of women's rights in the context of international law. Throughout its development international law has been traditionally developed on the basis of customary and treaty practices, where in particular emphasis of women's rights is out side its purview. However, with the establishment of the League of Nations and more so after the establishment of the United Nations for the first time, the Charter amply made it clear that international law imposes an obligation on all the sates to promote and protect the fundamental human rights of both the, sexes without any discrimination in enhancing the dignity, liberty and better standards of life. This has been enumerated in the various declarations and covenants and conventions adopted by the international community. Today in the international arena, women's rights are not therefore rights which are specific to women, but are rather universally recognized rights held by all people by virtue of their common humanity and regardless of their sex.10

The concept of state responsibility imposes an obligation upon a state accountable for the breaches committed by it. The breaches may generally be arised either from customary or treaty principles of international law binding upon the states. Contemporary developments in the context of human rights law certainly enhance the responsibility for the protection of rights of human person irrespective of their sex for the enforcement of these obligations.11 Whenever states accede to the conventions of international human rights law in general or particular conventions dealing with the rights of women they agree to give effect to the treaty obligations in their municipal legal systems. Hence separate legations are required to protect and enhance the status of women, if the municipal law is not in tune with the principles of international human rights law. In fact even if some states which are not parties to certain international treaty law of human rights, the customary principles of international of state responsibility as an oldest branch of international law certainly be

applicable for the violations of women’s human rights. Even if one
contradicts that women’s human rights jurisprudence is only of recent
origin and can not be coupled as a part of customary international law, in
accordance with the concept of *jus cognes* of the law of treaties is the duty
of every state to prevent the social discrimination and to extend protection
in the exercise of the rights of human person at all times irrespective of
sex.\(^\text{12}\) Hence the principles of international law in the modern context
demand protection of the women’s rights at all times and has a binding
force on all the States.

Apart from the various Declarations and Covenants which impose
obligation on the States in protecting the dignity and better standards of
life for women the international organizations have adopted some specific
conventions and resolutions concerning the problem of sex workers which
have been acceded by many States further impose an obligations on the
States to extend protection to those women who are suffering in the
profession for various reasons. The international conventions and
declarations dealing with sex work are as follows:

1. The International Convention on the Suppression of Immoral
   Traffic in Women and Children 1921.
2. The League of Nations Convention for the Suppression of the
   Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications in 1927, which
   was approved by the General Assembly of the UN vide Resolution
   126 (II) 20 October, 1947.
   set up by ECOSOC
4. Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
   1967.
5. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination

Apart from the Conventions, three Women’s Conferences were held in
various periods to deal with the problems of women. The above
Conventions and the Conferences clearly impose responsibility on the States
to curb trafficking and arrest of prostitution in all its forms and dimensions.
Further a perusal of the UN Conventions and Declarations shows that
there has been a shift away from the mechanisms based on abolitionist
ideology of male dominated international law and towards an approach
that needs to be respected in promoting the rights and self-determination

\(^{12}\) The views of Judge Robert Ago on the Concept of *Jus Cognes* in the Nuclear Weapons Case.
ICJ Reports, 1996, Para 83.
of women in exercise of their rights freely without any violence or undue influence.

**SEX WORK IN THE CONTEMPORARY INDIAN SCENARIO**

India being a signatory to the various conventions and convenants on human rights especially on prostitution and to discharge its constitutional mandate had enacted the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act in 1956. The main aim of the Act is to suppress prostitution in public places and in organised forms. It does not intend to attack prostitution and simply intends to prevent or abolish its "Organised" and "Commercial forms". Though the aim of the Act is to suppress prostitution it does not prohibit the practice of sex work individually, independently or voluntarily selected by a woman. But it penalizes the practice of prostitution in or near a public place and seduction or soliciting for prostitution. But the acts allow a prostitute as an offender and empowered the judiciary to punish them.

In view of the limited scope of the Act and the social significance of the Act as means of preventing the exploitation of women and girls for immoral purposes, the Law Commission of India in its 64th Report had extensively discussed and submitted its findings to the Government of India for more stringent measures to curb it and highlighted the inadequacies exist in the Act. Even after the enactment of the Act and the Comments of the Commission, the magnitude of the problem remained at its peak. After 1980's in view of rapid growth in urbanization industrialization, development of science and technology and various other factors have had their own influence on sex work, which assumed different patterns and started sending alarming signals to curb it.

In the year 1986, the Government has amended the 1956 law extensively with a view to curb it. But it too could not yield the desired results. One of the significant aspects of the Amendment Act is change in its title. From SITA, it has been titled as Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act. This is because several people and organizations felt that the word SITA is demoralizing and bringing disrepute to the Goddess SITA the wife of Ram in the epic Ramayan. In the place of the word 'prostitution' the word sexual exploitation or abuse have been used. The amendment Act also does not prohibit prostitution. The Act provides for the appointment of Special Police Officers, Advisory Bodies and Trafficking Police Officers. This Act empowers the Union Government to constitute special courts to deal with the problem separately.
This Act too instead of decriminalizing sex workers, is in favor of criminalization. It has empowered the police with more powers. The various provisions sharply increased the penalty with the assumption that the, higher the penalty the involvement of people in trafficking and sexual exploitation would reduce.

Apart from enacting the Legislation to curb violence against women, which includes prostitution in the year 1990, the Government of India constituted a National Commission for Women through another legislative device. The Commission is empowered to study the issues relating to women and the problems faced by them in all fronts. From its constitution the Commission is playing a significant role in assisting the non-governmental organizations and researchers to undertake various studies and counseling the problems of women in distress.

Dealing with prostitution from the Human Rights perspective very few cases have come up before the courts. However, in a Public interest litigation the Supreme Court of India, passed an order in 1997 that the Government of India and State Governments should constitute Committees to eradicate child prostitution and to protect the children of the prostitutes. Basing on the orders of the Court the Government of India immediately constituted a Committee to suggests various measures to eradicate Child Prostitution. The Various suggestions rendered by the Committee are still under the consideration of the Government.

There is no doubt that India as a signatory to various conventions and covenants passed the legislation to tackle the issue of prostitution. However, neither the acts nor the steps taken by the Government are inadequate. In reality prostitution has risen alarmingly in the contemporary periods. There are stories, which are, published in the media regularly, highlight the looting of women’s bodies is on the rise instead of decreasing. Even though man enjoys or buys sex, it is the women who are always the victims of law and society. They are not accepted as human beings. In some cases when the police and government rescued some girls from the clutches of the profession traced the parents of those girls, even the natural family members refused to entertain them for the disrepute that they may bring to their family. Fed up with the moral preachings and having dried up all the hopes that they will have a respectable and decent living in the society, with the current trend of sex workers movements in abroad the Calcutta sex workers have formed themselves as a group and conducted a Sex Workers’ Congress in 1997 and in 2000 and submitted a report to the

13. Gaurav Jain V. Union of India, AIR 1990 SC and also see 1997 SCALE.
Prime Minister of India to do the need in protecting their rights and to allow them to live like other human beings.

'The Calcutta Sex Workers Union grow out of the Durbar Mahila Samanwya Committee, initially formed by Women Prostitutes from Sonagachi a red light area in Calcutta.15 The aim of this Committee is to conduct regular Seminars and Conferences to highlight the various problems of theirs to the Government and to the society and to train other sex workers those who are insulted day in and day out. These Conferences adopted a Manifesto which points out the problems associated and the diseases to be transmitted during sex work and the health and safety provisions in view of the non use of condoms. Hence it requests all the sex workers to demand their clients to use safe sex devices.

The Manifesto categorically states that, rehabilitation of prostitutes as seen by a section of the researchers and NGO’s and by the Women’s Commission is not possible. Instead it advocates for better living conditions while staying with in the profession. The Manifesto does not make out an explicit case for their decriminalization or legalization of prostitution.

CONCLUSION

The brief survey makes it clear that the efforts of international organizations and national Governments are not adequate to eradicate the profession altogether. The international instruments adopt an abolitionist approach and recognize sex work as morally unacceptable. On the contrary the national system though not towed the line of international legal mechanism, it indirectly tries to achieve it by implementing harsh legislation in punishing the sex workers. This seems to be a contradicting approach between the two systems.

There exist two types of opinions among the various feminist researchers and sex workers with respect to its eradication. One view advocates the complete elimination and other view argues that it is not possible to achieve it completely, hence needs strict legal regulation. Whatever may be the views of the scholars and legal norms adopted by the national and international mechanisms, prostitution certainly contradicts with the growing literature of human rights. Undisputedly, sex work undermines the basic concept of social order and constitutes as a gender

15. On the plight of prostitutes in Calcutta and the aspects that led for the formation of Mahila Samanwya Committee see, Minu Pal (et.al.) “The Wind of Change is Wispering at your Door,” in Global Sex Workers by Kamala Kempado supra n 2, pp 200-203; also see Geetanjali Gangoli, “Prostitution Laws: To Legalise or Decriminalise”, The Lawyers Collective, May 1998, pp. 4-7.
related violence. As discussed above international law of state responsibility imposes an obligation on all the states and its citizens to promote and protect the dignity of women at all costs. Merely adopting conventions in the international plane and enacting legislations in the national sphere without considering the workable solutions; prostitution is going to persist as an evil and women has to sufferer under the dominance of men.

While total elimination of commercial sex exploitation of women and children is the primary objective, the fact that it continues to exist and would continue to exist in whatever be the magnitude or form in spite of policies and laws against it cannot be ignored. In such a scenario the following measures needs a meritorious consideration at least in the national sphere.

1. Sex education has to be imparted at all levels of education and the magnitude of the issue has to be highlighted. Steps need to be initiated to educate the children through special education programmes.

2. The existing nodal agencies are to be strengthened to curb trafficking and special police officers should be appointed equipped with the magnitude of the problems of prostitute women. If necessary separate police stations to be opened to dual with the problems of sex workers on the lines of women police stations that are already functioning in some states.

3. To prevent easy divorce and to wipe out the tears of millions of Muslim women and to fulfill the constitutional mandate under Art. 44 of the Constitution of India, all political parties should join together to enact a Common Civil Code, especially regulating the male dominated Muslim Marriage and Divorce Law.

4. To remove the myths of public about the women and child victims of commercial sex workers mass based awareness generation camps and programs be launched by the Government. Social mobilization is the need of the hour. To create such a mobilization the Government should take special steps to insist on the media especially the television channels to telecast programs relating to the problems of sex workers since Television is the powerful medium which can easily create awareness during the prime time programmes.

5. As specified by the Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls (Prevention) Act 1986, there is every need to constitute special courts to address the problems of these victims. Because majority of prostitutes in India complain that the judiciary instead of
considering their problems as a human problem often dealing it as a law and order problem and accordingly awarding sentences without punishing the males those who are involved in the profession.

6. Adequate health and safety measures to be initiated. Teams of doctors to be appointed to visit the places of prostitutes regularly to educate them the need of safe sex and to render medical assistance free of cost.

7. Various government organizations, non-governmental organizations and industry should come forward with special relief and rehabilitation programmes to provide suitable jobs to aid the victims.

8. Tourism plays a vital role in generating income to a state. But at the same time its linkage with prostitution is also well known. The Government of India should come out with strict laws in dealing with the numerous private agencies concerned with tourism and monitor their activities closely to arrest sex work.

9. As was practiced in ancient India, pension scheme and voluntary charitable homes are to be established to protect those who wants to relinquish the profession, and victims of old age and ill health.

10. India being a vast country with huge population and mainly depending on the agricultural sector, community based programmes such as handi crafts, self-sustained income generating programmes be introduced from the gross roots level to encourage the people from the villages not to migrate to cities whenever there is a failure of crops or natural disasters and also educate them the evils that are associated with urbanization.

11. India being a country of rich vedic culture built on morals, ethics and on Dharma the need of the hour demands that the Government should come out with more measures to impart moral based education at all levels through Human Rights teaching with an orientation of emphasizing the problems of women.

Though we have achieved independence from our colonial masters half a century back, yet, we haven’t still achieved a self-sustained economic freedom or a “poorna swaraj.” To achieve self sufficiency in all its dimensions, the words of ‘ahimsa’ and ‘satyagitaahga’ are the only solution to overcome the baser nature of man in enhancing the dignity of women.

In order to gratify the status of women as human beings equal to man in all spheres as was said by Mahatma Gandhi, “man should consider women as the companion of man, gifted with equal mental capacities, she
has the right to participate in every minutest detail in the activities of man, and she has an equal right to freedom and liberty with him." If at all we want an India that has to lead the future generations of its own and the world, it is the duty of the state and its men to respect the women sympathetically and render the assistance needed to her should be practiced than preaching. If we follow the concept of Dharma in its strict sense definitely it will protect the rights of the women and will certainly strengthen us in eradicating the ills and wills of women.