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“Gender Neutrality: A Way to Seek Equality for all Genders”

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ABSTRACT

For the last few decades, the prevailing approach to sexual violence has focused virtually exclusively on the abuse of women and girls and the sexual violence against the males continues to flourish. The legal framework of our country is based on societal skeleton. Even judiciary is tilted towards societal norms. The canons of 'Equality' treasured in the Basic Structure of the Constitution of India are not stringently adhered to if we were to ascertain the pragmatic realities of identifying the concept of 'Gender Neutrality' in various acts of our legislation. In India, there are many genders specific laws where it has been assumed that men are the sole perpetrators and women are the sole victims of sexual offences.

The authors put forth an in-depth discussion on gender neutrality, suggesting the way forward. Therefore, this paper intends to draw a comprehensive study on the needs of gender-neutral laws in our country. The paper discussed the concept of gender neutrality from different perspective i.e., in respect of victim and perpetrator. It highlights some gender specific laws and biasness caused against men in resultant of these laws. Alongside, it strives to exchange the views for and against gender neutrality and the roadmap to achieve the goal of gender justice and gender equality in India. They endeavor to answer sceptics who believe gender neutral laws are detrimental to women's interest. This paper is an effort put forth by authors to create awareness about correct meaning of gender neutrality and its effects and consequences. Lastly, the authors criticize legislature's inability to address the concern of other genders while protecting one marginalized gender. Not only men but transgenders also feel left out when they became prey to sexual offences like rape. The ultimate intention is to call for amendments incorporating gender neutrality so as to ensure equality for all genders.

1. MEANING OF GENDER NEUTRALITY

According to The Oxford Dictionary, something is said to be ‘Gender Neutral’ if it is suitable for, or applicable to, every gender. An idea of gender neutrality is to give equal treatment to all genders by adopting a non-discriminatory policy. All the policies, laws etc. should be equally applicable to every individual irrespective of gender. Gender neutral laws implies that all genders are equal in the eyes of law.¹ *The concept of gender neutrality in the legal aspect refers to the idea of equality in the recognition of the rights of all individuals irrespective of their sexes.*²

It is pertinent to note that fundamental rights enshrined in Part III of the Constitution of India uses a gender-neutral language. Having said that Constitutional rights are guaranteed to every individual irrespective of gender while there are several gender-specific legislations in our country. Given the condition of women in our country, the need for gender-specific legislations can’t be denied even in modern times. However, ignoring the plight of all other genders is not justified. Thus, gender neutrality is the key to secure justice for all genders.

1.1 DIMENSIONS OF GENDER NEUTRALITY

Arvind Narrain discovered three dimensions of gender neutrality, namely, gender neutrality with respect to victim, neutrality with respect to the perpetrator and neutrality with respect to caste, communal, wars, custodial, communal and conflict situations.³ This paper addresses the first two dimensions only.

A. GENDER NEUTRALITY WITH RESPECT TO VICTIM

In India, there is a clear demarcation of victim-perpetrator framework based on gender. Legislators have presupposed that a victim can be a woman only. According to Section 375 and 376 IPC, only a man will be punishable for committing rape. Indian laws still reflect the belief that only a women can be a victim of rape or other sexual offences. The atrocities witnessed by women in past have created a greater need for the protection of women and thus, women-specific laws were enacted. Over the years things have changed abruptly and now even men are raped. The predetermined characterization of victim-perpetrator framework is bad in

¹ Sonakshi Awasthi, *Is India ready for gender-neutral laws?* INDIAN EXPRESS, October 18, 2017.

² Taniya Tuli, *Gender Neutrality- Rights of one, abrogation of?* ACADEMIKE (September 25, 2019), [https://www.lawctopus.com/academike/gender-neutrality-rights-of-one-abrogation-of-another/another?](https://www.lawctopus.com/academike/gender-neutrality-rights-of-one-abrogation-of-another/another/)

³ Arvind Narrain, *The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill 2012: Sexual Assault as a Gender-Neutral Offence*, EPW (September 1, 2012), <https://www.epw.in/journal/2012/35/web-exclusives/criminal-law-amendment-bill-2012-sexual-assault-gender-neutral>.

law. The definition of victim should be extended to include men and individuals belonging to third gender as well. Justice Verma Committee report (2013) calls for a gender inclusive law for rape victims. Effects of rape on male victims go unnoticed.⁴ Male victimization is not even discussed. It is because society believe only a women can be raped. Indian laws turn a blind eye to male victimization.

Arvind Narrain comments, *“There are no known instances in India where women have committed sexual assault upon men and the proposal to make sexual assault gender neutral in non-custodial situation is not based on any empirical evidence”*.⁵ It’s true that not many men narrated any incidence of rape committed upon them but it is so because they have no remedy in law. A social taboo gets attached with a rape victim which prevents a rape victim to raise voice against the offence committed on them. That is why not all rape victims choose legal remedy and so their stories are unheard. Society has identified rape a women-specific offence that’s why men can’t even say that they are raped because what happened to them may look like a sexual offence but legally it can’t be called rape. Lack of empirical evidence is due to these factors. Thus, in the present scenario it won’t be viable to turn a blind eye towards male victims or transgender victims due to non-availability of empirical evidence.

“My name is John Kelly, and I’m a survivor of rape and intimate partner violence. I was raped twice while in college, but one of my experiences doesn’t fit into traditional definitions of rape.” John Kelly, a student at Tufts University, was raped by his former male partner. He testified before the United States Congress on the issue of same-sex sexual violence. There are several transgenders who are subjected to sexual offences. Laws must be such as to address the plight of all sections of the society. However, Indian legislators have turned a blind eye to the concerns surrounding transgenders. Thus, gender neutrality will ensure transgenders are not missed out anymore.

B. GENDER NEUTRALITY WITH RESPECT TO PERPETRATOR

There are mainly two arguments in favor of gender neutrality with respect to perpetrator. Firstly, the maxim “no criminal should not go unpunished” looks inoperative in case of gender-specific laws. Laws which predetermine gender of a perpetrator, ignores all those perpetrators which belong to other genders. Such laws specifying the gender of perpetrator is an escape for

⁴ P. Rumney, *In Defence of Gender Neutrality Within Rape*. *Seattle Journal of Social Justice*, 6 SEATTLE JOURNAL FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE 481 (2007).

⁵ *Supra* note 3.

others perpetrators. Thus, gender specific law for the perpetrator is not in line with the abovesaid maxim which forms an important part of criminal justice system of our country.

Secondly, prominent feminist scholars like Laxmi Murthy acknowledge that “*men too can be sexually assaulted – by men, as well as by women (in rare cases)*” and that “*women too are capable of perpetrating sexual assault on men*”.⁶ Justice Verma Committee recommended a gender inclusive law for the rape victim while retaining a gender specific law for the perpetrator. Feminists like Nivedita Menon, Vrinda Grover, Farah Naqvi, Ayesha Kidwai, demanded gender neutrality with respect to victim only and believe in ‘gender just and gender sensitive not gender-neutral rape laws’.⁷ However, I disagree with their views to the extent they support gender specific law for perpetrator. Though there may not be many incidents of a women raping a man but it can’t be denied that women can be the perpetrator as well. Specially in a formal setup many times women threaten or coerce men for sexual favours. Just like Indian Rape laws, sexual harassment laws in India too characterized a woman as a victim and a man as an offender. Probability of women becoming an offender is less but it is likely and evidently true that men have faced sexual harassment at workplace, by other male members or female members. Similarly, women can commit other offences as well. I see no point of setting perpetrators free because of their gender. Gender specific law for perpetrator is violation of the right to equality under Article 14 of the Constitution of India since it is discriminatory to presume the gender of a perpetrator.

2. DISCUSSING A FEW GENDER SPECIFIC LAWS

2.1 IPC, 1860

IPC⁸ contain certain provisions based on characterization of victim-perpetrator framework. Sexual harassment,⁹ Voyeurism,¹⁰ Stalking¹¹ are gender specific laws. Sexual offences under Section 375-376E, IPC presupposes perpetrator to be a man and victim to be a woman. The definition of rape under IPC is narrowed down to include women as a victim. Unfortunately, criminal justice system in India denied men and transgenders protection against rape, sexual harassment, voyeurism and stalking. A gender inclusive law for rape victims and gender

⁶ *Comments by Laxmi Murthy to Criminal Law Amendment Bill 2000*, PARTNERS FOR LAW IN DEVELOPMENT (PLD), <http://pldindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Comments-by-LaxmiMurthy-to-Criminal-Law-Amendment-Bill-2000.pdf>.

⁷ *Supra* note 1.

⁸ Indian Penal Code 1860.

⁹ The Criminal Law Amendment Act 2013 S.354A.

¹⁰ The Criminal Law Amendment Act 2013 S.354C.

¹¹ The Criminal Law Amendment Act 2013 S.354D.

specific law for perpetrators is what Justice Verma Committee recommended in its report. We all know that lady of justice is blind that means to say she impartially serves justice. Then why a gender-based discrimination is put forth by characterizing one specific gender as victim and the other gender as perpetrator? Gender specific laws for perpetrator are clearly discriminatory. Moreover, our criminal justice system follows the maxim 'no criminal should go unpunished'. Thus, it becomes to recognize and punish all offenders irrespective of their gender. To our dismay, gender neutral laws from the perspective of victims and perpetrator isn't reflected in our criminal laws. An amendment in this regard is the need of the hour to cater the interest of all sections of the society.

2.2 MATERNITY BENEFIT ACT, 1961

Maternity benefit Act, 1961 extends maternity benefits to pregnant ladies. The act is aimed to provide benefits to working ladies during their pregnancy and also after delivery. Its evident that employers tend to find the most suitable candidate for their employment. So, they pick up one with the least liabilities. Having said that women are not considered suitable for employment as they may need leave during pregnancy and they are also burdened with household chores and other family related responsibilities. These factors together don't make female married candidates as much suitable as a male candidate for employment purposes. Similar belief can be found in the landmark case of *Air India v. Nargesh Mirza*.¹² In this case, the court found employment rules for air hostesses discriminatory and arbitrary, thus violative of Article 14 of the Constitution.

Consequently, either female candidates are rejected or if given a chance to work they are made to leave job during pregnancy. Maternity benefit act rightly addressed all these issues. Every employer needs to adhere to provisions laid under the Act. It provides maternity benefits like paid maternity leave to pregnant women upto for 26 weeks, work from home option when the maternity leave end (only if possible), creche facilities in workplace etc. The Act addresses concern of working pregnant ladies, but what about fathers? Don't they need leave since parenting is not mother's job solely. A pertinent question needs to be addressed at this point of time; Is there a need for Paternity Benefit Act? My answer is in affirmative because I believe parenting is duos job and it isn't solely a mother's responsibility to take utmost care of a newborn. Fathers should be equally responsible. Fathers have the responsibility to not only take care of the newborn but also of the delivering mother since gestation period and even after

¹² 1981 AIR 1829, 1982 SCR (1) 438.

delivery. Thus, I strongly suggest for enactment of Paternity Benefit Act. It would be beneficial in diluting the patriarchal culture by making fathers realise their duty is much more than to financially support their family. We all grew up watching our mothers (be it housemaker or working mother) taking care of us since our first day in the earth. Fathers do play important role but our society believe that it is a woman's job to raise a kid. It thus, becomes pertinent to let fathers realise they are equally responsible for raising their children. Better say fathers owe a greater degree of responsibility since a mother is expected to take care of newborn but father should look after at both mother and the newborn. For this purpose, fathers need paternity leave and other related benefits. A separate legislation in this regard will suffice, however, benefits conferred for this purpose may vary. It's true that fathers do not need as many benefits as pregnant ladies/delivering mothers do need but certain minimal benefit must be ensured to them in this regard.

2.3 THE SEXUAL HARASSMENT OF WOMEN AT WORKPLACE (PREVENTION, PROHIBITION AND REDRESSAL) ACT, 2013

POSH¹³ for protecting women from being sexually harassed at workplace. Why do people believe men can't be sexually harassed? It's true that men hold a dominant position in our society which is used by them to sexually abuse women but nowadays even women are involved in criminal acts.

Our laws should not be gendered, and neither should the crime. Women can also commit crime for the same reasons as men do. When it comes to drafting legislation on sexual harassment, our lawmakers appear to have lost the sight of the promise of equality and equal protection of law enshrined under Article 14¹⁴ of the Constitution. Undoubtedly, the legislature or the judiciary does not intend to discriminate against a victim of sexual harassment, but there is no recognition of men as victims on the issue of sexual harassment.

In India, if a male victim of sexual harassment is brought to light the matter regarding the issue of sexual harassment, he not only becomes the target of innuendoes from male peers, but he also has to be afraid that the female harasser, who benefits from women's centric laws, will turn the tables and portray the male victim as the harasser.

¹³ The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act 2013.

¹⁴ Indian Constitution art 14.

Gender-neutral sexual harassment laws are urgently needed and should be enacted by the government in order to eliminate any inadvertent discrimination on the basis of gender and to provide equal protection of all to all the sexes.

Patriarchy and cultural stereotypes have an impact on men as well. There are even more instances of men being targeted at work by their female superiors/colleagues in ways that would easily qualify as sexual harassment under the definitions of law laid down to protect women, but such instances never see the light of day due to deeply ingrained cultural assumptions about men.

The society does not allow or encourage male 'victims' to share their experiences with sexual harassment because it contradicts the cultural idea of masculinity or the 'macho image' that society expects them to carry. This reinforces a century-old cultural stereotype that depicts men as sexual harassers and women as sexual victims. Another deterrent to exposing such incidents is the fact that talking openly about such incidents has the potential to turn a male victim into a butt of joke among his colleagues. The truth is that India's sexual harassment laws offer little protection to men. Existing laws, based on equality and justice principles, do little to protect men from sexual harassment at work by female co-workers.

In a common law country like India, where the legislature plays a dominant role in ensuring equality and justice for all, addressing this issue through legislation is the first step in ensuring gender equality. The disadvantage of not having a gender-neutral law is that men believe the judiciary and legislature are biased and do not protect their interests as prescribed in the Indian Constitution, and are unjust in their refusal to protect men.

2.4 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ACT, 2005

The recent Supreme Court decision in *Harsora v. Harsora*¹⁵ on the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 (PWDVA) is extremely concerning because it deletes the words “adult male” from the Section 2(q)¹⁶ of the PWDVA Act.

The PWDVA is a gender-specific law designed to protect women from domestic violence perpetrated by men. The central provision of this law is that complainants can only be related to women. When we read the Act’s applicability, we find it that it only applies to women.

¹⁵ (2016) 10 SCC 165.

¹⁶ Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 S.2q.

An aggrieved woman may also invoke the Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal Act, 2013 known as 'POSH' Laws which was enacted on addressing the issues of workplace sexual harassment. However, if the victim is a man, he must rely on the company rules/regulations/policies and procedures because the 'POSH' Laws do not cover aggrieved men under its broad ambit and purview. The Act is not gender neutral in and of itself. It clearly sets an example which is solely based on the provisions of this Act, one can conclude that a female can never be the sexual offender, but she can always be the one who is sexually exploited. On the contrary, the framework of such legislation without prejudice categorises a man as a sexual offender and fails to consider a situation in which even a man can be a victim of such a heinous crime. By establishing the legislation as non-gender neutral, this Act formulates the policy that it is only the female employee or, for that matter, a female who needs protection from Sexual Harassment and Sexual Violence.

As most women are victims of violence, there is a widespread misconception that domestic violence is gender-specific, which is incorrect. Because India is a patriarchal or male-dominated society, it is often difficult to believe that men can be victims of domestic violence.

Only a man can be held liable for cruelty to his wife as according to Section 498A¹⁷ of the Indian Penal Code 1860. There are no subsections or provisions in the statute that make a woman liable for domestic violence. When men try to open up and report on the torture and physical violence they are subjected to, no one listens, not even the police. Complaining about domestic violence by a man can often led to a man being labelled as 'effeminate' or 'feeble' by Indian society.

Because of the biased laws in the Indian Penal Code and many other acts that favour women, there are a plethora of false cases where women falsely accused a man of rape or domestic violence, and the unfortunate part is that these biased laws automatically assume that a man can never be the victim. Women are not required to provide any type of proof to prove their authenticity. They are assumed to be real creatures by the biased laws.

3. VIEWS FOR AND AGAINST GENDER NEUTRAL LAWS

The Justice Verma Committee of 2012 suggested for gender-neutral laws in its report, and the Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance 2013 was published in The Gazette of India, supporting the Committee's position. Sexual harassment, voyeurism, and stalking were added to the Indian

¹⁷ Indian Penal Code 1860 S.498A.

Penal Code in the spirit of gender-neutral laws, and certain amendments and deletions were made to the IPC, CrPC, and Evidence Act. However, the ordinance on gender neutralising all laws only lasted 58 days before being repealed and replaced by The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 2013. As a result, the current provisions pertaining to stalking and sexual harassment have become gender-specific, with men being the sole perpetrators and women being the sole victims.

Section 377¹⁸ of the IPC defines an unnatural offence as “voluntarily carnal intercourse” with “any man, woman, or animal.” To put it simply, men who have been subjected to sexual abuse or other forms of sexual violence can seek redress under Section 377, IPC against any gender. Unlike rape, Section 377, IPC is one of the few gender-neutral provisions in India.

Though this is the fact that there have been more incidents of female being the victim of raped or any type of sexual harassment or domestic violence. But it happened with men as well.

Part III of the Constitution of India guarantees the fundamental right to every citizen of India.¹⁹ And as according to Article 14²⁰ and Article 15²¹ of the Constitution of India men should also be entitled to same rights as of women. Even though the male rape cases are kind of less frequent than of female but it cannot be denied.

And another view for having gender neutral laws is that the gender neutrality is not anti-women. Various feminists have also actually recognized the male victimization. Gender neutral laws does not make female victims more vulnerable but it just acknowledged the existence of male victimization.

The view of those people who does not support gender neutrality is that the status of women in India has been degrading over the past since years and the situation can become worse if gender neutral laws come into force.²² A women’s virginity is always being viewed as an important asset. And in our patriarchal society men and women can never be on same position.

As the men and women being treated different in society, the consequences and impact of sexual assault is also different. There are certain norms which the women must follow otherwise it will result in lowering the self- esteem of the victim. The women victim has to face

¹⁸ Indian Penal Code 1860 S.377.

¹⁹ Constitution of India Part III.

²⁰ *Supra* note 1.

²¹ Indian Constitution art 14.

²² Agnes, *Law, Ideology and Female Sexuality*, 37 ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WEEKLY 844 (2002).

the various remarks like she is a slut, who will marry her, why did she go out at night. And as compared to these men has not follow certain kinds of norms. Therefore, we cannot have the same law governing both of them as in our society both of the sex is being dealt in different way

4. ROAD TO GENDER JUSTICE

Gender neutrality can be secured by following either of the 2 ways. Either gender neutral language should be adopted i.e., instead of addressing one gender, terms like ‘whoever’, ‘any person’, ‘anybody’ should be used while drafting laws or gender specific laws should be made distinctly and separately for all genders. Vrinda Grover, a lawyer and a human right activist, said, *“However each of these requires to be codified distinctly and separately as victims and not clubbed together in a gender-neutral term, ‘person’.”*²³

A complete shift to gender neutral laws written down in gender neutral language would be unjust due to the varied social conditions of different genders. Generally, men hold a dominant position in a patriarchal society while women’s status isn’t recognized. It is due to this fact that pre-independence era witnessed plethora of social practices derogatory to the dignity of women. Not only the social evils like sati pratha, parda system etc. but also crime rate against women forms the very basis of special protection conferred to women by our constitution. There are several women-specific laws in our country, example, Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986, Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987, The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005, The Sexual Harassment of Woman at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. The validity of women-specific legislations isn’t questioned here, my sole concern is for the individuals belonging to other genders whose plight goes undressed. Advocating gender neutral laws doesn’t mean one speaks up for abolishing “women only” laws.

My vision of gender neutrality is to have a system where all genders enjoy equal treatment, be it through one legislation or through distinct and separate laws if needed. Adopting a gender-neutral language for defining rape, stalking, voyeurism and other offences related to sexual violence is a viable option. However, certain gender specific legislations should be retained but similar rights should be conferred on other genders through similar legislations. For instance,

²³ *Supra* note 3.

Maternity Benefit Act, 1961 should be left untouched but there is need for Paternity Benefit Act as well. Similarly separate and distinct laws shall be framed for imparting gender justice.

5. CONCLUSION

As per research conducted by the Centre for Civil Society in 2013, “*out of the 96 countries studied, 63 were found to have rape or sexual assault laws written in gender-neutral language ... and 6 had partly gender-neutral laws (the perpetrator was defined as male and the victims could be male or female.*”²⁴ *Out of the 48 countries in Asia, only four countries, Bhutan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and South Korea and almost all of Europe and North America, have gender-neutral laws.*²⁵ India should follow other western countries for framing gender neutral laws.

In 1996, the issue of gender neutrality was first raised by Jaspal Singh, J., in *Suresh Jhaku v K.C. Jhaku*.²⁶ The judge while writing the dicta on gender neutrality quoted a passage from California law review:

*Men who are sexually assaulted should have the same protection as female victims, and women who sexually assault men or other women should be as liable for conviction as conventional rapists. Considering rape as a sexual assault rather than as a special crime against women might do much to place rape law in a healthier perspective and to reduce the mythical elements that have tended to make rape laws a means of reinforcing the status of women as sexual possessions.*²⁷

Justice Verma Committee recommended the offence of rape to be made gender neutral from the perspective of law. The legislature adopted a completely gender-neutral definition of rape by promulgating the Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance, 2013.²⁸ However, it was widely criticized and thus, the legislature changed its position a few months later. Subsequently, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act reverted to the gender-specific definition of rape.

²⁴ Jai VIPRA, *A Case for Gender Neutral Rape Laws in India*, CENTRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY (2013), Paper No. 286 1 at 7.

²⁵ *Supra* note 3.

²⁶ 1998 Cri LJ 2428.

²⁷ Camille E Legrand, *Rape and Rape Laws: Sexism in Society and the Law*, 61 CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 919, 941 (1973).

²⁸ Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance 2013 S.8.

Judicial views on Indian rape law are also based on traditional understanding, where rape is not only viewed as an assault on the body of a woman, but also her modesty, chastity, and honour. This view stands on patriarchal bedrock, and undermines the sufficiency of arguments based on the victim's individual autonomy and bodily integrity.²⁹ It's high time that society move forward and accept that a strict demarcation of a specific gender as victim or perpetrator is detrimental to the interest of society itself. Sceptics believe that a gender-neutral law would be detrimental to the most vulnerable section of the population i.e., women. It's true that gender-neutral laws may have some negative impact on female victims since there is probability of fake rape cases being reported against them and ultimately, they may be prevented from filing complaint of offences committed against them. I'd address this issue in a two-fold manner. Firstly, the fact that other genders like men and transgenders too become prey is true and thus, their plight shouldn't be ignored completely while paying heed to doubts that such changes may go against the interest of women. Secondly, this issue is more likely to become true if gender-neutral laws come in force but it can be dealt by stricter provisions. Rather than ignoring the problem, it will be prudent to recognize the issue and deal with it. Gender-neutral laws may become detrimental to the interest of women if proper provisions are not made in this regard. Thus, it is advisable not to ignore the misery of any section of the society. Gender just laws is what India need at the moment.

Societal beliefs shape legal system of a country, especially in India. However, there were instances when societal norms were changing by a small fraction but society wasn't completely ready for that change. Partial abolition of Section 377, IPC (decriminalization of homosexuality) is something which may not be acceptable to a fraction of our society even today but law protected their rights ignoring society's orthodox views. There is dire need for progressive laws ensuring gender justice and equality to all genders. I strongly believe it is the right time to adjust our system a little bit by welcoming progressive laws with a view to shape societal beliefs. Gender just laws though not in line with prevailing societal beliefs, will go a long way.

²⁹ Harshad Pathak, *Beyond the Binary: Rethinking Gender Neutrality in Indian Rape Law*, 11 ASIAN JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE LAW 367, 397 (2016).

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