



3. Hindu Code Bill : Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Mission for Women's Inclusion and Empowerment

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Abstract

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a towering figure for Dalits and one of the architects of the Indian Constitution, tirelessly advocated for the socio-economic upliftment and political rights of marginalized communities, including the advancement of women. He was acutely aware of the deplorable conditions and low status of women in Indian society. Dr. Ambedkar recognized that Brahmanism and patriarchy were intricately linked in perpetuating the suffering of women. He firmly believed in women's entitlement to equal status with men, particularly in education. He lamented that Hinduism had historically deprived women of their right to property.

The "Hindu Code Bill" represented the culmination of social reform efforts aimed at improving women's rights, which had been ongoing since the colonial era. In 1948, Prime Minister Nehru tasked a subcommittee of the Constituent Assembly with drafting the new Hindu Code, appointing Dr. Ambedkar as its Chairman. The Ministry of Law revised the initial draft that same year, introducing minor changes to make it more suitable for discussion in the Constituent Assembly, where it was eventually introduced. This draft comprised eight sections. Dr. Ambedkar presented the revised Hindu Code Bill to the Constituent Assembly in October 1948.

Among Dr. Ambedkar's most significant and publicized efforts during the tumultuous early years of Indian independence was his push to pass the Hindu Code Bill. In the revised draft, he emphasized essential principles such as equality between men and women in matters of property and adoption, legal recognition only for monogamous marriages, and the abolition of the caste barrier in civil marriages, as well as the requirement for a substantial reason in divorce petitions. To mitigate opposition, Prime Minister Nehru strategically divided the code into four parts. It was decided that the sections on marriage and divorce would be treated as separate

bills and addressed in Parliament in September 1951. However, the bill ultimately failed to pass, leading Dr. Ambedkar to resign from his cabinet position on September 27, 1951.

Dr. Ambedkar regarded the Hindu Code Bill as a "Charter of Women's Rights in Free India." He imbued the bill with his deep commitment to the values of liberty, equality, fraternity, and dignity. The bill challenged the foundations of patriarchy, granting women an equal status with men. By doing so, it confronted the structures of domination and suppression of women, challenging the very tenets of Hinduism. The present paper explores Dr. Ambedkar's mission for Women's Inclusion and empowerment.

Key words: Reforms, Advancement, Political Rights, Hindu Code, Law

Dr. Ambedkar's Mission on Women's Inclusion and Empowerment

Bharat Ratna Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, a towering figure for Dalits and the principal architect of the Indian Constitution, was a globally recognized intellectual, a powerful orator, a profound scholar, an exemplary leader, and a prolific writer. His primary focus was on securing social and political rights for the marginalized sections of society, particularly those at the bottom of the social hierarchy who endured severe discrimination and deprivation of rights.

Dr. Ambedkar, both a resolute activist and a deep thinker, made substantial efforts to guide society toward Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. He was a pioneer, breaking down barriers that hindered the progress of women in India. His life and work continue to inspire the creation of a just and gender-neutral world. Dr. Ambedkar played a pivotal role in empowering women, advocating for their education, freedom, and equal rights. His critique of the caste system and Manusmriti, along with his contributions to the inclusion of fundamental rights for women in the Constitution, are significant milestones in history.

Throughout his life, Dr. Ambedkar dedicated himself to improving the status of women, even those engaged in bad practices and professions like prostitution. He raised awareness among poor and illiterate women, inspiring them to challenge unjust social practices like child marriages and the *Devadasi* system. Deeply concerned about the subjugated position of Hindu women as dictated by religious texts, he championed the codification of a Common Civil Code for Hindus and other sections of Indian society. He advocated for a uniform code for the Hindu community to replace the fragmented Hindu laws that were scattered across various High Court decisions.

Dr. Ambedkar was committed to ensuring women's rights were adequately represented in India's political discourse and constitutional framework, pushing for significant improvements and amendments through the Hindu Code Bill (Arya, 2000).

Women's Status and Condition

After returning to India, Dr. Ambedkar dedicated his life to advocating for the rights of the depressed classes, including women. From 1920 onward, as Ambedkar's movement gained momentum, women played an active role and gained the confidence to raise their concerns on various platforms. Dr. Ambedkar was acutely aware of the dire and marginalized status of women in Indian society and sought to uplift them, particularly Hindu women.

In Ambedkar's view, women were often reduced to mere instruments, burdened with family responsibilities, confined to the roles of childbearing, and limited to their duties as wives and mothers. The division of labor was heavily skewed against them, causing Indian women to lose their sense of identity. They faced discrimination based on gender, which made equal opportunities an elusive dream. Poverty, illiteracy, poor health, inequality, and powerlessness were common struggles for women.

Dr. Ambedkar identified the lack of education among women as one of the most significant challenges facing Indian society. He held Brahmanism accountable for the deplorable conditions of women in India, viewing Brahmanism and patriarchy as deeply interconnected.

Women's Emancipation and Empowerment

Empowerment involves nurturing and developing the capacities of individuals or communities, integrating them into the broader fabric of society. Often, profound skills and essential capabilities lie dormant, waiting to be harnessed to open doors for those who qualify for empowerment. Dr. Ambedkar's vision of a society rooted in gender equality remains largely unfulfilled, emphasizing the importance of his ideas in reshaping society to promote women's empowerment.

Dr. Ambedkar was a vocal critic of traditional and conservative values, particularly the degradation of women in Indian society. He believed that women should have equal status with men and access to education. He expressed deep concern that Hinduism had denied women the right to property.



At the All India Depressed Classes Women's Conference in Nagpur on July 20, 1940, Dr. Ambedkar stressed that progress was impossible without the active participation of women. He stated, "I am a great believer in women's organization. I know what they can do to improve the condition of society if they are convinced. They should educate their children and instill high ambition in them" (Ambedkar, 1953:503). Here, Ambedkar underscores his belief in the transformative power of women's organizations and their ability to drive social change. He recognized that when women are empowered and educated, they can play a crucial role in transforming society, especially through the education and upbringing of their children. This belief was integral to Ambedkar's broader vision for social reform, where he championed the upliftment of marginalized communities, including women, to achieve a more just and equitable society.

Human Rights and Women

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar championed human rights for both men and women, advocating for gender equality in a manner distinct from other social reformers like Jyotiba Phule, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, and Mahatma Gandhi. While these reformers sought to address certain outdated customs and practices within Hindu society, they often did so without challenging the broader hierarchical social order. In contrast, Ambedkar developed his own vision for women's rights, a vision that has been enshrined in the Indian Constitution. His aim was to create a society grounded in social justice, and to achieve this, he ensured that women were granted equal status with men through various constitutional provisions.

For Ambedkar, eliminating gender discrimination was essential, and he believed that everyone should have equal opportunities within society. The Preamble of the Indian Constitution, which guarantees social and economic justice to women, is a testament to Ambedkar's contributions. The Preamble outlines: (i) social, economic, and political justice, (ii) freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship, (iii) equality of status and opportunity, and (iv) fraternity that ensures the dignity of the individual and national unity for all citizens of India, without discrimination based on caste, creed, or gender.

Background of Uniform Civil Code



John D. M. Derrett (1957) is a foundational text that explores the evolution, principles, and practice of Hindu law in India. The author provides an overview of the Hindu legal tradition, tracing its origins, development, and the various sources of Hindu law, such as the Vedas, Smritis, and other Dharmashastra texts. Exploration of how British colonial rule influenced the application and modification of Hindu law in India. Derrett discusses the establishment of Anglo-Hindu law and its impact on traditional legal practices.

The content and structure of Hindu law have largely endured due to its administration by British judges, who heavily relied on Hindu religio-legal texts while also incorporating English procedure, jurisprudence, and law to address various gaps. While opinions differ on the degree of discrepancy between current law and public needs, there is broad consensus that a significant inconsistency exists (Derrett, 1961). Marc Galanter's work (1964) examines the evolution and transformation of Hindu law within the context of the modern Indian legal system, particularly during and after British colonial rule. This paper is significant for understanding the complex interplay between traditional laws and modern legal practices in India. It highlights how Hindu law has been reinterpreted and adapted to meet the changing socio-political and legal needs of a diverse and modernizing nation.

By 1921, the British Government had begun to welcome efforts by individual Members of the legislature to codify Hindu law in a piecemeal fashion, marking a limited but notable shift in policy. According to Levy, in that year, "two Hindu legislators—one a lawyer in the Central Legislative Assembly (the lower House), and the other an eminent scholar of Sanskrit in the Central Council of States (the upper House)—initiated resolutions seeking government support for a Hindu Code of family law" (Harold 1956: 303-316). Over the next two decades, several fragmentary measures were enacted that modified Hindu laws related to marriage, inheritance, and joint family property. Collectively, these enacted bills advanced a modest trend toward increasing property alienability, diminishing the legal significance of caste, sanctioning religious heterodoxy and conversion, and, most notably, improving the status of women (Ibid.).

Uniform Civil Code



The “Hindu Code Bill” marked a significant milestone in the long-standing efforts to advance women’s social reforms, a movement that had been in progress since the colonial era. Under traditional Hindu law, as enforced by British courts—often at the expense of more progressive customary laws of lower castes—women had no right to divorce, could be compelled to live with their husbands, and had minimal inheritance rights. They were also unable to legally control money or open bank accounts in their own names. This legislation was the culmination of a century of legislative attempts to reform Hindu society, beginning with the Abolition of Sati in 1829 and continuing through Women's Rights to Property Act (Deshmukh Act) in 1937, which granted widows a share in property equivalent to that of a son.

Dr. Ambedkar envisioned this bill as one of the cornerstones of modern India. During the debates in the Constituent Assembly, he firmly advocated for reforming Indian society by recommending the adoption of a common civil code. However, this proposal faced strong opposition, particularly from Muslim representatives who were committed to maintaining personal laws. Despite his efforts, Dr. Ambedkar could only secure the inclusion of an article in the Directive Principles of State Policy, stating: “The State shall endeavour to secure for the citizen a Uniform Civil Code throughout the territory of India.” To date, no substantial legal action has been taken to realize this goal.

A compromise led to the inclusion of an article in the first draft of the Constitution, mandating the state "to endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India." This provision, intended as a goal rather than a right, became Article 44 of the Constitution. It was widely criticized by advocates of a uniform code because it provided no mechanism or timeline for enforcement. However, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and others insisted on its inclusion, arguing that even as a symbolic gesture, it was an important step toward national unity (Williams, 2006: 99-101). Although Nehru personally may have supported a uniform code, he recognized that personal laws were deeply tied to religious identity in India and could not be easily abolished. Understanding that his desired outcome was not politically feasible, he accepted an unenforceable clause instead (Williams, 2006: 97).

Dr. Ambedkar's Draft



In 1948, Prime Minister Nehru assigned the task of drafting the new Hindu Code to a subcommittee of the Constituent Assembly, appointing Dr. Ambedkar as its Chairman. When the bill was introduced in the Constituent Assembly, it faced significant opposition from various lawmakers. The motion to begin discussions on the Hindu Code Bill was debated for over fifty hours, but the discussion was postponed for more than a year. Acknowledging the need for compromise, Nehru proposed splitting the proposed law into several sections. The Ministry of Law revised the first draft in 1948, making minor alterations to make it more suitable for discussion in the Constituent Assembly, where it was eventually introduced. It was then referred to a select committee chaired by Dr. Ambedkar, which made several important changes to the bill (Darrett, 1957: 1-80).

This edition had eight sections: part one delineated who would be considered a Hindu and did away with the caste system. Significantly, it stipulated that the Hindu Code would apply to anyone who was not a Muslim, Parsi, Christian or Jew, and asserted that all Hindus would be governed under a uniform law. Part two of the bill concerned marriage; part three adoption; part four, guardianship; part five the policy on joint-family property, and was controversial as it included the non-traditional allocation of property to women. Part six concerned policies regarding women's property, and parts seven and eight established policies on succession and maintenance (Williams, 2006: 103). By allowing for divorce, Ambedkar's version of the Hindu Code conflicted with traditional Hindu personal law, which did not sanction divorce (although it was practiced). It also "established one joint family system of property ownership for all Hindus" by doing away with regional rules. Finally, it allotted portions of inheritance to daughters, while giving widows complete property rights where they had previously been restricted" (Williams, 2006: 103).

Nehru told the Constituent Assembly they would contend with only the first 55 clauses concerning marriage and divorce, while the rest would be considered by the Parliament of India after the first general election. However, the compromise was largely ineffective in convincing conservatives to support the bill. When only 3 of the 55 clauses passed after an additional week of debating, Nehru had Ambedkar's committee distribute a new draft that complied with many of the critics' demands, including the reinstatement of the Mitākṣarā joint family system, an



amendment to allow for brothers to buy out daughters' share of the inheritance, and a stipulation allowing divorce only after three years of marriage. (Williams, 2006 : 104).

Conflicts also arose from the categorization of who would be considered Hindu. The Code established "Hindu" to be a negative category that would include all those who did not identify as a Muslim, Jew, Christian, or Parsi. Such a broad designation ignored the tremendous diversity of region, tradition and custom in Hinduism. Those who practised Sikhism, Jainism, and Buddhism were considered to be Hindus under the jurisdiction of the Code Bill. While they had originally included aspects of Hinduism, by then, they had evolved into unique religions with their own customs, traditions, and rituals. There was also significant controversy over what was established to be Hindu personal law. Sanctioned under Hinduism were a variety of practices and perspectives. Therefore, the administration had to arbitrate between these variations, legitimating some and disregarding or marginalising others (Williams, 2006: 104).

The original Draft Hindu Code had the following main provisions: daughters, as well as sons, to be given a share of the inheritance upon the deaths of their parents, widows to be granted absolute estate, monogamy as the rule of law, and divorce to be allowed under certain circumstances. Dr. Ambedkar submitted the revised Hindu Code Bill to the constituent Assembly in October 1948. Dr. Ambedkar presented the bill during his speech to the Constituent Assembly of India on the Hindu Code Bill on 25th November 1949.

The most controversial and public of Ambedkar's activities in the turmoil of the early independence years, though, was his effort to get the Hindu Code Bill passed (Omvedt, 2008: 131). In the revised Draft Hindu Code, Dr. Ambedkar incorporated as essential principles equality between men and women as regards property and adoption, legal status only to monogamous marriages and elimination of the "Caste bar in Civil marriages" as also of the need for a concrete justification of a petition for divorce.

It was going to have a difficult history. The Bill gave rise to a widespread and bitter controversy. The questioning of customs governing the private lives of Hindus led to a hue and cry in the name of protection of religious beliefs. This continued for nearly three years, while the Bill remained pending under contentious debate, with the orthodox attacking it by proclaiming the sacred nature of Hindu marriage. Marriage and the family were posited as the essential pillars of Hindu social structure, with proponents contending that the dissolution of marital ties would



destabilize a societal framework that had been sustained for millennia. In order to diffuse the opposition, Prime Minister Nehru strategically even split the code into four sub-sets. It was decided that the marriage and Divorce part of the Hindu Code Bill would be treated as a separate Bill and would be taken up in Parliament on September, 1951. The debates from November 25, 1949, were among the final discussions held by the Constituent Assembly of India before the adoption of the Constitution. This session includes speeches and deliberations on the motion for the adoption of the Constitution of India. This session features Dr. Ambedkar's concluding remarks, where he reflects on the Constitution-making process, the challenges faced, and his views on democracy, social justice, and governance in the new Indian Republic. These debates represent the final deliberative session before the adoption of the Constitution on November 26, 1949. They provide a critical understanding of the intentions, interpretations, and expectations of the founding members regarding the Constitution. This session features Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's concluding remarks, where he reflects on the Constitution-making process, the challenges faced, and his views on democracy, social justice, and governance in the new Indian Republic.

The Bill failed finally. Dr. Ambedkar, resigned from his seat in the cabinet on September 27, 1951. He issued a statement explaining the reasons for his resignation and concluded his statement by saying that: "The Hindu Code Bill was the greatest social reform measure ever undertaken by the legislature in this country. No law in the past or the future can be compared to it in its significance. To leave inequality between class and class, between sex and sex, which is the soul of Hindu society untouched, and to go on passing legislation relating to economic problems is to make a farce of our constitution and to build a palace on a dung heap." (CAD, 1949 Volume XI: 973-997 ; Ambedkar , (1994)2004).

The bill itself was an immense exodus from Hinduism and its degrading set of laws regarding gender. Up to that point, "Hindu law" was also randomly interpreted through oral readings of various content from the Vedas, Smritis, and Puranas. There was no real codification or uniformity and often women's lives were at the hands of Hindu male interpreters. It can be said that in Hinduism, there were two laws in regards to inheritance, marriage, adoption and etc. which are 'Mitakshra' and 'Dayabhaga'. In Mitakshra rule of law, the property of a man is not an individual property whereas belongs to coparcenaries (shared ownership of male lineage), in other words like father, son, grandson and great-grandson, by their very birth only. While in



Dayabhaga set of law, the ownership of property has its individual character — that is to say, anyone who inherits property from their progenitors has absolute right over that property. This latter strand of the laws was what was adopted in the Hindu Code Bill by Ambedkar and it was sought to make it as common law by modifying it according to the needs of modern-day.

Even by — Dayabhaga— there was discrimination among female heirs on the basis of their status of being married or not and having children or not. The Hindu Code Bill further proposed to wipe out this discrimination. Ambedkar placed the widow, daughter and the widow of a predeceased son on the equal standing. In order to restore equity of gender, daughter's share, as equal to the son, was prescribed in her father's as well as in her husband's property. She was made as equal heir as to the son, widow, the widow of the predeceased son. Notably, Ambedkar brought absolute equality between son and daughter saying that “son also would get a share as equal to girl's share in mother's property, even in *Stridhana* (defined in Hindu Law as wealth received by women as gifts from relations) too”. Through the bill, women were to be granted absolute right regarding all property. In Dayabhaga law, women were entitled merely to the ‘life estate’ which is the property which she can enjoy during her lifetime but could not sell that property in any condition. After her death, this property would go to someone in her husband's family, Ambedkar made a revolutionary change in this matter too. He insisted that this partial estate be altered into an absolute estate that a woman could do with as she pleased.

Another sacrosanct arrangement regarding women's property was that an adopted son will not dispossess the women from the property she got from her deceased husband prior to adopting this son. Hence, after sanctioning the bill, “an adopted son or step-son would not be in a position to divest the mother utterly from her property and by this way widows' positions were strengthened”. Ambedkar also reckons in the bill that the dowry which is given to the daughter, by her parents, at the time of her marriage in terms of *Stridhana* (defined in Hindu Law as wealth received by women as gifts from relations) must be treated as her absolute property by her in-laws.

Regarding marriage, two new clauses — the restitution of the conjugal rights and the judicial separation — had been added by Ambedkar. Prior to the bill, only the sacramental marriage was

in practice under Dayabhaga rule, wherein no space for an atheist or anti-theist persons existed. Whereas Hindu Code Bill commenced two types of marriage - civil and non-civil i.e. sacramental one. Civil marriage granted the highest personal freedom as divorce was made easier. The divorcement of civil marriage was introduced for the first time from a women's outlook. The commencement of civil marriage and its easier stamp-out was very much stemming from the progressive outlook of Ambedkar's philosophy. Furtherance, to restore the women's dignity as a human being in the society, Ambedkar "prohibited the polygamy and prescribed the monogamy" at the same time. Through this bill, Ambedkar took a step further to annihilate the caste system through "obliterate the caste precincts regarding marriage and adoption of a child" (Ahir, 1990).

Hindu Code Bill and its parts

In the light of above discussion, it is pertinent to note that with the passing of the Hindu marriage Act, 1955, Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956, Hindu Succession Act, 1956 and the Special Marriage Act, 1954, the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956, many of the provisions of Hindu code Bill have found place in the statute Books. After the passing of the Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act, 2005, Dr. Ambedkar's objectives in 1951 i.e. making women coparceners was finally realized. Not only this, Dr. Ambedkar's concern for rights of women in the matters of marriage, maintenance, succession, adoption and divorce has been well taken care of by the Apex Court and the High Courts whose decisions in recent times have empowered the womenfolk to a large extent. Therefore, the stand taken by Dr. Ambedkar regarding women's rights in the matters of marriage, divorce, succession and maintenance has been clearly vindicated by the Legislature as well as the Courts. Undoubtedly, Dr. Ambedkar was ahead of his times in his approach to women's empowerment. Gail Omvedt has rightly called the Hindu Code Bill as a "Charter of women's right in free India." (Omvedt, 2008 : xiv, Introduction).

The Indian parliament has passed the following acts for reform of Hindu marriage, family, and status of women in Hindu society. Hindu Marriage right to separate residence and maintenance act and Hindu minority and guardianship acts are collectively known as Hindu code. After four

years of Babasaheb Ambedkar resignation, some section of the Hindu code bill were divided into parts and given the shape of many laws.

Principles of Hindu Code Bill:

It's clear from the features of the Hindu Code Bill that Ambedkar passionately infused the legislation with his commitment to the values of liberty, equality, fraternity, and dignity. He believed that ensuring women's absolute share in property, removing caste restrictions on marriage and adoption, eliminating polygamy, and introducing monogamy would help restore these values of social democracy. The Hindu Code Bill directly challenged the foundations of patriarchy by granting women equal status with men, thereby opposing the structures of domination and suppression inherent in traditional Hindu society.

This radical departure from orthodox Hindu thought sparked significant opposition, leading to the bill's withdrawal amid strong resistance from Hindu Orthodoxy, particularly the Hindu Mahasabha and Bharatiya Jana Sangh, who upheld the Manuwadi legacy. The Hindu Mahasabha opposed the bill, arguing that it interfered with Hindu religious practices and was against "Indian culture" because it allowed for divorce and enforced monogamy, which they believed threatened the sacrosanct goal of having a son for salvation. These conservative, religious, and patriarchal elements vehemently condemned the bill's provisions for women's property rights, monogamy, and divorce.

Despite the ultimate failure of the bill, we must recognize Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's tireless efforts in the long and difficult battle for the Hindu Code Bills' enactment. The Dayabhaga law had previously granted women some property rights, while the Mitakshara law had completely ostracized them. By proposing the legalization of inter-caste marriage, Ambedkar sought to further reform Hindu society.

Ambedkar faced robust opposition, even from the President, Rajendra Prasad, who argued that the bill meddled in Hindu personal law and would only satisfy a few so-called progressives. The Deputy Speaker, Ananthasayanam Aiyangar, also opposed Ambedkar's efforts. Ambedkar's status as a non-Congressman made it even more challenging for him to navigate these obstacles. His identity as an untouchable also created additional barriers, despite his great advocacy for the

bill, which he prioritized over his own health as he saw it as a crucial opportunity to reform Hindu society.

Some members openly declared that they would not allow the bill to pass as long as Dr. Ambedkar was leading it. This is underscored by the fact that in 1955–56, after Ambedkar had left the cabinet, the bill was smoothly enacted, albeit in a diluted form and divided into four separate acts: the Hindu Marriage Act (1955), Hindu Succession Act (1956), Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (1956), and Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act (1956) (Williams, 2006: 103).

Ambedkar's ideas left a lasting impact, influencing the enactment of many subsequent pro-women laws, including the Sati Prevention Act (1987), Dowry Prohibition Act (1961), Family Courts Act (1984), Protection of Human Rights Act (1993), Maternity Benefit Act (1961), Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act (1956), Child Marriage Restraint Act (1929), Equal Remuneration Act (1976), National Commission for Women Act (1990), and the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (2005), to name a few (Williams, 2006 : 104).

Conclusion

While many of the provisions Ambedkar proposed were eventually enacted in 1955-56 through four separate bills on Hindu marriage, succession, minority and guardianship, and maintenance, and with further amendments made to Hindu law in 1976, it remains true that the fundamental rights of women have yet to be fully realized, even after fifty years of the Indian Constitution, which is built on the principles of liberty, equality, and justice for all citizens. However, the Hindu Code Bill played a pivotal role in the resurgence of the feminist movement in India. Ambedkar's determined efforts to free women from injustice continue to inspire women leaders in Parliament to keep these issues at the forefront until they are fully resolved. This marked a crucial moment for women to recognize their status and actively pursue their rights, drawing momentum from the second wave of feminism that began in the early 1960s. Yet, women continue to battle issues such as rape, dowry deaths, communalism, fundamentalism, sexual harassment, and both domestic and social violence, as well as poverty.



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