



Patriarchy, Reform, and Resistance: A Historical Analysis of Women's Position in Indian Society

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ABSTRACT

This article critically examines the evolving status of women in India, tracing its trajectory from the Vedic period to the contemporary era. Drawing upon historical, sociological, and policy-based perspectives, it explores how cultural, religious, economic, and political forces have shaped women's roles and rights across centuries. The analysis highlights how women, once celebrated in Vedic hymns and granted relative autonomy, gradually faced increasing subjugation through the codification of patriarchal norms, especially during the post-Vedic and Puranic periods. Buddhism briefly offered egalitarian ideals, yet later interpretations reinstated male dominance. The arrival of Muslim rule introduced new constraints, though elite women retained influence. Colonial reforms, nationalist movements, and post-independence policies progressively challenged entrenched inequalities. The study underscores the significance of state-led initiatives, from welfare to empowerment approaches reflected in successive Five-Year Plans, and the rise of grassroots feminist activism. Despite legislative advances and improved access to education, health, and employment, deeply rooted patriarchal attitudes and systemic discrimination continue to hinder full gender parity.

INTRODUCTION

Status is the social position inhabited by a person within the intricate fabric of society, a position naturally connected with both rights and responsibilities. Part of the larger social web, status is relational and naturally linked with other social positions. From a merely sociological perspective, status does not

always indicate hierarchical ranking. Still, the benefits, rights, and authority ingrained in certain statuses often lead to unconscious hierarchies wherein some roles are seen as better than others. Within this context, women's position has traditionally been seen as less than that of males in many different countries. Every status is expressed via roles—defined sets of expectations, duties, and behaviour patterns allocated to people within certain social settings (GOI, CSWI, 1974). Status tells "who" a person is; role defines "what" is expected of them. People usually possess many statuses at once, hence they frequently behave in a variety of ways that results in changing role views depending on situational need.¹

For women especially, these roles are rather complex and sometimes contradictory. A woman could play roles including wife, mother, daughter, sister, teacher, manager, labourer, or even leader of the family at once. Her social level results from the combination of all these jobs, which may at times be conflicting and lead to uncertainty, stress, and conflict rather than from any one role. Moreover, women's expectations about rights, respect, and incentives connected with these positions as well as society views of their real advantages also help to shape their social standing.²

Therefore, evaluating women's situation calls for consideration of both objective (measurable indicators like money, education, property ownership, prestige, options, and power) and subjective (women's lived experiences and understanding of their rights and entitlements). The degree of power, privilege, and autonomy given to women depends ultimately on the relative placement of men and women in a society as well as the values associated to their respective roles. Both in India and elsewhere, it is well known that traditionally women's position has been secondary to men's. Many times, Patriarchy and religion have been found as main causes of this subjugation. But the phenomena is multifaceted, influenced also by political, economic, legal, educational, and other sociopolitical factors.³

Indian Women's Status Across the Ages: A Historical Perspective

An exploration of women's status in India must necessarily account for temporal and spatial variability, as social structures and relationships evolve over time. Historical inquiry thus provides critical insights into the dynamics of women's subjugation, the devaluation of their contributions, and the legitimizing role of social, religious, and cultural norms. These forces, which took root in the distant past, continue to influence gender relations to the present day.

It is essential, however, to acknowledge several constraints in reconstructing this historical narrative:

- The documentary record extends back approximately four millennia, but remains sparse and of contested authenticity.
- Historiography has traditionally been dominated by male perspectives, often marginalizing women's voices and experiences.
- Women themselves, having internalized patriarchal values, frequently became transmitters of traditions that perpetuated their subordination.
- Women do not constitute a homogenous category. Differences in caste, class, religion, region, and community mediate the ways in which they experience inequality. For example, while middle-class women historically faced restrictions on employment, peasant women participated actively in agricultural labour, and elite women were largely excluded from the labour market altogether (Gupta, 1982: 154).
- Social change and reform efforts have impacted women unevenly, leading to differentiated outcomes.
- Objective markers of high status do not always align with subjective experiences of empowerment or fulfilment.

Given these complexities, this analysis does not purport to offer an exhaustive account of women's status across all religious and regional contexts.

The Vedic Period: The Foundations of Women's Status in Ancient India

The Vedic period is often romanticized as a golden age for women in India. However, simplistic assertions about women's equality during this era warrant critical scrutiny. According to de Souza (1980: 187), while women may have enjoyed greater freedoms compared to later periods, this should not be misconstrued as comprehensive gender equality.

The *Rigveda* (circa 1500–1000 BCE), reflecting early Vedic culture, exhibits significant reverence for female divinity and nature, exemplified in the worship of the Mother Goddess (Shakti). Women appear to have had access to education and intellectual pursuits, as evidenced by figures such as Gargi, Maitreyi, and Aditi, and their contributions to Vedic hymns (Seth, 2001: 17). Marriage customs also reflected a degree of agency, with women having the right to remain unmarried (as *Brahmavadinis*) or to choose their partners later in life following the *Brahmacharya* phase.⁴

Moreover, women actively participated in religious rites and shared responsibilities within the household. Divorce and remarriage, under specific circumstances, were socially sanctioned, and monogamy appears to have been normative, albeit with provisions such as *niyoga* to address childlessness (Datta, 2000: 8). Women were also involved in martial, veterinary, and artisanal pursuits.

Nevertheless, these privileges largely applied to upper-caste (primarily Brahmin) women, leaving the conditions of women from other social strata largely undocumented. By the later Vedic period, patriarchal norms intensified, codifying gender roles and reinforcing male authority. Ritual purity, lineage preservation, and social stratification increasingly relegated women to subordinate and domesticated roles (Bose, 2000: viii). This shift marks the genesis of a more rigidly patriarchal order, characterized by the curtailment of women's autonomy and the consolidation of male dominance.⁵

Women's Status in the Buddhist Era and Beyond: A Historical and Sociological Reflection

With Buddhism's arrival in the sixth century BCE, Vedic religion underwent a major departure from the ceremonial and priest-dominated customs defining it. Driven by self-interest, dishonest priests at that time had commodified religion and multiplied pointless ceremonies for their own benefit. In this setting, especially with regard to women's social situation, the Buddhist teachings were clearly subversive. Unlike the Vedic hierarchy that progressively marginalises them, the Buddha taught all people—regardless of gender, caste, or degree of education. Among his first students were women, and the founding of an order of nuns alongside monks provided women before unheard-of spiritual paths. Buddhist nunneries became sanctuaries providing release from patriarchal boundaries for many women limited by domestic violence.⁶

Women's increased access to education and intellectual life throughout this epoch shows their interaction with Buddhist books. Though the husband stayed socially better than the woman in the home, Buddhist ideas brought a far more equal married ethos with reciprocal respect and acknowledgement. Moreover, daughters were no longer seen as unpleasant responsibilities and marriage ages changed from past times. Still, patriarchal values were reasserted after the Buddha. Female monastics found themselves underprivileged compared their male counterparts as monastic leaders understood Buddha's teachings to fit accepted societal systems. Though Buddhist philosophy is inclusive, social stories progressively reinterpreted women as weak, temptresses whose inferiority was justified both within monasteries and the larger community. In the end, even if Buddhism provided paths for spiritual balance, it left much of earthly life—and with it, gender inequalities—under the control of customary practices.⁷

After the Buddhist era, throughout the Puranic and Epic stages of Hinduism, women's situation worsened yet further. There was much ambivalence in these latter times. Women were revered as gods or representations of shakti on the one hand, while on the other they were represented as morally and sexually dubious creatures needing strict supervision.⁸ Written between 200 BCE and 200 CE but formalised much later, iconic books like the Manusmriti were essential in solidifying gender subjugation. Aimed presumably at strengthening the family as a social unit, Manu's recommendations raised the concept of purity and suggested women as their main danger. Women were therefore limited mostly to the home, denied official schooling, and forbidden from reading holy books or taking part in Vedic ceremonies. Their value was mostly determined by their responsibilities as obedient women,

dedicated entirely to serve their husbands—a responsibility offered as their only road to atonement.⁹ These repressive laws permeated married practices. Driven by concerns about lineage and the supposed need to defend female purity, child marriage became to be common. Extreme behaviours like sati, in which widows immolated themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres, also became ritualised and reflected the ingrained sense of female dependability and expendability. Those who survived were stigmatised and marginalised, seen as messengers of bad luck. Marriage became permanent; Manu clearly denounced divorce, therefore committing women to perhaps repressive partnerships even if she acknowledged few examples for it in past writings. Women therefore were legally and socially designated as their husbands' property, denied property rights, and caught in a thick web of ceremonial duties (vratas).¹⁰

The already unstable situation of women was further worsened by the entrance of Muslim authority. Though Islam's basic principles promoted equality, its absorption into India's socio-cultural context had different results. Ladies in the middle and lower strata suffered growing isolation and servitude while Mughal royal ladies exercised great economic influence and supported the arts. Once firmly ingrained, the purdah rule limited women's movement and reinforced domesticity as their main occupation. Particularly among elites, polygamy severely degraded women's position; access to religious and secular education become more limited.¹¹

The Bhakti movement, which ran approximately from the 14th to the 17th century, arose as a spiritual counter-current among these repressive circumstances. Reformers transcending caste, class, and gender, Kabir, Ravidas, and Nanak stressed human equality before God. By means of dedication (bhakti), women discovered new spiritual agency; literacy and study of texts became less crucial, and direct contact with the divine took front stage. Still, their transforming power was fleeting and vanished after its charismatic leaders passed as these movements were more focused on spiritual than on social transformation.

Women's standing had dropped historically by the advent of British colonial control. Women—especially from the higher castes—were subjected to severe types of persecution under the constraints of illiteracy, ceremonial responsibilities, child marriage, widowhood, and purdah. Social criticism of widow remarriage was strong, and sati and female infanticide were common practices. Though less physically limited because of their economic duties, the lower-caste women suffered under difficult circumstances and deliberate denial of dignity. Against this background of general societal malaise, reformers from the 19th century started questioning firmly established patriarchal standards. Advocates of female education and widow remarriage as well as the eradication of sati, pioneers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy pushed for Legislative actions then included bans on sati and the Age of Consent Bill.¹² Within the Muslim community there emerged parallel reform initiatives. Though within conventional lines, reformers like as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan promoted women's education. Attempts were made to balance Islamic ideas with social change, and eventually newspapers and girls' schools arose. But social opposition, especially from upper-class families following rigorous purdah, limited the influence of these initiatives.¹³

Women began to be agents of their own liberation in early 20th century. Leaders such as Pandita Ramabai and Ramabai Ranade started campaigns against societal ills and set up organisations for widows. The institutionalising of the women's movement in India came with the founding of groups like the Women's Indian Association (1917) and the All India Women's Conference (1927). Though first benefiting mostly wealthy and middle-class metropolitan women, these initiatives set the groundwork for more general social change. But the nationalist movement headed by Mahatma Gandhi mobilised women in bulk and sparked their integration into public and political life. Gandhi's focus on nonviolence, self-sacrifice, and the mother image of Mother India connected powerfully with society conventions, therefore justifying women's active involvement in the independence struggle. Women working in many roles, in the home and in public demonstrations. The independence fight therefore changed the roles of women, stressing their contributions as well as the many aspects of their exploitation.¹⁴

Reflecting both the hopes of a new country and international human rights standards, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Indian Constitution embraced gender equality upon

independence. Explicitly prohibiting discrimination based on sex, constitutional clauses gave the state authority to carry out positive policies for the progress of women. Particularly those pertaining to Hindu personal laws—such as the Hindu Marriage Act (1955) and the Hindu Succession Act (1956)—legislative improvements in the 1950s greatly increased women's legal rights involving marriage, inheritance, and adoption. Apart from legislative changes, the government's attitude to women's development changed over consecutive Five-Year Plans. Originally presented from a "welfare" perspective, policy programs first shifted towards "development" and finally "empowerment." These changes mirrored evolving conceptions of women's responsibilities in society and growing awareness of the need of their whole development. Even if much progress has been achieved, the legacy of firmly ingrained patriarchal rules still shapes gender interactions in modern India. Still, the combined efforts of reformers, activists, and legislators have produced a more supportive climate for women's agency and public life involvement.¹⁵

The welfare model dominated official view of women's development in India in the years after independence. National resources were mostly directed towards market-oriented production throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, therefore leaving vulnerable groups—including women—dependent on residual social programs. Initiatives aimed at nutrition, home economics, and child welfare, among other areas, mostly supported the conventional picture of women as homemakers, wives, and mothers. Underlying this strategy was the presumption—based on Western nuclear family models—that women relied economically on male breadwinners. As a result, women's contribution to active and developmental activities got little attention and they were mostly seen as passive consumers of social programs. Women were thought to indirectly gain from development via the household's economic growth. Instead of the individual woman, the family became the main provider of welfare; most of the work in giving services to women fell to volunteer organisations. Still, by the early 1960s, there was a slow awareness of the particular rights and demands of women workers, and problems with women's working circumstances started to get little attention. Though in a small and scattered way, later Five-Year Plans started include issues about the education, health, and dietary requirements of the female child.¹⁶

The Women in Development (WID) method brought a conceptual change in the 1970s. Unlike previous models, WID acknowledged women as active participants in social, political, and economic life rather than just as consumers of development. This paradigm accepted the systematic lag women suffered and suggested corrective actions within current systems to reduce gender gaps. It became clear as poverty reduction and providing basic requirements dominated global development debate in this decade that women, particularly those categorised as the poorest of the poor, were very vital in maintaining home wellbeing. Understanding their disproportionate burden for satisfying basic requirements, development planners started to see women's involvement as essential for optimising returns on investment. Particularly for underprivileged women, this awareness spurred measures encouraging group organisation and community-based income-generating activities, therefore helping women to occupy useful positions.¹⁷

Critics of WID surfaced by the late 1970s and into the 1980s, highlighting its inability to confront firmly ingrained structural inequities. The Equity Method developed in response. Inspired by the 1974 Report of the Commission on the Status of Women in India, which underlined ongoing inequalities notwithstanding current social programs, the sixth Five-Year Plan (1980–1985) included for the first time a separate chapter on "Women and Development." This signalled a fundamental intellectual change. Women were seen as vital contributors to national progress rather than as welfare targets. Emphasising health, education, and employment, the Plan developed a multidisciplinary approach and gave women's access to training and employment first priority. To unite activities with women in mind, new institutional systems like the Ministry of Human Resource Development and its Department of Women and Child Development were established. Integrated projects such the IRDP, DWCRA, and TRYSEM showed attempts to encourage women—especially those from underprivileged groups—self-employment and income generating. Although expansion remained a top goal, these policies suggested a fresh concern for redistributive justice.¹⁸ Emphasising the convergence of women's development initiatives across several sectors, the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985–90) carried on this



integrated strategy. This time witnessed more institutional strengthening with the founding of the Department of Women and Child Development as a nodal agency. But participatory techniques first became more well-known during the Eighth Plan (1992–97). By now society was realising the undervaluation of women's labour, particularly in the informal sector, and the importance of raising knowledge of their financial contributions. The Plan sought to position women's organisations as active planners and implementers of development projects, therefore empowering their grassroots level presence. Further institutionalised women's political empowerment was the founding of the National Commission for Women and the adoption of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, which compelled women's involvement in local government.¹⁹ Building on these advances, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach developed in the 1980s to address WID's shortcomings. GAD shifted the emphasis from the inclusion of women in current systems to a critical analysis of the social and institutional settings that support gender inequality. It was clear by the end of the 20th century that while women's access to resources had increased, underlying power dynamics still limited women's full involvement and advantages from progress. Emphasising how closely gender relations—along with class and colour—are ingrained in society systems, the GAD viewpoint demanded radical actions meant to achieve gender equality.

This viewpoint was improved even further by the empowerment strategy, which guided the Ninth and Tenth Five-Year Plans. Empowerment was seen as a complex process including psychological elements like confidence and self-esteem in addition to political, legal, and financial spheres. Emphasising the importance of an enabling environment to allow women to enjoy their rights as equal members in society, the Ninth Plan (1997–2002) officially approved the National Policy for Empowerment of Women (2001). This Plan also unveiled the "Women's Component Plan," which mandates the direct benefit of at least 30 percent of resources allocated in all spheres connected to women. Notwithstanding this progressive perspective, the Plan lacked clear change goals and deadlines. By contrast, the Tenth Plan (2002–07) set quantifiable targets for gender equality including decreasing newborn and mother death rates, providing universal primary education, and therefore eliminating gender differences in literacy and salaries. A whole plan stressing social empowerment, economic independence, and gender justice helped to promote these goals. By doing this, the Tenth Plan stood as a more concentrated effort to turn policy pledges into observable results.²⁰ Concurrent with state-led projects, the women's movement in India was equally crucial in shaping the conversation around gender and development. Driven by rising awareness of ongoing gender disparities and social injustice, women's activity reappeared in the 1970s after a period of relative silence following independence. Manushi's 1979 release marked this rebirth and the start of a second wave of the women's movement. While political parties established women's wings within their party structures to handle gender problems, independent women's organisations sprouted, confronting social inequities at local level. By means of sex-selective abortions, these organisations tackled a range of problems including sexual assault, dowry deaths, sati, and female infanticide. Emphasising their attempts to uncover and challenge elements of oppression firmly ingrained in the family's private realm, the feminist slogan "the personal is political"²¹

Women's group activists went beyond just legal lobbying. They were successful in changing public opinion, impacting laws, and establishing national and worldwide forums for women's rights. But the 1990s brought further difficulties as neoliberal and conservative economic forces joined to undercut female equality. Women's organisations, however, vigorously opposed these developments by revealing how religious scriptures had been distorted and used to support patriarchal control. Emphasising the egalitarian basis of all major religious traditions, their efforts questioned the continuation of discriminating personal laws under the cover of maintaining community identities. Furthermore, the women's press became a potent tool for spreading awareness and organising support, therefore helping to produce a more complex and educated debate on gender justice in modern India.

CONCLUSION

In their socio-cultural and historical path, Indian women presently occupy a difficult and defining junction. Consciousness of women's rights across many socioeconomic levels and geographical areas of the nation has clearly grown perceptibly and widely. Particularly from the 1980s

and with notable acceleration throughout the 1990s, developmental projects aimed at women have grown dramatically in reflection of increasing institutional and policy-level attention to gender equality. Still, as Seth (2001: 256) wisely notes, patriarchal cultural norms show a startling consistency even with these developments. Deeply ingrained gender stereotypes still penetrate not just mainstream society structures but also affect tribal cultures as shown by the rising frequency of violence against women in historically more egalitarian environments. Notwithstanding significant improvement in social resource availability and economic involvement, these benefits have not commensurately resulted in improved status in the home. Often even among the educated and wealthy, issues such marital violence, incest, and persistent son preference highlight the ingrained character of patriarchal beliefs that oppose legislative and developmental measures. Legal changes have helped Hindu women's rights in areas such marriage, succession, and inheritance grow; equivalent gains have not been consistently extended to Muslim and Christian women, whose position is still mostly determined by customary and religious personal regulations. In the framework of polygamous marriages and divorce, Muslim women still have vulnerabilities; Christian personal laws include limiting clauses against remarriage. Laws exist to defend women's rights, yet societal shame, ignorance, and cultural opposition restrict their effectiveness even in this regard. For instance, Hindu women seldom ever pursue legal action to protect their rights. Notwithstanding legislative prohibitions, the dowry system shows the pervasive and ingrained nature of female inequality across socioeconomic and religious lines. Moreover, modern issues like rising rates of sexual harassment and the objectification of women in media representations still threaten the advancement in improving the objective status indicators of women. Legislative clauses and development initiatives, although important, are not enough to really empower unless they are backed by thorough social reform. Women's efforts to improve their position often run into opposition, especially in cases where males see such programs as endangering their traditional rights and authority within the home and society. Strategies meant to improve women's status in society must be presented not as zero-sum propositions but as mutually beneficial efforts for significant and permanent change. The ideal of a really fair and equal social order cannot be realised unless gender equality is seen as beneficial to all people of society.

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