

# Gender-Based Male Torture, Suicide, And Biased Laws In India

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## Abstract

The demand for gender-neutral laws in India has gained significant traction in recent years, driven by growing concerns over the misuse of certain gender-specific legal provisions. While these laws were originally enacted to safeguard the rights of women, there is increasing evidence suggesting that some individuals exploit them for personal gain, resulting in false accusations, extortion, and harassment, particularly against men and their families. Numerous cases involving male suicides, false allegations, and familial breakdowns highlight the urgent need to reevaluate the current legal framework. The prevailing legal system is often criticized for being influenced by ideological narratives rooted in identity politics, sometimes overshadowing the principles of fairness and justice. Social media platforms have become a space where men share their grievances and experiences of alleged legal misuse, shedding light on the emotional and financial toll it takes on them.

Given the rising instances of such allegations, there is a growing call for the establishment of a Men's Commission, akin to other statutory bodies, to address and investigate violence and injustice against men. The issue extends beyond criminal laws and encompasses various civil and family laws that are reportedly being weaponized. This article aims to explore the root causes of gender-based violence in India while critically assessing the necessity of implementing gender-neutral legal reforms. The author adopts a mixed-method research approach to provide a balanced and comprehensive analysis of the topic.

**Keywords:** Gender-neutral laws, Legal issues, Men's rights, False accusations, Gender-based violence

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## INTRODUCTION

It has often been said—by jurists, philosophers, and thinkers alike—that power, when unchecked, tends to breed abuse. This timeless maxim holds true in contemporary legal discourse, particularly in the context of women-centric legislation. While such laws were originally crafted to protect women from systemic injustices, the flexible and often one-sided nature of these legal provisions has, in certain instances, enabled misuse. Empowerment, when stretched beyond equitable boundaries, can inadvertently pave the way for exploitation. In India, the demand for gender-neutral laws has gained significant momentum, spurred by mounting concerns over the manipulation of gender-specific legal frameworks. Increasing reports of false accusations, coercion, and emotional as well as financial harassment—especially targeting men and their families—have drawn attention to the imbalances within the existing legal system.

A disturbing pattern of male suicides, wrongful allegations, and disintegrated families underscores the pressing need for reform. Critics argue that the current legal regime, heavily shaped by ideological narratives rooted in identity politics, often undermines the foundational principles of justice, equity, and impartiality. Social media has emerged as a powerful outlet where men voice their struggles and share their experiences of being victims of legal exploitation, thereby revealing the darker underside of laws intended to serve justice.

In response to these evolving dynamics, there is a growing call for the creation of a Men's Commission—akin to other statutory bodies—dedicated to addressing and redressing acts of violence and injustice perpetrated against men. The concern is not confined to penal laws alone but extends to civil and family legislation, which in many cases are reportedly weaponized. This article seeks to examine the underlying causes of gender-based violence in India and advocates for the urgent need to adopt gender-neutral legal

reforms. Employing a mixed-method research methodology, the author endeavors to present a balanced, evidence-based, and critical exploration of this pressing legal and social issue.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Various literature raise a concern on the part of the violence against the man.

Authors	Title	Journal	Outcome
Abhijeet Ghosh & Ambika Kumar	Cruelty against Men: Neglected Narrative from Male's perspective	Sage Journals <sup>1</sup>	Find the gender based violence.
Basu Srimati	Looking through misogyny: Indian men's rights activists, law, and challenges for feminism	Canadian Journal of Women and the Law <sup>2</sup>	Marriage laws are challenged by various activist to shape gender discourse
Carnaghi, A.	Enhancing masculinity by slandering homosexuals: the role of homophobic epithets in heterosexual gender identity	Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin <sup>3</sup>	Homophobic labels drive heterosexual males to assert masculinity, distancing from homosexuals
Casey D Hall	Actives, passives and power: heteronormative gender norms and their implications for intimate partner violence among men who have sex with men in Tajikistan	Culture, Health & Sexuality <sup>4</sup>	Gender norms affect gay men's relationships, impacting mental health and power dynamics, aligning with hegemonic masculinity
Chauhan L, Deol P (2023)	Legal aspects of domestic violence on men in India: unveiling the silent suffering	Journal of Korean Academy of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing	India's domestic violence research urges rectifying legal gender biases against men
Gülçin Akbaş & Suzan Ceylan-Batur	Unveiling the portrayal of intimate partner violence against women in the media: insights from an honor culture	IGI Global Publications <sup>5</sup>	Honour based violence within the partners

<sup>1</sup> Ghosh A, Kumar A. Cruelty Against Men: Neglected Narrative from a Male's Perspective. *Journal of Psychosexual Health*. 2024;6(2):117-129. doi:10.1177/26318318241256448

(<https://bit.ly/4iUT3vL>) (Accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> May 2025)

<sup>2</sup> Srimati Basu, Looking through Misogyny: Indian Men's Rights Activists, Law, and Challenges for Feminism, *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, Volume 28, Number 1,

<https://doi.org/10.3138/cjwl.28.1.45> (<https://bit.ly/4jUPHdm>) (Accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> May 2025)

<sup>3</sup> Carnaghi, A., Maass, A., & Fasoli, F. (2011). Enhancing masculinity by slandering homosexuals: The role of homophobic epithets in heterosexual gender identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 37(12), 1655–1665. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167211424167> (Accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> May 2025)

<sup>4</sup> Hall CD, Ibragimov U, Luu MN, Wong FY. Actives, passives and power: heteronormative gender norms and their implications for intimate partner violence among men who have sex with men in Tajikistan. *Cult Health Sex*. 2020 Jun;22(6):630-645. doi: 10.1080/13691058.2019.1623913. Epub 2019 Jun 11. PMID: 31184271 (Accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> May 2025)

<sup>5</sup> Gülçin Akbaş (Atilim University, Turkey) and Suzan Ceylan-Batur (TOBB University of Economics and Technology, Turkey), Unveiling the Portrayal of Intimate Partner Violence Against Women in the Media: Insights From an Honor Culture, IGI Global Publication (<https://bit.ly/4jMT0TL>) (Accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> May 2025)

Chowdhury, R.	Conditions of emergence: the formation of men's rights groups in contemporary India	Indian Journal of Gender Studies <sup>6</sup>	Feminist analysis links Indian men's rights groups to evolving patriarchy
Stephanie S. Covington	Gender-responsive treatment and services in correctional settings	Inside and Out <sup>7</sup>	gender-responsive approach would include comprehensive services that take into account the content and context of women's lives
Nishat Ahmed Sheikh	Married Men's Suicide: a Silent Epidemic in India	Indian Journal of Forensic Medicine and Pathology	Focus is needed on developing and testing explanatory theories of male suicide
Menna Gower	Gender responsivity in the assessment and treatment of offenders	Psychiatry, Psychology and Law <sup>8</sup>	gender-responsive programmes proving to be more successful in the reduction of reoffending if justice-involved women follow a gender-specific pathway to offending than if they follow a non-gender-specific pathway
Covington	Gender Responsive Treatment and Services in Correctional Settings.	Women & Therapy <sup>9</sup>	integrates substance abuse and trauma services is discussed
Claire Duncanson	Hegemonic masculinity and the possibility of change in gender relations	Men and Masculinities <sup>10</sup>	The hegemonic masculinity concept was reevaluated, emphasizing its adaptive power maintenance

<sup>6</sup> Chowdhury, R. (2014). Conditions of Emergence: The Formation of Men's Rights Groups in Contemporary India. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 21(1), 27-53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0971521513511199> (Original work published 2014) (Accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> May 2025)

<sup>7</sup> *Women and Therapy*, Elaine Leeder, Editor, (2006) Vol. 29, No. 3/4, pp. 9-33 and *Inside and Out: Women, Prison, and Therapy* (2006) pp. 9-33 (<https://www.centerforgenderandjustice.org/site/assets/files/1533/finalc.pdf>) (Accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> May 2025)

<sup>8</sup> Menna Gower, Frank Morgan & Julie Saunders. (2024) Gender responsivity in the assessment and treatment of offenders. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law* 31:4, pages 587-611.

<sup>9</sup> Covington, S. S., & Bloom, B. E. (2007). Gender Responsive Treatment and Services in Correctional Settings. *Women & Therapy*, 29(3-4), 9-33. [https://doi.org/10.1300/J015v29n03\\_02](https://doi.org/10.1300/J015v29n03_02)

<sup>10</sup> Duncanson, C 2015, 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the Possibility of Change in Gender Relations', *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 231-248. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X15584912>

Drijber	Male Victims of Domestic Violence	Journal of Family Violence <sup>11</sup>	Paper deals with the domestic violence of the men
Hines, D. A	Intimate terrorism by women towards men: does it exist?	Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research <sup>12</sup>	"intimate terrorism" term is discussed by the other, it refer to use of violence alongside other control tactics in matrimonial relationship
Tsui	Help-seeking among male victims of partner abuse: men's hard times	Journal of Community Psychology <sup>13</sup>	Paper discussed about the abuse of male by female partner
Stemple	The Sexual Victimization of Men in America: New Data Challenge Old Assumptions	American Journal of Public Health <sup>14</sup>	In this paper author provides an extensive examination of sexual victimization of men

**RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

The main objective of this study is -

To find out the socio-cultural issues behind the violence against the man.

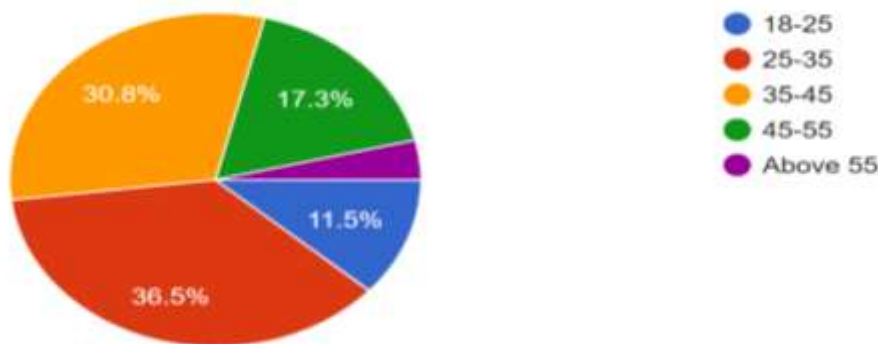
To identify causes of violence against men, suicide by men & other related issues

Research Methodology

In this paper researcher used mixed research methodology, doctrinal on maximum parts with the empirical in a small part. Present study is carried out with the help of collected data from the different audience. Which are tabulated and figured with the discussion. Apart from the collected data some data also used from the government agencies.

Observation and Discussion

In this study various age groups were participated



Stakeholders were from the diverse educational qualifications, but most of highly qualified.

<sup>11</sup> Drijber, B. C., Reijnders, U. J. L., & Ceelen, M. (2013). Male Victims of Domestic Violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, 28(2), 173-178

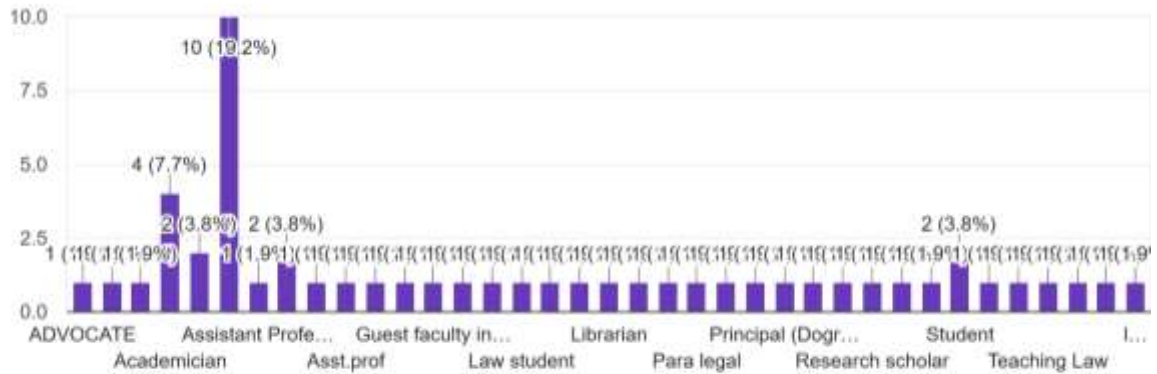
<sup>12</sup> Hines, D. A., & Douglas, E. M. (2010). Intimate terrorism by women towards men: does it exist? *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*, 2(3), 36-56

<sup>13</sup> Tsui, V., Cheung, M., & Leung, P. (2010). Help-seeking among male victims of partner abuse: men's hard times. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 38(6), 769-780

<sup>14</sup> Stemple, L., & Meyer, I. H. (2014). The Sexual Victimization of Men in America: New Data Challenge Old Assumptions. *American Journal of Public Health*, 104(6), e19-e26.



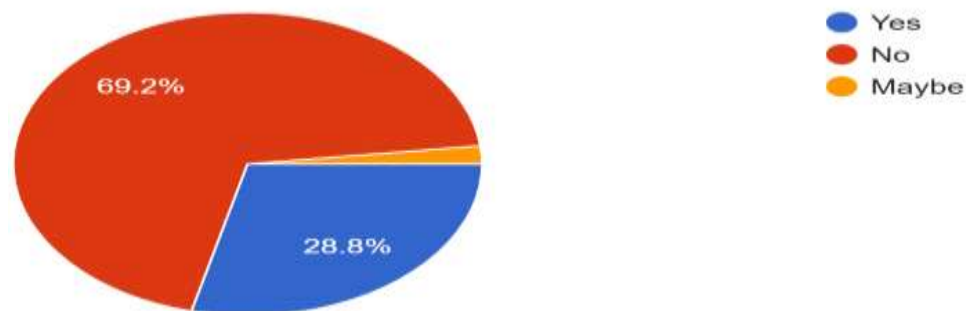
They possess various professional experiences



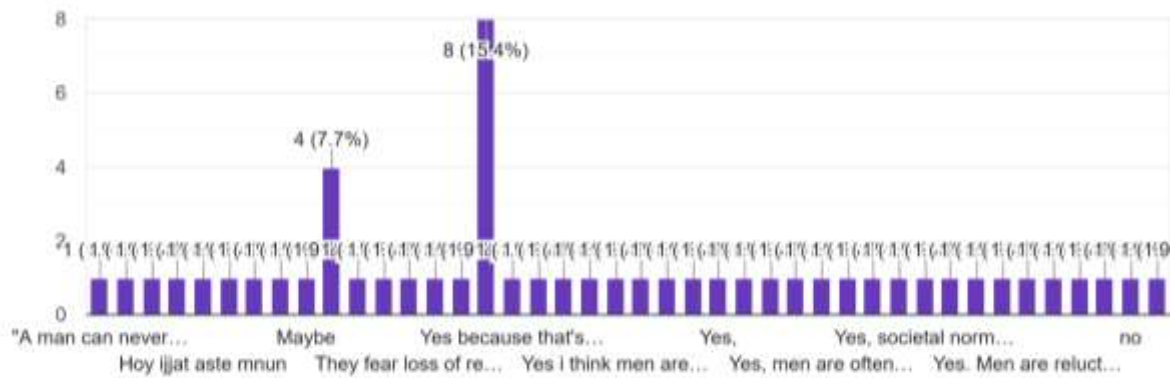
### Research Findings

Based on the data collected from various stakeholders through a set of targeted questions, it was found that men faced several issues that led to suicides or made them victims of various forms of abuse.

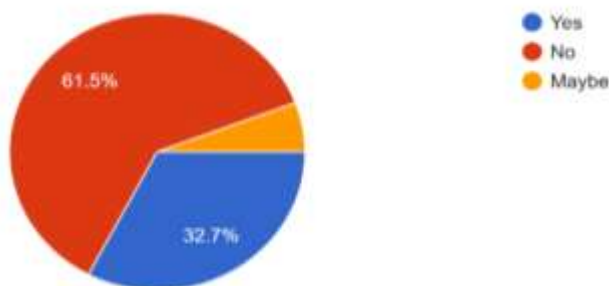
On the question that they ever felt threatened or abused by your spouse or partner in any form (physical, emotional, financial, or sexual)? Only 28.8 answered affirmative while 69.2% replied in negative form and very few answered neutral.



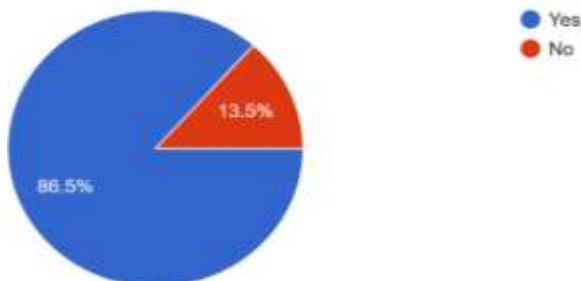
For the next question In your opinion, do you think men are often reluctant to report abuse in relationships or marriages? Why or why not?



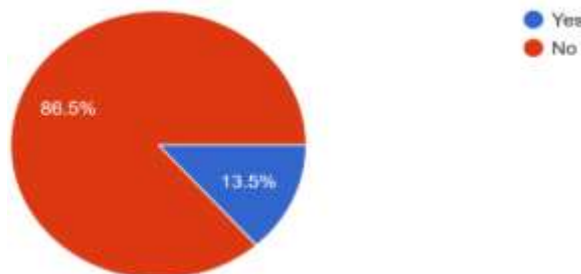
Have you ever experienced verbal abuse or emotional manipulation by your spouse or partner? For this question only 32.7% accept the abuse by partner while 61.5% answered negative.



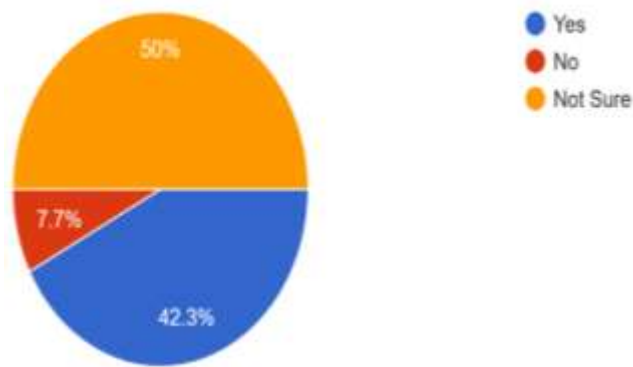
Do you believe societal expectations prevent men from openly discussing domestic abuse or seeking help? On the part of expectations 85.5% thinks in positive form while 13.5% answered in negative.



Do you feel that the law in India adequately addresses domestic violence against men? 86.5% thinks that Indian laws are salient on the part of male abuse by the female.

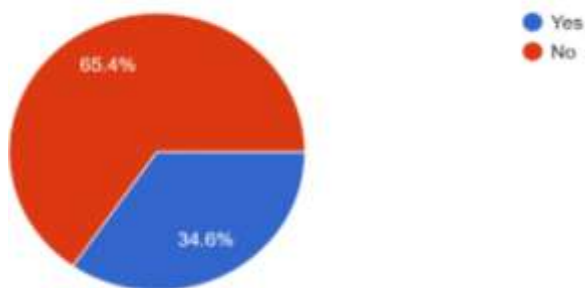


Do you think that male suicides in India are often linked to relationship or marital problems? 42.3% accept that suicide by male are the reason of toxic marital relationship, 7.7% answered negative while 50% were choose to salient on this question's answer.



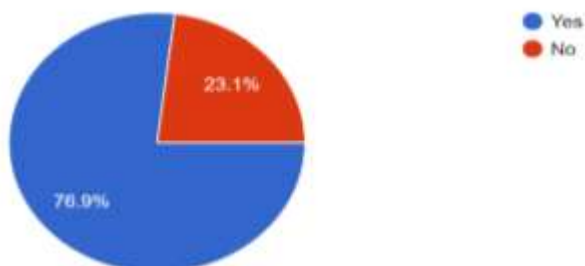
Have you ever considered suicide due to marital or relationship distress?

I am astonished that only 34.6% accept the truth that suicide by male are due to the abusive matrimonial relationships and 65.4% did not approved the same statement.



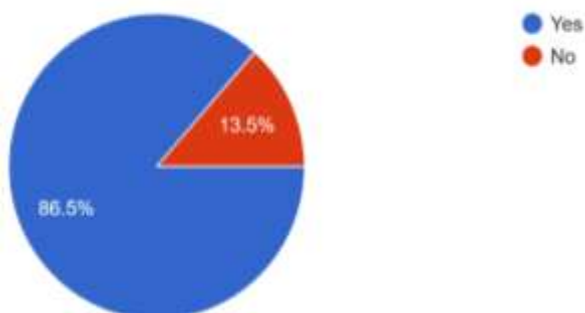
Do you believe men are less likely than women to receive mental health support for issues such as depression, marital stress, or abuse?

76.9% believe that rather than female they received less mental, moral and emotional supports.



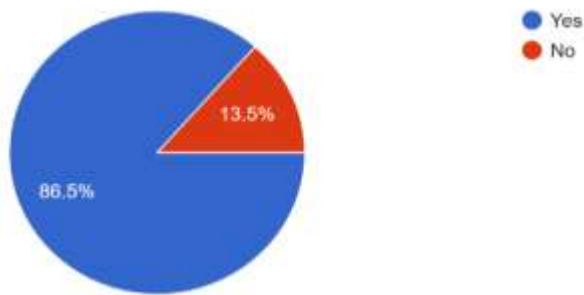
Have you ever encountered a situation where a male friend's or family member's mental health issues were ignored due to their gender?

For this question's answer affirmative responses gets.



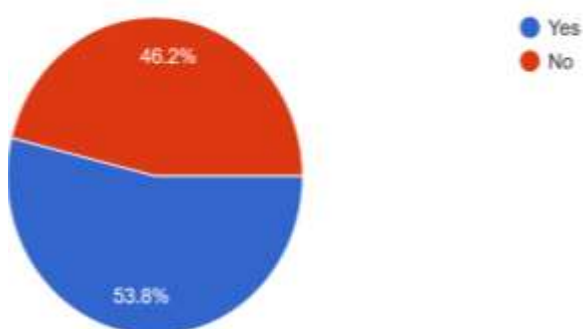
Do you think men are unfairly treated under laws related to marriage, divorce, and domestic violence in India?

86.5% men thinks that men are unfairly treated under the laws.



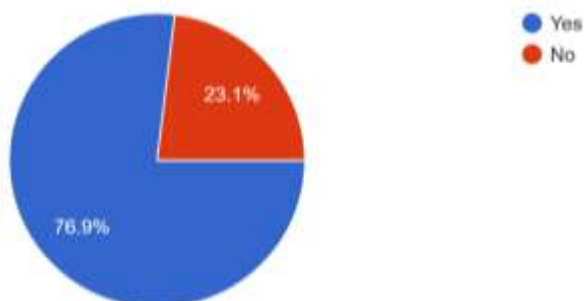
Have you ever been affected by legal provisions that you feel are biased against men in cases of marital disputes or accusations of domestic violence?

53.8% responded affirmative, while 46.2% negatively responses.



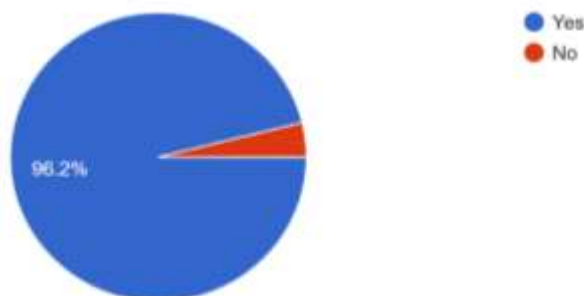
Do you think men face biased treatment in family courts during divorce proceedings or child custody battles?

76.9% thinks that men faces biased treatment in family courts.



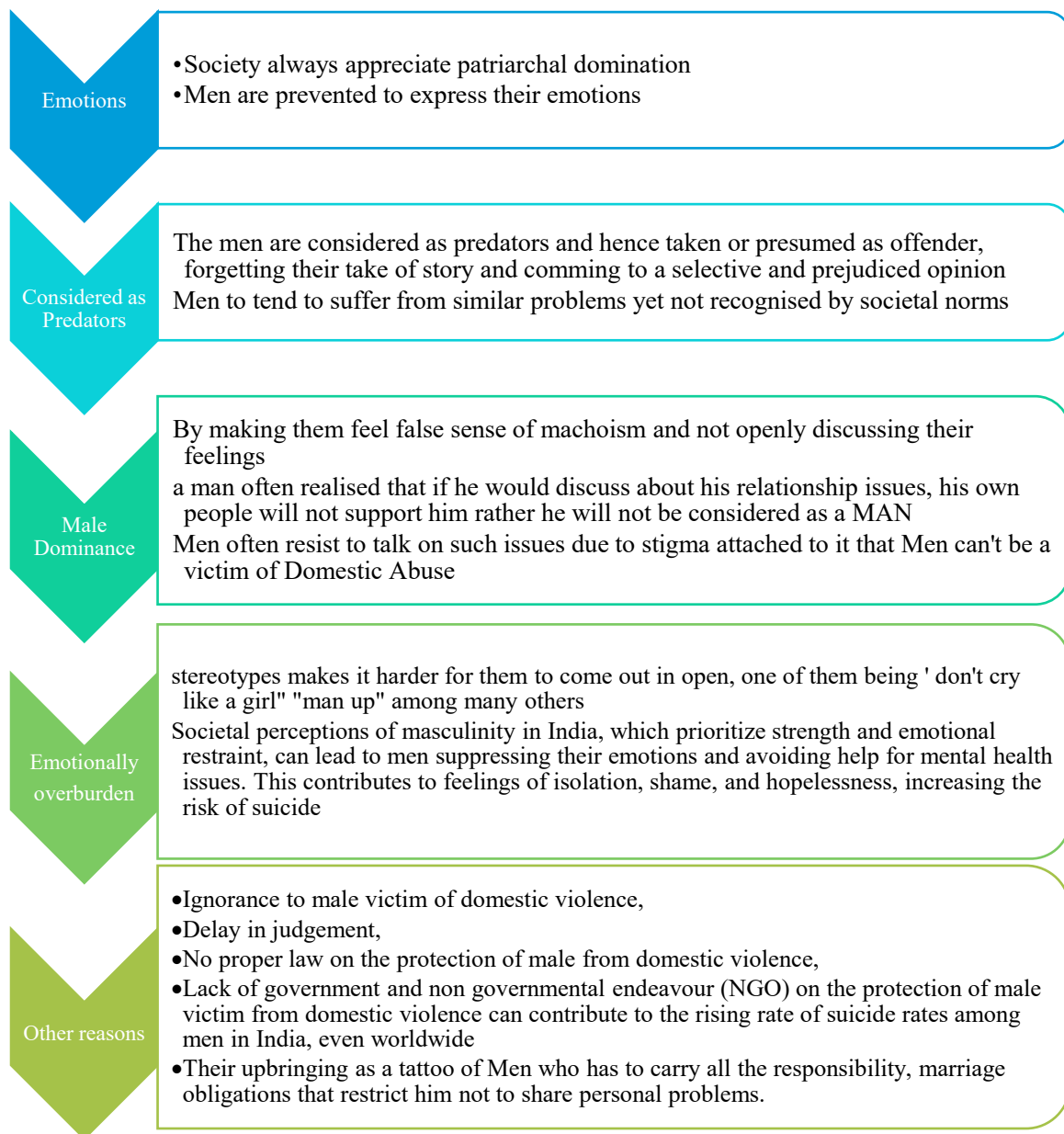
Do you feel that laws meant to protect women from domestic violence fail to consider situations where men are victims of abuse?

96.2% feels that most of the laws are gender biased.



In your opinion, how can societal perceptions of masculinity contribute to the rising suicide rates among men in India?

For this question's answers get mixed responses, but few are mention below-



### Societal perceptions of masculinity in India

Societal perceptions of masculinity in India often emphasize strength, emotional suppression, and financial responsibility, discouraging men from seeking help or expressing vulnerability. This creates mental health stigma, isolates men, and increases stress, contributing to rising suicide rates. Promoting healthy masculinity by encouraging emotional openness, breaking stereotypes, and fostering mental health awareness can significantly reduce this burden

### Economic growth

Economic growth/Positively connected/By changing set up of society/Due to pressure, stress and Emotional feelings/Because masculinity is over hyped

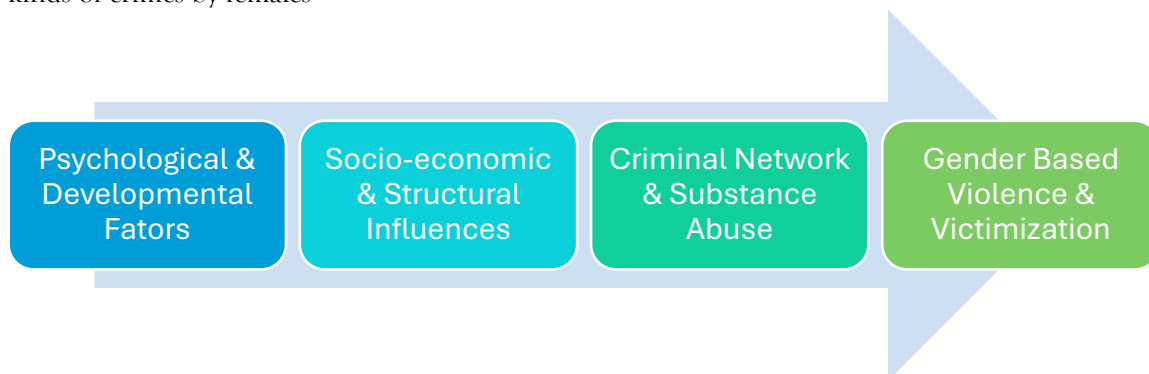
### Masculinity

Quotes like " mrd ko drd nhi hota " " Idka hai jimmedari uthaye" and many of such kind of ideologies stops a man from sharing his fear, worries and concerns to any of whether from male or from female and this silent pain leads a man towards taking hard decisions what he ought not to take

## DISCUSSION

In the recent time, Honey-moon killing or husband killing framed women as dual personification as killer and offenders in India. These females now become the part of the misogynistic memes and jokes worldwide social media platforms. But, the question still unanswerable that why these kinds of heinous crimes committed by the females? Whether they treated different from the male criminals or similar rule of criminal justice system apply on them? They demonstrating the super power or disempowered?

As per a normal social discussion, women not only violate the legal rules and regulation, they also breach the gender norms<sup>15</sup>. These cases are abnormal & exceptional. There are various reasons behind all these kinds of crimes by females-



But its not mean that all time females becomes victim, sometimes they play a very crucial role and they entered in the crime world.

## International Framework

Internationally, laws are gender neutral. Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>16</sup>, Geneva Conventions<sup>17</sup>, Rome Statutes of the International Criminal Court<sup>18</sup> are the major conventions deals with all kinds of protection of rights including the male.

## Legal Framework

<sup>15</sup> G S Bajpai, professor of criminology and vice chancellor of the National Law University in Delhi in a debate said that Men, Bajpai added, are motivated primarily by power, honour, impulse, and instrumental goals while female crime is often propelled by prior victimisation, manipulation, and emotional stress.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights> (As accessed on 12th July 2025)

<sup>17</sup> [https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/geneva\\_conventions\\_and\\_their\\_additional\\_protocols](https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/geneva_conventions_and_their_additional_protocols) (As accessed on 12th July 2025)

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.icc-cpi.int/publications/core-legal-texts/rome-statute-international-criminal-court> (As accessed on 12th July 2025)

Constitution of India, a grand norm of all laws also gives equal rights to all citizens. Article 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 & 32 with 226 of the Constitution of India, all the meant to protect humanity and human being against all kinds of discrimination.

But, most of the Indian Laws are gender centric laws. Like Previous Indian Penal Code and present Bhartiya Nyaya Sanhita, not changed on the part of Male. Crimes if done by male against the female, laws are very strict, but are salient on the part of suppose if female did such offence against the male, then what are the remedies against the same?

Offences	Laws	protection of female	Protection of male
Sexual Offences	Indian Penal Code, 1860	Ss. 375- Sexual offence dealing with female & strict punishment	Salient on the part of male
	Bhartiya Nyaya Sanhita, 2023	Ss. 63- Sexual offence dealing with female & strict punishment	Salient on the part of male
Dowry related Offences	Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961	Strict against male & his family	Salient on the part of male
Cruelty	Bhartiya Nyaya Sanhita, 2023 & Indian Penal Code, 1860	S. 498-A, IPC & 85, BNS, Punish male & his family, if done against female	Salient on the part of male
Death	Bhartiya Nyaya Sanhita, 2023 & Indian Penal Code, 1860 & Bhartiya Sakshya Adhinyam, 2023	S. 304-B, IPC & S. 80 BNS, Dowry death- If bride commit suicide with in 7 year- Punish male & his family, if done against female	Salient on the part of male
Divorce & Child Custody	Guardians and Wards Act of 1890 and the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act of 1956	In most cases Court's gives permission of custody of child to the female	Courts believes that men are incapable of raising child
Alimony & maintenance	Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 Criminal Procedure Code & BNSS	Rarely heard that a female gives alimony and maintenance to male	Courts ordered for the alimony & maintenance, even if male is unemployed
Domestic Violence	Protection Of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005	As civil & criminal provisions provide safeguards to females	Salient on the part of male
Workplace harassment	Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace	Protects female	Salient on the part of male

	(Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013		
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Above are the only few glimpse of misuse of laws. Although, time to time Supreme court & various High Courts are taking concerns on this part and passed few guidelines-

Arnesh Kumar v. State of Bihar<sup>19</sup> (2014) Supreme Court of India issued guidelines regarding the arrest under the S. 498-A and instructed police officers to follow the same. In India this Section known as a 'Marital Terrorism', surprisingly, if female misused the same and filled a case against the male, she has no liberty to withdrawn any complaint.

Malimath-led committee, related to the reforms in the Criminal Justice system, on the basis of misuse and large number of cases filled under the S. 498-A, IPC, also suggest to remove S. 498-A from IPC, but its ignored and still placed in the BNS. Similarly, Law Commission of India, 2012 also suggest for the same, but, ignored by the legislative reframed committee.

In the case of Damanpreet Kaur vs. Indermeet Juneja<sup>20</sup> the Delhi High Court passed a very straight forward decision, which said that a female is not entitled to alimony if she chooses to be unemployed just to only harass her husband.

Indian Laws and the implementing agencies also sometimes misuses the laws on gender bases. Best example is S. 498-A, IPC. Supreme Court rightly by its judgments of Sushil Kumar<sup>21</sup> and Arnesh Kumar<sup>22</sup> underlined the need of protections against the arbitrary implementation of the laws. Most abusive law in India is PWDVA, 2005<sup>23</sup>. Its now a days damages the fabric of harmony in the family. Most of the man suffers humiliation, financial burden and reputation harm due to misuse by their spouse.

Judicial Interventions to protect Men's Rights

Apex Court by passing many judicial precedents protect the rights of the man. Sushil Kumar<sup>24</sup> and Arnesh Kumar<sup>25</sup> cases are the best examples of the same. In it's recent judgment on date July 22, 2025 finalise the acrimonious matrimonial disputes. CJI B R Gavai, interpreted the evolving jurisprudence on women's economic empowerment in matrimonial legislations and his approach reflecting towards the progressive understanding by saying that empowerment comes through the self economic independence not on the financial dependency. An IT professional woman can by doing job achieve and maintain her lifestyle.

In leading case on 22nd July, 2025 again Supreme Court passed an order in the case of Shivangi Bansal vs Sahib Bansal<sup>26</sup> directed not to arrest or coercive action for 2 months in cases filled under the Section 85 of the BNS<sup>27</sup>. In the case of Achin Gupta v. State of Haryana<sup>28</sup>, Supreme Court again worried on the counterblast theory. In this case FIR by wife in the Section 498-A, IPC was seemed to be a retaliatory action against the Gupta and his family.

Delhi High Court on 23rd January, 2025 judgment ruled that same like women, men also deserve protection from cruelty and violence under the law<sup>29</sup>.

Resham Lal Dewangan vs. Smt. Suman Dewangan, HC of Chhattisgarh Bilaspur on 9th May, 2025 again disqualified for maintenance a female, who are living in the adultery.

In 2017 Supreme Court of India introduce the 'Family Welfare Committees'<sup>30</sup>. This committees aim to provide counselling and mediation to resolve family disputes.

<sup>19</sup> (2014) 8 SCC 273: AIR 2014 SC 2756

<sup>20</sup> CRL.REV.P. 344/2011, Delhi High Court

<sup>21</sup> Sushil Kumar Sharma v Union of India, AIR 2005 SC 3100

<sup>22</sup> Arnesh Kumar v State of Bihar, AIR 2014 SC 2756

<sup>23</sup> Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA), 2005

<sup>24</sup> Sushil Kumar Sharma v Union of India, AIR 2005 SC 3100

<sup>25</sup> Arnesh Kumar v State of Bihar, AIR 2014 SC 2756

<sup>26</sup> Shivangi Bansal vs Sahib Bansal, decided on 22<sup>nd</sup> July, 2025

<sup>27</sup> Section 498-A, Indian Penal Code

<sup>28</sup> Achin Gupta v State of Haryana, decided on 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2024

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.livelaw.in/high-court/delhi-high-court/men-too-are-entitled-to-same-protection-from-cruelty-and-violence-as-women-delhi-high-court-281850> (visited on 17th August, 2025)

<sup>30</sup> Rajesh Sharma vs. State of Uttar Pradesh (2017)

Vimla (Mrs.) vs. Veeraswamy (2014) The Delhi High Court held that a woman's false complaint under the Domestic Violence Act was an act of cruelty, entitling her husband to seek divorce<sup>31</sup>.

Kavita Kanwar vs. Ramesh Kumar (2017) The Himachal Pradesh High Court ordered a woman to pay Rs. 50,000 as compensation to her husband for filing a false complaint under Section 498A IPC<sup>32</sup>.

## CONCLUSION & SUGGESTIONS

Under the UDHR both genders treated protected without any kinds of discrimination<sup>33</sup>. In the ambit of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights men and women equally protected under the International law.<sup>34</sup> United Nations Human Rights Office (OHCHR)<sup>35</sup>, work to monitor and promote human rights, investigate violations, and provide assistance to victims.

Hence, while dealing with the laws, implementing agencies should focus that men also treated as human being. Men also have their physical, emotional and financial rights. To prevent misuse amendments in women's protection laws is need of present time. If a female misuse the laws then strict punishment should be awarded to her. establishment of laws that are specifically set forth to ensure that sexual offences are treated according to male offenders, the adjustment of the anti-dowry and domestic violence laws that were wrongly used, and the creation of the fair alimony and the custody system. To that end, laws such as Laws on the Protection of Sexual Offenses, Men's Anti-Dowry and Domestic Violence Laws, and the Alimony and Custody Act will be enacted. It will help to reduce false cases on men. Judicial reforms should prioritise sensitivity training of Judicial personals, advocates, police administrations and other officials. Collaborative efforts and awareness can protect men's rights. Inclusive solutions ensure success and promote gender equality.

"We can work together for a better world with men and women of goodwill, those who radiate the intrinsic goodness of humankind." – Wangari Maathai

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<sup>31</sup> Vimla (Mrs.) vs. Veeraswamy (2014)

<sup>32</sup> Kavita Kanwar vs. Ramesh Kumar (2017)

<sup>33</sup> Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Bill of Human Rights (including the two Covenants)

<sup>34</sup> International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

<sup>35</sup> United Nations Human Rights Office (OHCHR)