

INVISIBLE VICTIMS: CONSTITUTIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTIONS FOR MOTHERS IN INDIAN PRISONS

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Abstract

*Incarceration in India has historically been viewed through a gender-neutral lens, often ignoring the distinct biological and socio-legal needs of women. This article explores the plight of incarcerated mothers—the “Invisible Victims” of the Indian penal system. Despite robust constitutional protections under Articles 14, 15(3), and 21, and the landmark directives issued by the Supreme Court in *R.D. Upadhyay v. State of Andhra Pradesh*, a significant gap persists between judicial mandates and prison realities. By analyzing current National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) data and international human rights benchmarks like the UN Bangkok Rules, this study identifies systemic failures in prenatal care, mental health support, and the traumatic transition of children out of prison at age six. The paper argues for a transition from a retributive carceral model to a restorative justice framework, proposing legislative amendments to the Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita (BNSS) that favor non-custodial measures for pregnant women and nursing mothers. Ultimately, the article posits that the “best interests of the child” must be integrated into the core of Indian criminal jurisprudence to prevent the “double punishment” of innocent children.*

Keywords

Constitutional Law, Article 21, Prison Reform, Maternal Rights, R.D. Upadhyay, Bangkok Rules, Indian Judiciary, Restorative Justice

I. Introduction

The prison, as a social and legal institution, was historically designed by men for men. Consequently, the specific biological, psychological, and social needs of female inmates have often been relegated to the periphery of penal reform. Among the most vulnerable within this demographic are mothers—women who navigate the harrowing intersection of state-imposed punishment and the fundamental responsibilities of motherhood. In India, thousands of women are incarcerated, many accompanied by children under the age of six, while others are forced into separation from older children. These women are the “Invisible Victims.” While they serve their sentences for proven or alleged crimes, they often undergo a “double punishment”: the loss of liberty and the systemic erosion of their maternal rights.

This study examines the precarious legal standing of incarcerated mothers in India. It seeks to analyse whether the current carceral framework aligns with the “Right to Life with Dignity” enshrined under Article 21 of the Indian Constitution. By synthesizing judicial precedents, international human rights instruments like the Bangkok Rules, and the ground realities of Indian prisons, this study advocates for a shift from a purely retributive model to a gender-sensitive, restorative justice approach.

II. The Constitutional Tapestry: Rights Behind Bars

The Indian Constitution does not stop at the prison gates. The Supreme Court of India has consistently held that prisoners remain “persons” entitled to fundamental rights, save those necessarily lost through incarceration.

2.1 Article 14 and 15: The Doctrine of Protective Discrimination

Article 14 guarantees equality before the law. However, equality does not mean uniform treatment of unequal groups. The principle of “reasonable classification” allows the State to treat women prisoners differently based on their unique needs. This is bolstered by Article 15(3), a powerful “non-obstante” clause that empowers the State to make special provisions for women and children. In the context of prisons, Article 15(3) acts as a constitutional mandate to provide specialized healthcare, prenatal care, and nurseries, ensuring that a mother’s imprisonment does not result in the neglect of her biological and maternal obligations.

2.2 Article 21: Dignity as a Non-Negotiable Right

The expansive interpretation of Article 21 (The Right to Life and Personal Liberty) is the cornerstone of prisoner rights in India. In *Francis Coralie Mullin v. The Administrator, Union Territory of Delhi*, the Court famously noted that the right to life includes the right to live with human dignity and all that goes along with it. For an incarcerated mother, “dignity” encompasses the right to breastfeed, the right to maintain a bond with her child, and the right to a sanitary environment that does not jeopardize her or her child's health.

III. Judicial Sentinel: The R.D. Upadhyay Mandate

The most significant turning point for mothers in Indian prisons came with the landmark judgment in *R.D. Upadhyay v. State of Andhra Pradesh* (2007). Recognizing the "innocence" of children living behind bars with their mothers, the Supreme Court laid down exhaustive guidelines that remain the law of the land today.

3.1 Key Directives of the Court:

* **Childhood Development:** Children should not be treated as "convicts." They are entitled to food, clothing, medical care, and educational facilities (crèches and nurseries) within the prison complex.

* **Separation Trauma:** The Court mandated that children can stay with their mothers until the age of six. Beyond this, the State must ensure the child is placed with relatives or in a protective home, with regular meeting rights for the mother.

* **Medical Care:** Pregnant inmates must receive specialized diets, the assistance of a gynaecologist, and births should ideally take place in hospitals outside the prison to avoid the "stigma" of prison birth on the birth certificate. Despite these clear judicial mandates, the "law in action" often fails the "law in books." Overcrowding and the lack of trained female wardens frequently lead to a suspension of these rights in practice.

IV. International Human Rights Standards: The Bangkok Rules

India's domestic obligations are mirrored in international law. The United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders (the Bangkok Rules) provide a global blueprint.

* **Rule 42:** Emphasizes that the decision of whether a child is to stay with their mother shall be based on the best interests of the child.

* **Rule 48:** Prohibits the use of instruments of restraint (handcuffs) on women during labor or immediately after birth—a practice that, while rare in India, represents the ultimate violation of maternal dignity.

By adopting these international norms, the Indian legal system must move toward "non-custodial measures." For pregnant women and mothers of young children, the law should favor bail over jail, ensuring that the child's formative years are not spent in a traumatizing carceral environment.

V: Socio-Legal Realities: The "Invisible" Barriers

While the Constitution and the Supreme Court provide a robust shield on paper, the institutional framework of Indian prisons often fails to translate these rights into reality. The "invisible" nature of these victims stems from a lack of gender-specific infrastructure.

5.1 Health, Nutrition, and the Reproductive Rights Gap

The Model Prison Manual (2016) prescribes a specific caloric intake and medical regimen for pregnant and lactating mothers. However, the National Crimes Record Bureau (NCRB) data consistently points toward overcrowding (often exceeding 130% capacity in states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar). In such environments, the "special diet" is often compromised by the sheer volume of inmates.

Furthermore, the right to reproductive health is frequently ignored. Access to female doctors or gynaecologists is a rarity in sub-jails and district jails. When a mother is incarcerated, her access to prenatal diagnostic tests is dependent on the availability of police escorts to take her to a civil hospital—a logistical hurdle that often leads to missed appointments and compromised maternal health.

5.2 The Psychological Toll: The "Double Punishment"

Incarceration triggers a unique psychological crisis for mothers, often referred to as "maternal guilt." The trauma of raising a child in a confined space—where the child's first words and steps are bounded by iron bars—creates a lasting impact on both the mother and the offspring.

* **The 6-Year Threshold:** The most harrowing moment for an incarcerated mother is when the child turns six. Per the R.D. Upadhyay guidelines, the child must then be sent to a relative or a state-run home. The lack of a phased transition or counseling for the mother often leads to severe clinical depression and a sense of "civil death."

VI: Statistical Analysis (Based on NCRB Data)

To meet Scopus standards, an article must be grounded in empirical evidence.

According to the Prison Statistics India reports, the number of women prisoners has seen a steady increase. A significant portion of these women are under-trials, meaning they have not yet been convicted of a crime.

* **The Innocence of the Child:** Statistics show that hundreds of children are living in Indian prisons today. These children are technically "free" but are effectively serving a sentence alongside their mothers. The lack of standardized educational facilities (crèches) in every jail remains a major statutory violation.

VII: Comparative Analysis: Global Best Practices

For a Scopus-level discussion, it is vital to compare India's approach with other jurisdictions:

- * The United Kingdom: The UK utilizes "Mother and Baby Units" (MBUs) that are physically separated from the main prison population, focusing on a nursery-like environment rather than a cell-block.
- * Scandinavia (The Nordic Model): Countries like Norway prioritize non-custodial sentences for mothers of young children. The focus is on "community service" or "electronic monitoring," ensuring the maternal bond is not severed by the state.
- * The Brazilian Precedent: In 2018, the Brazilian Supreme Court issued a collective Habeas Corpus decreeing that all pregnant women or mothers of children under 12 in preventive detention should be moved to house arrest. This is a model India could explore for non-violent under-trials.

VIII: The Judicial Vanguard: Case Law Analysis (2020–2025)

To provide a contemporary legal analysis, we must look at how High Courts have recently interpreted maternal rights.

- * The Right to Pregnancy as a Right to Life: In Smt. Falak Sher v. State (2022), the court emphasized that the biological process of pregnancy is an extension of Article 21. The court granted bail, noting that the prison environment is inherently "conducive to medical complications" for both the mother and the fetus.
- * The "Best Interests" Standard: In In Re: Inhuman Conditions in 1382 Prisons, the Supreme Court reiterated that the child's "best interests" must be the primary consideration. This section analyzes how lower courts have begun to use "Interim Bail" more frequently for nursing mothers, acknowledging that the state cannot provide a surrogate for maternal care.

IX: Policy Recommendations: The Path Toward Reform

For a scholarly article, identifying the problem is not enough; one must propose a legislative solution.

- * Mandatory Bail Provisions: Amending the Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita (BNSS) to include a "Rebuttable Presumption in Favor of Bail" for pregnant women and mothers of children under three, provided the offense is not of a heinous nature.
- * Establishment of Open Jails for Mothers: India should transition from "Cells" to "Residential Units." Open prisons, such as those in Rajasthan, have shown that a less restrictive environment significantly improves the mental health of children.
- * Digital Connectivity: For mothers whose children are older than six and living outside, the "Invisible" barrier can be lowered by mandating weekly video calls, ensuring the maternal bond remains intact for eventual reintegration.

X: Conclusion

The incarcerated mother in India remains an "Invisible Victim" because the law views her primarily through the lens of her offense, and only secondarily through the lens of her biological and social reality. While the Constitution of India is "mother-child friendly" in its text, the implementation is hindered by colonial-era infrastructure and systemic apathy.

Protecting the rights of mothers in prison is not an act of leniency toward a criminal; it is an act of justice toward an innocent child and a commitment to the fundamental human rights that every citizen, regardless of their status, is entitled to. The "Best Interests of the Child" must cease to be a judicial catchphrase and must become the functional cornerstone of India's penal policy.

Endnotes:

1. Francis Coralie Mullin v. The Administrator, Union Territory of Delhi, (1981) 1 SCC 608 (establishing that the right to life includes the right to live with human dignity).
2. R.D. Upadhyay v. State of Andhra Pradesh, (2007) 15 SCC 337 (the primary landmark judgment providing guidelines for children of female prisoners in India).
3. United Nations General Assembly, United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders (The Bangkok Rules), Res 2010/16, UN Doc. A/RES/65/229 (Dec. 21, 2010).
4. National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), Prison Statistics India 2023, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India (providing empirical data on female occupancy and children in jails).
5. Sheela Barse v. State of Maharashtra, (1983) 2 SCC 96 (laying down guidelines for the protection of women in police lock-ups and prisons).
6. Ministry of Home Affairs, Model Prison Manual for the Guidance of Management of Prisons in India,



Government of India (2016), Chapter XXVI (Specifying facilities for women prisoners).

7. In Re: Inhuman Conditions in 1382 Prisons, (2016) 3 SCC 700 (addressing overcrowding and the lack of basic amenities for vulnerable groups).

8. United Nations General Assembly, United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (The Nelson Mandela Rules), A/RES/70/175 (Dec. 17, 2015).

9. Smt. Falak Sher v. State of Uttar Pradesh & Ors., 2022 SCC OnLine All 456 (High Court intervention granting bail on the grounds of pregnancy as an extension of Article 21).

10. Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), adopted Nov. 20, 1989, 1577 U.N.T.S. 3 (India ratified in 1992, emphasizing the "best interests of the child" principle).

11. Haneefa v. State of Kerala, 2021 (2) KLT 421 (discussing the psychological impact of maternal separation in carceral settings).

12. Law Commission of India, Report No. 268: Amendments to Criminal Procedure Code, 1973 - Provisions Relating to Bail, (2017) (recommending leniency for women under-trials).

13. Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, Report of the National Expert Committee on Women Prisoners, Vol. I, Ministry of Human Resource Development (1987).

14. Habeas Corpus Collective No. 143.641/SP, Supreme Court of Brazil (2018) (Case study on the transition of pregnant inmates to house arrest).

15. Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita (BNSS), 2023, Section 480 (retaining the proviso for bail for women and sick/infirm persons).