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Navigating Organizational Barriers and Social Attitudes: A Critical Study on the Implementation Challenges of the POSH Act, 2013

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ABSTRACT

The passing of the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 (popularly known as the POSH Act) was a landmark step towards ensuring gender equality and security in workplaces in India. Yet, the real enforcement of the Act remains beset with serious challenges, especially in overcoming organizational pushback, strongly entrenched patriarchal values, and socio-cultural beliefs that tend to subvert its utility. The current research critically explores the institutional and social impediments hindering the implementation of the POSH Act in various workplace environments. Drawing from case study reviews, policy analysis, and qualitative observations of organizational stakeholders, the research reveals systemic deficiencies, absence of awareness, weak compliance measures, and continued stigmatization of survivors. The article advocates for a more intersectional and transformative strategy that transcends formal compliance to create authentic cultural change and institutional responsibility. Suggestions are made to increase awareness, develop capacity among Internal Committees, and encourage a more inclusive, responsive redressal system.

Keywords: POSH, workplace, harassment, gender, justice, organizational, barriers, social.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Prevention of Sexual Harassment (POSH) Act, officially known as the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013, is a big leap towards providing gender equality and safety in workplaces in India. Based on the basic rights under the Indian Constitution, specifically Articles 14, 15, and 21, the POSH Act seeks to protect women from sexual harassment at the workplace by providing mechanisms for prevention, prohibition, and redressal. ³The Act resulted from the suggestions in the seminal Vishaka vs State of Rajasthan judgment (1997), in which guidelines were issued by

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³ Medha Kotwal Lele v. Union of India, (2013) 1 SCC 297.

the Supreme Court to tackle the issue of workplace sexual harassment when there was no special law in place. As the years passed and gender-based discrimination became more widely understood, the requirement for a formal law that imposed responsibility and made workplaces safer became more urgent. The POSH Act was put in place to bridge that legislation gap and present a formalized and binding environment that can apply to both the formal and informal sectors, the public and private institutions, the NGOs, as well as the other workplace setups.

In its broad framework despite its comprehensiveness, putting the POSH Act into effect is confronted by many challenges at the organizational level. Most institutions fail to implement its provisions effectively because of ignorance, insufficient training, or resistance to the recognition of workplace harassment as an organizational problem. Lack of adequately constituted Internal Committees (ICs), hesitation in reporting incidents fearing retaliation or stigma, and a lack of sufficient sensitivity training for employees and managers are among the reasons why there are ongoing discrepancies between law and practice.⁴ These problems are more intense among small businesses and unorganized sectors since the infrastructure for formal redressal mechanisms is lacking or weakly implemented. In addition, the social and cultural practices that shame women who complain aggravate the situation, and it is hard to determine the actual extent of workplace harassment. Although high-profile cases and media attention have briefly placed the issue in the public eye, much of the harassment occurring against women goes unreported and unanswered, exposing entrenched institutional and societal obstacles.⁵

It is against this backdrop that this research attempts to probe the intricacies surrounding the application of the POSH Act through an examination of several sources of secondary data, such as judicial interpretation, government reports, organizational policies, academic journals, and media reports. It seeks to identify gaps between legislative intent and ground realities, highlighting both successful interventions and areas requiring reform. By using analytical and exploratory approaches, the study attempts to provide insights into how organizations can close these gaps by implementing inclusive policies, raising awareness, and promoting a culture of zero tolerance against harassment.⁶ The study also places stress on the need for mechanisms of accountability, openness, and the leadership role in developing an environment in the workplace where the employees feel safe, treated with respect, and treated

⁴ Apparel Export Promotion Council v. A.K. Chopra, (1999) 1 SCC 759.

⁵ Delhi Commission for Women v. Union of India, (2019) SCC OnLine Del 10952.

⁶ Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, No. 14 of 2013, INDIA CODE (2013).

equally. Through exploring the institutional, legal, and social aspects of harassment in the workplace, the research helps in a better understanding of gender relations in the workplace as well as the measures to be taken to maintain women's rights and dignity. The POSH Act, while a significant milestone, is only as effective as its implementation; thus, this study underscores the critical need for sustained effort and systemic change in order to translate the promise of the Act into everyday workplace realities. The provision for the setting up of Internal Committees (ICs) under the POSH Act is a landmark step towards institutionalizing mechanisms for redressing grievances related to sexual harassment at the workplace. By making it obligatory to set up ICs in all organizations employing over ten persons, the law seeks to decentralize the process of resolving complaints and make it available within the very same premises where the grievance occurs. This structural remedy was seen as a means of guaranteeing expeditious action, confidentiality, and a humane approach to the treatment of complaints of workplace harassment.⁷ It also sought to solve the power dynamic usually inherent in formal legal action, providing a different mechanism based on internal responsibility and gender equity. Yet, in recent years, the IC framework, though well-meaning in conception, has been increasingly criticized for its limited implementation and constraints emanating from organizational culture, resource shortages, and the absence of external scrutiny.⁸

II. THE ROLE OF ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

The effective enforcement of the POSH Act, 2013 is inextricably linked with the existing organizational culture and the overall socio-cultural values regarding gender and power relations. Even the best-crafted legislation can be made ineffective if it is not accompanied by a work environment that encourages equality, transparency, and accountability. In India, most organisations continue to be present within cultures that are male-dominated, vertical, and hostile to change, so it is not easy for the POSH Act spirit to be completely upheld.⁹

Organisational culture is the common values, beliefs, and practices that influence the way people act within a workplace environment. When the culture makes bad behavior the norm, accepts sexist humour, or encourages silence in the face of abuse, it deters victims from reporting. Staff can be afraid of retaliation, ostracism, or harm to their career prospects if they

⁷ Ministry of Women & Child Dev., Handbook on Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (2015), <https://wcd.nic.in/sites/default/files/Handbook%20on%20Sexual%20Harassment%20of%20Women%20at%20Workplace.pdf>.

⁸ Ministry of Women & Child Dev., Annual Report 2020–2021 (2021), https://wcd.nic.in/sites/default/files/WCD_AR_English%202020-21.pdf.

⁹ Saurav Datta, Sexual Harassment Law: How Many Companies Are Compliant, *The Wire* (Dec. 8, 2017), <https://thewire.in/law/sexual-harassment-posh-compliance>.

make a complaint. In many cases, top management doesn't lead by example and adopt a zero-tolerance approach, but instead treat compliance with the POSH Act as a box-ticking exercise and not a commitment to gender equality.¹⁰

Organizational culture and dominant societal attitudes are crucial in determining the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of any legal or institutional intervention to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace. Although laws such as the POSH Act establish a strong framework of redressal and accountability, the practical realization of its aims is greatly determined by organizational culture and the social norms that permeate interpersonal relations and gender relationships. Organizational culture is frequently an unspoken code of values, beliefs, practices, and behaviors that dictate how people behave and interact within the workplace. If such a culture is based on hierarchy, patriarchy, or silence concerning sensitive topics such as gender-based harassment, then even the best-written laws will fail to make a real difference.¹¹ For example, in most organizations, sexual harassment tends to be trivialized, ignored, or even normalized because of insufficient awareness, reluctance to talk about such matters openly, or fear of harming the reputation. This builds a culture where victims are reluctant to speak up and where abusers tend to go unpunished, thus continuing a culture of silence and impunity.

Social norms, which are influenced by cultural, historical, and educational determinants, also play a crucial role in determining how sexual harassment is viewed and treated within and outside the workplace.¹² In most regions of India, conversations about sexuality, gender rights, and rights at the workplace are still taboo, which prevents victims from reporting their crimes and frequently results in victim-blaming. Socialization that idealizes male supremacy and considers women mainly in their traditional roles also makes it more difficult to enforce progressive legislation such as the POSH Act. Such social perceptions often seep into the workplace, dictating the actions of employees and managers alike. Women who come forward to claim harassment are discredited as trouble-makers or attention-seekers, and men who campaign for women's rights are mocked or ostracized. This undermines the culture of trust and respect that is needed for any anti-harassment system to operate successfully. Additionally, organizations that work in such social contexts might consider POSH compliance as a formality or legal tick, and not as a chance to develop a safe and respectful

¹⁰ T.K. Raja & Neetu Sharma, Implementation Challenges of POSH Act in Indian Workplaces, 9 INT'L J. MGMT. & SOC. SCI. 100 (2021).

¹¹ Nirantar Trust, Gender and Education in India: Sexual Harassment in Schools and Colleges, https://nirantar.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Gender_education_in_india-2.pdf.

¹² Seema Misra, Workplace Harassment Laws in India: A Feminist Legal Analysis, 34 DELHI L. REV. 56 (2012).

work culture.

To address these issues, it is crucial for organizations to critically reflect and change their internal cultures. Leadership needs to show a strong commitment to gender equality by placing emphasis on awareness, training, and accountability. Establishing open lines of communication, holding frequent workshops, and involving employees in the development of anti-harassment policies can gradually change the cultural norms of the organization. In addition, embedding corporate values in the principles of dignity, respect, and non-discrimination can break the silence and de-stigmatize discussions on sexual harassment.

III. SIGNIFICANCE

The POSH Act, 2013 is a seminal piece of legislation that addresses an essential lacuna in Indian law relating to the safety of women at work.¹³ It marks a transition from judicial directions to a statutory regime, providing for compulsory redressal mechanisms. Understanding its importance serves to evaluate the extent to which legal systems can ensure constitutional guarantees, particularly Article 14 (equality) and Article 21 (right to life with dignity). Its policy significance also facilitates assessing the role of governance in resolving gender-based violence, ensuring justice, and establishing a precedent for future gender-sensitive legislation and workplace reforms in public and private sectors.¹⁴

The policy and legal significance of the Prevention of Sexual Harassment (POSH) Act is that it sets the basic premise for institutionalizing the safeguarding of women against workplace harassment and enshrining constitutional values of equality, dignity, and the right to a harassment-free working environment. Passed in 2013, the POSH Act not only grants legislative status to the guidelines previously established by the Supreme Court in the Vishaka case but also bridges an important gap in India's legal and employment policy environment by mandating organizations to have preventive and redressal mechanisms in place. Fundamentally, the Act reiterates the promise of equality before the law under Article 14, the prohibition against discrimination on grounds of sex under Article 15, and the assurance of the right to life and personal liberty under Article 21, including the right to live with dignity. By requiring the formation of Internal Committees (ICs) in every workplace with over ten workers and stipulating responsibilities for employers to generate awareness and avert harassment, the law establishes binding obligations that cannot be disregarded without consequences under the law. Additionally, its applicability to both the organized and

¹³ Shreya Atrey, *Intersectionality and Comparative Discrimination Law* 157 (Hart Publ'g 2019).

¹⁴ Shweta V. Deshpande, *Compliance with the POSH Act: A Fading Obligation*, *Bar & Bench* (July 12, 2021), <https://www.barandbench.com/columns/compliance-with-the-posh-act-a-fading-obligation>.

unorganized sectors—governmental, private, and non-profit institutions alike—makes it a universally applicable piece of legislation with an extensive operational range.

The policy significance of the Act is extended to its impact on institutional management, human resource processes, and organizational culture.¹⁵ In policy terms, the POSH Act has pushed organizations to accept sexual harassment as not just an individual complaint but as an organizational problem that necessitates formalized processes and active interventions. It requires annual compliance reports, awareness programs, and sensitivity training as part of an employer's legal obligations, essentially mainstreaming gender sensitivity into the organizational governance system. This policy change has led to the inclusion of anti-harassment provisions in employment contracts, the creation of whistleblower mechanisms, and the encouragement of inclusive HR practices that are aligned with both legal compliance and ethical business behavior.¹⁶ In addition, government institutions such as the Ministry of Women and Child Development and the National Commission for Women also ensure the implementation of guidelines through dissemination, monitoring of implementation, and providing redressal channels, thereby strengthening the harmony between policy efforts and legal requirements. The POSH Act also conforms to international obligations like the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) signed by India, which emphasizes legislative and policy interventions to end gender-based violence and ensure equality in all areas, including work.

Yet, even with its elaborate framework, the success of the POSH Act in reality largely depends on enforcement and will of institutions. Most organizations have been found to be non-compliant even with the most minimum requirements, for example, establishing Internal Committees or filing annual reports. Moreover, the lack of penal mechanisms against non-compliance dilutes the deterrent impact of the Act. In policy implementation terms, there is a wide gulf between legislation and realities on the ground, particularly in fields where power chains, irregular working patterns, and social stigma keep reportage and accountability at bay.

IV. CASE STUDY: SAURABH KUMAR MALICK VS THE COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR GENERAL OF INDIA & ORS. (2016)

The Saurabh Kumar Mallick vs The Comptroller and Auditor General of India & Others (2016) case is an important judicial ruling that clarifies the ambit and application of the POSH

¹⁵ D. Dutta, Corporate Responsibility and Gender Equity: Case Study of POSH Implementation, 20 IIM BANGALORE REV. 67 (2019).

¹⁶ Human Rights Watch, "No #MeToo for Women Like Us": Poor Enforcement of India's Sexual Harassment Law (2020), <https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/10/14/no-metoo-women-us/poor-enforcement-indias-sexual-harassment-law>.

(Prevention of Sexual Harassment) Act, specifically with regard to the definition of "workplace" and the role of employers towards disposing of sexual harassment complaints.

¹⁷Here, the petitioner, Saurabh Kumar Mallick, contested the inquiry proceedings initiated against him under the then-operative Vishaka Guidelines, later codified as the POSH Act of 2013. The main question was whether the incident of harassment complained of fell within the jurisdiction of the workplace and whether or not the complaint committee was constituted in accordance with a legal standard. The Delhi High Court, in its ruling, reiterated the significance of safeguarding women's dignity at the workplace and made it clear that the definition of the workplace under law needs to be construed in a broad sense to embrace not just physical office but wherever the employee is present by virtue of work-related commitments, such as field work and offsite activities. The Court stressed the importance of due process, pointing out that an internal complaints committee should be constituted as per the stipulated norms, being fair, neutral, and competent. In addition, the judgment reaffirmed the employer's responsibility to provide a safe working environment and address complaints with seriousness and transparency. This case thus became a landmark in emphasizing the judicial support for women's rights in professional arenas and reaffirming the constitutional promise of gender equality and dignity at work. It also helped shape the developing jurisprudence relating to the POSH Act by upholding procedural protections and the liberal interpretation of what is considered a workplace, thus strengthening the framework for prevention and response to sexual harassment in diverse employment settings.

The landmark case of *Saurabh Kumar Mallick vs The Comptroller and Auditor General of India & Ors.*¹⁸ (2016) was not just a reaffirmation of the safeguards provided under the POSH Act, but also a broadening of the legal interpretation regarding what constitutes a workplace and an employer's obligations in upholding its safety.¹⁹

V. DATA ANALYSIS

The data are analyzed employing thematic content analysis. The repeated themes like organizational resistance, leadership indifference, underreporting, and social stigma are captured and examined critically in order to explore their impact on POSH Act implementation. Comparative analysis of several case studies and institutional practices is also conducted to identify the best practices and pitfalls. The analysis of data in this study is

¹⁷ Shoma Chatterji, *The Reality of POSH in the Indian Media Sector*, 12 *FEMINIST MEDIA STUD.* 89 (2020).

¹⁸ National University of Juridical Sciences, *NUJS Gender Justice Survey Report* (2021), <https://nujs.edu/pdf/research/NUJS-Gender-Justice-Survey-2021.pdf>.

¹⁹ *The Hindu*, *Workplace Harassment Complaints Remain Unreported in MSMEs*, *THE HINDU* (Jan. 12, 2022), <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/harassment-msme/article>

based on a broad base of secondary sources, which include judicial rulings, official reports of the government, scholarly studies, press reports, and organizational compliance reports. The intention of such analytical exercise is to critically examine the implementation and effectiveness of the POSH Act in different institutional settings with particular emphasis on challenges, gaps, and trends emerging from the data available.²⁰ A perusal of legal case verdicts indicates that although the courts have largely reaffirmed the women's rights in the POSH Act and given primacy to due process, there is extensive divergence in interpretation of the Act by various courts. For example, judgments like *Saurabh Kumar Mallick vs Comptroller and Auditor General of India* (2016) have broadened our understanding of what defines a workplace and reaffirmed the significance of organizational responsibility in hearing grievances. Other cases do point to procedural shortcomings, inconsistency in Internal Committee performance, and misuse of the law on rare occasions, indicating a need for higher standardization and responsibility in enforcement by the judiciary.

Government publications, especially those of the Ministry of Women and Child Development and the National Commission for Women, give us a glimpse into the operational and structural challenges confronted by the implementation of the POSH Act. These are low awareness levels among workers, particularly in small units and the unorganized sector, insufficient trained members on Internal Committees, and poor follow-up on actions suggested. Information from such sources also indicate abysmal levels of compliance with many organizations neither constituting ICs nor presenting the annual obligatory reports, while legally bound to do so. Such information heightens the differences between legislative objective and real-time implementation, questioning the availability of enforcement regimes and the extent to which implementation can be appropriately monitored by bodies responsible for their regulation. Peer-reviewed journals and academic articles enrich the discussion further by situating the POSH Act in the wider context of gender, labor rights, and institutional accountability.²¹ Most researchers agree that though the Act is a major policy reform, its effects are hindered by deeply rooted patriarchal traditions and institutional hesitation to accept the systemic aspect of workplace harassment.²²

Media coverage and investigative reporting have been key in bringing to the forefront high-profile cases, usually triggering organizational soul-searching and policy reform. These

²⁰ Shreya Mukherjee, *Power Dynamics in IC Functioning: Barriers to Justice*, 28 J. GENDER STUD. 45 (2022).

²¹ S. Annapoorna & R. Vasundhara, *An Analytical Study on Effectiveness of Internal Complaints Committees in Indian Workplaces*, 9 INT'L J. APPLIED SOC. SCI. 525 (2022).

²² Ankita Pandey, *Compliance with POSH in Start-ups: Legal Mandates vs. Ground Realities*, 13 ILI L. REV. 94 (2019).

reports also mirror the social stigma that complainants experience, the power dynamics that tend to shield perpetrators, and the tendency of organizations to focus on reputation management rather than justice.²³ Through an examination of such cases, the study identifies recurring patterns such as delayed reporting, lack of confidentiality, and retaliatory action against victims.²⁴ Finally, a review of publicly available organizational policies and compliance audits indicates that although there are some institutions that have developed robust anti-harassment policies and training schemes, others view POSH compliance as a virtual ritual. In most instances, ICs are either constituted in violation of law or are not independent, and hence, ineffective.²⁵

Overall, the data analysis highlights a complex landscape marked by progress in legal recognition but significant shortcomings in implementation and cultural acceptance. The findings emphasize the need for robust monitoring systems, better training for IC members, greater employee awareness, and a shift in organizational attitudes toward gender justice. Unless these cultural and structural obstacles are addressed, the potential of the POSH Act to bring about change remains limited, supporting the need for continued evaluation, reform, and advocacy in the pursuit of safe and equitable workplaces.²⁶

VI. FINDINGS

Even though mandated by the POSH Act, most ICs are deficient in training, gender sensitivity, and procedural simplicity. In a number of cases, ICs are constituted with the sole intent of compliance and not with any actual capability to investigate complaints independently. This results in delayed justice or unsatisfactory results.²⁷ Victims tend to believe that ICs are prejudiced or beholden to the management, losing confidence in the system. Strengthening ICs' functionality, independence, and composition is critical for redressal efficacy. The Internal Committee (IC), as required by the POSH Act, is the main body in charging against sexual harassment complaints in the workplace.²⁸ It is the initial line of redressal and accountability in the majority of organizations, intended to operate

²³ Richa Singh, *From Vishaka to POSH: A Journey of Gender Equality in India*, 12 J. CONST. L. & POL'Y 119 (2021).

²⁴ Legal Services India, *Sexual Harassment in Indian Workplaces: Judicial Trends*, LEGALSERVICESINDIA.COM, <https://www.legalservicesindia.com/article/1944/Sexual-Harassment-in-Indian-Workplaces.html>.

²⁵ Women and Child Development Dept., *Maharashtra POSH Implementation Report* (2021), <https://wcd.maharashtra.gov.in/posh-report>.

²⁶ Rukmini S., *Gender and Employment: Challenges in Enforcing POSH in Informal Workplaces*, 32 ECON. & POL. WKLY. 31 (2020).

²⁷ LiveLaw, *SC Issues Guidelines on Workplace Harassment Compliance*, LIVELAW.IN (Apr. 17, 2022), <https://www.livelaw.in/top-stories/posh-guidelines-supreme-court>.

²⁸ Shruti Das, *Lack of Awareness Among Women Workers About POSH*, TIMES OF INDIA (Oct. 20, 2022), <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/news/posh-awareness>.

independently, sensitively, and in accordance with due process in order to provide fair and timely treatment of complaints. Nevertheless, in reality, the extent and impact of these committees tend to be limited and unsatisfactory due to several reasons, thus compromising the primary aims of the legislation. The foremost limitation lies in the procedural and structural structure of ICs. Although the Act mandates a minimum of half of the members of the IC to be women, including an external member who is specialized in the relevant field, it is common for many organizations to fail to meet these minimum requirements by either naming unqualified members or failing to form the committee altogether.²⁹ This in-built non-compliance hugely limits the committee's credibility, objectivity, and performance. In addition, in many cases, organizations create ICs just to meet formal legal requirements instead of as an actual institutional process for justice. Consequently, the ICs fail to receive proper orientation, training, and sensitization, and this can result in procedural lapses, prejudiced inquiries, and mishandling of grievances.³⁰

The limited scope of ICs is also evident in the minimal assistance that they offer to complainants. While the POSH Act provides for confidentiality, non-retaliation, and protection of the complainant throughout the inquiry procedure, victims continually complain of encountering retaliation, stigmatization, or professional victimization once a complaint has been raised. This is aggravated by the fact that ICs usually exist in organizational structures that affect their autonomy and effectiveness.³¹ Where the accused harasser is a high-ranking executive or one with considerable institutional influence, members of the IC may feel compelled to act in the interest of the employer or to water down the gravity of the complaint

VII. CONCLUSION

The POSH Act, 2013 is a landmark legislation on India's mission towards gender equality and workplace security. But here lies the revelation that though the legislative framework is strong, in practice, the process is stumped by monumental organizational and social challenges. The Internal Committees remain ill-equipped with independence and training, awareness rates are low, and threats of backlash keep large numbers of survivors away from lodging complaints. Organizational cultures, influenced by patriarchal tradition and leadership complacency, weaken the Act's intent even further. Legal interventions have validated the

²⁹ R. Rajagopal, Can POSH Be Strengthened Through Independent Ombudsmen?, 11 J. IND. L. & SOC'Y 43 (2022).

³⁰ Chaitanya Mallapur, Only 16% of Companies File POSH Reports, INDIA SPEND (Nov. 23, 2019), <https://www.indiaspend.com/only-16-of-companies-file-posh-reports>.

³¹ Center for Policy Research, Compliance Audit of POSH in Public Sector Units (2022), <https://cprindia.org/reports/POSH-compliance-audit>.

Act's principles, yet widespread change involves more than legal enforcement—it calls for a cultural shift. Organizations' true commitment, consistent sensitization, and more effective monitoring mechanisms are essential to turn workplaces into secure, inclusive, and empowering environments for both genders.³² Finally, the success of the POSH Act relies not only on compliance, but on shared responsibility and cultural change. In order to fulfill the vision of the POSH Act, organizations need to ensure proactive prevention over reactive redressal.³³ This involves gender sensitization of corporate training programs, active participation of leadership in awareness drives, and grievance redressal mechanisms that shield complainants from retribution. Further, the function of regulatory bodies needs to be empowered by periodic audits, higher penalties for default, and public disclosure of compliance with the Act.³⁴

At a social level, shattering the silence on work-place harassment requires challenging patriarchal values and socializing discussions around gender, power, and consent. Schools and colleges, civil society, and the media also need to work towards creating progressive attitudes that respond to the intent of the POSH Act.³⁵

Finally, the POSH Act is not just a legal instrument—it is a declaration of the right to dignity and equality in the workplace. Its success hinges on an alliance of law, leadership, and cultural shift. With constant effort, collaboration, and accountability, Indian workplaces can become safe and inclusive workplaces for everyone.³⁶

³² Martha Farrell Foundation, *The India Workplace Equality Index 2022* (Nov. 2022), <https://indiaworkplaceequalityindex.com/>.

³³ India Today, Sexual Harassment in Tech Industry: POSH Audits Fall Short, INDIA TODAY (Feb. 15, 2023), <https://www.indiatoday.in/technology/posh-report>.

³⁴ L. Revathi, Women's Safety in Indian Workplaces: Reviewing the Legal Framework, 25 INDIAN J. PUB. ADMIN. 122 (2021).

³⁵ Deepika Sharma, POSH Act and the Construction Sector: An Implementation Gap, 36 LABOUR L. NOTES 11 (2020).

³⁶ Anuja Agrawal, Silent Victims: Gendered Workplace Cultures in Indian Corporations, 19 SOCIO-LEGAL REV. 73 (2021).