

Humour and Online Feminism in India

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Abstract: This article discusses the ways in which the feminist movement uses humour to punch up and 'talk back'. Using lurking, cyber ethnography and purposive sampling we focus on four websites that are specific to India. The article traces the ways in which media has been used by feminists to humorously 'play around with institutionalised meanings' (Zijdervald, 1983) and to 'talk back' (Hooks, 1989). Humour and satire have always been a part of the feminist movement. As early as 1851 Sojourner Truth used satire in her well-known speech 'Ain't I a Woman?' and Koedt's (1968) tongue in cheek 'The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm and Cixous' (Cixous et.al, 1976) 'The Laugh of the Medusa'. Humour and satire are seen in all versions of feminism, whether online or offline or symbiotic mixed versions of the two.

Online feminist humour is seen in a variety of ways including memes, articles, videos, photos, campaigns etc. Feminists through the process of mediation (Silverstone, 2002) interpret gendered stereotypes, sexist jokes, patriarchal norms in their own ways to punch up and to highlight the cis hetero patriarchal hegemonic structures.

Keywords: Humour, satire, feminism, media, online and offline protests.

Introduction

Humour exists in many varieties around us. It could be in the form of a memorised joke, a pun, slapstick comedy, satire, a photograph or a meme. It exists serendipitously as a part of everyday life. The laughter of a family at the dining table when the *roti* (Indian bread) is not round or a dish is oversalted or the laughter of men sitting together and cracking jokes on their wives driving or laughter at the henpecked husband who does not live up to the image of a manly man is commonplace. It surrounds us and what we find funny depends on our perspective and our spatiality in terms of the social structures. This paper examines the ways in which the feminist movement has used humour to subvert patriarchy and to 'play around with institutionalised meanings' (Zijdervald, 1983) and to punch up and to 'talk back' (Hooks, 1989). The focus is on four Indian online platforms used by feminists to challenge gender stereotypes.

Section 1 of the paper analyses the synergies between digital media and the feminist movement. We explore the ways in which the feminist movement on the web intermeshes with the offline feminist initiatives. The focus is also on the ways in which mediation (Silverstone, 2002) occurs.

Section 2 of the paper discusses gender and humour from a theoretical perspective.

Section 3 discusses the ways in which feminist movement uses humour to highlight the hegemony of the embedded cis heterosexual structures in both the offline and online modes. Section 4 analyses humour in the context of four websites in India.

Section 5 concludes the article.

Methodology

This paper is based on purposive sampling using lurking and cyber ethnography. Lurking involved observing and gathering information from the selected websites and digital pages without actively participating (Strickland & Schlesinger, 1969; Catterall & Maclarn, 2002). Using the method of lurking and purposive sampling we identified four feminist websites and pages. This involved surfing the chosen websites and digital pages, and purposively choosing content.

The digital media sites analysed are: The Spoilt Modern Indian Woman; Feminism in India, Indian Women Blog and Women_at_Leisure.

Section 1

In the twenty-first century our lives are increasingly embedded in the virtual environment. According to a UNICEF report 90% of jobs today have a digital component (Muttreja & Wojnar, 2023). The internet however is a part of our embodied, lived, and cultural experiences. One billion Indians owned smartphones in 2023 and it is expected to rise to 1.5 billion by 2040 (Sun (a), 2023). In 2023, 26% women compared to 49% adult males owned phones (Sun (b), 2023). The internet usage by women in 2021, was twenty percent lesser than males. In rural India only one in four adult women (15-49 years) have ever used the internet as opposed to 49% males (Basuroy, 2023). The data shows that women undoubtedly have limited access to the internet as opposed to men. The media and the internet do not exist as spaces that are independent of the social structures. The ownership of smartphones and access to the internet are embedded in the patriarchal structures of society which limit and restrict women (Pink et al., 2016; Fotopoulou, 2016, 1-36). The question that arises then is that does this limited access make digital media redundant for the feminist movement?

Our contention is that even though women have limited access to the internet it is not an impediment to the feminist movement. Feminism is not a single variety of feminism and is better understood as the plural 'feminisms'. The long history of the

feminist movement illustrates that the movement has encompassed diverse practices, identities, and cultures. Limited accessibility to digital media does not act as a deterrent to the feminist movement; it is merely one variety of feminism that exists in a synergistic relationship with offline feminism.

Media has always been a strong ally of the feminist movement. How does the media work in terms of disseminating and propagating certain ideas? Is it a one-way process for example in terms of images or writings being shared through television or a book? Is the audience a passive recipient or do they mediate? Silverstone (2002; 2005) refers to the process of mediation which is a dialectical process that creates a “symbolic and cultural space in which meanings are created and communicated beyond the constraints of the face to face.... Readers, viewers and audiences are part of this process of mediation, because they continue the work of the media in the ways in which they respond to, extend and further communicate what they see and hear on the world’s multitude of screens and speakers” (Silverstone, 2005, 2-3). The relationship of the audience is not a one-way relationship like a “simulacrum”¹.

Instead, we are actively engaged with the media in a dialectical way. The media is manipulated by those in power to represent their version of reality, but the audience has a dialectical engagement with what is presented. The audience puts their own spin on what they see and understand. This understanding is based on their social and cultural spatiality.

Communication is not just a technological process but is also embedded in society and culture. Silverstone understands the mediating process in terms of four dimensions—ambiguity and paradoxes, physicality, sociability, and ethics (Silverstone, 2002). For the audience the ambiguity and paradoxes of everyday life are resolved in the media since media representations are uncomplicated. For example, a photograph of a group of women in sarees with their heads covered having ice cream appears to be simple and straightforward. But the ambiguity and paradox embedded in the image is the idea of leisure as resistance and the idea of women hanging out together and enjoying themselves. A woman’s social identity cannot exist independent of her biological physical body. The physical body is gendered and is of a particular age, it could be rural or urban, traditionally dressed or not. It is a performative body with intersecting identities (Butler, 1993). The process of mediation thus involves understanding the image etc being projected involving all the four overlapping dimensions from the perspective of the viewer. This enables the feminist to speak in heteroglossia² i.e. they can speak in a way that represents multiple points of view in the same text or artistic expression whether a photo or a meme. The decoding of the messages is not just denotational but also connotational³.

The feminist movement using humour and through mediation has chosen to interpret gendered stereotypes and norms in their own way. For the feminist the

process of mediation enables them to highlight embedded social structures choosing to interpret them in their own way. They have for instance appropriated words like bust, slut and bitch; dressing styles, the ideas about women like leisure for women. Even the names of zines⁴ like 'Burnt Roti' or '*Oh Nari so Sanskari!*' (Oh Woman so Cultured!) 'Unfolding the Saree' are their way of highlighting and challenging stereotypes (Bhatia, 2021). Using humour and satire they choose to call out and talk back to the dominant hegemonic patriarchal structures.

Section 2

Feminism and Humour: Theoretical understanding

Satire through humour, irony, exaggeration, and ridicule is a technique that comments on the societal moral structures. Using play, aggression, irony, laughter, satire is used by the feminists, in this case, to subvert the dominant patriarchal structures. Feminists use satire to punch up at the dominant cis heterosexual patriarchal structures.

Humour traditionally has been analysed from an androcentric perspective. Classic theories of humour are: Superiority, Relief, and Incongruity. Greek philosophers like Plato and Aristotle deemed laughter to be the mocking laughter of the superior at those who were undignified and inferior. In the nineteenth century the relief theorists wrote that laughter was a source of release of suppressed emotions. Freud (1905) interpreted laughter from this perspective believing that it allowed us to express our repressed and socially unacceptable emotions.

Incongruity theorists believed that humour arose from the unexpected element in a social situation. Immanuel Kant (1790[1911]), Arthur Schopenhauer (1818/1844 [1907]) and Max Eastman (1936) were some of those who believed that incongruity was the source of laughter (for more see Morreall, 2012, 2023).

The feminist movement has helped overcome the false consciousness created by patriarchy using humour. Zijderveld (1983) argues that humour allows us to play with institutionalised meanings and to choose whether to laugh or not at the utopia created by humour. Willett and Willett (2019) critiquing the androcentric theories as focussing on power as a unitary top-down entity. They argue that to understand humour power must be understood as multi-faceted. There are multiple subversive voices from the margins like those of women and homosexuals that account for humour. They also stress on the importance of emotions to understand humour since "laughter and humour originate in social play" (Willett and Willett, 2019, 15). Further, Umberto Eco (1984) and Bakhtin (1984) contend that laughter gives us space and freedom to transgress the everyday hierarchy and norms.

Feminist scholars writing on humour linked it to patriarchy and misogyny. They used humour to punch up as opposed to sexist jokes that punched down women. As

early as 1851 we have Sojourner Truth's famous speech 'Ain't I a Woman?' (Sojourner Truth, 1851). Anne Koedt in 'The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm' (1968) writes tongue in cheek "It seems clear to me that men in fact fear the clitoris as a threat to their masculinity" (Koedt, 1968, 6). Koedt's eight- page book is written with tongue in cheek humour. Simone de Beauvoir (2011[1949]) in 'The Second Sex' writes on the laughter and mockery by women as acts of defiance and indifference towards men. Helene Cixous' (Cixous et.al. 1976) 'The Laugh of the Medusa' tracing the history of laughter in ancient Greek Literature writes on the ways in which women use laughter as a tool of subversion and to assert their freedom from patriarchal control.

Butler (1990, 1993) too focuses on the ways in the gender binary as performative is mocked by drag queens. Ensler's 'Vagina Monologues' is also written with subtle humour with sections like "My Angry Vagina" with the vagina being portrayed like an independent living entity (Ensler, 2001).

Feminist humour is based on a critique of patriarchal structures. It often involves self- deprecating humour and mockery. Some of the scholars who have written on feminist humour include Franzini (1996), who looked at feminist humour as being critical of patriarchy. Crawford (2003); Gallivan (1992) defines feminist humour as that which challenges traditional views of gender and resisting and ridiculing androcentric constructs of women.

Humour on the internet is visible on several social media sites in several variants like articles, cartoons, blurbs, videos, podcasts, and memes⁵. Since the audience actively mediates with the content on these websites, we find that posts often generate discussion, comments, and debates. For instance, feminists use memes to mock, ridicule and combat misogyny (Shifman and Lemish 2010; Philips 2015 Sara Ahmed, 2010; Ringrose and Lawrence, 2018). Memes create an ongoing conversation between followers of a particular post. These are an important part of the digital culture since they are funny, relatable, and easy to understand. They often adapt a popular culture element for instance it could be a film clip or a clip or a song. Memes when liked and shared by the audience creates a sense of community and creates shared laughter (Bergson, 1911). The meme evokes a memory which is linked to a shared sense of community and emotions. There is a sense of a shared culture and network building (Rainie and Wellman, 2014).

Feminists – the viewer and the content creator, talk back (Hooks, 1989) using humour in its various forms- slogans, memes, writings, videos etc. as a conscious form of subverting the dominant structure. Humour thus acts as a means of negotiation of power between all those who belong to that community.

In the next section we will discuss the ways in which the feminist movement has used humour to punch up and 'talk back'.

Section 3

Humour and the Feminist Movement

The feminist movement in the 19th and the 20th century began with a struggle for women's legal rights in the West. Till the 1990s the movement was predominantly serious. From the 1960s to the 1980s they questioned the dominant social androcentric frameworks. They openly resisted being feminine as was seen in the case of the trashing of all feminine beauty products at the 1968 Miss America beauty pageant⁶. In the 1970s the feminists focussed on a woman's experiences and emotions. The phrase "personal is political" was coined during this phase⁷. The late 1980s and the 1990s saw a shift in the approach of feminists; it became more intersectional, autobiographical, and anecdotal and embodied⁸. The feminist movement was less rigid and more inclusive including all versions of sexuality like transgender, bisexual, homosexuals, and the intersex. It was in the 1990s that the feminist movement became less rigid, and women celebrated their femininity. They were against 'victim feminism' (Wolf, 1991). Unlike the earlier feminists these women embraced their femininity and sexuality.

They did not try to emulate men but considered themselves as equals. The feminists of this generation acknowledged their sexuality and femininity. They also appropriated words like 'slut', 'bitch' and 'bust' and normalised their usage. For instance, SlutWalk was first organised in 2011 in Ontario, Canada and thereafter it is held across the world. In India it's satirically called the *basharrmi morcha* (shameless march/ march of the shameless).

The 1990s also saw the emergence of the Riot Grrrl⁹ band. The fans of the band formed a community and started a zine. The zine was the medium through which they communicated on topics like racism, domestic violence, media, and girl power. The Riot Grrrl movement was a turning point for the feminist movement. The fans of the Riot Grrrl band published a fanzine in the 1990s. Though zines first emerged in 1972 the Riot Grrrl fans popularised them. They were now found in all parts the world in countries like Brazil, USA, Italy, Canada, and Malaysia often with witty and satirical names. Names like Bitch, Not Your Bitch, Bikini Kill, Bust, Pretty Ugly, Burnt Roti. In the 1990s some zines did go online, but many continued in the offline mode using the internet to merely advertise themselves (Fischer, 2016; Bombay Underground, 2020).

Offline and online feminism have a symbiotic relationship with each other. Feminist activism in recent years has also been visible in the online space. The Slutwalk when it was first organised in 2011 used Facebook and Twitter to advocate and publicise the walk. In an interview Sonya Barnett, a cofounder of the SlutWalk said, "Since the officer decided to sling the epithet "slut," we decided to sling it back, only with our own spin" (Szakowski, 2011).

The slogans used during the walk were satirical and ironic - “We are all bad girls”; “My body is a party that you weren’t invited to” (Slutwalk 2011, 2011). The Indian counterpart *Besharmi Morcha* had slogans like “If you are shameless, so am I”; “*Soch badal kapde nahin*” (change your thinking not (my) clothes); “Stop staring! Women are not aliens from Venus” (Afaque, 2011).

The #MeToo movement was started in 2006 by Tarna Burkes in the USA on MySpace against sexual harassment at work faced by women of colour (Ohlheiser, 2017). By 2017 it became a global phenomenon. It had slogans like “A woman acting alone is fierce, a group of women working together is a force” It took me quite a long time to develop a voice, now that I have it I am not going to be silent” (Pinterest.com, n.d.).

There were other online initiatives specific to India¹⁰. One such campaign ‘The PinkChadhi Campaign’ (The Pink Underwear Campaign) in 2009, had people in splits. The campaign was initiated by a journalist, when young men and women in a pub in a city in South India were attacked by a political group on the immorality of pub goers. They also threatened to forcibly marry any young men and women seen together on Valentine’s Day. The journalist, in response to the violence and threat, started a Facebook page ‘Consortium of Pub-Going Loose and Forward Women’. The Facebook page requested all followers (more than twenty- eight thousand) to send pink underwear to the leader of the political group for Valentine’s Day. The office of the political party was flooded with pink underwear of all shapes and sizes from across the globe (The Times of India, 2009; Srivastava & Bhattacharya, 2019). We also have the *Pinjra Tod* (Break the Cage) movement in 2015 against hostel curfew hours for women in universities. It had posters with humorous taglines like “even Cinderella was out till 12” and “Lock the Men In” (Bhatia, 2021).

Online feminism is not divorced from the offline feminists. Digital media often serves as a counterpart of the offline protest. The offline and the online modes exist along a continuum. Online humour is often a reflection of what happens in the everyday.

Section 4

This section analyses the webpages: The Spoilt Modern Indian Woman; Feminism in India, Indian Women Blog and Women_at_Leisure.

The Spoilt Modern Indian Woman (<https://www.facebook.com/spoiltmodernwoman>) The Facebook page is based on memes, and it advertises itself as “Indian women fighting discrimination using the Internet (and a bit of snark)” (Scroll Staff, 2016). It was founded by Bruce Vain (pseudonym) and Sonam Mittal. The page was founded when Mittal was called “a spoilt modern Indian woman” who takes the “liberty given by Indian (male) society for granted” in a public post in a social media platform. The name Bruce Vain is obviously a pun on the name of Batman i.e. Bruce

Wayne, a superhero and on vanity (for women who are not supposed to be vain). Vain is a “feminist, assigned male at birth” and Sonam is a writer (Scroll Staff, 2016). ‘Talking back’ and punching up Mittal started a Facebook page - The Spoilt Modern Indian Woman on 22 June 2015. The page has the tagline “Confining conditioning to hair follicles and eating patriarchy for dinner. Being a sexist bigot is gonna cost you but the laughs are free.” The ‘About Info’ says’ “calling out brahmanism, patriarchy, rape culture misogyny, stereotyping, automatic male-privilege, and systemic operation of historical marginalised caste genders & sexual minorities is NOT reverse casteism, misandry, or straight hate” (The Spoilt Modern Indian Woman, 2024.) The page has 66 thousand likes and 68 thousand followers. The page “encourages dialogues” often leading to laughter.

Some of the posts under the hashtags #feminism #maleprivilege #emotionallabor #rajabetasyndrome (mama’s boy) are like “Please pray for my son who had to empty the dishwasher when “he just did yesterday and he’s tired” (The Spoilt Modern Indian Woman, 24 July 2022).

Another post: #pinjratod#feminism#patrarchy#womensrights has a post on hostel curfew at 10 pm for women university students. Viewers comments included “girls being locked at 10 pm but boys being out at all times”.

#WomensDay2020#WomankiBaat (about women) had the tagline “This woman’s day thank a feminist “If you are a woman and you can wear pants”; “If you are a woman and you can have a job”; “If you are a woman and you can vote” ;“If you are a woman and you have the right to read the books you want” (8 March 2020).

Another such campaign #ToxicMasculinity#FragileMasculinity#MaleEgo #Flexing #Homophobia #TransPhobi #JustIndianMen featured a cartoon of a penguin shooting arrows with a caption “Things Indian men do when they are losing an argument.... The arrows are labelled as *randi*, (slur for sex worker) and the quiver had arrows reading “*lesbo* (slur for lesbian) and *chakka* (slur for trans person) (7 June 2019).

The viewers are from all genders. Comments often trigger conversations, debates, discussions, and laughter.

Feminism in India (<https://feminisminindia.com/>)

The website Feminism in India (FII) is a ‘news and media website’ with 89 K followers. It started as a Facebook page in 2013 by Japleen Pasricha. The website aimed to give free access to feminist resources and to facilitate an understanding of feminism in an easy way. The title page says “Feminism In India is an award-winning digital intersectional feminist platform to learn, educate and develop a feminist consciousness among the youth. It is required to unravel the F-word and demystify all the negativity surrounding it. FII amplifies the voices of women and marginalised communities using tools of art, media, culture, technology and community”.

FII aims to serve as India's first "feminist portal for resource & documentation purposes for everything related to feminism in India and a new media community platform for people to break their silence and raise their voices."

Some of the content for instance #WomenAndLeisure has images of women who are whiling away time. One such photo is of women eating ice cream with a tagline "The priority has always been to ensure that the men in the family eat first and then the boy child, leaving the women and young girls hungry." It has a hyperlink that leads to an article "Eating As An Act Of Feminist Resistance: Assertion Of Need & Leisure Through Ingestion" (Mathew, 2021). The photo shows women of an older age group and dressed traditionally enjoying an ice cream. The article also has photos of women eating fish curry and licking their fingers. They are at leisure and there is no hurry and no men in the picture.

There are also articles on sexism and misogyny in sexist memes (Salam, 2021). The discusses the ways in which sexist memes are dangerous and not 'benign humour'. They reinforce gender stereotypes. the promote a casual sexist attitude and in the guise of a joke they appear to be harmless. A hyperlink in the article leads to another article on feminist memes that subvert patriarchy with humour (Gupta, 2017). The meme on this page shows a rabbit with a text "what do you call a woman who has a lot of sex? Her name!". The article discusses the ways in which feminists use memes to counteract popular sexist and patriarchal tropes on women. A meme on the page shows a man calling 911 saying "I'd like to report a **misandry!** Yes, this girl came out of nowhere and totally **ignored my man feelings!**" (Gupta, 2017). The article discusses the ways in which humour can be used to 'talk back' and punch up.

A hyperlink in the article leads to a tongue in cheek article on "A Housewives' Guide On Living The Best Life (Before They Birth Their Men Some Children)" with a set of satirical 'rules for housewives' (Sahota, 2022). There are pictures and cartoons in the article poking fun at patriarchal stereotypes. Just like in the case of The Spoilt Modern Indian woman we find discussions, debates and comments.

Indian Women Blog (<https://www.facebook.com/indianwomenblog>)

The Indian Women Blog (IWB) is a 'news and media website'. "Indian Women Blog is the cup of coffee you need, to get the kick out of life. It is the positive ball of fur that you can cuddle with, it's the turbo-charger to your battery that often runs out of inspiration, it's your Valentine's Day card, when you start questioning self-love, in short, Indian Women Blog is the reflection you often long to see in the mirror. It's the self-assurance you often seek but can't quite find." It focuses on self-love and solidarity amongst women. It has 33.3 K followers.

Some of the campaigns that the website are around a woman's sexual desire. "In India, a woman is either a saint or a sinner. We like our women absolutely neat and clean and *sanskaari*! And besides, many other things which get sacrificed at this altar of this virginal utopia, a woman's sexual desires are perhaps the first ones." This leads to a hyperlink "The Cuntry" an obvious pun on the word 'cunt' i.e. female genitalia. It stands up for women's sexual choices and pleasure and not just procreation. The content under the Cuntry is on sexuality and women's sexual desires. There are related posts on women's sexual pleasure and the idea of virginity as a loss (Sharma, 2019). There are also related campaigns with titles like #unblushing. The campaign features women of all shapes and sizes and it is about "dialogues on sexual desires". Unblushing, as opposed to blushing which is a sign of a young innocent virginal woman, is about "badass brash and confident women". There are other campaigns with humorous titles like "Fat 8th day of the week" and "Lakshmi Off-duty" about women needing an extra day in the week for themselves.

Women_at_leisure

(https://www.instagram.com/women_at_leisure?igsh=dHFobnhiYmJmbg==)

This is an Instagram page with 32.9 K followers. It has #AuratonKaAaram #WomenAtLeisure. The page is based on the belief that leisure is a form of resistance. "Women at leisure lie at the heart of feminist liberation". There are photos of women relaxing and doing things like sitting in a park with friends, playing cards with abandon, playing on the swings, playing hopscotch or just at the beach. Being idle is not a woman thing but is accepted for men.

The page ran a photo essay on Project *Basanti* (Project Spring). It featured photos of women relaxing, hanging out with friends, applying nail polish. "But just because it is ordinary doesn't mean it is accessible to most. Time is a feminist issue. Leisure is a feminist issue. it essentially tells you who can afford it. It is a reflection of your social and economic standing. This was a project by Surbhi Yadav. The Instagram page also features talks and videos on women at leisure. The Instagram page has photographs of women who are at leisure with captions like "leisure is devouring books". Sometimes these are also accompanied by a short write up.

There are also posts about romance in the everyday. In one such post one can see the unassuming ways in which elderly parents spend time together to express their love. One such post for example features a woman making a rangoli and with her husband watching her.

The digital page is based on the idea of leisure as an act of resistance.

Conclusion

In this article I have analysed the ways in which feminism uses humour on digital media to combat systemic misogyny and sexism. The article acknowledges that digital media cannot be looked at independent of the social structures in which it is embedded. Access to technology is framed within a larger social framework of patriarchy and misogyny. Online and offline feminist protests often exist along a continuum. Using examples of various # protest like the SlutWalk, #MeToo and The PinkChaddi Campaign have established how digital media facilitated and supported offline protests.

The specific focus here was on humour as a subversive strategy to ‘talk back’ and to punch up. Feminist using satire and humour have highlighted the embedded everyday inequalities and injustices in society. Feminists use digital media through articles, photos, essays, memes and various other strategies to overcome and highlight gaslighting in society.

Feminism in India and Indian Women Blog have a plethora of resources for explaining what feminism is. They use rhymes, jingles and tongue in cheek articles and memes to make feminism accessible. Using humour they convey the meaning of feminism. The Spoilt Modern Indian Woman and Women at Leisure use more memes and visuals to put across the same point.

Humour and satire used by feminists may make us laugh but it is serious business. It is through humour that feminists negotiate power structures and question the dominant patriarchy. Through humour the feminist movement has questioned and poked fun at cultural gender stereotypes whether masculine or feminine. Joking may not change the status quo but it challenges the false consciousness, and it is a way for women to criticise and challenge the social structures.

Notes

1. A representation or imitation of a person like in a painting as imagined by Jean Baudrillard (2009).
2. Heteroglossia is a concept put forth by Mikhail Bakhtin (Morson, 2006)
3. The concept of denotation and connotation are used as put forth by Roland Barthes (1961). Denotation is the primary order signification which depends on the literal meaning of a sign like a photo or a word. For example, the word slut is understood in its dictionary meaning as a promiscuous woman. Connotation depends on the interpretation of the word by the audience from their perspective which depends on their spatiality.
4. A zine is a self-published work which is original or appropriated. For distribution it was usually photocopied. It's a consciousness raising method and was a way for feminists to publish their own ideas which were generally not otherwise accepted for publication (Bhatia, 2021).

5. A meme is a visual representation of an idea that is based on copying, imitation and remixing (Shifman, 2014). It is a cultural reproduction that combines images and text to convey messages. Contemporary humour cannot be understood without looking at memes that are present on social media. Memes they allow the users to produce meaning according to their ideas.
6. The demonstrators set up a freedom trash bucket for all symbols of beauty like hairsprays, corsets, girdles, makeup etc. The bucket accidentally caught fire and the phrase “burn your bras’ gained popularity (Bhatia, 2021).
7. This was also referred to as the second wave of feminism.
8. This is referred to as the third wave. There were a number of writings like *To Be real: Telling the Truth and Changing the Face of Feminism* by Rebecca Walker in 1995 *Listen Up: Voices from the Next Feminist Generation* by Barbara Findlen in 1995; *The BUST guide to the New Girl Order* by Marcelle Karp and Debbie Stroller in 1999 (Bhatia, 2021).
9. The band started in the USA. The extra r in the name is indicative of a growl as opposed to a passive acceptance (Bhatia, 2021).
10. Blank Noise Project (against eve teasing) in 2003, #Delhibraveheart to garner support and fight for justice in response to the Nirbhaya rape case This was in response to the brutal gangrape of a medical student in Delhi in 2012. Thousands took to the streets and social media to express their anger and protest. #WhyLoiter for women’s right to occupy public spaces; #Lahukalagan against the tax on sanitary napkins are amongst some of the popular online feminist initiatives in India (Bhatia, 2022).

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