

Issue of exclusion within the #MeToo movement in India and to critically examine the need for inclusivity and intersectionality in digital feminist movements in the country

Dr. Ishani Dave

Assistant Professor (Law), Faculty of Law, GLS University, Ahmedabad

Dr. Vaishakhi Thaker

Assistant Professor (Law), Faculty of Law, GLS University, Ahmedabad

Dr. Aditi Jani

Assistant Professor (Law), Faculty of Law, GLS University, Ahmedabad

Dr. Hiral Shukla

Assistant Professor (Law), Faculty of Law, GLS University, Ahmedabad

Dr. Sonal Rawal

Assistant Professor (Law), Faculty of Law, GLS University, Ahmedabad

Dr Meghavi Thaker

Assistant Professor Faculty of Business Administration, GLS University, Ahmedabad

Abstract

The #MeToo campaign gained global traction, with Indian women using social media, particularly Twitter, to share experiences of sexual abuse and harassment. However, the #MeTooIndia movement revealed significant exclusions in representation. This study, through literature review and data collection, explores the lack of inclusivity toward marginalized and gendered bodies, including Dalit women, trans women, and women from lower caste and class backgrounds. While the movement's visibility largely centered on elite, urban figures such as Bollywood actors, journalists, and politicians, the everyday realities of marginalized groups remained underrepresented. The scarcity of their narratives under the same hashtags highlights systemic barriers rooted in toxic masculinity and insecure digital spaces, which discourage participation. Applying the theoretical lens of intersectionality, this study critically reconsiders strategies for designing and sustaining online feminist movements. The goal is to foster safer, more inclusive, and intersectional digital environments that amplify diverse voices in feminist activism.

Keywords: #MeTooIndia, intersectionality, feminist activism, social media, marginalized communities, gender inclusivity

Introduction

This study investigates the functioning of modern Indian fourth-wave feminism in virtual platforms, specifically on Twitter. This study situates #MeToo as a digital feminist campaign in India within the broader context of Indian feminism. It examines the tweets pertaining to the #MeToo India movement on Twitter to illustrate its fragmentation and lack of inclusivity across various levels. The study endeavours to analyse the fundamental divide within feminism and feminist movements, specifically in the digital landscape of India. This is achieved by examining the patterns of exclusion in the #MeToo movement and proposing a new perspective on modern digital feminisms that is inclusive and intersectional.

History and Importance

The #MeToo movement in India is a manifestation of the global #MeToo movement and has been focused on empowering Indian women since its inception in October 2017. The #MeTooIndia movement has effectively brought to light instances of sexual abuse, harassment, and rape that occur at the nexus of gender, authority, and governance on the social media platform Twitter. The utilisation of the digital public sphere has been employed to enable the process of "coming-out" through the sharing of personal narratives among urban Indian women. The #MeToo movement's global spread coincided with Indian women's utilisation of social media to bring to light their encounters with sexual abuse and harassment perpetrated by individuals in positions of authority. The #MeToo hashtag gained widespread attention on Twitter in October 2017, and subsequently garnered global recognition that transcended various domains, including academia and Hollywood. The digital phenomenon caused significant impact throughout the nation in an unprecedented manner and gained momentum on a vast level during October of 2018 (Mathur, 2018). It is noteworthy that these movements have explicitly highlighted significant dynamics pertaining to sexuality, vulnerability, and desire.

The #MeToo movement is distinguished by its digital nature, setting it apart from other feminist movements and Indian feminist solidarities that are primarily grounded in physical spaces. The feminist movements in India have persistently strived towards the enhancement of women's agency and autonomy. The contemporary third-wave feminist movement in India, which originated on the streets, has subsequently extended its reach to digital platforms. However, this transition has been accompanied by challenges related to exclusion and inadequate representation of feminist groups. The concept of digital activism garnered greater traction among a significantly higher proportion of female individuals in the online sphere, who engaged with broader audiences. According to Sonora Jha and Alka Kurian, scholars in the field, the feminist movements in India are spearheading a novel form of fourth-wave feminism that employs social media to challenge issues of sexual harassment and violence in public spaces (Jha & Kurien, 2018). The #MeToo movement has effectively mobilised a significant number of women and has revolutionised the online environment by establishing safe spaces for urban women to participate in candid conversations regarding issues of sexuality and authority. The #MeToo movement serves as a mechanism for feminist transformation and represents an augmentation of feminist expression, signifying a more authentic feminist emancipation both within and outside of the given medium. The #MeToo movement in India has gained significant traction subsequent to its inception in the United States. It has extensively adopted feminist discourse from Western societies, as noted by Suman Mishra (2020) and V Goel, A Venkataraman, and K Schultz (2018). Whilst the #MeToo movement in India did eventually shift its focus towards the discourse surrounding sexual abuse within the Indian film industry, as noted by Suman Mishra in 2020, it initially emerged from more modest and less exclusive origins. The #MeToo movement in India was initially instigated by an Indian Dalit student. Dalits are individuals who belong to the social group commonly referred to as the "untouchable" caste within the Indian caste system. This group has encountered significant historical oppression and violence, resulting in their cultural subjugation and political marginalisation. The publication of a list of sexual predators in Indian academia by Raya Sarkar, a Dalit law student at the University of California, Davis, sparked a significant online debate within feminist circles in India (Piyasree Dasgupta 2018; Srila Roy 2018, 7). The purpose of her compilation was to provide a platform for marginalised individuals to articulate their encounters with sexual misconduct within the

academic setting. However, it was received with disapproval by notable Indian feminists and scholars within the academic community. Over time, the #MeToo movement in India shifted its focus from the voices of marginalised individuals, specifically Dalits, to those of media personalities and Bollywood figures, mirroring the trajectory of the movement in the Western world. The movement has exposed instances of exclusionary practises on the platform, particularly in relation to its significant emphasis on Bollywood luminaries and other prominent media figures. Furthermore, the #MeToo movement in India, being a purely digital phenomenon, has persisted in addressing a solitary, all-encompassing, and occidental conception of feminism. Consequently, the feminist movement has predominantly disregarded the recognition and inclusion of intersectional identities both within and beyond conventional feminisms, as well as the marginalisation of other gendered bodies. The discourse has been inadequate in addressing the commonplace occurrences of sexual abuse and harassment experienced by Dalit and trans women, women of lower caste and class, the LGBT community, as well as other marginalised, gendered, and queer bodies, and rural communities. These groups have distinct experiences of oppression that differ significantly from those of elite, urban Indian women. The transnational adoption of this concept from Western culture elicited a distinct reaction towards the challenges confronted by women in India.

The objective of this study is to provide evidence supporting the proposition that the digital feminist campaign known as #MeToo in India is characterised by a significant degree of exclusivity, divisiveness, and fragmentation. Furthermore, the study presents an intersectional design framework as a potential resolution for forthcoming digital feminisms within the Indian context. By adopting an intersectional perspective, it is possible to devise strategies for transcending the essentialist, binary, and consequently restrictive identity classifications that are employed by #MeToo India. While the idea of feminist collectivity and a universal understanding of feminism is commendable and crucial for the success of feminist movements, it is imperative to adopt fresh modes of thinking and theoretical frameworks to comprehend the diverse forms of feminisms that exist in the Global South. What strategies can be employed to redesign online spaces with the aim of establishing secure environments that foster self-expression and facilitate the growth of digital feminisms in the future?

Review of literature

Feminism in India: Historical perspective

Feminist movements are characterised by their ability to generate visibility, structure, and advancement by means of universalizing and essentialized definitions of feminisms. The universalization of feminist struggles in the Global South, specifically in nations like India, is often characterised by the displacement of intersectional struggles related to class, race, caste, and gender. In the given context, the phrase "Global South" (Dirlik, 2007, p. 3) denotes countries that are commonly referred to as "Third-World" nations. Currently, this term is used to describe nation-states that face technological challenges within capitalist economies (Chinmayi, 2020, p. 3). India's intricate colonial past has established a striking precedent for its distinct and natural progression in the realm of feminism. The Indian woman, both during colonial and postcolonial periods, has developed distinct methods of resistance against patriarchal, hegemonic, hierarchical, institutional, and cultural systems and structures. The Indian feminist movement has been affected by its colonial history, which has resulted in the convergence of various women's rights movements (Chaudhuri, 2012, p. 24). The fusion of post-colonialist and capitalist ideologies with those of the North has resulted in the

association of challenging patriarchy with challenging various societal structures such as the state, caste, class, community, region, household, family, and marriage. This is because patriarchy operates and moves through these sites, as stated by the author on page 35.

Furthermore, during the 1970s, Indian feminism was stigmatised as an elitist and Western-oriented movement, whereby affluent urban women assumed the role of spokespersons for the underprivileged (Phadke, 2003, p. 7). According to Rege and Phadke's argument, the larger feminist cause has been disregarded by intersectional differences among Indian women, particularly in regards to the Dalit or transgender population (7). The women's movement necessitates novel approaches to address the fragmentation of identities, which is a subject of debate. It is imperative to consider all narratives in order to arrive at a resolution. (8) The phenomenon of globalisation in the Southern regions has resulted in the reclassification of categories and facilitated the elimination of perspectives based on caste within the movement. Given India's proactive stance on issues of class, caste, region, religion, and gender, which have historically been non-uniform, it may not be a sound approach to rely on colonial interpretations of universal womanhood and contemporary Western movements as the basis for Indian feminism. This may not align with the unique intersectional concerns of the country. (25) According to Mohanty (1984), there is a tendency among western feminists to appropriate and colonise the intricate complexities and conflicts that are inherent in the lives of women from diverse backgrounds, including those of different classes, religions, cultures, races, and castes. This homogenization of oppression, as Mohanty argues, is a means through which power is exercised. Hence, it is imperative for Indian feminism, in both its offline and online manifestations, to critically analyse the definition of feminism and the extent to which it empowers diverse voices.

Digital feminism

The cyberspaces located in the southern region exhibit a complex nature and are subject to a distinct set of limitations as compared to those situated in the northern region. Gajjala and Oh raise crucial inquiries in their discourse on the cyber-South. Specifically, they inquire whether women residing in the Southern hemisphere will have the opportunity and capability to utilise technologies in a manner that is contextually empowering, as defined by women themselves. In what online environments can the voices of Southern women be effectively expressed? In what ways does the internet function as a colonial space characterised by privilege and entrenched groups with varying degrees of access? According to Gajjala and Oh (2012, p. 8),... The presence of power hierarchies is a pervasive aspect of Internet culture, serving as a means of exerting covert control over the capitalised market. This phenomenon is particularly evident in digital feminist spaces located in the Global South, which function as enclosed systems of peripheral representation. This observation is supported by scholarly research (15). The matter of determining the spokesperson for a particular group, as discussed by G. Spivak in 1988, assumes greater significance in light of the limited availability of resources, inadequate access, insufficient voluntary participation, and inadequate representation of a sizable demographic. In India, the public sharing of experiences of sexual abuse is impeded, tabooed, or alienating for members of communities due to significant factors such as caste, class, and geography. Within this particular context, there exist supplementary constraints that impede the ability of gendered minorities to express themselves on digital platforms, even when they opt to disclose personal experiences. The visibility of feminist activism on social media platforms and the expansion and re-imagining of feminist communities through new media have been observed by scholars

such as Kaitlynn Mendes, Jessica Ringrose, and Jessalynn Keller (2019, 1). However, it is important to acknowledge that digital culture can present a complex and toxic environment for gendered bodies, which are frequently subjected to vilification and objectification.

Vickery and Everback (2018) suggest that barriers to inclusion may stem from "mediated misogyny," which deliberately infiltrates feminist movements to incite violence, hate, and toxicity towards members of the movement. Serisier's research on rape culture examines the contemporary phenomenon of utilising online platforms to effectively speak out about sexual abuse and rape. However, Serisier also highlights that the ability to speak out is often limited to certain privileged voices (Serisier, 2007). The digital feminist movement must consider important questions regarding the authorization of collective speech, as well as the recipients, listeners, and verifiers of such speech (2007).

Intersectionality as a crucial aspect of protest movements

The genesis of intersectionality can be traced back to feminist ideology developed by scholars of colour and black feminists (K. Crenshaw 1991; hooks 1981). The concept, initially introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a prominent civil rights advocate and legal scholar in 1989, had already been recognised by scholars of colour, particularly black feminists, as evidenced by the works of hooks (1981) and Anzaldúa (1987). The concept of intersectionality originated from critical race studies, specifically at the intersection of gender and race (Nash, 2018). Its purpose is to contest the idea that a woman's destiny is primarily determined by her gender (hooks, 1984, p. 14). In order to gain a comprehensive understanding, it is necessary to analyse the structure and mechanisms of discrimination, as emphasised by Morgan (2003, p.46), with a specific focus on the experiences of black women. The notion of intersectionality advocates for a departure from a unidimensional framework of theory/analysis, which considers gender constructs in isolation, towards an approach that acknowledges identities at various axes of power, including but not limited to sexuality, disability, caste, and class (K. Crenshaw 1991; Judy Wajcman 2010). According to Judy Wajcman (2010), intersectional feminism emphasises the diversity and complexity within womanhood, rather than striving for equality based on a single identity. Moreover, the notion has been integrated into the examination of feminist social movements, as evidenced by works by L. Bassel and A. Emejulu (2010), J. Jihye Chun, G. Lipsitz, and Y. Shin (2013), and E. Lépinard (2014). Scholars who operate at the intersection of feminism and activism have brought to light the inadequacy of organisations that concentrate solely on gender identity in addressing power dynamics among members, while prioritising the needs and interests of those who hold privilege. This has been demonstrated in the works of Marie Laperrière and Lépinard Eléonore (2016), K. Crenshaw (1991), and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003). The utilisation of identity politics has resulted in heightened conceptualizations that are based on the collective encounters of inequity among individuals belonging to particular social groups (Heyes, 2016). Gabrielle Reed (2020) and C. Heyes (2016) argue that identity politics, rather than considering multiple dimensions of identity, seeks to achieve political and social liberation by focusing on a specific identity marker. This approach may lead to fragmentation among marginalised groups and prioritise identity over issues when organising.

The process of self-identity construction among Indian women differs from that of their Western counterparts due to variations in social, economic, and class structures, as well as conditioning and limitations. According to Sujatha Moni (2020), the implementation of

identity politics in contemporary India has been unsuccessful in acknowledging the variations that exist within groups. Instead, it has prioritised the unification of identities, leading to the exclusion of other marginalised communities both within and outside the group.

According to scholars such as Nancy A. Hewitt (2012) and Sujatha Moni (2020), feminist movements have claimed to have a broad vision, global concerns, and progressive sensitivities to transnational, multiracial, and sexual politics. However, in the South, fourth-wave feminisms have tended to emulate Western feminism and have not recognised the necessity of feminism in the daily lives of individuals in India who experience fluid identities based on gender, class, caste, and other factors (Crenshaw, 1991; Moni, 2020).

Hashtag movements

The present study situates the #MeToo hashtag in India within the broader context of feminist activism and its digital transformation, drawing on Rosemary Clark-Parsons' scholarship on hashtag activism (2016). The hashtag, in this context, can be described as a crucial component of modern fourth-wave feminism in India, and is tasked with the responsibility of amplifying the perspectives and stories of Indian women at an intersectional level. The field of hashtag activism has recently emerged as a means of raising awareness for social issues on social media, as described by Xiong, Cho, and Boatwright (2019). As per the research conducted by Wonneberger, Hellsten, and Jacobs (2020), the principal purpose of hashtags in digital communication, from a semantic perspective, is to convey information. In contemporary times, hashtags have played a significant role in generating significance and fostering connections among diverse stakeholders with the aim of promoting social justice (2020). Scholars have directed their attention towards the crucial role of hashtag activism in various domains such as human rights, LGBT rights, #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo, both at the domestic and international levels. This has been emphasised by researchers such as Sarah Jackson and Brooke Foucault Welles in 2016, R. Clark-Parsons in 2019, and Sarah Jackson, Moya Bailey, and Brooke Welles in 2020. The significance of the hashtag lies in its ability to define modern digital protest, facilitating discourse and consciousness-raising on pertinent social concerns. The hashtag, particularly in the context of #MeToo movement in India, serves as a counterpublic sphere that facilitates discourse and deliberation that may not be feasible in the absence of the secure and anonymous digital environment. Thus, the present study delineates the hashtag as a significant constituent and attribute of the fourth-wave feminist movement on the internet.

Method of study

The aims of the study

The present study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the #MeToo movement as a digital phenomenon in India, by situating it within the broader context of the history of feminism in India. The primary aim of this study is to examine the #MeToo movement in the Indian context by analysing hashtags used in tweets, with a view to exploring the issue of inclusion and exclusion within the movement. The study's objective is to offer theoretical solutions for reconsidering the future design of digital feminisms in India.

Research problem

The manifestation of the #MeToo movement in India highlights a notable deficiency in inclusiveness across various tiers of the Twitter platform. The digital public sphere presents challenges for voluntary participation and representation across various levels. The present

study endeavours to unveil the fragmentation that exists within the #MeToo movement in India, along with the various factors that lead to exclusion, thereby impeding the participation of gendered minorities in crucial dialogues pertaining to sexual abuse, patriarchy, and power dynamics in India.

Research question

This study sets out to investigate whether and how exclusion is visibilized through the study of original tweets containing #MeToo and related hashtags in the Indian context between October 1st, 2018 and August 24th, 2019. Does #MeToo demonstrate a noninclusivity towards marginalized, and gendered bodies on the Twitter platform? In what ways is this exclusion characterized and exposed in the dataset? If #MeToo is an exclusive movement, how should future digital feminisms be designed in the Global South?

Sample population

A total of 2,000 distinct tweets were gathered and subjected to filtration using the Twitter Web API during the period spanning from October 1st, 2018 to August 24th, 2019. The tweets were centred on the #MeToo campaign in India. It should be noted that in India, the #MeToo movement and its associated hashtags reached their initial peak in October 2018, as reported by Swati Mathur (2018).

During the specified time frame, a random selection of up to 100 tweets per request was gathered on a weekly basis. To ensure methodological consistency, solely English language tweets were gathered, and retweets were omitted from the dataset. The utilisation of the Twitter streaming API facilitated the automation of the data retrieval process, which is limited to a maximum of 1% of all tweets and can be obtained through a random or representative sampling technique. The sample of tweets obtained is uniformly distributed over a span of 47 weeks, commencing from October 1st, 2019 to August 24th, 2019. Additionally, the sample has been randomised to ensure impartiality and openness. The dataset comprises a heterogeneous sample of Twitter users, including both celebrities and non-celebrities, who participate in the #MeToo conversation, as tweets are gathered on a regular basis every week. Moreover, the aforementioned approach for retrieving data illustrates the development of the #MeToo conversation on the social media platform, Twitter.

Hashtags

The utilisation of hashtags as filters is exemplified by #metoointia, #indiametoo, #LoSHA, #womanhood+#metoointia, #womanhood+#indiametoo, #sisterhood+#metoointia, and #sisterhood+#indiametoo. Hashtags that are specifically utilised in the Indian context have been curated. The hashtag #Metoo was not utilised as the tweet in question may pertain to the global movement rather than the Indian movement. The hashtags #womanhood and #sisterhood have been employed in association with #metoointia and #indiametoo. The utilisation of the term "their" in this particular context denotes a keenness towards the formation of support clusters within the #MeToo campaign in India. The term #LoSHA, which stands for List of Sexual Harassers in Academia, was coined following the dissemination of a list of academics who were alleged to have engaged in sexual harassment of students in various universities throughout India. This list was initially publicised by Raya Sarkar. The present study incorporates #LoSHA to investigate the persistence of backing for Dalit and other underprivileged perspectives, and to explore the level of engagement under this hashtag in deliberations concerning sexual misconduct on academic premises.

Data analysis benchmarks

The initial step in the data collection methodology involves filtering a randomised dataset utilising the aforementioned hashtags as search queries. To address the research inquiry regarding the exclusivity of the #MeToo movement, a manual annotation and labelling process was conducted on all 2000 tweets. This was done to examine the discourse surrounding #MeToo in India on Twitter, specifically with regards to five criteria related to inclusion and exclusion. The set of five criteria comprises of—

1. Does the aforementioned tweet pertain to a personal experience, story, anecdote, or narrative that employs the use of a hashtag?
2. Does the aforementioned tweet convey a subjective viewpoint regarding any particular subject matter?
3. Does the aforementioned tweet exhibit a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards the #MeToo campaign in India?
 - Does this tweet pertain to individuals associated with the Bollywood industry, public figures, notable media personalities, comedians, journalists, authors, or other related entities?
 - Does the aforementioned tweet exhibit any indications of misogyny, violence directed towards women, hate speech, or advocacy for men's rights activism?

Each criterion is evaluated using a binary scale consisting of two possible values, 0 or 1. The value of 1 is assigned to the response "Yes," while the value of 0 is assigned to the response "No." When a tweet conveys a personal encounter ("Yes"), it showcases inclusivity by signifying that the movement has established an environment where women can voice their own encounters with sexual misconduct and harassment. In the event that the tweet pertains to the urban and conspicuous elite in India and affirms their involvement, it showcases a form of exclusion. This is because the movement focuses more on matters of sexual abuse that are limited to Bollywood celebrities, journalists, politicians, and other prominent media figures who utilise Twitter as a platform for public disclosure.

In the event that the tweet expresses misogynistic sentiments, it serves as a manifestation of exclusion, thereby engendering an environment that is unsafe and impeding the ability to participate and share. Ultimately, the study will derive conclusions based on both the quantitative analysis of tweet counts within labelled categories and a qualitative discourse analysis of representative tweets. The analysis will prioritise the content of the tweets over the identity of the participants or "tweeters."

Methodology

As per the findings of K.C. Schroder in 2013, discourse possesses the capability to shape and establish societal perceptions and concepts. This study utilises a blend of qualitative research methods to comprehensively examine and derive significance from textual data, given the existence of competing discourses that seek to define social concerns in the public domain (S. Jackson 2015, 10; K. Jensen 2013).

The present study utilises the critical discourse analysis framework in conjunction with an inductive coding approach to concentrate on textual depictions and analyses of the interconnections between these discourses and the corresponding social realities. The methodology employed facilitates the retrieval of diverse interpretations from the tweet as a written document, as well as broader trends in communication from the population under investigation (Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy 2002, 22-23; Jorge. Ruiz Ruiz 2009).

Initially, this approach is better suited to investigate the particular inquiry of incorporation/exclusion within the feminist movement, as well as the wider societal circumstances within the #MeToo movement in India. Critical discourse analysis has the capability to comprehend the socio-political environment of the #MeToo movement and the power dynamics that exist within it, both online and offline. This has been demonstrated by various scholars such as N. Fairclough (1989, 1995), Gavin Kendall (2007), Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (2001), and Dimitris Papadopoulos, Schraube Ernst, and Ian Parker (2004).

Initially, an inductive coding approach is employed to analyse the sample of tweets, as per the methodology outlined by Miles, Huberman, Saldana (2013) and Clark-Parsons (2019). This involves a manual process of coding, labelling, and categorising the sample set to identify emergent themes based on the aforementioned criteria. The process of inductive coding is utilised to determine the frequency of personal experiences, anecdotes, stories, or narratives of sexual abuse, discussions pertaining to accusations involving celebrities and Bollywood cases, usage of the hashtag #LoSHA, occurrences of terms such as marginalised, Dalit, trans, transgender, lower caste, rural, lgbtqia, and queer within the dataset, as well as instances of misogyny or men's rights activism in tweets. Subsequently, word frequency images or word clouds are produced to illustrate the particular discourse that transpires within each of the aforementioned criteria. The process of eliminating stop words has been executed, followed by the generation of a list of the most frequent 30 words through the utilisation of Tableau. Word clouds serve as a tool for identifying the discourse present in various categories, such as tweets on Bollywood, personal experiences, marginalisation, misogyny, and public sentiment (both positive and negative), through the use of linguistic markers. This is achieved through an inductive approach to coding criteria. The utilisation of word frequency analysis in conjunction with an inductive approach serves to illustrate the manifestation of exclusion within the discourse pertaining to the #MeToo movement in India. The study concludes by employing a qualitative critical discourse analysis to examine the textual significance of representative tweets from the sample, as outlined by S. Jackson in 2015. Hence, the present study selects tweets from the sample to offer representative instances of the mechanisms of power and exclusion that operate within the #MeToo movement in India. The arguments pertaining to exclusion, as derived from the inductive approach, will be substantiated by the tweets obtained from the sample set.

The utilisation of an inductive coding approach and critical discourse analysis in the examination of discourse facilitates the derivation of comprehensive inferences from the sample regarding the construction of discourse surrounding the #MeToo movement in India, as well as the manifestation of exclusion in the movement's online sphere. The critical discourse analytical framework places significant emphasis on the close and distant reading of data to examine the #MeToo movement as a feminist movement in India. The objective is to facilitate discussions on the underlying discourses that propel protest movements forward.

Results

Previous research on the #MeToo movement in India, with a specific focus on the issue of exclusion, has revealed the presence of fragmentation within the movement. The article authored by Suman Mishra (2020) critically analyses the media's portrayal of the global #MeToo movement in India. The author argues that the movement's emphasis on high-profile cases involving celebrities has resulted in the neglect of the experiences of women from marginalised backgrounds.

I'm sorry, but "Paromita Palomita" is not a coherent sentence or phrase that can be rewritten academically. Can you please provide more context or a different text for me to work with? The Pain 2020 study reveals, through an analysis of tweets and interviews, that the movement exhibits a lack of representation of suburban perspectives and encounters.

The two aforementioned studies contribute to the existing literature that examines and situates #MeToo in India as a fourth-wave feminist movement. They do so by contesting the gradual disappearance of unified feminist voices from marginalised communities and the movement's inability to incorporate diverse experiences into its discourse, as previously noted by Srila Roy in 2018 and Mehroonisa Raiva and Salla Sariola in 2018. The present study is primarily concerned with illuminating instances of exclusion within the Indian movement, particularly with regard to the factors that contribute to the manifestation of exclusion in online spaces. The study will centre on conducting a quantitative discourse analysis of the sample utilising the inductive coding approach for annotation based on established criteria. The analysis of the dataset indicates that the #MeToo movement in India exhibits a lack of inclusivity across various dimensions. The following diagram depicts the three distinct manners in which exclusion manifests itself within the dataset.

The focus on media personalities and celebrities in the #MeToo movement

Initially, the phenomenon of exclusion within the movement can be attributed to the heightened focus on matters pertaining to sexual misconduct, allegations, and public denunciation within the upper echelons of prominent media figures. Among a corpus of 2000 tweets, a total of 1229 tweets are centred on the topic of celebrities and media personalities, or the act of making public allegations against media personalities.

The aforementioned tweets are articulated as subjective viewpoints by both prominent and non-prominent individuals, in addition to being featured in journalistic pieces that delve into the existences of noteworthy figures or furnish accounts of their widely-publicized legal proceedings. The visual representation depicted above illustrates the discourse present in tweets pertaining to #MeToo concerns among the prominent members of Indian society. The focus of the discourse is mainly on notable media figures who are at the forefront of the #MeTooIndia movement. The dataset and word cloud exhibit a notable emphasis on four individuals of public prominence, namely Tanushree Dutta, Nana Patekar, Priya Ramani, and MJ Akbar. The contemporary movement in India materialised following allegations of sexual abuse made by former Indian actress Tanushree Dutta against Bollywood actor Nana Patekar. Subsequent to the aforementioned allegation, a total of 35 female performers and individuals in the media industry have publicly disclosed their identities. One individual involved in the aforementioned case was Priya Ramani, a journalist who made allegations of sexual harassment and misconduct against fellow journalist and minister MJ Akbar. The usage of terms such as "defamation," "harassment," "cases," and "allegations" in the discourse suggests that a significant number of public accusations in Bollywood are assimilated into the cancel culture phenomenon, with limited adherence to legal procedures or constructive discussions pertaining to matters of sexuality and authority in the public domain. The dataset is dominated by accounts of media personalities and Bollywood celebrities, which are presented as either personal opinions or news articles. Participants express either support for the accused or disdain for the industry's operations. Bagwe and Patel, for example, highlight the toxic and unsafe culture prevalent in Bollywood.

The individual identified as Aaditya, with the Twitter handle @AadityaBagwe. It is not surprising. The presence of individuals exhibiting uncivilised and objectionable behaviour within the Bollywood film industry may impede the establishment of a secure environment for women. This statement can be rewritten academically as follows: The aforementioned action can be interpreted as a form of backlash against the #metooindia movement. The system has not been successful in providing justice to the victims, while the offenders have been able to evade punishment. May 6 2019. Tweet.

The individual identified as Reshma Patel, with the Twitter handle @reshmapatelxx. In instances where a female declines the advances of a male, the latter may exhibit aggressive behaviour and demonstrate an inability to accept rejection. The issue concerning Bollywood pertains to the apparent disregard for the welfare of women, as is evident from the ongoing developments surrounding the #Metooindia movement. July 7 2019. Tweet.

Moreover, the sentiment towards the movement in the given sample oscillates between favourable and unfavourable. The results of the data analysis indicate that among a sample of 2000 tweets, a total of 70 tweets conveyed positive sentiments towards the #MeToo India movement. The presented word cloud highlights the utilisation of action verbs, including "make," "need," "stand," "speak," "voice," and "work," in association with a favourable sentiment towards the movement.

Conversely, a total of 324 tweets conveyed a profoundly adverse sentiment. The visual representation presented below illustrates that the emergence of negative sentiment can be attributed to the absence of confidence in the movement, which is caused by unfounded accusations, fabricated incidents, and its affiliation with the Indian film industry. The discourse is characterised by the frequent use of terms such as "fake," "true," and "false," which suggests that the participants exhibit uncertainty regarding the procedural aspects of public accusations. Furthermore, the image showcases the utilisation of language and hashtags such as "#feminismiscancer," "#fakecases," and "#mentoo," which indicate the presence of misogyny [further explained below] and expressions of animosity in direct correlation with an unfavourable public perception of the movement.

Marginalization

Additionally, empirical evidence demonstrates that the absence of discourse surrounding marginalised and gendered individuals is indicative of non-inclusive practises. The discourse surrounding individuals from marginalised communities is notably lacking in regards to the prevalence of tweets utilising distinct linguistic indicators pertaining to the topics they address. The dataset exhibits a low frequency of the terms "marginalised" and "transgender", with only one occurrence each. Conversely, the term "lower caste/caste" appears 15 times, followed by "rural" with 10 occurrences. The terms "lgbtqia" and "queer" are present in the dataset with a frequency of 7 and 3 times, respectively. The utilisation of the hashtag #LoSHA is limited to only 15 instances within the dataset comprising 2000 tweets.

Several tweets utilising these terminologies contend that the movement exhibits significant non-inclusivity across various levels and fails to facilitate productive dialogues concerning sexual abuse experienced by marginalised communities. The India Culture Lab serves as a platform that advocates for an intersectional comprehension and discourse regarding the correlation between sex and power, with a specific focus on the impoverished population.

The India Culture Lab, also known as @IndiaCultureLab, is a platform dedicated to the study and exploration of Indian culture. The #MeTooIndia movement has not achieved universal representation of women's experiences across all intersections of caste, class, and religion. In India, it is common for women who make allegations of sexual harassment against their employers to subsequently face accusations of theft. On the sixteenth of February in the year two thousand and nineteen. Tweet.

Madan Pally examines the inadequacy of the movement in addressing the concerns of the predominantly marginalised and underrepresented populace, who often remain unnoticed and unheard. The #MeToo movement in India has faced significant opposition due to concerns regarding the marginalisation and seclusion of minority groups.

The Twitter handle "WTFisHinduVoltaire" belongs to a user named Madan Pally. The effectiveness of the #MeTooIndia movement in rural areas is limited by the persistence of inherent power structures, such as feudalism inspired by Brahmanism. Without addressing these structures, the movement will likely remain on the periphery. It is important to note that the vast majority of victims in rural areas, including Dalits, minorities, and BCs, lack a platform to voice their experiences. On the 28th of October in the year 2018. Tweet.

The initiative known as #LoSHA has served as a platform for students who have undergone traumatic experiences on college campuses to publicly acknowledge and confront their struggles. Additionally, #LoSHA has remained committed to addressing the needs and concerns of marginalised communities. Zubaan Books advocates for the #LoSHA movement, which has initiated a meaningful discourse on the topics of sexual abuse and rape within academic institutions.

Zubaan Books is a publishing company with a presence on the social media platform Twitter under the handle @ZubaanBooks. "@DivyaKandukuri: As a woman belonging to the Bahujan community, it is unlikely that the application of 'due process' will provide me with timely assistance until I reach my late fifties. After having pursued academic endeavours at LSR and DU, my confidence in these institutions and their purported protocols has diminished. The #LoSHA campaign served as a pivotal moment for me to break the silence. #SoManyFeminisms." On the 17th of February 2019. Tweet.

The absence of individual encounters and the prevalence of discriminatory language on the internet

The manifestation of exclusion on the platform is ultimately discernible by the scarcity of individual encounters. The discourse pertaining to the #MeToo movement in India is deficient in authentic narratives, personal anecdotes, stories, and subjective experiences of women. Among the 2000 tweets analysed, a total of 2617 were identified as personal opinions, while only 109 tweets were found to express personal experiences related to sexism or discomfort, and utilised the #MeTooIndia hashtags. In instances where tweets are categorised as personal accounts, the discourse incorporates lexicons such as "story," "sexual(ly)," "harassed/harassment," "complaints," "courts," and "help." This suggests that participants shape their individual narratives on sexual abuse and harassment within the digital public sphere. Several tweets exemplify how Twitter is utilised by users to engage in discussions regarding their individual experiences of sexual abuse trauma.

The individual in question is identified as Priyanka desai, whose username on the social media platform is @Priyanka. The individual initiated physical contact with me in a manner that caused me to feel uneasy. The individual's inclination has dissipated. I relocated to a different location. The perpetrator apprehended me and forcefully compelled me to assume a kneeling position on the unsanitary floor of the lavatory. I experienced a sudden cessation of movement or action. The user employed hashtags such as #rape, #daterape, #sexualassault, #predator, and #metoo, including the localised version #metoointia, to discuss issues related to sexual violence and harassment. July 6 2019. Tweet.

The individual with the Twitter handle @Swati_Nirmal is known as Swati Nirmal. Today's job interview was a negative experience. Certain individuals have a tendency to induce feelings of inferiority in others and derive pleasure from doing so. The interviewer exhibited clear signs of gender bias.

Certain corporate entities may require individuals to fulfil a servile role rather than that of an employee. #metoointia. I am content that I was not selected for the job. I will offer prayers for their existing personnel. July 25 2019. Tweet.

The phenomenon of inadequate involvement in digital activism within the Indian context may stem from a variety of factors. The reluctance to share personal narratives can be attributed to various factors, including the prevalence of hate speech, violence, and toxic masculinity that is often directed towards women. These negative influences can discourage women and gender minorities from participating and create an environment that is not conducive to the recounting of experiences related to sexual abuse. The #MeTooIndia movement has been subjected to hijacking and targeting by men's rights activists, which has resulted in the feminist voice within the movement being frequently drowned out. The sample analysis revealed that 270 tweets were classified as falling under the categories of misogyny, violence, or advocacy for men's rights.

Several tweets utilised the hashtags "feminismiscancer," "fakecases," and "mentoo" to express a resolute opposition to feminism and the alleged advantages it confers. Despite the relatively small quantity, the existence of 270 tweets serves as an indication that the #MeToo movement is subject to ridicule by certain individuals who oppose its advocacy for women. The following are instances of divisive attitudes that are employed to diminish the morale within the movement and instill uncertainty among feminist advocates. Frequently, these discourses have the potential to instill apprehension when recounting instances of publicly coming out without the safeguard of anonymity. Several instances of misogyny and toxic masculinity have been documented as part of the evidence.

The individual identified as Anshika, with the Twitter handle @Anshiksa_7. The individual is advised to maintain composure and refrain from becoming overly emotional. The use of derogatory language, specifically the term "princess," is not appropriate in an academic setting. There is no necessity to engage in abusive behaviour in this context. I hope that you do not participate in the #metoointia movement. July 25 2019.

The individual in question is identified as Mukesh kumar, whose Twitter handle is @Mukesh k kumar. What is the duration for which the social platform will continue to be utilised as a means to slander and discredit men? Where is the manifestation of the values of equality,

justice, and equal rights that are often touted in our society? What is the justification for subjecting men to humiliation and job loss due to a tweet?

The user has utilised hashtags such as #Mentoo, #india, #MeTooindia, #metoo, and #EqualityForAll. July 7 2019.

The aforementioned rationales offer substantiation via qualitative inductive coding and critical discourse analysis that the digital sphere perpetuates the marginalisation of gendered bodies, which is brought to light due to heightened exposure and visibility of prominent cases, a conspicuous absence of discourse concerning the marginalised, and a dearth of personal accounts and experiences of sexual abuse shared by those affected online.

Discussion

The present study adds to the existing body of knowledge on the phenomenon of exclusion in the context of the digital feminist #MeToo movement in India. It sheds light on the underlying reasons for this exclusion and fragmentation that are observed in the public sphere. The #MeToo movement in India is characterised by fragmentation, rupture, and exclusion. Despite its potential to serve as a forum for comprehensive discussions on power dynamics and sexual misconduct pertaining to various marginalised groups, it still highlights a notable lack of representation of these groups.

Justifications for exclusion

Bollywood and other forms of Indian media serve as a means of entertainment that fosters a sense of unity among individuals from diverse socio-economic backgrounds in Indian society. As a result, these media forms exert a subtle influence on social norms. Nonetheless, the entertainment sector has a protracted record of objectifying women, exhibiting sexism, and overtly showcasing patriarchal values on screen. For certain individuals, the #MeToo movement has evolved into a concrete and symbolic action aimed at eradicating sexual assault and pervasive gender discrimination within the predominant entertainment industry. Currently, #MeTooIndia bears the weight of a public display of shaming and allegations directed towards public figures in India. The movement exhibits limited efforts to disassociate itself from broader conversations beyond these exclusive spheres. The current trend of prioritising the urban visible elite has resulted in a significant schism and exclusivity. The present movement, despite its political objectives and its aim to engage in conversations with women throughout the nation, has exposed significant differences and schisms among feminist perspectives and audiences (Roy, 2018, p. 2). Similar to its Western counterpart, #MeTooIndia is focused on exposing instances of sexism, abuse, and rape within the upper echelons of Indian society, particularly within the entertainment industry. The utilisation of social media by celebrities for a public "coming-out" has been facilitated by the advent of digital platforms. The digital feminist movement appears to primarily serve a select group of women who are already prominent, affluent, and residing in urban areas, thereby limiting its reach to a wider audience. This group of women tends to have a significant following on social media, which amplifies their voices. There are individuals who hold the perspective that the #MeToo movement solely involves unsubstantiated allegations made by public figures seeking publicity, and thus, they do not perceive any correlation between this movement and activism for Indian women.

Furthermore, the #MeToo movement in India exhibits exclusivity in its definition of feminism and the voices it represents. The current cyber-movement has primarily been

limited to a particular demographic of urban middle-class women who possess the necessary technological resources. However, it should encompass a broader range of individuals, including LGBTQ individuals, women residing in societies characterised by archaic sexism, women who lack access to resources, Dalit women, and transgender women who are unable to engage in these dialogues or express their encounters with assault due to the restricted nature of these forums. According to Srila Roy (2018), the #MeToo India movement is primarily composed of the voices of the middle class, journalists, celebrities, and other professionals. The #MeToo Movement involves the participation of a female individual who identifies with the gender they were assigned at birth and belongs to the upper-caste brahmanical community. This individual engages in discussions aimed at advancing the cause of feminism. (7) The term "brahmanical" pertains to a patriarchal ideology that exists in India, wherein the Brahmin upper castes have systematically marginalised lower caste communities and women in terms of ritual, social, and economic aspects. The brahmanical social order is structured around the principles of caste and gender hierarchy. The limitations of the movement are rooted in its emphasis on feminist collective construction, which entails an entirely conceptual community that encompasses particular feminisms (Anderson, 1991). The #MeToo movement brings to light the contradictions and unease surrounding the commonplace and seemingly innocuous occurrences of sexual harassment and assault that impact women in both public settings and familial contexts, across various dimensions of identity (Roy, 2018). The incorporation of intersectional roots into the #MeToo narrative is a crucial aspect to consider for this lesson. This entails actively pursuing and attentively considering accounts that extend beyond the perspectives of privileged individuals who identify as upper-caste, middle-class, non-disabled, and cisgendered women residing in urban localities. The movement, despite its significant impact factor, has exposed the shortcomings in feminist activism strategies in India.

Exclusion is evidenced by the dearth of involvement and the comparatively scant presence of individual anecdotes, accounts, and chronicles among the participants. While digital spaces may present barriers to accessibility for numerous women in India, there exist additional factors that contribute to the dearth of female participation, such as the prevalence of hate speech, emotional abuse, and the vilification of women in online environments. The participants exhibit a tendency to engage in toxic conduct and denigrate the movement due to its spurious allegations or absence of formal legal procedures. These viewpoints tend to transition into hate speech and/or demonstrate acts of violence towards women.

The concept of intersectionality for the development of future feminisms in India

Hence, it is imperative for cyber-communities on social media to dissociate themselves from preconceived fundamental limits of identity classifications. Inquiries regarding feminist embodiment in digital spaces require a comprehensive and refined comprehension of the parameters of feminism and womanhood. This is crucial in order to effectively navigate the intricate and novel territories of digital spaces, and to facilitate the self-construction of identities and aspirations, particularly for feminist movements situated in the Global South. The imperative for digital spaces to establish social spaces that foster inclusive discourse, promoting unity rather than division, is underscored by the prevalence of virtual protest in feminist activism.

It is imperative for Indian feminism to disengage from a Western construct of feminism, which relies on oversimplified and dichotomous concepts of gender identity. Additionally, it

must shift its focus from catering to the privileged and conspicuous strata of society. Indian feminism ought to emphasise diverse dimensions of feminist identities for Indian women, extend beyond the confines of conventionally defined womanhood, and incorporate other marginalised communities with gendered identities into this discourse. The #MeToo movement should prioritise a comprehensive discourse on the routine challenges that women and minority groups encounter in India.

In order to effectively address contemporary feminist issues, it is imperative that forthcoming feminist movements adopt an intersectional framework in the context of digital feminisms. It is imperative to reconsider the design of virtual environments to ensure the safety of women. In order to achieve this objective, it is imperative to adopt a perspective that transcends the traditional dichotomy of male and female and embraces an intersectional framework that facilitates the creation of secure digital environments. Additionally, it is imperative to initiate a reimagining of technology design to establish interaction systems that rely on non-essential classifications. It is imperative for social media platforms to exercise caution when facilitating feminist demonstrations, so as to avoid perpetuating traditional power structures and hierarchies that individuals are bound to conform to in the physical world. In order to avoid essentialist pitfalls, it is crucial that digital feminisms are crafted in a manner that integrates diverse facets of social and political identities. Digital futures should strive to establish a harmonious equilibrium between the collective and the individual, thereby fostering a secure environment for active participation. It is imperative that the internet functions as an impartial and secure environment that fosters comprehensive acceptance and incorporation of non-binary genders, fluid feminisms, diverse sexual orientations, and various identity markers. The concept of intersectionality holds significant value as a framework and viewpoint for contemplating the construction of future technological systems that prioritise principles of impartiality, inclusivity, equitable representation, accessibility, justness, and diversity. It is posited that forthcoming feminist assemblies will transpire on social media platforms, and that feminist demonstrations ought to integrate methods to eliminate disparities and identify shared ground. Intersectionality sheds light on both the distinctions and the shared experiences within feminist and queer movements, which encompass interdependent systems of subjugation and power dynamics. The concept of intersectionality has been proposed as a viable approach to dismantling colonial oppression, patriarchal structures, hierarchical systems, and oversimplified binary notions of femininity. The implementation of an intersectional praxis in the development of digital feminisms in India has the potential to eradicate patriarchal, sexist, and heteronormative frameworks in society. Additionally, this approach acknowledges and addresses the daily challenges faced by marginalised groups such as Dalit and rural women, the LGBTQIA community, and the Indian trans (hijra) community. These groups often encounter difficulties in expressing their apprehensions or anxieties online and may feel disconnected from the feminist community. For feminism to achieve its goal of being a politics that truly liberates all oppressed individuals and emancipates those who are economically disadvantaged, it must acknowledge the imperative of being an all-encompassing and intersectional movement. It is imperative for forthcoming fourth-wave feminist movements that occur in the digital realm to adopt an intersectional political framework in order to promote social equity across various and evolving feminist movements in the Global South.

Conclusion

The present study has examined the potential exclusivity, fragmentation, and lack of inclusivity of the #MeToo movement in India, particularly with regards to marginalised communities and diverse voices and narratives. The research has utilised qualitative inductive coding and critical discourse analysis to elucidate the diverse rationales underlying the phenomenon of non-inclusivity within the movement, as well as the manifestation of exclusion on the Twitter platform. The study determines that exclusion is present within the movement, utilising the author's established criteria that yield binary outcomes regarding the presence of personal experiences, personal opinions regarding the subject matter, positive or negative sentiment towards the movement, observable issues or instances, and instances of misogyny, emotional abuse, and hate speech directed towards women in online spaces. The aforementioned exclusion can be attributed to the heightened focus on matters of sexual abuse within the upper echelons of Indian society, encompassing luminaries from the domains of Bollywood, journalism, politics, and prominent media figures who utilise Twitter as a platform to disclose their experiences. The absence of discourse surrounding sexual abuse and harassment in the everyday lives of marginalised and gendered communities, such as Dalit, trans women, women of lower caste and class, highlights the issue of non-inclusivity. These communities have distinct experiences of sexual abuse that differ significantly from those of elite, urban women. The dearth of personal narratives under certain hashtags can reveal exclusion, which can be attributed to both masculine toxicity and the lack of safe spaces for gendered minorities to share their experiences. The primary objective of this project is not solely limited to presenting proof of exclusion via the data gathered from Twitter concerning this specific movement. Rather, it aims to foster a more comprehensive discourse on the structure of modern-day feminist demonstrations on digital platforms. The present study proposes the utilisation of an intersectional framework to fundamentally reconsider the design and organisation of online feminist movements, with the ultimate aim of establishing safer and more inclusive environments for feminist activism in the Global South. In what manner can we engage in discourse regarding the liberation from feminist and queer endeavours that pertain to gendered corporeality in the realm of digital platforms? What strategies can be employed to move beyond the act of "coming-out" and engage in nuanced discussions regarding the definition and design of feminist futures? Emphasising the significance of feminist collectives and individuals who navigate various identity markers is crucial. An intersectional approach is imperative in the design of feminist futures and feminist protests on the digital sphere. Subsequent research endeavours may concentrate on the precise mechanisms through which hate speech infiltrates gendered digital activism and the formation of feminist solidarities

References

1. Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso books.
2. Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands: The new mestiza= La frontera*. (No Title).
3. Bassel, L., & Emejulu, A. (2010). Struggles for institutional space in France and the United Kingdom: Intersectionality and the politics of policy. *Politics & Gender*, 6(4), 517-544.
4. Chakravarti, U., & Mohanty, M. (2004). *Conceptualizing Brahmanical patriarchy in early India: Gender, caste, class and state*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
5. Chaudhuri*, M. (2012). Feminism in India: the tale and its telling. *Revue Tiers Monde*, (1), 19-36.

6. Clark-Parsons, R. (2021). "I see you, I believe you, I stand with you":# MeToo and the performance of networked feminist visibility. *Feminist Media Studies*, 21(3), 362-380.
7. Clark, R. (2016). "Hope in a hashtag": The discursive activism of# WhyIStayed. *Feminist media studies*, 16(5), 788-804.
8. Crenshaw, K. (1990). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stan. L. Rev.*, 43, 1241.
9. Dasgupta, P. (2018). # MeToo in India: 75 Professors, 30 Institutes, What Happened to Raya Sarkar's List of Sexual Harassers?. *Huffington Post*.
10. Accessed 1 June 2023. https://www.huffingtonpost.in/2018/10/25/metoo-in-india-75-professors-30-institutes-what-happened-to-raya-sarkar-s-list-of-sexual-harassers_a_23571422/
11. De, A. (2023). From the Confessional to the Ground.
12. Dirlik, A. (2007). Global South: predicament and promise. *The Global South*, 1(1), 12-23.
13. Fairclough, N. 1989. *Language and Power*. London: Longman. Fairclough, N. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
14. Field, R. E. (2023). # MeToo and India: The Movement in Its Moment. *South Asian Review*, 1-7.
15. Gajjala, Radhika, and Yeon Ju Oh. 2012. "Cyberfeminism 2.0. New York: Peter Lang. Print.
16. Guha, P. (2023). Power to# MeTooIndia: The Future of the Movement in Post-COVID-19 India. *South Asian Review*, 1-5.
17. Goel, V., Venkataraman, A., & Schultz, K. (2018). After a long wait, India's# MeToo movement suddenly takes off. *The New York Times*.
18. Hewitt, Nancy A. 2012. "Feminist Frequencies: Regenerating the Wave Metaphor." *Feminist Studies* 38 (3): 658–680.
19. Heyes, C. 23 March 2016. "Identity Politics." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy Archive*. <https://stanford.library.sydney.edu.au/archives/fall2018/entries/identity-politics/> hooks, bell.1981Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism.Boston: South End Press.
20. Jackson, S. J., & Foucault Welles, B. (2015). Hijacking# myNYPD: Social media dissent and networked counterpublics. *Journal of communication*, 65(6), 932-952.
21. Jackson, S. J., & Foucault Welles, B. (2015). Hijacking# myNYPD: Social media dissent and networked counterpublics. *Journal of communication*, 65(6), 932-952.
22. Jackson, S. J., Bailey, M., & Welles, B. F. (2020). *#HashtagActivism: Networks of race and gender justice*. Mit Press.
23. Jensen, K. B. (Ed.). (2020). *A handbook of media and communication research: Qualitative and quantitative methodologies*. routledge..
24. Jha, S., & Kurian, A. (2018). *New Feminisms in South Asia*. New York, Routledge.
25. Chun, J. J., Lipsitz, G., & Shin, Y. (2013). Intersectionality as a social movement strategy: Asian immigrant women advocates. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38(4), 917-940.
26. Kendall, G. (2007, May). What is critical discourse analysis?. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 8, No. 2).
27. Knepper, H. J., Evans, M. D., & Henley, T. J. (Eds.). (2023). *Intersectionality and Crisis Management: A Path to Social Equity*. Taylor & Francis.
28. Kemmerer, L. (2023). *Oppressive Liberation: Sexism in Animal Activism*. Springer Nature.

29. Laperrière, M., & Lépinard, E. (2016). Intersectionality as a tool for social movements: Strategies of inclusion and representation in the Québécois women's movement. *Politics*, 36(4), 374-382.
30. Lépinard, É. (2014). Doing intersectionality: Repertoires of feminist practices in France and Canada. *Gender & Society*, 28(6), 877-903.
31. Nau, C. (2020). Digital feminist activism: girls and women fight back against rape culture: by Kaitlynn Mendes, Jessica Ringrose, and Jessalynn Keller, New York, Oxford University Press, 2019, 232 pp.(pbk), ISBN 9780190697853.
32. Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. sage.
33. Mishra, S. (2020). From# MeToo to# MeTooIndia: News Domestication in Indian English Language Newspapers. *Journalism Studies*, 21(5), 659-677.
34. Mohanty, C. (1984). Under western eyes. *Boundary 2*, 12(3).
35. Mohanty, C. T. (2005). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Zubaan.
36. Morgan, R. (2003). Sisterhood is Forever: "Multiple Oppressions".
37. Moni, S. (2019). Intersectionality in the contemporary women's marches: Possibilities for social change. *Journal of feminist scholarship*, 16(16), 1-16.
38. Newman, E. L. (2023). *Fashioning Politics and Protests: New Visual Cultures of Feminism in the United States*. Springer Nature.
39. Nanditha, N. (2022). Exclusion in# MeToo India: rethinking inclusivity and intersectionality in Indian digital feminist movements. *Feminist Media Studies*, 22(7), 1673-1694.
40. Nash, J. C. (2018). *Black feminism reimaged: After intersectionality*. Duke University Press.
41. Pain, P. (2021). "It took me quite a long time to develop a voice": Examining feminist digital activism in the Indian# MeToo movement. *New Media & Society*, 23(11), 3139-3155.
42. Papadopoulos, D., & Schraube, E. (2004, September). Ian Parker: This world demands our attention. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 5, No. 3).
43. Phadke, S. (2003). Thirty years on: women's studies reflects on the women's movement. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4567-4576.
44. Hardy, C., Harley, B., & Phillips, N. (2004). Discourse analysis and content analysis: Two solitudes. *Qualitative methods*, 2(1), 19-22.
45. Raiva, M., & Sariola, S. (2018). # Metoo & feminist activism in India.
46. Reed, G. N. (2020). # SayHerName: Putting the "I" in Intersectionality in Black Female Social Movements. *McNair Scholars Research Journal*, 13(1), 10.
47. Renzel, Paula. 2018. "How Does Online Feminist Activism Offer the Possibility for a Truly Intersectional Feminist" Medium. medium.com/hack-for-chayn/how-does-online-feministactivism-offer-the-possibility-for-a-truly-intersectional-feminist-651c6030ae16
48. Roy, S. (2023). # MeToo Is A Crucial Moment to Revisit the History of Indian Feminism—Centre tricontinental.
49. Rivers, I., & Lovin, C. L. (Eds.). (2023). *Young People Shaping Democratic Politics: Interrogating Inclusion, Mobilising Education*. Springer Nature.
50. Ruiz, J. R. (2009, May). Sociological discourse analysis: Methods and logic. In *Forum qualitative sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative social research* (Vol. 10, No. 2).

51. Schroder, K.C. 2013. "Discourses of Fact." In *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*, edited by Klaus Bruhn Jensen (98–116). New York, NY: Routledge.
52. Serisier, Tanya. 2007. "Speaking Out against Rape: Feminist (Her)stories and Anti-rape Politics." *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal* (16): 84–95.
53. Spivak, G. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation Culture*, edited by C. Nelsson and L. Grossberg's (66–111). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
54. Sobande, F., & Basu, M. (2023). "Beyond BAME, WOC, and 'political blackness': diasporic digital communing practices. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 16(2), 91-98.
55. Vickery, J. R., & Everbach, T. (2018). Mediating misogyny. *Gender, Technology, and*
56. Van der Gaag, N., Massoumian, A., & Nightingale, D. (Eds.). (2023). *Patriarchy in Practice: Ethnographies of Everyday Masculinities*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
57. Wajcman, J. (2010). Feminist theories of technology. *Cambridge journal of economics*, 34(1), 143-152.
58. Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* SAGE. *Publications London ■ Thousand Oaks ■ New Delhi*.
59. Wonneberger, A., Hellsten, I. R., & Jacobs, S. H. (2021). Hashtag activism and the configuration of counterpublics: Dutch animal welfare debates on Twitter. *Information, Communication & Society*, 24(12), 1694-1711.
60. Nanditha, N. (2022). Exclusion in# MeToo India: rethinking inclusivity and intersectionality in Indian digital feminist movements. *Feminist Media Studies*, 22(7), 1673-1694.
61. Xiong, Y., Cho, M., & Boatwright, B. (2019). Hashtag activism and message frames among social movement organizations: Semantic network analysis and thematic analysis of Twitter during the# MeToo movement. *Public relations review*, 45(1), 10-23..
62. Nanditha, N. (2022). Exclusion in# MeToo India: rethinking inclusivity and intersectionality in Indian digital feminist movements. *Feminist Media Studies*, 22(7), 1673-1694.